Popular Religion and Shamanism

RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA COLLECTION – VOLUME 1

Edited by

MA Xisha & MENG Huiying

BRILL

Popular Religion and Shamanism

Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection

Series Advisors

Thomas David DuBois
Mark Bender
Kun Shi

VOLUME 1

Popular Religion and Shamanism

Edited by

Ma Xisha and Meng Huiying

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2011

This book is the result of a co-publication agreement between The Ethnic Publishing House and Koninklijke Brill NV. These chapters were translated into English from the original <<民间宗教>> (*Minjian Zongjiao*) with financial support from China Book International.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Yuan shi zong jiao yu Saman jiao juan. English
Popular religion and Shamanism / edited by Xisha Ma and Huiying Meng ; translated by Zhen Chi and Thomas David DuBois.
p. cm. — (Religious studies in contemporary China collection ; v. 1)
"Translated into English from the original"—T.p. verso.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-17455-9 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. China—Religion. 2. Shamanism—China. 3. Folk religion—China—History. I. Ma, Xisha, 1943– II. Meng, Huiying. III. Chi, Zhen, 1975– IV. DuBois, Thomas David, 1969– V. Title. VI. Series.

BL1812.S45D4513 2011
299.5'11144—dc22

2010050208

ISBN 978 90 04 17455 9

Copyright 2011 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

CONTENTS

PART I

POPULAR RELIGION

Introduction 3
Thomas David DuBois

Chapter One: The Syncretism of Maitreyan Belief and Manichaeism in Chinese History 19
Ma Xisha

Chapter Two: A Study on Equivalent Names of Manichaeism in Chinese 55
Lin Wushu

Chapter Three: On the Rise, Decline and Evolution of the Three-in-One Teaching 123
Lin Guoping

Chapter Four: The Evolution of the Luo Teaching (罗教) and the Formation of Green Gang (青帮) 167
Ma Xisha

Chapter Five: The Taigu School (太古学派) and the Yellow Cliff Teaching (黄崖教): Another Case of Transformation from Confucian Academic Group to Religious Sect 207
Han Bingfang

Chapter Six: Exploring the History of the Yihetuan 255
Lu Yao

Chapter Seven: A Preliminary Investigation on the Early History of the Way of Penetrating Unity (一贯道) and Its Relationship with the Yihetuan 293
Zhou Yumin

Chapter Eight: Women in the Secret Popular Religions of the Ming and Qing Dynasties 315
Yu Songqing

Bibliography 339

PART II

SHAMANISM

Introduction 351
Mark Bender and Kun Shi

Chapter Nine: Mongol Shaman Initiation Rites: Case Studies in Eastern Inner Mongolia 353
Guo Shuyun

Chapter Ten: Characteristics of Shamanism of the Tungusic Speaking People 375
Meng Huiying

Chapter Eleven: Daba Beliefs and Written Script 423
Song Zhaolin

Bibliography 485

Index 495

PART I

POPULAR RELIGION

Translated by

Chi Zhen
Thomas David DuBois

INTRODUCTION

Thomas David DuBois

It can be a hard task to describe the big picture view of religion in China. The most natural place to begin is with the three canonical beliefs of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Focusing on these three teachings provides some obvious advantages: each one is a more-or-less concrete entity with a founder, scriptures, and discrete intellectual genealogy. This tactic also represents an important and lasting political reality: since the time that doctrinal Buddhism became firmly established in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, the governments of China's various dynasties interacted with religion (not always with approval) largely in terms of these three big teachings. While the teachings of Confucius came to be synonymous with the imperial state itself, Buddhism and Daoism were incorporated differently, enjoying approval and even support, in return for accepting state regulation of their doctrine and affairs. The present-day Chinese state roughly follows an elaboration of this policy, with officially sanctioned bodies representing Buddhism and Daoism, as well as Christianity and Islam. So to a large extent do scholars, including the editors of this series, who have published separate volumes on each of the canonical religions.

But working with the canonical teachings also has some very important shortcomings. For one, it artificially separates them. While Buddhism and Daoism each constituted a discrete and self-contained intellectual world, they also interacted with each other: even the classic canons of Buddhist and Daoist scripture show how easily ideas, concepts and even deities crossed the lines between the two teachings. More importantly, lived religion freely integrates what it calls the "three teachings." Both visually and in scripture, Confucius, Laozi and the Buddha are commonly portrayed together, and their statues frequently share the same space in temples and shrines. A Buddhist temple in China that did *not* have some representation of Daoist deities or Confucian moral exhortations would be the exception, rather than the rule. Conversely, a great deal of religious practice falls between the three canonical teachings. Most of China's lived religion: temple fairs, village processions, local deities, as well as healing, exorcistic and

mortuary ritual—the real stuff of Chinese religious life at all levels of society—are in some ways linked to the canonical teachings, but do not belong exclusively to any one of them.

Half a century ago, the sociologist C. K. Yang (Yang Qingkun) proposed the model of two types of religion in China: the "institutional" religions that we would associate with formal, organized clergies, and thus with the three canonical religions, and the ocean of local and personal practices that he termed "diffused" religion.[1] This model is not perfect—no model is—but it remains a useful way of thinking about the long path from individual devotion to formal and organized religious institutions. History shows us that many factors shape this process. Religious ideas and piety themselves play a large role, but not a total one. Ideas also contend with the good or ill will of states, conditions of economic rise or decline, and a society that may be peaceful or may be unsettled. Moreover, there are many types of institutional religion. The term may mean an organized church, but it may also signify a lay movement, an established tradition of practice, or any generally accepted tradition of ideas. Beyond the three canonical teachings, Chinese religion also incorporates these many other types of institutionalization.

The first part of this volume traces the rise of one of the most unique and important of these institutions, the one that the title identifies as "folk religion." This term, often translated as "popular religion" (*minjian zongjiao* 民间宗教), has a very specific meaning: it is a shorthand used by scholars in China to refer to the particular religious tradition that most Western historians would call "sectarianism," or more broadly, the "White Lotus Teaching." (Neither name is precisely accurate, a point to which we will return later.) These terms will certainly be familiar to any student of China's modern history, most commonly in the context of religious rebellion. Religious groups in the White Lotus tradition are often given credit for overthrowing the Mongol Yuan dynasty, and led the series of domestic military disasters—the Nian and Taiping Rebellions and Boxer Uprising—that laid low the mighty Qing during the nineteenth century. Most will know these groups for their integration of religion and warfare: the use of magical

[1] C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society; A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961): 294–340.

charms to ward off bullets, the claims to turn beans into soldiers, and most notably the political messianism that justly struck terror into the ruling elite. But these occasional flashes of violence were only one manifestation of a much deeper and more prevalent tradition, one that had already begun to form centuries earlier. The essays in this volume show the entire arc of this long-term evolution, focusing on three key points: the arrival and integration of new ideas before the Song dynasty, the coalescence of an intellectual and scriptural tradition during the Ming, and the efflorescence of new organizations during the late Qing.

Part 1: Intellectual Antecedents

The first chapter by Ma Xisha 马西沙 examines the integration of Manichaeism, which entered China from Central Asia via the Silk Road, into a preexisting tradition of beliefs surrounding the Maitreya Buddha. The Maitreya Buddha has a long history as a salvationist figure in China. As early as the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589), this buddha was worshipped as the lord of a paradise called the Maitreya Pure Land. This was a postmortem paradise, a repose for individual souls, in what scholars often refer as the "ascending" motif of salvationism.[2] Maitreya was also the central figure of a "descending" motif, in which he was prophesied to come down from heaven and establish a physical paradise on earth. Over time, it was the latter image that came to dominate the worship of Maitreya. Beginning in the Wei Dynasty, a corpus of "false scriptures" elaborated the cosmology of Maitreya worship, including the characteristic tripartite division of time, and the story of the Dragon Flower Assembly, an event which inaugurates the reign of the messiah Buddha. To this, Manichaeism easily added its own conception of the "three times," as well as its characteristic belief in the antagonistic "two principles" of light and darkness, the idea of original sin, and a harsh devotional regimen. Maitreyan and Manichaean belief systems had fully merged by the Sui Dynasty (581–618), the same time that sources began to report the existence of groups of faithful who wore white robes, buried their dead naked, and conducted secret nocturnal rituals, "meeting at

[2] Alan Sponberg, and Hardacre, Helen, eds. *Maitreya: the Future Buddha*. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

night and dispersing at dawn." Groups that combined the descent of Maitreya with the Manichean "King of Light" (*ming wang* 明王) were quickly seen as a threat to public order, and banned during the Tang and Song dynasties. But they continued to spread underground, most famously to reappear in the late Yuan as the "Incense Army" (*xiang jun* 香军) that participated in the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty.

Lin Wushu 林悟殊 examines the establishment of Manichaeism in greater detail, focusing specifically on the many names used for Manichaeism to show the path taken by the teaching as it was driven underground. He has a very difficult task. It is never easy to follow an organization that wishes to remain hidden, but this case is made even more difficult by that fact that Manichaeism in China was never centralized, and freely broke into splinter groups and local communities. Moreover, many of the names for Manichaeism that appear in historical sources were coined by outsiders, in some cases by the same forces that sought to eradicate the teaching. Yet another difficulty is the fact that sources themselves are exceedingly rare: one of the more complete accounts is a mere four hundred sixty seven characters, and has already been mined by earlier generations of Sinologists such as Edouard Chavannes, Paul Pelliot and Wang Guowei 王国维. Lin combs over every available scrap of evidence, including stelae and Dunhuang fragments, to determine what terms contemporary believers would have used referred to themselves, their religion, and their founder. To demonstrate the many problems inherent in tracing an organization through its changing name, he raises the example of two other foreign religions, Zoroastrianism and Nestorian Christianity. Through this analysis of names, Lin shows how Manichaeism was transformed in China, especially after 841, when the teaching was outlawed in conjunction with the Huichang persecution of Buddhism. During this time, Manichaeism became known by a wide variety of pseudonyms, most notably the "Teaching of Light" (*ming jiao* 明教), as well as by a variety of euphemisms such as the "people of the double collar crossings," some of which were given by outsiders, others used by the teaching itself in order to avoid detection.

Part 2: Formation of Tradition

The next two chapters move forward to the Ming, the point at which many of the diverse ideas in this tradition began to take on a more

clear, organized form. The impetus for this change was certainly not a more favorable political climate. Teachings such as Manichaeism had been suppressed during the Tang, and even if some were briefly rehabilitated, the role that groups such as the "Incense Army" had played in organizing resistance to the Yuan had convinced Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, their erstwhile ally and founding emperor of the new Ming dynasty, to outlaw them even more strictly than before.[3] Rather, the chapter by Lin Guoping 林国平 shows that this change was due at least in part to an intellectual shift: the consolidation of a tradition of ideas into a coherent theology. Lin examines the transformation of Ming literatus Lin Zhao'en 林兆恩 from Confucian intellectual to religious leader during his lifetime, and into a cult figure after his death. Lin Zhao'en is well known for his synthesis of Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist elements into a single teaching, one that followed upon the "heart-mind learning" of Wang Yangming 王阳明. Initially, Lin spread his ideas only among fellow literati, but his fame and his teachings soon began to spread, buoyed in no small part by the role Lin played in spending his own fortune to alleviate the suffering caused by pirate attacks on the Fujian coast. By the 1580s, Lin had developed a widespread reputation for morality and benevolence, an extended network of missionaries and temples devoted to his teaching, and a large number of followers, many of whom revered Lin as a divine figure. Lin's apotheosis accelerated after his death. At the same time, his "three-in-one" teaching (*Sanyi jiao* 三一教) continued to evolve, as new generations of followers added elements such as Buddhist karma and Daoist incantation. Alarmed by its rapid spread, early Qing emperors banned the teaching, but even this did not stop the ideas and apotheosis of Lin Zhao'en from continuing to evolve locally in Fujian.

The subsequent chapter by Ma Xisha traces the evolution of one of the most influential early organizations: the Luo Teaching (*Luo jiao* 罗教), and its offshoot society called the Green Gang (*Qingbang* 青帮). Ma uses a combination of Qing archives and sectarian scriptures, known as "precious scrolls" (*baojuan* 宝卷) to trace the origins of the Luo Teaching to its founder, Luo Jing 罗静, a soldier detailed with the task of transporting grain from the south to the frontier garrison

[3] Zhao Yifeng, 2007. *Mingdai guojia zongjiao guanli zhidu yu zhengce yanjiu* [Research on the national religious regulatory apparatus and regulations of the Ming Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe).

at Miyun, near Beijing. After Luo's death, his teaching broke into branches, which continued to spread among the sailors who plied the riverine grain transport system along the Grand Canal. In this form, the Luo Teaching gave spiritual comfort to this displaced group, but the real attraction of the teaching was as trade and mutual aid organization. Most sailors on the canal belonged to one of three branches, which provided solidarity, lodging, and occasional opportunities for plunder. The relocation of grain transport from the canal system to the open sea during the early nineteenth century decimated the entire industry of riverine transport, prompting many to reorganize into a smuggling gang called the "Friends of the Way of Tranquility and Purity" (*anqing daoyou* 安清道友). This group (the apparently ironic title was actually an amalgam of two place names) would eventually transform into the Green Gang, one of the most famous and feared "secret societies" of the modern era. The point that Ma makes in this chapter is that the entire evolutionary trajectory from Luo Teaching to Green Gang was driven by the financial and social needs of its members. The rise of the organization was less a function of religious evolution than of the economic transformation of Qing society.

Part 3: New Teachings and Organizations

The third section introduces the wave of new teachings that appeared in the nineteenth century. Like Ma Xisha's chapter on the Luo Teaching, these chapters focus primarily on how the teachings functioned in society, but working with the richer sources of a later period, they are able to present a much more detailed image of who led and joined these groups, and how different sorts of individuals, both insiders and outsiders, interacted with the teachings intellectually, economically and socially. One advantage that scholars in the study of more recent events have over their counterparts in the previous sections is the ability to conduct fieldwork, that is, to interview eyewitnesses or their descendants, and occasionally to see the remnants of ideas and practices that still survive in villages today. Among earlier chapters, Lin Guoping had employed fieldwork to sketch out the remnants of the cult of Lin Zhao'en. Two chapters in this section use this sort of data to even greater effect.

The first chapter is Han Bingfang's 韩秉方 examination of the Yellow Cliff Teaching (*Huangya jiao* 黄崖教). Like the discussion of Lin Zhao'en's mid-Ming Three-in-One Teaching, this chapter traces the process by which the eclectic ideas of a Confucian literatus came to absorb a variety of religious ideas and practices, and later became the core of a religious and social movement. The ideas that would eventually come to be known as the Yellow Cliff Teaching were formed by the mid-Qing scholar Zhou Taigu (周太古), who like Lin Zhao'en, saw each of the three teachings not as competing entities, but as various expressions of a greater truth. In a theme that was echoed by many of his contemporaries, Zhou Taigu saw his synthetic theory not as a personal innovation, but as the authentic essence of the three teachings, particularly of Confucianism. He thus traced his intellectual lineage through a line of scholarly luminaries, including Zhu Xi, Mencius, and finally to Confucius and the Duke of Zhou. Zhou's teaching was banned during his lifetime, but like the Three-in-One and Luo Teachings of previous chapters, continued to evolve as separate movements after the death of the founder. Many of these branches died out, but some survived, most notably the Taigu School that moved with its leader Zhang Jizhong 张积中 to establish a utopian community in the mountains of central Shandong province. This community maintained a strict hierarchy of religious authority, a communal ritual regimen, and all of the moral admonitions of a Confucian society, but also took the practical step to arm itself against intrusion from the outside. Their seriousness of purpose cannot be doubted: when government troops moved to dislodge the community in 1866, members fought to the death, and when hope of resistance was lost, many of the remaining members committed suicide.

The second chapter comes from Lu Yao's 路遥 pathbreaking work on the Yihetuan 义和拳 (Society of Righteousness and Harmony). This group is better known in English as the eponymic Boxers of the Boxer Uprising, an episode that was of pivotal importance to the history of modern China. It marked the death knell of the long-decaying Qing dynasty, and ended with the occupation of Beijing by foreign troops. The political significance of this event has left the earlier origins of the Yihetuan movement deeply mired in controversy. One view that was common to the nationalist scholarship of an earlier era, and has more recently been expressed by Western scholars as well, was that the Yihetuan was primarily an anti-foreign movement, goaded into

action primarily by the callousness of Catholic missionaries operating in Shandong.[4] Another view casts the Yihetuan was another expression of a more enduring tradition of underground militant organizations, one that that shared the religious orientation of groups such as the Luo Teaching or the Yellow Cliff Teaching. Lu Yao falls firmly into this latter camp. He begins by tracing the origins of the Yihetuan to a style of martial arts called the Plum Blossom Fists (*Meihua quan* 梅花拳), and to the "martial field" (*wu chang* 武场) of the Li Trigram Teaching (*Li gua jiao* 离卦教). From there, Lu continues to trace the axis of militarized religion back to groups that flourished in the transition from Ming to Qing, to demonstrate that the Yihetuan did not merely resemble these earlier organizations, it was in fact directly descended from them. In this way, he shows how the late nineteenth century Yihetuan was a continuation of much earlier instances of religious violence, notably the Wang Lun 王伦 Rebellion of 1774, and Linqing 临清 Rebellion of 1813. Of course, this chapter is only concerned with the *origins* of the Yihetuan, leaving readers to look elsewhere for the story of its spread and evolution during the uprising itself. Here, it is interesting to refer to earlier chapters, which show the once-unified Luo and Three in One Teachings (not to mention more dispersed Manichean tradition) splintering into sects and schools. The Yihetuan underwent a similar process, but much more quickly. The lightning fast transformation of the Yihetuan into a mass movement in 1899 was not a splintering, so much as a river bursting its banks. Once it was loosed, the violence of the movement took on a life of its own, propelled by religious or anti-foreign ideals, but also by economic motives and personal grudges.[5]

Zhou Yumin's 周育民 seventh chapter examines the rise of another well-known religious teaching, the Yiguandao 一贯道, or Way of Penetrating Unity. Like many of the chapters in this volume, this piece seeks to unravel the genealogy of an underground organization—no easy task even in the present day. In this chapter, the task is further complicated by the subsequent history of the Yiguandao. While

[4] Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

[5] For example, the Yihetuan bands who destroyed coal mines and railroad tracks in southern Liaoning were composed largely of former workers. Li Zhiting 李治亭, et al., ed. *Dongbei tongshi* 东北通史 [A complete history of the northeast] (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 2003): 595–600.

the Yihetuan has been praised by nationalist historians as a patriotic organization, the Yiguandao has trod a more tortuous path: it rose to national prominence as an apocalyptic sect during the 1930s, was crushed in a 1951 campaign, but has since come to flourish in Taiwan and Southeast Asia. Given all that has transpired in the subsequent history of the Yiguandao, understanding its early origins becomes all the more important. As with the Yihetuan, the fundamental question is whether the teaching rose as a response to uniquely modern pressures (in the case of the Yiguandao, this would be the brutality of the Japanese occupation of northern China from 1937–1945), or whether it evolved out of an earlier organization. Here again, a close examination of the historical sources reveals it to be the latter. But the Yihetuan is not merely a point of comparison: Zhou demonstrates that the two movements were concretely linked through a common ancestor in the mid-Qing Blue Lotus Sect (*Qinglian jiao* 青莲教). As the other chapters in this section demonstrate, the wave of teachings seen in the late Qing and early Republic were themselves nothing fundamentally new. Rather, what was new was the ability of these organizations to organize on a large and increasingly public scale, and conversely, the decreasing ability of strict hierarchies of patriarchs to maintain unity and order within the teaching. The same process that allowed the Yihetuan to transform into a mass movement also produced a sea of lesser movements such as the early Yiguandao that easily merged, split and cooperated with other teachings.

The final chapter by Yu Songqing 喻松青 is something of a departure from the others in this section, and indeed from the volume as a whole. While earlier chapters trace individual ideas or teachings, this chapter examines "secret popular religion," (*minjian mimi zongjiao* 民间秘密宗教) and specifically the place of women within it, as a single, evolving social phenomenon. It begins by examining the presentation of women in scripture: including both moral admonitions for women's behavior, and the elaboration of female deities, most notably the characteristic sectarian deity, Eternal Venerable Mother (*wusheng laomu* 无生老母, a name that literally translates as the "unborn mother" but more correctly connotes her transcendence of birth and death.) Beyond the importance of maternal deities, Yu notes that teachings in this tradition often held a special attraction for women devotees, and moreover that women frequently rose to positions of real power in them, both as teachers and even as military leaders. The source of this attraction was partially a matter of opportunity, but more fundamentally the fact

that these shadowy teachings were an organized rejection of the elite Confucian patriarchy. Certainly the elite themselves saw things this way. In his famous anti-sectarian polemic, "A Detailed Refutation of Heretical Teachings" (*Poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩), the early nineteenth century magistrate Huang Yupian 黄育楩 named the mingling of sexes at illicit midnight meetings as among the worst improprieties committed by these groups. Even if these meetings were not themselves sexually promiscuous, Yu holds that they were nevertheless a threat to the fundamental hierarchy of Confucian society, one which both subordinated and feared women. This essay is interesting not merely because it takes such a unique approach to the topic of sectarianism, but also because it is so overtly political. Originally published in 1985, years before most of the other chapters, it reflects the strong Marxist coloring that ran through an earlier generation of scholarship on religion. Yu is certainly correct that these religions had a special attraction for the dispossessed, and were indeed a threat to orthodox hierarchy. The fact that this essay occasionally wanders into the self-reflexive class-based approach of an earlier era (i.e., the landlord class is definitionally hypocritical and lecherous) need not let it distract us from its scholarly contribution.

Themes and Contributions

These essays comprise the best work of some of the most important scholars in the field. Their contribution is as enormous as it is varied. The first chapters weave a detailed picture of an evolving system of belief, all the more remarkable since both authors were forced to work with such scant evidence: scriptures of which nothing remains but a title, incomplete stone stele, or scraps of documents preserved in the sands of Dunhuang.

As we move forward in time, authors of subsequent chapters have far more evidence at their disposal, but not necessarily an easier task. The tradition of scriptures known as known as *baojuan* began to form during the early Ming dynasty, and presents the theology and history of the new teachings in their own words. The problem is that such scriptures are heavily stylized, and tend to conform to a fairly well-established set of parameters and conventions. The founding of a teaching, for example, will often be written to include a number of stock elements: the moral decay of the world, the sending of a divine

messenger, and miraculous proof of the founder's power. Some conventions were specifically meant to disguise a teaching's movements or structure from outsiders, but even these need not be a liability. In some cases, they constitute a kind of code, which this volume's authors use to their advantage. One recurring theme is reference to the Eight Trigrams (*ba gua* 八卦). These eight symbols, each consisting of a combination of three whole or broken lines, are both a system of divination, and an expression of a universal cycle of natural phenomena, such as seasons, colors or compass directions. It was a fairly common practice for religious teachings to base their organization on the Eight Trigrams. The founding patriarch of a teaching would name eight disciples, who were then sent off in the eight directions, each to found a lineage named after the corresponding trigram. Thus the disciple of the Li Trigram would travel to the south, the Dui Trigram to the West, and so on. One example is the Heaven and Earth Teaching (*Tiandimen jiao*), which was founded by patriarch Dong Sihai (董四海) in Shandong Province during the early Qing. According to scriptures preserved locally, Dong sent the disciple Ma Kaishan (马开山) to the north, the direction corresponding to the Kan 坎 Trigram. This branch extends in a more or less straight line to the north of Shandong, corresponding in part to Ma's actual travels: to Hebei, Tianjin, Beijing, and into Manchuria. The teaching remains active in these areas today, and still refers to itself as the Kan Trigram.[6] The chapters of this volume delve much more deeply into the clues that are coded into this system. Being expressions of basic universal forces (specifically, combinations of *yin* and *yang*), the eight trigrams also correspond to elements such as colors, all of which can give clues to a group's identity. Thus, from a record of a rebel army that "wore black caps, black clothes and shoes, so that they looked like ghosts" Lu Yao concludes that this group belonged to the Kan Trigram, which corresponds not only to the direction north, but also to the color black. Moreover, it is likely that the official who wrote the original record himself did understand the significance of this color, but to a sect insider, such references were commonplace.

[6] Thomas David DuBois, *Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Hawaii, 2005), 163–166.

Table 0.1: Compass directions of the Eight Trigrams

乾 Qian ☰	兌 Dui ☱	離 Li ☲	震 Zhen ☳	巽 Xun ☴	坎 Kan ☵	艮 Gen ☶	坤 Kun ☷
North-west	West	South	East	Southeast	North	North-east	South-west

Sources that preserve the views of outsiders, such as criminal investigations, local gazetteers, and the writings of literati, also become more plentiful during this period. Such sources come with limitations of a different sort. As much as scriptures, these writings are also heavily coded, albeit often in a way that hides more about the sects themselves than it reveals. Government accounts, for example, are by nature concerned with criminality, and thus portray religious groups primarily in terms of deviant, treasonous or heretical behavior. This problem is not unique to China: historian of Spanish religion William Christian once compared the use of Inquisition records to "trying to get a sense of everyday American political life from FBI files."[7] What these chapters reveal is how enduring this *official* code, what we may think of as the language of orthodoxy, has proven over the course of many centuries. Phrases such as "abstaining from meat and worshipping demons" (*chicai shimo* 吃菜事魔) appear in nearly every account of banned teachings, and on their own tell us very little apart from the expectations of the writer and his audience. The same may be said for stock concerns about the illicit mixing of sexes at nocturnal meetings, expressed in set phrases such as "gathering at night and dispersing at dawn." The first chapter in this volume recounts the claim of Song dynasty Manichaeans that: "Those who do not keep the two sexes separate are considered devils, and those who do not allow men and women to touch hands while giving and receiving are considered Manichaeans. Manichaeans will not eat food that has been cooked by a woman." This strong defense suggests that the group was facing down charges or at least rumors of deviant sexual behavior that (like theft and sorcery) so often among the stock charges levied against any suspicious religious teaching. Interestingly, the exact phrase about not touching hands while giving and receiving also appears in the *last* chapter, as well. I would argue that part of what makes the evolving

[7] William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 4.

tradition of "popular religion" a discrete institution is precisely the continuity of how and why it was criminalized by the imperial state. In this sense, the tradition continues. The charges raised during the movement to crush the Yiguandao in the 1950s, and more recently, the campaign to suppress Falungong 法轮功 almost always returned to sexual promiscuity, specifically the charge that sect leaders routinely kept brainwashed female followers in a state of sexual slavery.

This brief discussion of sources all points to one of the greatest obstacles to understanding this religious tradition: the problems of naming and terminology. Barend ter Haar has been the most insistent and incisive critic of the categories used in sources. The most notable and problematic of these is the aforementioned "White Lotus Teaching" (*bailian jiao* 白莲教), a term that was employed by sources, and until relatively recently by scholars to refer generally to the entire religious tradition covered in this volume. The problem is that historically, no White Lotus Teaching, as such, ever existed. Ter Haar's point is that the use of the term in sources (and thus in official discourse) was more than merely a shorthand convention, it was a way of collapsing this very broad range of groups and teachings into a single category, while at the same time painting it with a single criminalizing brush.[8] In that way, references to these teachings as White Lotus are essentially synonymous with the equally ubiquitous "heresy" (*xie jiao* 邪教, literally a "crooked teaching," sometimes translated as "heterodoxy"). Neither term is in any way revealing about the teaching itself, although both are unequivocal statements of official attitudes. "Heresy" was more than just a pejorative, it was a legal category that if applied to a teaching demanded (according to Ming and Qing penal codes) execution for leaders and exile for followers. Thus, while the actual criminal investigations that followed upon an outbreak of religious violence, or occasional treatises such as the *Detailed Refutation of Heterodox Teachings* (*poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩) might attempt to examine or discuss the teachings in detail, other sources such as local gazetteers were happy to speak in general terms precisely because what was important to them, the criminality of these groups, was summed up very nicely in terms such as "White Lotus." Something very similar could be said for

[8] Barend J., ter Haar, "Whose norm, whose heresy? The case of the Chinese White Lotus Movement." In Pieper, I., Schimmelpfennig, M., Soosten, J., van (Eds.) *Haeresien* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2003): 67–93. Barend J., ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

the use of terms like "superstition" (*mixin* 迷信) by official publications during the twentieth century and today.

The problems of naming and the accuracy of terminology are a recurring theme in many of the essays. Thus, chapters build their arguments around questions such as what exactly was meant by terms such as "Father of Light," or whether religions recorded with different names in the sources were in fact the same organization. But it also raises the question of the choice of terms used in the study of religion. The "folk religion" title of this volume is one variation of many terms employed by Chinese scholars. Others would include the "secret popular religions" used by Yu Songqing and many others, or the "secret societies" (*mimi jieshe* 秘密结社, *mimi shehui* 秘密社会) that also runs through a broad swath of historical scholarship. It need hardly be said that even if scholars are themselves more sympathetic to these religions than the generations of imperial officials who styled them heresies, the effect is still largely the same: naming a tradition essentially creates, in retrospect, a religious institution. The problem lies in the fact that using a term such as "popular religion" suggests a degree of uniformity and coherence that might have been appropriate in the case of the later teachings, but cannot be written to retroactively include the Ming Luo Teaching or Song Manichaeism into a single line of evolutionary destiny. Such implications do not come from the essays themselves, but rather by their combination into a single volume, and should be taken into account by the reader.

The pitfalls of translation are further complicated by the layers of meaning implied by the English language terminology. It is common, for example, to translate *jiao* 教 as "sect," and the so-called White Lotus tradition as "sectarianism." Some, however, have objected that terms such as "sect," themselves suggest an air of illegality, and could be taken to imply an illegitimate offshoot of a properly authorized religion. The language used in English translation thus has the danger of simply repeating the pejorative biases of the original Chinese. However, our purpose in this volume was simply to reproduce the Chinese original as faithfully as possible, and not to edit the English in order to fit Western scholarly conventions. "*Jiao*" thus appears as "teaching" or occasionally as "sect," as we felt context better suggested. Nor did we alter or comment on those places where a Chinese approach might grate against Western scholarly sensibilities: such as when Lin Guoping asks whether the Three-in-One Teaching was a religion "in the

strictest sense," or when Yu Songqing includes the perspectives of class struggle. Beyond the obvious fact that we as translators would have no right to do so, we feel that the whole point of this series is to introduce Western readers to the *ideas* of Chinese scholars, not just their data.

Finally, although I was given the honor of writing the introduction, I would like to express my thanks to my good friend and collaborator Dr. Chi Zhen for having done the hard work on the translation. My own contribution to this effort paled in relation to his, a fact that I gratefully acknowledge here. For entirely selfish reasons, I would also like to thank Brill for inviting me to participate in this project. I had already read many of these classic essays in their Chinese original, but this project required much closer and more detailed attention than I had ever been able to devote to them before. I have learned an immense amount in the process, and hope that the readers of this volume will gain as much from it as I have.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SYNCRETISM OF MAITREYAN BELIEF AND MANICHAEISM IN CHINESE HISTORY (马西沙，"历史上的弥勒教和摩尼教的融合")*

Ma Xisha

Abstract

With the introduction of Buddhism into China during the Former and Later Han Dynasties, belief in the Maitreyan Pure Land also arrived and exerted a great influence on Chinese society. The influence of the Maitreyan faith also found an expression by its involvement in the original doctrine of the Chinese Manichaeism. During the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Maitreyan Great Vehicle Teaching (*Mile dacheng jiao* 弥勒大乘教) emerged under the influence of the belief in the Maitreya Buddha.

This chapter begins with textual research on the absorption of Maitreya belief into the original Manichaean doctrine. Then, it examines historical facts of the syncretism of the two sects in Sui, Tang and the Five Dynasties. Afterwards, it unveils the Incense Gathering (*Xiang hui* 香会) in the Northern Song and Yuan dynasties. Finally the paper explores the Incense Army (*Xiang jun* 香军) and the Incense Assembly at the end of Yuan. All these efforts point out that current Chinese scholarship, which maintains that the peasant rebellion in the last days of Yuan was a White Lotus uprising, is an incorrect understanding of the history of that period.

Keywords: the Maitreyan belief; Manichaeism; Incense Gathering

Maitreyan Messianic Belief

(3, original page number, similarly hereinafter) We can distinguish between the Great Vehicle (Mahayana) and the Lesser Vehicle (Hinayana) in Buddhism, both of which were introduced into China from India. In comparison with the Lesser Vehicle, the Great Vehicle was more adaptive and attractive. It had some convergences with

* This paper was originally published in *Religious Studies* (宗教研究 *Zongjiao yanjiu*, 2003), Beijing: Renmin University Press, 2004.

the Confucian ideas of consolidating society, such as cultivating oneself, harmonizing one's own clan, effectively governing the state and establishing peace throughout "All Under Heaven." Consequently, it became the predominant Buddhism in China. Mahayanan belief in the Pure Land produced two genres: one was the Amitabha Pure Land (*Mituo jingtu* 弥陀净土), (4) and the other was the Maitreya Pure Land (*Mile jingtu* 弥勒净土). The Pure Land of Maitreya was far more influential than the Pure Land of Amitabha during the Southern and Northern Dynasties. This conclusion could be drawn from the fact that the Maitreya Buddha statues far outnumbered those of Amitabha. By counting both stone sculptures discovered in the Yungang (云冈) and Longmen (龙门) Grottoes and Gong County (巩县 of Henan Province) and gold and bronze Buddhist statues handed down, Sato Chisui (佐藤永智), a Japanese scholar, concluded in his paper that there were one hundred and fifty Maitreya Buddha statues made in the Northern Wei and other dynasties, but in contrast there were only thirty-three of Amitabha.[1]

The strong attraction of the Maitreya Pure Land comes, above all, from the close connection between world salvation and the image of the Tuşita, an otherworldly paradise depicted in this teaching. Contrasted with the tribulation and chaos in this world, such vision inspired people, who were not content with their lot, to rise in rebellion to establish a "Buddhist Pure Land," which was characterized by "complete equality for all," "unanimous consent," "no personal suffering," "abundant and cheap grain," and so forth. Hence, these rebels held a variety of "pseudo-scriptures" (伪经) that were claimed to be derivatives of the three principal Maitreyan Scriptures—*The Sutra of Maitreya's Ascension* (*Mile shangsheng jing* 弥勒上生经), *Maitreya's Attaining Buddhahood* (*Mile chengfo jing* 弥勒成佛经) and *The Sutra of the Descent of Maitreya into the World* (*Mile xiasheng jing* 弥勒下生经)—as their ideological weapons.

The faith in the Maitreya Pure Land is hierarchized into two categories. One says that Maitreya, as an unenlightened mortal, obtained the

[1] Sato Chisui, "Inscriptions on Buddhist Statues in the Period of the Northern Dynasties," *Shigaku zasshi*, 86, 3 (1977), pp. 1421–1467, 1561–1562. Adapted from Tang Changru (唐长孺), "The Maitreyan faith and its Decline in the Northern Dynasties" (*Beichao de mile xinyang jiqi shuailuo* 北朝的弥勒信仰及其衰落), in Tang Changru, ed., *Supplementary Amplifications of Essays on the History of Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties* (*Weijin nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晋南北朝史论拾遗) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 196–197.

fruit of Bodhisattvahood through self-cultivation and ascended to the Tuşita Heaven. The other preaches that Maitreya, as a Bodhisattva, descended from the Tuşita Heaven and arrived at Jambudvīpa (*Yanfutishi* 阎浮提世), where he attained Buddhahood under the dragon-flower (bodhi) tree. Then, the Maitreya convened three dharma assemblies to deliver all sentient beings. The most important portion of the teachings consists of the Maitreya's descent to the continent where mortal beings dwell, attainment of the Buddhahood under the dragon-flower tree and deliverance of all sentient beings. The place where Maitreya descends to reside is "Ketumati" (*Chitoumo* 翅头末): "(It) is four hundred and eighty *li* in length and two hundred and forty *li* in width…in which there is filled with man of bliss and virtue…It is abundant, jubilant and stable…Peace and happiness prevail in this Land, in which there are no fierce bandits or thieves the people fear so much. In towns and villages, residents do not need to bolt their doors. Besides, this Land is free from decline and annoyance, let alone flood, drought, famine and war. The people are compassionate, courteous, gentle and obedient…"[2] "The farms produce good harvests, and all residents are prosperous…The four seasons are appropriately timed; therefore, people have no personal suffering…The minds of people are tranquil, egalitarian and consensual. Hence, they meet each other with delight and exchange blessing with good words. Even those blessings they gave are unified."[3] Nevertheless, despite of its abundant products and egalitarian and consent social spirit, it is not yet a Buddhist Pure Land, because people of this land still indulge in the "five desires" (*wu leyu* 五乐欲). When Maitreya sees such desires "generating such misery, in which people suffer the great pains of life and death," and thus still cannot escape "the Three Evil Paths" (*san e'dao ku* 三恶道苦), he resolves to attain Buddhahood and (5) deliver all sentient beings out of the bitter sea of mortality. After his attainment of Buddhahood, Maitreya unveils the harm of the five desires for sentient beings, and enlightens them with the "four noble truths" (*si di* 四谛) and the "twelve limbs of dependent origination" (Twelve Nidana, *shier yinyuan* 十二因缘) of Sakyamuni under the dragon-flower

[2] Kumarajiva (鸠摩罗什), trans., *Commentary to Sutra on the Descent of Maitreya and Sutra of Maitreya's Attaining Buddhahood* (*Foshuo mile xiasheng chengfo jing yishu* 佛说弥勒下生成佛经义疏) (Beijing: National Library of China, n.d.). This literature was annotated in the Tang Dynasty by an unknown author.

[3] *Ibid.*

tree, by which he hopes to "uproot all sufferings." The Maitreya Buddha held three Dharma assemblies:

> In the First Assembly, nine billion and two hundred million people became arhats (*a luohan* 阿罗汉). Whereafter, nine billion and four hundred people completed the state of full attainment of arhatship in the Second Assembly. Finally, in the Third Assembly, another nine billion and two hundred million people became arhats.
>
> At that time, all disciples of the Maitreya Buddha were upright, with impressive and dignified demeanor. They detested sufferings of birth, aging, sickness and death. They were erudite and learned. They guarded the dharma treasures and practice meditation, so that they could free themselves from desires to be reborn like a nestling walking out of the shell.... The Maitreya Buddha dwelled in the world for sixty thousand years. He showed his mercy to all sentient beings and bestowed the dharma-eye upon them. After his parinirvana, the dharma still dwelled the world for another sixty thousand years.[4]

This is the basic content of the story of the "Three Dharma Assemblies under the Dragon-Flower Tree" (*longhua sanhui* 龙华三会), which is widely circulated in China. Inasmuch as the Maitreyan messianic belief caters to all social classes' fear of "the suffering of birth, aging, sickness and death" and their yearning for eternal life, it prevailed in China in the chaotic era of the Western and Eastern Jin Dynasty and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. In the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Maitreyan teaching accelerated its secularization and dissemination in local society, where it became involved in mass movements. In this process, a large number of Maitreyan "pseudo-scriptures" emerged. These scriptures, in most cases, elaborated one of ideas in the canonical sutras introduced from India and formulated various misinterpretations into a new "scripture"; on occasion, this kind of scripture had a specific purpose to "pose as true record of teachings given directly by Buddha." For example, the *Scripture of Maitreya's Attaining Buddhahood and Subduing Demons* (*Mile chengfo fumo jing* 弥勒成佛伏魔经) was elaborated on the basis of a story of demon-taming as depicted in the *Sutra on the Descent of Maitreya* (*Mile xiasheng jing*). The emergence of such pseudo-scriptures entwined closely with the public spirit of a chaotic time. That is to say, when adversities broke out and evildoers ran amok in the society, ordinary people earnestly yearned for a "messiah," like Maitreya, who could vanquish all

[4] *Ibid.*

villains and stabilize social order. Many monks falsely claimed to be Maitreya and instigated the masses to rebel against the authorities, such as the monk Faqing (法庆) during the Northern Wei Dynasty. Many similar insurgencies could be found in Tang and Sui dynasties as well.

There was a quite long historical process from the sutras initially transmitted from India to these "pseudo-scriptures" and finally to the messianic idea of "The Three Buddhas Respond in Three Epochs" (*Sanfo Yingjie* 三佛应劫), which was worked out on the basis of "pseudo-scriptures." This messianic idea, as we shall see, divides human history into three epochs: the Blue Sun Epoch (*Qingyang jie* 青阳劫), the Red Sun Epoch (*Hongyang jie* 红阳劫 or 红羊劫) and the White Sun Epoch (*Baiyang jie* 白阳劫). In the Blue Sun Epoch, the Dipamkara Buddha (*Randeng fo* 燃灯佛, the Burning Lamp Buddha) leads the Teaching, as does Sakyamuni in the Red Sun Epoch. (6) Two million people will attain salvation in these two epochs. It is in the White Sun Epoch when the apocalyptic scenario befalls the earth and the Maitreya Buddha will descend and take the lead. At this time, the Maitreya Buddha will deliver "all remaining sentient beings"; and then ascend to the Heavenly Palace.

An inkling of this type of messianic idea could be seen in the initial stage of the Maitreyan Great Vehicle Teachings (*Mile dacheng jiao* 弥勒大乘教) in the Northern Wei Dynasty. Faqing had alleged: "A New Buddha will appear and those old-time demons will be swept out." Whenever there is new Buddha, there must be an old Buddha. Presumably, the "old Buddha" referred to the Buddha Sakyamuni. In the early years of Kaiyuan of the reign of the Emperor Xuan of Tang Dynasty, Wang Huaigu (王怀古), an adherent of the Maitreyan faith, made an explicit statement that "the Buddha Sakyamuni is approaching to his end, and a new Buddha is going to rise." Furthermore, Wang Ze (王则), a Maitreyan follower of the Northern Song Dynasty, proclaimed explicitly that "the Buddha Sakyamuni is receding and the Maitreya Buddha will uphold the world." Here it seemed that the idea of "The Three Buddhas Respond in Three Epochs" was roughly in shape, except the absence of the Burning Lamp Buddha, who here is called by another name, the Buddha of Fixed Radiance (*Dingguang fo* 定光佛). Based on the Volume Nine of *Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom* (*Da zhi du lun* 大智度论), it said: "When the Burning Lamp Buddha was born, all things surrounding him were bright as though a lamp was shining upon them. Hence, he was denominated

'the Burning Lamp Prince'. After attaining the Buddhahood, he was revered as The Burning Lamp Buddha." In addition, according to the *Scripture on the Origin of Auspicious Signs in the Prince's Life* (*Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞应本起经), the Burning Lamp Buddha enlightened Sakyamuni as the Bodhisattva that he would attain the fruit of Buddhahood. Thus, the Burning Lamp Buddha also was called the Buddha of the Past, and Sakyamuni the Buddha of the Present. Maitreya, who had once been a disciple of Sakyamuni, became the Buddha of the Future. All the three Buddhas of the tripartite world of past, present and future had been told in Indian Buddhist scriptures. As for the Burning Lamp Buddha, or the Buddha of Fixed Radiance, who had become the savior in society at the grassroots level no later than the turn of Tang and the Five Dynasties, Zhu Bian (朱辨) wrote in the Chapter One of his *Old Lore of Quwei* (*Quwei jiuwen* 曲洧旧闻):

> The Five Dynasties was a time of rampant regional separatism, and constant war among warlords. Accordingly, miseries they caused were beyond what the common people could endure. Then there was a monk, who disguised himself as a madman. Nevertheless, his predictions were surprisingly accurate. He said to the people: You earnestly await peace, which could only come about only after the rise of the Buddha of Fixed Radiance.

In the eighth chapter of this work, the author further wrote: "I once had a dream in which a monk from India told me: the present world is trapped in chaos and the Buddha of Fixed Radiance will rise again. If you meet with misfortune, you can take refuge through chanting (the Buddha's name) one thousand times a day. Therefore, I received and remembered his instruction… Both the Buddha's original descent and re-appearance are in the year of *dinghai* (丁亥). It is another marvel, indeed. Please remember these things." The incremental deification of the Burning Lamp Buddha, or the Buddha of Fixed Radiance, among the public, laid the last piece of stonework for the systematization of the messianic idea that "The Three Buddhas Respond in Three Epochs."

In the society at the grassroots level, the trichotomy of human history into the Blue Sun, the Red Sun and the White Sun was, however, a manifestation of the reciprocal effect of Buddhism and Daoism and their influence on popular religion.

As stated in *The Seven Slips of the Cloud Satchel* (*Yunji qiqian* 云笈七籤): "The Three Heavens refer to the Pristine and Abstruse Heaven (*Qing-*

wei tian 清微天), the Upper Pristine Heaven (*Yuyu tian* 禹余天) and the Grand Emptiness Heaven (*Dachi tian* 大赤天).... In the Pristine and Abstruse Heaven, its Vital Breath (*Qi*) is initially deep blue... In the Upper Pristine Heaven, *Qi* is initially yellow and the Grand Emptiness Heaven supremely white." "(There are) the Primeval Lord of Heaven (*Yuanshi tianzun* 元始天尊) ... the Most Supreme Jade Lord of Heaven (*Taishang yuhuang tianzun* 太上玉皇天尊)...(and) the Future Golden-Gate Jade Morning Star Lord of Heaven (*Weilai jinque yuchen tianzun* 未来金阙玉晨天尊)..." In light of this, the comment by Zhu Xi (朱熹) that the Daoist three pristine ones "are probably modeled on those of Buddhism" is a reasonable one. (7) Beyond this, "The Blue Emperor of Sun" (*Rizhong qingdi* 日中青帝), "The Red Emperor of Sun" (*Rizhong chidi* 日中赤帝) and "The White Emperor of Sun" (*Rizhong baidi* 日中白帝) also appeared in the text of *The Seven Slips of Satchel of Cloud* (*Yunji qiqian*). Evidently, this was a relatively primitive narration of the tripartite epochs of the Blue, Red and White Suns.

The Introduction of Manichaeism and Its Doctrine

Opinions vary on the exact point at which Manichaeism was introduced into China. In volume seven of *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu* 闽书), He Qiaoyuan (何乔远) stated that "it should be in the reign of Emperor Gao of the Tang Dynasty when the Manichean priests (Mushe 慕阇) began disseminating their religion in China." Jiang Fu (蒋斧), a scholar in the last years of Qing, argued the Grand Cloud Scripture Temple (*Da yunjing si* 大云经寺), also known as The Temple of Light (*Guangmin si* 光明寺), which was built in the fourth year of Kaihuang of Sui Dynasty (585), was actually a Manichean temple. Luo Zhenyu (罗振玉), who was contemporaneous with Jiang Fu, asserted that Manichaeism "had already appeared in the reign of Emperor Wen of Sui Dynasty, and it was absolutely not introduced for the first time into China in the Tang Dynasty."[5] Zhang Xinglang (张星烺) and Japanese scholar Shigematsu Shunshō (重松俊章) held the similar opinion that the Manichean teachings was introduced into China prior to the Tang Dynasty.

[5] Luo Zhenyu (罗振玉), *Collected Prefaces and Colophons in Books Compiled by the Snow Hall* (*Xuetang jiaokan qunshu xulu* 雪堂校刊群书叙录), pp. 43–45.

In the 1970s, Liu Ts'un-jen (柳存仁), an Australian Chinese scholar wrote a conference paper—"Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Activities in Pre-T'ang China," which was translated into Chinese by Professor Lin Wushu (林悟殊) and published in *Studies in World Religions* (*Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究), a leading Chinese journal in this field. On the basis of historical records and materials in the *Daoist Canon* (*Dao zang* 道藏), Liu argued that "in the second half of the fifth century Manichaeism already existed in China."[6] This argument was fascinating and convincing. Since then, Lin Wushu has produced numerous articles, in which he re-examines traditional historical materials and presents new ideas that "it might be as early as in the early fourth century when the inland China was in contact with Manichaeism."[7]

Another contribution made by Liu Ts'un-jen is that not only does he shift the date of introduction of Manichaeism to an earlier time, but also he proposes an earlier syncretism of Manichaeism and the Buddhist Maitreyan faith. It is very thought-provoking for our study on the Maitreyan teachings, Manichaeism, the incense gatherings in Song and Yuan dynasties, and their relationship with the Assembly of Burning Incense at the end of Yuan Dynasty.

French sinologists, such as Édouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, and an eminent Chinese historian, Chen Yuan (陈垣), maintain the conventional idea for the introduction of Manichaeism. The historical record Chen Yuan employs is:

> (8) (In) the Volume Thirty-Nine of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖统记): In the first year of Yanzai (the Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang Dynasty), a Persian called (or with the title of) Fuduodan (拂多诞) (original annotation: Who is from *Daqin* [大秦 the Eastern Roman Empire] of *Xihai* [西海 the West Sea]) came and presented the court the false doctrine of the Two Principles (*Er zong* 二宗).[8]

---

[6] Liu Ts'un-jen, "Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Activities in Pre-T'ang China" (*Tang qian huoxianjiao he monijiao zai zhongguo zhi yiji* 唐前火祆教和摩尼教在中国之遗迹), trans., by Lin Wushu (林悟殊), in *Studies in World Religion* (*Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究), no. 3 (1981).

[7] Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其东渐) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 60.

[8] Chen Yuan (陈垣), "A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China" (*Monijiao ru Zhongguo kao* 摩尼教入中国考), *Sinological Studies Quarterly* (*Guoxue jikan* 国学季刊), no. 6 (1922). The author made a minor revision for this paper later on. See: Chen Yuan, *Selected Works of Historical Studies by Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan shixue lunzhu xuan* 陈垣史学论著选) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981), p. 135.

As Chen Yuan points out, the first year of Yanzai is 694, and "Fuduodan is not a personal name but an ecclesiastical title within the Manichean church, which is just below Muge (慕阁)." Since Chen Yuan's outstanding textual research has confirmed the exact date, most scholars continue to hold to this same point of view. There, however, are opposing ideas among a new generation of scholars. For example, Wang Chien-ch'uan (王见川), a young Taiwanese scholar, debated Liu Ts'un-jen and Lin Wushu's above mentioned opinion in his more recent monograph—*From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light* (*Cong monijiao dao mingjiao* 从摩尼教到明教).

It was said Mani, the founding prophet of Manichaeism, himself composed seven sacred books: *Secret Traces* (*Miji jing* 密迹经), *The Book of Giants* (*Dalishi jing* 大力士经), *The Precious Treasure of Pure Life* (*Jingming baozang jing* 净命宝藏经), *The Testament of Things Past* (*Zhengming guoqu jing* 证明过去经), *The Evangelion* (*Fuyin* 福音), *The Shabuhragan* (*Sabulagan* 撒布拉干), and *Guide and Admonition* (*Zhiyin yu guijie* 指引与规诫).[9]

In light of historical records, the earliest Manichean canon introduced to China was the *Scripture of Two Principles* (*Erzong jing* 二宗经):

> In the first year of Yanzai, a Persian called Fuduodan came and presented the court the false doctrine of the Two Principles.[10]

In the Tang Dynasty, there was the *Scripture on the Civilization of the Barbarians* (*Hua hu jing* 化胡经, which is not the edition by Wang Fu (王浮) of the Jin Dynasty), in which it said: "Laozi" strode the *Qi* of the Way of Nature and Light and entered Suristan (*Sulin guo* 苏邻国), where he was reborn in the royal family and became the prince of the state. Then he abandoned the family and began practicing the Way. He had the title "Mani the Last" (*mo Moni* 末摩尼) and promoted "the teachings of Three Epochs (*San ji* 三际) and Two Principles and enlightening the people," and so forth.

Historical records concerning Manichaeism in the Song Dynasty were disparate and they had confusing titles:

> Scriptures that the followers of the Teaching of Light (Ming jiao 明教) recite and images of god they worship have titles such as: *Scripture on Exhortation to Meditation* (*Qi'en jing* 讫恩经), *Scripture on Verification* (*Zhengming*

[9] Sun Peiliang (孙培良), "Mani and Manichaeism" (*Moni he Moni jiao* 摩尼和摩尼教), *Journal of Southwest Normal College* (*Xinan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 西南师范学院学报), no. 2 (1982), pp. 50–53.

[10] Zhi Pan (志磐), *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖统记), vol. 39.

jing 证明经), *Scripture on the Descent and Rebirth of the Prince* (*Taizi xiasheng jing* 太子下生经), *Scripture on the Father and the Mother* (*Fumu jing* 父母经), *The Book of Illustrations* (*Tu jing* 图经), *Scripture of the Essay on Causes* (*Wenyuan jing* 文缘经), *The Verse of Seven Moments* (*Qishi ji* 七时偈), *The Verse of Sunlight* (*Riguang ji* 日光偈), *The Verse of Moonlight* (*Yueguang ji* 月光偈), *The Essay on Justice* (*Pingwen ce* 平文策), *The Hymn for Virtuous Men* (*Han zan ce* 汉赞策), *The Hymn for Verification* (*Zhengming zan* 证明赞), *The Portrait of Grand Confession and Buddha the Wonderful Water* (*Guangda chan miaoshui fo zhen* 广大忏妙水佛帧), *The Portrait of Buddha the First Thought* (*Xianyi fo zhen* 先意佛帧), *The Portrait of the Buddha Jesus* (*Yishu fo zhen* 夷数佛帧), *The Portrait of Good and Evil* (*Shan e zhen* 善恶帧), *The Portrait of the Prince* (*Taizi zhen* 太子帧), *The Portrait of the Four Kings of Heaven* (*Sida tianwang zhen* 四大天王帧).[11]*

(9) In the thirty-ninth volume of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*), Zhi Pan, the author, cited one piece of record from Zong Jian's (宗鉴) *The Orthodoxy of the Buddhism* (*Shimen zhengtong* 释门正统), which mentioned the Manichean "uncanonical scriptures" (*Bu gen jing* 不根经), namely, *Scripture of Fofotulian the Patriarch* (*Fofotulian shi* 佛佛吐恋师), *Teardrops of the Dharma* (*Foshuo dilei* 佛说滴泪), *Scripture on the Emergence of the Greater and Lesser King of Light* (*Daxiao mingwang chushi jing* 大小明王出世经), *The Narrative of Creating the Heaven and the Earth* (*Kaitian kuodi bianwen* 开天括地变文), *The Essay on Equaling the Heaven* (*Qitian lun* 齐天论), and *The Song of Wulai the Master* (*Wulai zi qu* 五来子曲).*

(* There are many variant Chinese titles for these "uncanonical scriptures" such as *Buddha the Master who discloses affection* (*Fo tu lian shi* 佛吐恋师), *The Scripture of Teardrops of the Dharma* (*Foshuo dilei jing* 佛说滴泪经), *The Sutra on the coming into the world of the Greater and Lesser Kings of Light at the Beginning* (*Daxiao mingwang chu kaiyuan jing* 大小明王出开元经), *The Chant of the Five Comings* (*Wulai qu* 五来曲). Where possible, English translations have been made in accordance with Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* [Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998])

The basic doctrine of Manichaeism is the "Two Principles and Three Times." Some scattered fragments of Manichean scriptures are preserved in the National Library of China, and the other scripture,

[11] "The Criminal Code" (*Xingfa* 刑法), no. 2, in *The Compilation of State Regulations of Song Dynasty* (*Song huiyao jigao* 宋会要辑稿). * Translator's note: the English renderings of scripture titles are based on Samuel L.C. Lieu's "Manichaeism in China." See also: www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Religions/iranian/Manichaeism/manichaeism_china.htm, accessed on May 30, 2009.

The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light (*Monijiao guangfo jiaofa yilue* 摩尼教光佛教法仪略. Hereinafter referred to as *Compendium*.) is kept in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

"Two Principles" in the Manichean faith refers to the dark and the light that represent the good and the evil separately. "Three Times" are the primordial phase, the middle phase and the late phase. According the forty-eighth volume of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*):

> The title of (Manichean) scripture is Two Principles and Three Times. What are the two Principles? They are the dark and the light. What are the three Times? They are the past, the future, and the present.[12]

In the original Manichean scripture, the "three times" consists of the primordial, middle and late phases. Since it was introduced into China, the Manichean sect was blended with Buddhist teachings, so that the threefold time-complex of Manichaeism transformed into a Buddhist triplex world of the past, the present and the future.

In terms of Manichean sacred books, the dark and the light are two immediately contiguous realms. "Before the creation of the heaven and the earth," the kingdom of the light reigns over the East, the West and the North, and the supreme god of this kingdom is the Radiant Father (*Ming fu* 明父), or the Great Radiant Venerable (*Damingzun* 大明尊). Brightness prevails in this kingdom and it is impeccable. In the meanwhile, the South is under the rule of the kingdom of the darkness, in which there are the Dark Demon King and five kinds of devils (*Wulei mo* 五类魔). In the primordial phase—prior to the creation of the heaven and the earth, the two kingdoms are independent of each other and coexist in peace, though they constantly confront each other. Because of the Dark Kingdom's unleashed greed, the peaceful coexistence cannot last and the dark force invades the realm of Light. To resist this invasion, Radiant Father evokes the Kindly Mother (*Shan mu* 善母), and the Mother evokes in turn the Primordial Man (*Chu ren* 初人). Then the Man evokes the Five Light Elements (*Wumingzi* 五明子)—Ether (*Qi* 气), Wind, Light, Water, and Fire. The Primordial Man loses the first battle and the dark devils swallow the Five

[12] Ma Xisha (马西沙) and Han Binfang (韩秉方), *The History of Chinese Popular Religion* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), p. 89.

Light Elements. The Mother is forced to ask help from the Father. Therefore, the Father sends the Friend of Radiance (*Ming you* 明友) and other gods to fight, and they free the Primordial Man from the adversaries. The Five Light Elements, however, are engulfed by the dark demons. In order to take back the Five Light Elements, the Father has to create the present world—sun, moon, stars, ten heavens, eight earths, mountains, and so forth. The substance that the world is made of is the body parts of dark devils. (10) Gods who administer this world are the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (*Jingfeng wuzi* 净风五子), viz. the Keeper of Splendor (*Chishi mingshi* 持世明使), the Ten Heavenly Kings (*Shida tianwang* 十大天王), the Adams of Light (*Xiangmo shengshi* 降魔胜使), the King of Glory (*Cui guangming shi* 催光明使), and Atlas (*Dizang mingshi* 地藏明使).

After the creation of the heaven and the earth, the Radiant Father evoked the Third Creation, so that the Third Messenger (*Disan shizhe* 第三使者) is evoked and the Messenger evokes in turn the Maiden of Light (*Huiming shi* 惠明使). The two gods imprison the devils captured by the five sons of the Living Spirit and distinguish evil ones from the "unseparated" ones. The former are thrown into the sea and turn into monsters. Finally, the Adams of Light annihilate them. The latter ones are dropped down to the earth and they transform into trees and plants. The pregnant female devils miscarry and the abortions are transformed into the five kinds of living creatures.[13]

The Demon King of the Dark Kingdom produces Adam and Eve, the ancestors of humanity, in the form of the Third Messenger and the Maiden of Light, whose bodies are made of dark matter, but in which many Light elements, the composition of the human soul, are preserved. Mani holds that the body of human being is a small world, the microcosm of the Cosmos, the Light and the Dark. In the fragments of Manichean scripture, it says: "With regard to such the human body is made of envy, hate, greed and lust, all aspects of the body are modeled on the world of the heaven and the earth, though it is minute."[14]

Manichaeism absorbed the Christian doctrine of original sin and held that human beings are the offspring of the dark devils. Thus, saving the souls of humans is the mission of Manichaeism. No matter

[13] Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*), pp. 17–19.
[14] *Ibid.*

how mixed and disorderly the Manichean scriptures are, the ultimate stance of the faith is the salvation of the human being. The reason why human beings can be redeemed is that some Light elements—the virtuous constituents—do remain in the human soul.

Mani himself declares that he is the last messenger delegated by the Father, and his mission is to deliver living creatures to ascend to the world of Light or descend to Hell. In other words, he requires that all human beings restrain themselves and keep their nature, maintain strenuous practice and win salvation. Hence, the sect works out strict commandments:

> Four Prohibitions: Do not eat meat; Do not drink alcohol; Do not marry; Do not accumulate personal wealth.
>
> Ten Sins for Confession: To act hypocritically; To make false promise; To testify on behalf of a bad person; To persecute a virtuous person; To stir up troubles amidst people; To practice sorcery; To kill living creatures; To cheat; To disbelieve in God and do things to anger the Sun and the Moon.
>
> Ten Admonitions: Do not worship idols; Do not cheat; Do not be greedy; Do not kill; Do not have sexual relations; Do not steal; Do not practice sorcery; Do not doubt belief in God; Do not be lazy; Do pray everyday at the fourth or seventh (two-hour) period.[15]

(11) The above mentioned admonitions were introduced into China and were partly implemented. According to historical records in the Southern Song Dynasty, Manichaeism was extremely strict in observing their disciplines. In Zhejiang and Jiangsu: the Manicheans "abstained from having meat," "were willing to live a simple life," "were rigorously thrifty," and "maintained ancient unsophisticated customs."[16] In his *Jottings from the Life-Long Learning Hut* (*Laoxue an biji* 老学庵笔记), Lu You (陆游) wrote: "Those who do not keep the two sexes separate are considered devils, and those who do not allow men and women to touch hands while giving and receiving are considered Manicheans. Manicheans will not eat food that has been cooked by a woman." Manichaeism that prevailed in Fujian and Zhejiang opposed elaborate funerals and promoted instead the dead be buried naked.

---

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] See n. 8, *supra.*

The original Manichean scripture maintains that a believer's soul can be saved through strict observance of the disciplines. The soul departs from the Moon Palace, then ascends to the Sun Palace and finally returns to the New Paradise. Conversely, those who do not repent are to be buried with dark matter in hell following the end of the world. By then, the deities who buttress up the world will have abandoned their task and the heaven and the earth will collapse. Consequently, there will be a Great Fire and it will not stop burning until the year 1498.

According to Manichean teachings, the middle phase refers to a long process, which commences from "the Dark's invasion of the Light," then proceeds to the creation of the heaven and the earth, up to the creation of the human beings, and ends in the total destruction of the cosmos. Then it begins the later phase in which "the Light has returned to the Greater Light, the Dark has returned to the accumulated Darkness as well." The nature of the late phase is the returning to the original status of the primordial phase. By then, the Dark will be perpetually imprisoned and the world of Light will be everlasting.

The impact of Manichaeism on the lower levels of Chinese society can be found in its salvationist ideas, such as the worship of light, the sun and moon, and the salvationist thought surrounding the King of Light. *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu*) said: "Mani the Buddha, also known as 'Mani the Last the Buddha of Light' (*Mo Moni guang fo* 末摩尼光佛)…The principle tenet of this teaching was "Light," and this sect wore white clothes and worshiped sun at dawn and moon at night."[17] "Thus, (they) did not worship local gods and Buddhist deities, but worshiped the sun and moon as the true Buddha."[18] In addition, they held that "the law was equal for all and there should be no discrimination between the noble and the humble," so that "when a poor person joined the sect, other followers would donate money to help (him) and gradually this person became rich and lived a well-to-do life."[19] By the end of Yuan Dynasty, the doctrine of "the King of Light's ascent and Maitreya's descent to earth" (*Mingwang chushi Mile xiasheng* 明王出世 弥勒下生), which changed drastically

[17] "The Geographical Gazetteer" (*Fangyu zhi* 方域志), in *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu* 闽书), vol. 7.

[18] Zhuang Jiyu (庄季裕), *Collected Chicken-Rib-like Writings* (*Jilei bian* 鸡肋篇), Part 1. Adapted from *Chen Yuan shixue lunzhu xuan*, p. 170.

[19] *Ibid*.

and affected thoroughly the intellectual trends of an entire historical period, came into being; and Manichaeism reached the apex of its religious and political impact on China.

The Syncretism of Maitreya Belief and Manichaeism

(12) The syncretism of the Maitreyan belief and Manichaeism began very early. The Australian Chinese Professor Liu Ts'un-jen conducted research on the early syncretism. He was followed by Lin Wushu, who studied monographs devoted to Manichaeism, and discussed this topic as well. I had unfortunately not paid due attention to such syncretism when I was working on my *History of Chinese Popular Religion* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史). In 1993, when I was compiling the *Annals of Chinese Popular Religion* (*Minjian zongjiao zhi* 民间宗教志), I re-examined the history of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang dynasties and made substantial amendments and supplements to the early history of the blending of the two teachings.[20] Thanks to these efforts, we can now fully understand the history of the early syncretism of the two religions, the incense gatherings of the Song and Yuan dynasties as the result of this syncretism and the later "Incense Burning Assembly" (*Shaoxiang zhi dang* 烧香之党). Thus, one salvation belief, which had prevailed at the grassroots of China for more than one thousand years, is presented in a logical form to the public. A historical mystery has been brought into daylight.

According to Liu Ts'un-jen's textual research, it was as early as the Southern and Northern Dynasties when there were records of the syncretism or a mix of the Maitreyan doctrine and Manichaeism; even the original Manichean doctrine was adulterated with the Maitreyan ones. Lin Wushu observes in his *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*):

> Third, the Maitreyan banner held by these rebellions (of the Southern and Northern Dynasties) had a bearing on Manichaeism. Professor Liu Ts'un-jen employs M 42, one of the fragments of Manichean scripture, to attest to the Maitreya sect's involvement in the original Manichean doctrine. This fragment recorded a conversation between one Messenger and another god: "Because you obtained ability and wisdom from

[20] Ma Xisha (马西沙), *Annals of Chinese Popular Religion* (*Minjian zongjiao zhi* 民间宗教志) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 24, 54–58.

> the Buddha, you had been subject to the envy of the Goddess. When the Buddha entered Nirvana, he demanded: 'you shall be right here waiting for Maitreya'." The fragment M 801 also equated Maitreya with Mani and it read that he (Maitreya) "opens the gate of Paradise." In the early Chinese translation of Maitreyan scriptures, we find contents that were similar to these Manichean scriptures as well.

(13) The above mentioned records reveals certain connection between Maitreyan doctrine and Manichean teachings; this connection was most likely an effect of the blend of the two religions in the Central Asia.[21]

Lin Wushu further elaborates Mr. Liu's argument:

> In the early Chinese translation of Maitreyan scriptures, we also find content similar to Manichean scriptures.…Maitreyan scripture portrayed Maitreya as a bright and powerful Manichean deity. It said: "(He is) radiating from the thirty-two marks of the Buddha (*san shi er xiang* 三十二相)…The light illuminates all things and there is nothing that is able to impede it. The sun, the moon and the flaming pearl disappear."…There was little difference between the image of Mani in the chapter "Principle for Appearance" (*Xingxiang yi* 形相仪) of *The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light* (*Monijiao guangfo jiaofa yilue*) and its counterpart in the Maitreyan belief…[22]

If we follow the above idea and analyze historical records from the Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang dynasties, one clue will be clearer: the veneration of white-color of Manichaeism is widely acknowledged in this field. Lin Wushu's textual research holds "one of the sect's attributes is the veneration of white." The *Compendium* describes Mani as "wearing a white robe" and "sitting in a white seat," and he requires the first four ranks of Manicheans to "have white apparel," that is, white garments and caps.[23] On the murals excavated in Gaochang of Xinjiang, the Manichean priests dress in white caps and robes. In view of these, there was the large-scale Manichean rebellion as early as in the sixth century in China. In the fifth year of Zhengguang of the reign of Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty (524), Feng Yidu (冯宜都), Heyue Huicheng (贺悦回成) and other persons, who were from ethnic minorities, "spread deceitful statements amidst the public and assumed illegally the imperial

[21] Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*), p. 56.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*

title. Wearing white clothes and holding white flags, they led the rebels and confronted the royal army in the outskirt of Yuntai.... (The army) wiped out these rebels and beheaded Heyue Huicheng in Chen. Shortly after, they lured the barbarians and besieged them. Then Feng Yidu was captured and decapitated and his head was presented (to the imperial court)."[24]

We can take instances of the syncretism of the Maitreyan belief and Manichaeism in various period of the Sui Dynasty. In the sixth year of Daye (610), "wearing white caps and robes, holding flowers and burning incense, tens of rebels claimed themselves to be the Maitreya Buddha. They entered the Gate of Jianguo and the guards kowtowed to them. Then they grabbed weapons from the guards. They were going to stage a rebellion. When the Lord of Qi encountered this, he subdued and killed them."[25]

(14) In the ninth year of Daye (613), Xiang Haiming (向海明), who was from Fufeng, "led an armed rebellion" and "pretended to be the descent of the Maitreya Buddha." He even declared the title of the first year of his "reign": "White Crow" (*Bai wu* 白乌). This incident showed the followers of Maitreyan sect at that time venerated the white-color.[26]

It is not difficult for us to track the Manichean influence and the interaction of the two religions in aforementioned Maitreyan activities. Since the Maitreyan sect caused repeated social instability, it was banned twice during the Tang Dynasty. Especially in the third year of Kaiyuan (715), the Emperor Xuan issued in person an imperial edict:

> Strictly forbid Buddhist followers wearing white clothes and keeping long hair. Strictly forbid those who pretend to be descendants of Maitreya from making fanatic and fallacious statements and recruiting large numbers of followers. These persons declare they interpret the Buddhist doctrine and practice. They in fact falsely proclaim the auspicious and the inauspicious and stealthily elaborate unauthentic scriptures alleged as the true saying of Buddha. They pretend to be disciples (of Buddhism) and call themselves monks. The majority of them are not married and

[24] "Biography of Pei Liang" (*Pei Liang zhuan* 裴良传), *History of Wei* (*Wei shu* 魏书).
[25] "The Life of Emperor Yang" (*Yang di ji* 炀帝纪), *History of Sui* (*Sui shu* 隋书), vol. 3.
[26] "The Five Phases" (*wu xing* 五行), Section Two, *History of Sui* (*Sui shu*), vol. 23.

> they bewilder the public. Things like this are hard to understand and seriously undermine society.[27]

In the twentieth year of Kaiyuan (732), the imperial court prohibited Manichaeism as it did to the Maitreyan sect:

> The Teaching of Mani the Last is above all an evil doctrine and falsely declares itself to be Buddhism. This false declaration bewilders and cheats the public and it shall be banned absolutely. Among the western barbarians, however, those who practice this sect shall not be punished, since it is indigenous to them.[28]

The two records demonstrate again the syncretism of Manichaeism and Buddhism. In the first record, "wearing white clothes and keeping long hair" shows an image of ethnic minority that was distinct from the ethnic Han. The charge of "pretending to be disciples (of Buddhism) and call themselves monks" and "stealthily elaborating false scriptures as the true words of the Buddha" shows in detail what the "falsely declare to be Buddhism." The description that "(t)his false declaration bewilders and cheats the public and shall be banned totally" showed that the Han Chinese had been affected by Manichaeism, as the words "they bewilder the public" did previously. Since Manichaeism was indigenous to "the western barbarians"—that is, Huihe (回纥, an older Chinese name for the Uighurs)—and other ethnic minorities in the west China, it was allowed to "let them practice it." This policy was distinct from the late Tang's total ban on Manichaeism.

Just over ten years after the collapse of Tang, Manichean rebellion broke out again in the Prefecture of Chen (陈州) in the sixth year of Zhenming (贞明) of the Later Liang Dynasty (920). (15) "The three prefectures—Chen, Ying (颍), and Cai (蔡)—were mired in chaos. Then the rebels proclaimed Mu Yi (母乙) the Son of Heaven."[29] The characteristic of the Manichean sect in Chen was its blending with Buddhism. That is to say, "in accordance with the Buddhist doctrine, (they) set up their own sect and named it the Upper Vehicle (*Shang cheng* 上乘)."[30] Like the records cited earlier, this case also demonstrated

---

[27] "The Uncultivated" (*Cao mang* 草莽) of "The Emperors" (Di wang 帝王), in *The Imperial Records Office's Compilation of Political Affairs for Reference* (*Cefu yuangui* 册府元龟), vol. 159.

[28] *Encyclopedia for Institution* (*Tong dian* 通典), vol. 40, "Annotation."

[29] *The Five Dynasties History* (*Jiu wudai shi* 旧五代史), vol. 10.

[30] *Ibid*.

the historical actuality of the syncretism of Manichaeism and the Maitreyan faith.

The two Song dynasties were the time when Manichaeism became most prevalent among the populace. The history of the syncretism of the two religions continued.

In the seventh year of Qingli (庆历) of the Northern Song Dynasty (1047), a revolt, which was led by Wang Ze (王则) and was in the same vein of Wang Huaigu's rebellion in the Tang Dynasty, broke out in the Prefecture of Bei (贝). The history read:

> Wang Ze was from the Prefecture of Zhuo (涿). At first, he fled the famine and arrived at Bei, where he sold himself as a sheepherding slave. Later, he strove to be a petty officer in the Xuanyi (宣毅) Army. In the regions of Bei and Ji (冀), the residents had the custom of believing in evil and absurd doctrines. Wang Ze and other persons together studied the (false) scriptures and illustrated divination books such as *Five Dragons* (*Wu long* 五龙) and *The Teardrops* (*Di lei* 滴泪), in which it was said "the Buddha Sakyamuni has declined and the Buddha Maitreya is going to uphold the world." Wang was given the principle pithy formula and he had the sacred character "Blessing" (*fu* 福) tattooed on his back. As a consequence, the followers of this evil doctrine spread a rumor that the style name of Wang was *yinqi* (隐起, Secret Rise) and believed (that he was the coming Buddha). Zhang Luan (张峦) and Bu Ji (卜吉), two officers of the prefecture administration, worked in collaboration with the followers in De (德) and Qi (齐) and conspired to break the floating bridge in the Prefecture of Tan and stage the rebellion.…Wang Ze himself falsely claimed to be the King of Pacifying the East (*Dongping wang* 东平王), and named his kingdom Anyang (安阳) and denominated his reign Desheng (德胜). All the flags and signs of these rebels emulated the Buddhist title.[31]

After the rebellion broke out, the imperial court of Song designated Wen Yanbo (文彦博) as the Pacification Commissioner of Hebei. Wen suppressed Wang's peasant army and captured Wang; then Wang Ze was executed in Kaifeng, the capital city.

When we analyze the Wang Ze Uprising, we can be sure it was a Maitreyan rebellion. In spite of this, we need further discussion on whether Manichaeism affected it. *The Teardrop* that appeared in this piece of record should be the scripture *Teardrops of the Dharma* (*Foshuo*

[31] "The Rebellion in the Prefecture of Bei," in *The Separate and Full Account of Events of Song Dynasty* (*Songshi jishi benmo* 宋史纪事本末), vol. 33.

dilei) from the *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji* 佛组统记), as the thirty-ninth volume put down:

> According to the statutes, those who bewilder the public with the Scripture of Two Principles and other uncanonical scriptures will be under the accusation of spreading heterodoxy. (16)…The unauthorized scriptures include: *Scripture of Fofotulian the Patriarch (Fofotulian shi); Teardrops of the Dharma (Foshuo dilei); Scripture on the Emergence of the Greater and Lesser King of Light (Daxiao mingwang chushi jing); The Narrative of Creating the Heaven and the Earth (Kaitian kuodi bianwen); The Essay on Equaling the Heaven (Qitian lun); The Song of Wulai the Master (Wulai zi qu)*. The practice of this sect abstains from eating meat and having alcoholic drink, and the followers sleep through the day and come out at night, holding incense as the token and secretly mingling with other persons and calling themselves "virtuous friends" (善友). Once there is an opportunity in prefectures, they will act rebelliously as Fang La (方腊) and Lü Ang (吕昂) did. The ignorant commoners, however, are fond of this heresy.

Upon close scrutiny of this record, we can say safely both the scriptures and the practice it described here referred to Manichaeism. Undoubtedly, the *Teardrops of the Dharma* was one of the Manichean scriptures. Compared with those recorded in the Wang Ze incident, we can conclude Manichaeism did influence Wang's sect, which was devoted to the Maitreyan faith. Therefore, through this rebellion, we see again the syncretism of Manichaeism and the Maitreyan belief. From the perspective of religious history, the Maitreyan faith and Manichaeism were in fact the two dominant popular religions in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui, Tang and the Northern Song dynasties. The two religions interacted upon each other and formed the mainstream salvation beliefs in society at the grassroots level.

From Incense Gathering to Incense Burning Assembly

In the Song Dynasty, there were "Scripture Gatherings" (*Jijing she* 集经社) and Incense Gatherings in the region of Xinyang (信阳) in northern China. According to my textual research, both the Scripture Gathering and the Incense Gathering were religious groups characterized by the syncretism of Manichaeism and the Maitreyan faith. The second part of "The Criminal Law" of *The Compilation of State Regulations of Song Dynasty* (*Song huiyao jigao* 宋会要辑稿) recorded that in the

second year of Daguan (大观 1108), the military chief (or the Lord in other historical records) of Xinyang reported:

> We detect that there are people, who gather together at night and disperse at dawn, and there are people who are members of the Scripture Gathering and the Incense Gathering. If we uncover gatherings in which men and women are routinely mingling, we will expel them by ordinance. As for the case in which men and women mix occasionally, however, there is no applicable statute. Thus, we request earnestly that the inspectors make a quarterly inspection tour to prefectures and counties and investigate and forbid (these gatherings); meanwhile we earnestly require the authorities to work out the appropriate regulations.

The Scripture Gathering and Incense Gathering mentioned here were synonyms of Manichaeism that was widespread throughout the Song Dynasty. The reasons are as follows:

(17) First, the Prefecture of Chen, located in what is now Huaiyang (淮阳) of Henan Province, was the focus of Manichean activities in the Five Dynasties and the Song Dynasty. In the sixth year of Zhenming of the Later Liang (920), Mu Yi led Manicheans to revolt and "swept over Chen, Ying and Cai prefectures." It was obvious that the rebellion was widespread and had far-reaching effects.

At that time, Xinyang bordered Chen and there were only two hundred *li* between them. "The residents of Chen are accustomed to heresy and they set up their own teachings on the basis of Buddhism." This newly founded sect was a direct successor of Manichaeism that "falsely declares it to be Buddhism." "The mix of obscenity" was what the *Compilation of State Regulations of the Song Dynasty* described as the "gathering in which men and women routinely mingle." Moreover, the residents of Xinyang as well as those of Chen were fond of evil doctrines.

As for the other two important regions for the Manichean activities, Cai and Ying, they were adjacent to Xinyang. The historical records in Tang, the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song showed there were no alternative religious activities other than Manichean ones. This situation lasted to the end of Yuan when Liu Futong (刘福通) staged the rebellion through publicizing the teachings.

Second, Manicheans in the Five Dynasties and the Song Dynasty had the custom of reciting scriptures. Parts of Manichean activities were characterized by "gathering together at night and breaking up at dawn" and "men and women mingling together." During the gathering, Manicheans, to a certainty, burned incense and lamps.

> The titles of scriptures and portrays the Manicheans recite are as follows: *Scripture on Exhortation to Meditation (Qien jing), Scripture on Verification (Zhengming jing), Scripture on the Descent and Rebirth of the Prince (Taizi xiasheng jing), Scripture on the Father and the Mother (Fumu jing), The Book of Illustrations (Tu jing), Scripture of the Essay on Causes (Wenyuan jing), The Verse of Seven Moments (Qishi ji)*, (8) *The Verse of Sunlight (Riguang ji), The Verse of Moonlight (Yueguang ji), The Essay on Justice (Pingwen ce), The Hymn for Virtuous Men (Han zan ce), The Hymn for Verification (Zhengming zan), The Portrait of Grand Confession and Buddha the Wonderful Water (Guangda chan miaoshui fo zhen), The Portrait of Buddha the First Thought (Xianyi fo zhen), The Portrait of the Buddha Jesus (Yishu fo zhen), The Portrait of Good and Evil (Shan e zhen), The Portrait of the Prince (Taizi zhen), and The Portrait of the Four Kings of Heaven (Sida tianwang zhen)*. We, however, cannot find these titles in the Daoist and Buddhist scriptures, so that they must be fanatic and deceitful writings.[32]
>
> In recent years, there are so-called followers of the White Robe Way (*Baiyi dao* 白衣道). It beguiles the ignorant commoners by reading scriptures and chanting the name of the Buddha, and in which men and women mingle together. They gather together at night and disperse at dawn…[33]

There are numerous records for the Manichean custom of reciting scripture. There is no need to list each of them.

Third, "gathering and burning incense" was another characteristic of Manichaeism. The name given to such gatherings varied greatly:

> In the years of Xuanhe 宣和, many villagers of Wentai 温台 Village learned the evil practice, that is to say, abstaining from meat and worshipping demons (*chicai shimo* 吃菜事魔)….Recently, some cunning persons changed the title of the practice to convene in the name of Venerating the White Robed Buddha or organized séance under the guise of Heavenly Army. (18) They gathered in the hundreds of thousands and met together at night and broke up at dawn; meanwhile, they taught and learned the evil doctrines.
>
> On the twenty-first day of the first month in the eighth year of Chunxi (淳熙 1181), imperial ministers reported: "The ignorant people abstain from having meat. They are neither monks nor Daoists, but easily set up temples; they are not relatives, yet men and women mingle. Where the temple is set up, the followers gather in hordes in the name of festival…"[34]

---

[32] See n. 11. *supra*.
[33] *Ibid*.
[34] *Ibid*.

Here, the "gathering for festival" and "gathering in the name of festival" apparently succeeded the Scripture Gathering and the Incense Gathering in the Northern Song Dynasty. Another record intensively described the nature of such gatherings:

> In western Zhejiang, there are "people of the Way" (*Dao min* 道民). They are in fact disciples who abstain from meat and worship demons. In order to stem the criticism, they vainly assume the name of Buddhism or Daoism.... Usually they come together in their free time in gatherings named Burning Incense, Burning Lamp, Fasting, and Chanting Scriptures, in which followers promptly gather in hundreds of thousands and break up in a very short time.... They call themselves the practitioners of the Way and thus recruit followers.[35]

"Gathering," "chanting scripture," "burning incense" and "fasting" were the characteristics of Manichaeism in the Song Dynasty. The trend of the syncretism of Maitreyan faith and Manichaeism, however, did not change substantially since the Sui and Tang dynasties. Wu Han (吴晗) holds that the "white robes and long hair" and "white cap and robes" of Manicheans in Sui and Tang "were as same as those of Manicheans in the Ming Dynasty. And like the Ming Manicheans, the Tang Manicheans burned incense, proclaimed the auspicious and the inauspicious, had false scriptures, and convened the followers. These activities were not different from what the later Teaching of Light." His conclusions were perfectly correct.

As the preceding historical records show, the "incense" of incense gathering referred to "burning incense" and "burning lamps." This kind of meaning conformed to the conventional Manichean aspiration for the Light. In addition, it implied "holding incense as the token." In the thirty-ninth volume of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*), it reads: "The practice of this sect is to abstain from meat and alcohol, and the followers sleep through the day and come out at night, holding incense as the token and secretly mingling with other persons and calling themselves 'virtuous friends.'" Accordingly, we know the "incense" of incense gathering contains another meaning. Besides, it should be pointed out that it was in the Northern Dynasty when the public first heard of incense gathering. At that time, the White Lotus teaching (*Bailian jiao* 白莲教) had not yet emerged.

---

[35] *Ibid.*

In the Yuan Dynasty, the "incense gathering," a blend of the Maitreyan faith and Manichaeism, continued to develop. In the early Yuan, Yelü Chucai (耶律楚材) denounced again the "incense gathering" an "evil variant" of Buddhism:

> The teachings of Yang Zhu (杨朱), Mo Di (墨翟), Tian Pian (田骈) and Xu Xing (许行) are deviants of Confucianism; (19) the Ninety-six (sects) of the Western Regions (*Xiyu jiushiliu zhong* 西域九十六种), the Vairocana of This Land (*Cifang pilu* 此方毗卢), the Chaff Teaching (Kang 糠), the Gourd Dipper Teaching (*Piao* 瓢), the White Lotus and the Incense Gathering are heterodoxy variants of Buddhism; the Complete Perfection (全真), the Great Way (*Dadao* 大道), the Original Chaos (*Hunyuan* 混元), the Supreme One (*Taiyi* 太一) and the Three Zhang's (*San zhang* 三张) are heresies of Daoism.[36]

Yelü Chucai juxtaposed the White Lotus and Incense Gathering as the evil variants of Buddhism. But in the mid-Yuan period, the majority of White Lotus groups were dependent on the Hall for Repentance (*Chan tang* 忏堂), and their members were devoted to reciting scriptures and confessing and were obedient and law-abiding. It was distinctive from the situation in both the late Yuan and the Incense Gathering.

In the late Yuan, peasant rebellions broke out one after another and the Incense Gathering became the bond of the rebels; then the Gathering transformed into an Incense Army. Consequently, the religious group changed into a military organization, in which the members were burning incense, gathering and worshiping the Maitreya Buddha. Later, the rebels acclaimed Han Shantong (韩山童) and his father the King of Light in this world and the descending Maitreya Buddha. The common people who were discontent with the *status quo* joined the banner of Han and fought against Yuan; meanwhile Peng Yingyu (彭莹玉), the "evil monk," publicized the descent of Maitreya in south China and finally his followers adhered to Xu Shouhui (徐寿辉), who was venerated as the "Lord of the World" (*shi zhu* 世主). By such ways, the vigorous nationwide anti-Yuan peasant rebellion was staged.

"The King of Light's ascent and Maitreya's descent to earth" was the core belief of the peasant army in the late Yuan, which inspired greatly the rebels and became the banner of their faith.

---

[36] Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, *Works of a Retired Scholar at Ease* (*Zhanran jushi ji* 湛然居士集), vol. 8.

During the eleventh year of Zhizheng of the reign of the Emperor Shun of Yuan (顺帝至正, 1351), "calamities and inauspicious signs broke out frequently and the Yellow River changed its course." Then, the imperial court "dispatched Jia Lu 贾鲁, the Minister of Public Works, to requisition one hundred and fifty thousand commoners and twenty thousand soldiers for the work of dredging clear the ancient course of the Yellow River. As a result, the populace at large was sinking deeper into dire circumstances." In May of this year, "Liu Futong 刘福通, an evil practitioner from Ying 颍, marked his troops with red turbans and staged a rebellion; shortly after Liu attacked and occupied the Prefecture of Ying."[37] The peasant war against Yuan had begun.

Liu Futong was a disciple of Han Shantong. There are numerous records about Han Shantong in the late Yuan and Ming:

> At first, Han Shantong's grandfather bewildered the public by burning incense in the White Lotus gatherings, so that he was expelled to the Yongnian 永年 County of Guangping 广平. By the time of Han Shantong, he publicized "the world is in total chaos and Maitreya is descending." The ignorant commoners in Henan and the region between the Yangtze River and the River Huai trusted his words. Then Liu Futong, with the help of Du Zundao 杜遵道, Luo Wensu 罗文素, Sheng Wenyu 盛文郁, Wang Xianzhong 王显忠 and Han Yao'er 韩咬儿, falsely claimed that Han Shantong was in fact the eighth-generation grandson of the Emperor Hui of Song Dynasty and should be the ruler of China. (20) Liu Futong and other persons killed a white horse and a black ox as sacrifice to Heaven and Earth and swore to rise up (against the Yuan). The news filtered to the county officials who launched a massive manhunt, forcing Liu to revolt promptly. Then Han Shantong was captured and his wife, whose surname was Yang, and his son, Han Lin'er (韩林儿), fled to Wu'an 武安.[38]

In his *The Valuables of the Immortal Bookstore* (*Mingshan zang* 名山藏), He Qiaoyun (何乔远), who lived in Ming Dynasty, wrote:

> Han Lin'er (韩林儿), the Lesser King of Radiance (*Xiao mingwang* 小明王), was the son of Han Shantong, a rebel came from Xu. His grandfather bewildered the public with his White Lotus gatherings and recruited a large number of followers. At the end of Yuan, Han

[37] "The Life of the Emperor Shun" (*Shun di ji* 顺帝纪), part 5, *The History of Yuan* (*Yuan shi* 元史), vol. 42.
[38] *Ibid.*

> Shantong publicized that since the country was in chaos, Maitreya was gong to descend and the King of Radiance to arise.[39]

Other historical records did not mention that Han Shantong had organized the "White Lotus gatherings," but convened instead the "Burning Incense gatherings":

> Han Shantong took the lead in the rebellion. In the name of the Maitreya Buddha's rise, he gathered villains and young bullies and led them to meet and burn incense; gradually the group expanded. They first broke into the prefectures in the region west of the River Huai. Then Huguang 湖广, Jiangxi, Jingxiang 荆襄 and other regions successively fell into their hands.[40]

> In May, the Red Turban Rebellion, with the name of Incense Army, broke out in Yingchuan 颍川 and Yingshang 颍上. The rebels got the name because they burned incense and worshipped the Maitreya Buddha. At first, this sect was from the family of Han Xuejiu 韩学究 of Luancheng 滦城 in the Prefecture of Zhao; then residents in the region of the Yellow River, the River Huai, Xiang and Shaanxi followed in their horde. Thus, Red Turban armies in Jing 荆, Han 汉, Xu 许, Ru 汝, Shandong 山东, Feng 丰, Pei 沛 and the region north and south of the River Huai adhered to (this sect). The rebels of Yingshang acclaimed Du Zundao their leader. They captured Zhugao 朱皋 and controlled the granary. The number of the rebels expended into hundreds of thousands and they attacked and occupied Ru'ning 汝宁, Guang 光, Xi 息, and Xinyang 信阳.[41]

The name "Incense Army" originated from the ritual of burning incense and worshipping the Maitreya Buddha. Thus, we can say that, at the beginning, the rebellion group had undoubtedly derived from the incense gathering. It was after the uprising began that the name was changed to Incense Army. In fact, the family of Han Shantong were never members of the White Lotus sect. (21) The White Lotus sect had following characteristics. 1) It inherited the doctrine of Amitabha Pure Land and worshiped gods such as Amitabha and Bodhisattva. 2) Mao Ziyuan (茅子元) and his successors took *Sutra*

---

[39] He Qiaoyuan (何乔远), *The Valuables of the Immortal Bookstore* (*Mingshan zang* 名山藏), vol. 43.

[40] *Reflections at South Village since Retiring from Position* (*Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村辍耕录), vol. 29. Adapted from Yang Ne (杨讷) *et al.*, *Compilation of Historical Records for Peasant War in Late Yuan* (*Yuanmo nongmin zhanzheng shiliao huibian* 元末农民战争史料汇编) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 2, Part Two.

[41] Quan Heng (权衡), *Unofficial History for the Years of Gengshen* (*Genshen waishi* 庚申外史), vol. 1.

of Infinite Life (*Wuliang shou jing* 无量寿经) as the primary guide, and required its followers to recite the name of Amitabha Buddha. In addition, they followed the "four-land belief" (*situ xinyang* 四土信仰) of the Lotus Sutra School (*Tiantai zong* 天台宗) and the Zhi Yi (智顗) and Ciyun Zunshi's (慈云遵式) style of repentance (*chan fa* 忏法). 3) Members of the White Lotus sect all had special titles, which was designated exclusively by four characters: Universal (*pu* 普), Awakening (*jue* 觉), Wonderful (*miao* 妙) and Way (*dao* 道). At the end of Yuan, large numbers of White Lotus members joined the rebellion, and all had the character "*pu*" (普) in their name. Both Japanese and Chinese scholars have discussed this phenomenon. In terms of the three characteristics, we re-investigate the rebellion leaders such as Han Shantong, Han Lin'er and Liu Futong. First, we find they never believed in the Amitabha Pure Land, but "burn incense and worship the Maitreya Buddha." Second, the scriptures they recited are unknown to us. Lastly, none of them had any special titles. Thus, the so-called "White Lotus Teachings" that was said to be upheld by Han Shantong did not exist at all.[42]

Summing up the various historical records, they were unanimous in recalling "burning incense and gathering" and "burning incense to bewilder the public," though there were differences between them. The reality of history was that Han Shantong and Liu Futong convened the meeting through the ritual of burning incense, so that such meeting was called the "Incense Gathering." When they launched the rebellion, it was natural for them to "name their troop the Incense Army." For that matter, it was a development from a religiously-bond grouping to a militarized organization and it was in conformity with the logic of history. In short, the "Incense Gathering" was a blend of Maitreyan faith and Manichaeism. As Wu Han wrote in his "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo* 明教与大明帝国):

> The juxtaposition of "Maitreya's descent" and "The King of Light's ascent" in their publicity, unequivocally declared Maitreya to be the King of Light. Han Shantong publicized the doctrine of the King of Light's ascent. Then, he was captured and executed after the rebellion failed. Later, his son successively called himself the Little King of Light.

[42] See: Ma Xisha and Han Binfang, *History of Chinese Popular Religion* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi*), pp. 50–51; and Ma Xisha, *Annals of Chinese Popular Religion* (*Minjian zongjiao zhi*), chapter 3.

> In retrospect, it is certain that Han Shantong himself claimed to be the (Great) King of Light when he was alive. There is firm evidence that Han Shantong and his son and their followers were members of the Teaching of Light. Alternatively, it was at least evidence of the adulteration of the Manichean elements. Han Shantong and his son claimed to be the Greater and Lesser Kings of Light. In addition, Ming Yuzhen (明玉珍), who occupied the region of Sichuan and was originally not surnamed "Ming" (明), changed his name to Ming, the Light, after converting to the Teaching of Light. Zhu Yuanzhang followed the practice of the Greater and Lesser Kings of Light and established his regime, which was denominated "Great Radiance." When the Ming scholars compiled the official history for the previous Yuan Dynasty, they did not mention the doctrine of "the King of Light's rise" but classified instead Han Shantong and his son as the family of White Lotus. Consulting records written at the turn of Yuan and Ming, such as Xu Mian's (徐勉) *The Chronicle of Defending Yue* (*Bao yue lu* 保越录), Quan Heng's *Unofficial History of the Emperor Gengshen* (*Gengshen waishi* 庚申外史), Ye Ziqi's (叶子奇) *The Natural Course of Man* (*Caomu zi* 草木子) and Liu Chenguo's (刘辰国) *Traces of Things Past* (*Chushi ji* 初事记), we note that Han Shantong and his son, their followers, including the founding emperor of Ming, were named the red troops as they wore the red turbans, put on red hats and called themselves the Incense Army. (22) The characteristics of their activities were burning incense, chanting hymns and worshipping Maitreya. No records held that they were members of the White Lotus sect. Hence, we know that what the official history of Yuan recorded was just a pretext, made by the history scholar-officials of the early Ming for the founding emperor of Ming and for the official state title. Their purpose was completely clear.[43]

As early as six decades ago, Wu Han had realized that Han Shantong and his son and Zhu Yuanzhang were not members of the White Lotus sect and they "took Maitreya as the King of Light." Those official history compilers' effort of calling Han and his son the member of White Lotus sect was indeed the "pretext" for "the founding emperor of Ming" and "the official state title," and their "purpose was awfully clear."[44]

The actual history was that prior to Han Shantong and Liu Futong's incident, there was the Bang Hu (棒胡) rebellion, which was staged by the Incense Gathering, and characterized by "burning incense and

[43] "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo* 明教与大明帝国), in Wu Han (吴晗), *Reading Notes of History* (*Dushi zhaji* 读史札记) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1956, reptd. 1979), p. 261.

[44] *Ibid.*

bewildering the public," in the region of Xinyang. There had been more than two hundred years between the time when the Bang Hu rebellion broke out—that is, the third year of Zhiyuan (1337)—and that the authorities first reported the Incense Gathering in Xinyang in the second year of Daguan of Song (1108). According to the literature, "Bang Hu was originally from the Prefecture of Chen."

> Bang Hu revolted in Ru'ning of Xinyang. He was originally from the Prefecture of Chen and his name was Run'er. This man bewildered the public with gatherings to burn incense. He publicized evil doctrines and instigated rebellion. Bang Hu broke into Luyi of Zhangde, looted and burned Chen, and stationed his troops in Xinggang. (The imperial court) ordered Qing Tong, the Left Primary Assistant to the Governor of Henan Province to suppress (the rebels).
>
> On the day of *yichou* (乙丑) of the second month…the authorities of Ru'ning presented the imperial court with statues of Maitreya Buddha, small flags, fake edicts and golden seals and the Ruler for Measuring Heaven, all of which had been obtained from the Bang Hu troops.[45]

What Bang Hu worshipped was the Maitreya Buddha; and the record that "(h)e publicized evil doctrines" roughly referred to the "Maitreya's descent." The characteristics of these teachings were still "burning incense and bewildering the public." In view of these, these rebellious groups were none other than the Incense Gathering.

Almost at the same time, Peng Yingyu, a famous "evil monk" from the Prefecture of Yuan (the present Yichun) of Jiangxi, rose up:

> Peng Yingyu, an "evil monk" from Yuan, and Zhou Ziwang, Peng's disciple, revolted at the time of *yin* (寅) of the month of *yin* (寅) in the year of *yin* (寅). (23) All rebels had the word "Buddha" written on their backs, by means of which they believed they would be invulnerable. Their act confused the people and there were five thousand residents who joined the rebellion. The prefectural government sent troops to suppress them and killed Peng's sons, the Heaven's Offspring (*Tiansheng* 天生) and the Earth's Offspring (*Disheng* 地生), and his wife, the Buddha-like Mother (*Fomu* 佛母). Peng Yingyu escaped and hid in a resident's home in the region west of the River Huai…The residents had heard Peng's teachings, so that they scrambled for giving shelter to Peng. Thus, although the authorities intensively searched, Peng was still at large.[46]

---

[45] "The Life of the Emperor Shun" (Shun di ji), *The History of Yuan* (*Yuan shi*), vol. 39.
[46] Quan Heng, *Unofficial History of the Emperor Gengshen* (*Genshen waishi*), part 1.

Peng Yingyu was, of course, not a "follower of the White Lotus," and he worshipped the Maitreya Buddha. *The Natural Course of Man* (草木子 *Caomu zi*) recorded that:

> Previously, Peng the Monk, who was able to chant hymns, persuaded the public to recite the Buddhist title of Maitreya, to burn incense-torch at night, and to chant and worship. The ignorant residents believed it and the number of followers increased steadily.[47]

What this initiator of the peasant war at the end of Yuan preached was also the Incense Gathering and his sermon that "burn incense-torch at night" came from the ritual of worshipping the Maitreya Buddha.

All the above-mentioned records have proved that these peasant wars did not have a close connection with the White Lotus sect. The war, however, was first waged by the south and north Incense Gatherings that advocated the Maitreya's descent. Just at the time when the war was in full swing, many White Lotus members pressed their way into the rebellion army, especially into the Heaven-Accomplished Red Turban Army (*Tianwan hongjin jun* 天完红巾军) led by Xu Shouhui 徐寿辉. In spite of the influx of White Lotus members, this Army did not change their original faith in the Maitreya Buddha:

> Previously there was Peng the Monk, who persuaded the public to recite the Buddhist title of Maitreya, to burn incense-lamp at night, and to chant and worship. The number of his follower increased steadily, but there was no incarnation (of deity) to which they adhere. One day, when Xu Shouhui was bathing in the Yantang 盐塘 pond, his body began shining. People who saw this were astonished. Then Zou Pusheng (邹普胜) spread the false words that the Maitreya Buddha was descending and was going to be the Lord of the World. Xu Shouhui should respond to this. Therefore, Zou and other followers acclaimed Xu the Lord. They staged the rebellion and marked themselves with red turbans.[48]

(24) In light of his title—"*pu*" (普), Zou Pusheng might have been a White Lotus adherent. He did not, however, preach the Amitabha faith; instead, he publicized the idea of Maitreya's descent. Obviously, even though a large number of White Lotus followers joined the Red Turban Army, they had to adopt the mantra of "Maitreya's

---

[47] Ye Ziqi, *The Natural Course of Man* (*Caomu zi*), vol. 3.

[48] *The Complete Records of Hunan and Hubei* (*Huguang zongzhi* 湖广总志) compiled in the reign of the Emperor Wangli of Ming Dynasty, vol. 98. See: Yang Ne et al., *Compilation of Historical Records for Peasant War in Late Yuan* (*Yuanmo nongmin zhanzheng shiliao huibian*), vol. 2, Part One, p. 111.

descent." The reason was simply that in almost two thousand years, the rebellions that broke out in Chinese society seldom employed the Amitabha doctrine. There was no such mantra as "the rise of the Amitabha Buddha" or "descent of the Amitabha Buddha," because the Amitabha dwelled in the West and it was impossible for him to descend down onto the secular world. Such type of mantra, pertaining to Maitreya, was foreign to the fundamental principle of the Amitabha faith. Moreover, the "Maitreya's descent," the "rise of the King of Light," a preaching imbued with the color of Manichaeism, belonged to the same cohort of salvationist ideas and had a strong appeal for the public.

Zhu Yuanzhang witnessed the situation at that time and knew it very well. In his denunciation of Zhang Shicheng (张士诚), Zhu pointedly remarked that the rebellious commoners blindly followed heresies, and "firmly believed there exactly was the Maitreya Buddha and longed with all their heart that the Buddha would rule the world and free them from sufferings. Consequently, they gathered together and formed the Burning Incense Assembly."[49] It served to show the religion that had the genuine appeal to the public was the Maitreyan belief, which had the powerful cohesiveness and mighty force of history and tradition, at the end of Yuan Dynasty. In addition, the Incense Assembly, or the Incense Gathering, was all along the organization that connected the loose associations in both south and north China.

This chapter began first with textual research on the absorption of the Maitreyan faith into the original Manichaean doctrine. Then, it examined the historical facts of the syncretism of the two sects in Sui, Tang and the Five Dynasties. Afterwards, it unveiled the Incense Gathering in the Northern Song and Yuan dynasties. Finally, it explored the Incense Army and the Incense Assembly at the end of Yuan. All these efforts are to point out that the mainstream point of view of the present Chinese scholarship, which holds that the peasant rebellion at the end of Yuan was a White Lotus uprising, is a wrong understanding of the history of that period.

---

[49] *A Public Denunciation of Zhang Shicheng* (*Tao Zhang Shicheng ling* 讨张士诚令), which was publicly proclaimed in the eighth month of the twelfth year of Longfong (Dragon & Phoenix). Originally it was recorded in "Records of Pacifying Wu" (*Pingwu lu* 平吴录), *Brief Accounts of Military Strongmen at the Beginning of the Dynasty* (*Guochu qunxiong shilue* 国初群雄事略). See also: Liu Hainian (刘海年) and Yang Yifan (杨一凡), eds., *The Collection of Rarely-Seen Chinese Juristic Writings* (*Zhongguo zhenxi falü dianji jicheng* 中国珍稀法律典籍集成) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994), vol. 2, no. 3.

(25) Appendix One

Excerpts of A Public Denunciation of Zhang Shicheng *in the Eighth Month of the Twelfth Year of Longfeng*

At the end of the recently late Yuan Dynasty, the emperor lived in the seclusion of his palace, and the ministers arrogated themselves to power. Bribery was the way of obtaining an official post, and personal connections could find their way past any sins. The superintendents of the official discipline preferred nepotism and retaliated against their foes, and the authorities assigned corvée to the poor, but sold the exemptions to the rich. The imperial court did not realize the situation had become perilous, but increasingly appointed redundant officials for vacant posts and changed the monetary system. The court consolidated four hundred thousand persons to fight the flood of the Yellow River. As a result, the corpses were scattered on the road and even Heaven knew the people's anguish and complaints. Hence, the ignorant commoners blindly followed the heresies. Because they did not know what those verses were false and fantastic, they firmly believed in the Maitreya Buddha and longed with all their heart that the Buddha would rule the world and free them from sufferings. Consequently, they gathered together and formed the Burning Incense Assembly. Then they took the Prefecture of Ru and Ying as their base, and extended to the region of the Yellow River and the River Luo. Since the evil doctrines were disseminated, the rebels employed them and staged the rebellion. They burned and looted towns and cities, killed the scholar-officials, and tormented the common people. Havoc befell (the country). The Yuan regime mobilized all troops and financial resources to suppress the rebellion. Nevertheless, the efforts of imperial court failed and the rebels ran rampant. The regime was unable to save the country and resume the peace. Therefore, people with aspirations observed the situation and thought it over; then, in the name of the imperial court of Yuan, the native troops or the independent corps, they attempted to do something. As a result, the regime collapsed. I, originally a quite and joyful person, joined the army and strove to be a military leader. I thoroughly understood the heresy was doomed to fail and the barbarian regime could not resume its rule. Thus, I led troops to cross the Yangtze River. Then, blessed by the Heaven, Earth and the Ancestors and with the united strength of generals and soldiers, I conquered the region south of the lower reaches

of the Yangtze River at one stroke, and then captured the region east of Zhejiang in the second battle.

Sources: *A Public Denunciation of Zhang Shicheng* (*Tao Zhang Shicheng ling* 讨张士诚令), which was publicly proclaimed in the eighth month of the twelfth year of Longfeng (Dragon & Phoenix). Originally it was recorded in "Records of Pacifying Wu" (*Pingwu lu* 平吴录), *Brief Accounts of Military Strongmen at the Beginning of the Dynasty* (*Guochu qunxiong shilüe* 国初群雄事略). See also: Liu Hainian (刘海年) and Yang Yifan (杨一凡), eds., *The Collection of Rarely-Seen Chinese Juristic Writings* (*Zhongguo zhenxi falü dianji jicheng* 中国珍稀法律典籍集成) (Beijing: *Kexue chubanshe*, 1994), vol. 2, no. 3.

(26) Appendix Two

Section 12: On Fabricating Rumor and Stirring up Rebellion

Alas! Among the public, there are people who are disgusted with peace, but prefer chaos. In the history of Han, Sui, Tang and Song dynasties, we find there were such types of people in each generation. Alack! These ignorant people were the origin of misfortune and they could not escape their doom. Most of them also had their family annihilated. The ignorant are unable to see themselves, so that in decades or in hundreds years, people will come along and repeat the same mistake. In the Yuan Dynasty, the governance of the regime was poor and Heaven would place someone new on the throne. Therefore, people with a rebellious spirit began making trouble. At first, there were only a few persons; then other ignorant people caught the wind and conspired to gather together for revolt. I witnessed such a thing. When the rule of the Mongol regime was stable, people owned their homes and land, planted trees and raised livestock. For them, food and clothes were abundant. In that time, filial sons and grandsons cared for the aged, people in the prime of life maintained friendships through generations and lived in peace with their neighbors and relatives. The people did not have worries. Even the poor committed themselves to raising a family and had their own pleasures. Even if some people died due to famines caused by drought, locust plague or flood, they did not meet their end in war. If someone jumps off a cliff and falls to his death, burns to death or drowns in a river in panic when fleeing the war, would it be better for him to die due to the lack of food and clothes? The reason why the rich and poor followed

in their horde when they got wind of rebellion was that the leader of the rebels fabricated and publicized heresies. Since they had staged their rebellion, the rebels falsely gave themselves titles of authority like Lord or Commander. Although they were rebels, when it came to the issue of selecting the right candidate during the war, they chose brave men for battle, wise men for maneuvers and virtuous men for moral affairs. The remaining members consisted of the common people, who were neither civilian nor solider and had to be at the troops' disposal. Alas! At that time, no matter what they were, civilian or soldier, was there any difference from peacetime? The status was as same as before but the amount of corvée was increased. I saw in person several rich people, several well-to-do residents and several poor people conscientiously joining the rebellion. After that, they abandoned their land and house and gave up the farming, then took their whole family to the insurgent army. Both the aged and children lived in the fields with the troops; young and old held weapons for battle. Fathers and sons were always at the troops' command. When there was a battle with the official army, father and brothers walked out together in the morning, but only one or two of them could return in the evening. There were numerous family dependents among the troops. When winter came, the piercing north wind howled and the snow fell in a whirl. There was not enough food and the old and young cried bitterly. They wanted to return to their homes. How was this possible? In less than half a year or less one year, there were families in which all male members died and others (27) in which both the children and the aged parents died. There were many similar cases, in which one and all members of a family perished. It was all too clear that there were such kind of rebellious people and such kind of tribulations they bore in each dynasty. Did anyone among the rebels reflect upon this? In retrospect, Chen Sheng (陈胜) and Wu Guang (吴广) in Qin Dynasty, the Yellow Turban Army in Han, Yang Xuangan (杨玄感) and Xiang Haiming the Monk in Sui, Wang Xianzhi (王仙芝) in Tang and Wang Ze in Song, all of them fabricated evil doctrines and instigated rebellions. In comparison with those blessed by the Heaven, why did these people perish? It was because retribution is the Way of Heaven, so that for those who instigated rebellion, threw the people into wars, and cost many lives, even if they accomplished their mission, the Heaven would not bless but curse them. In contrast, Heaven would bless the one that rose in as a last resort. At present, there are ignorant residents in Jiangxi. Among them, wives never admonish their husbands and

husbands never learn from history. Both are so stupid that they even instruct their children or grandchildren to recite "Namo Maitreya Buddha" (*Nanwu mile zunfo* 南无弥勒尊佛). They fabricate six-character mantras and conspire to bring about calamity in the countryside. Alas! If these people preach (this evil doctrine) and practice (it with elaborate ways), there must be many obedient residents that will be drawn in. Lü'er (驴儿), the Prime Minister of Yuan, dispatched a monk with the alias of Peng Yulin (彭玉琳), also known as Wuyong (无用). Ignorant people like Yang Wende (杨文德) in Xin'gan County and other counties followed Peng. Consequently, all these followers were arrested and several hundred accomplices were captured. Some of them were executed, and some of their family dependents died on the way to the place of exile. Sigh! Actually, this man, who went by the alias of Peng Yulin or Wuyong, was a spy of Yuan! Yang Wende of Xin'gan County and other persons blindly followed him and gathered, so that they implicated many innocent people, who could not exculpate themselves and some of them were sentenced to death. Thus, did not these followers implicate their family in a total annihilation? I admonish the good people that, from now on, any one who has the six-character verse must burn it immediately and never preserves and worships it, through which they can enjoy a perpetual peace.

Be cautious!

Sources: *The Imperial Admonitions* (*Yuzhi dagao* 御制大诰), vol. 3. See: Liu Hainian (刘海年) and Yang Yifan (杨一凡), eds., *The Collection of Rarely-Seen Chinese Juristic Writings* (*Zhongguo zhenxi falü dianji jicheng* 中国珍稀法律典籍集成) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994), vol. 2, no. 1.

CHAPTER TWO

A STUDY ON EQUIVALENT NAMES OF MANICHAEISM IN CHINESE (林悟殊, "摩尼教华名辨析")*

LIN Wushu

Abstract

Manichaeism was introduced to China in the Tang Dynasty, and first took Moni jiao (摩尼教) as its Chinese name. It was later designated as *Ming jiao* (明教), or the Teaching of Light. It was after the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism under the Emperor of Wu of Tang Dynasty that the term "*Ming jiao*" became prevalent.

Among titles that are known to students of this field, there is only one, that is, the Teaching of Suristan (*Sulin fa* 苏邻法 or *Sulin jiao* 苏邻教), which is pertinent to the birthplace of the founder of this religion and unequivocally refers to Manichaeism itself. The remaining identifiers, such as those who "abstain from meat and worship demons" (*chicai shimo* 吃菜事魔) in the Song Dynasty, were derogatory names used by authorities to demonize grassroots religious groups. In the official mind, such terms did not apply exclusively to Manichaeism. It was also used for groups with such titles the "People of the Double Collar-Crossings" (*Er gui zi* 二襘子), the "Teaching of Mouni" (*Mouni jiao* 牟尼教), the "Four Fruits" (*Si guo* 四果), the "Vajra Chan" (*Jingang chan* 金刚禅) and the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" (*Jie di zhai* 揭谛斋) in the Song Dynasty. These also adopted names like the "Teaching of the Radiant Father" (*Mingzun jiao* 明尊教) in the Ming to absorb or emulate some elements of Manichaeism. Nevertheless, it does not seem that they directly evolved from this religion. Moreover, the claim that the Teaching of Light in Fujian was finally renamed the "Teaching of the Masters" (*Shi shi fa* 师氏法) is probably based on a misinterpretation of the primary sources.

Keywords: Manichaeism; the Teaching of Light; the Teaching of Father of Light; Sinicization; variations

(28, original page number, similarly hereinafter) Manichaeism originated in ancient Persia, and was introduced into China via Central Asia. There is a general agreement on the idea proposed by Chen

* This paper was originally published in the Hong Kong-based *Chinese Culture Quarterly* (*Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州学林), V, no. 1 (2003).

Yinque (陈寅恪) that the introduction of Manichaeism to China can be categorized as an "indirect" type of cultural diffusion.[1] To begin, there are discrepancies between Central Asian Manichaeism and its Persian source. Since its introduction to China, this religion, needless to say, must have experienced a great many changes to adapt itself to the Chinese political and cultural environment for its survival. (29) After the Tang Dynasty, some of these Sinicized Manichean groups participated in peasant movements. Thus, together with various folk religion sects, they were denounced as being comprised of "bewildering and sinister persons" who "abstain from meat and worship demons" (*chicai shimo* 吃菜事魔) and were strictly banned. Not surprisingly, under the influence of these authorities, contemporaries tended to equate Manichaeism with those popular teachings and sects. Furthermore, for those who aspired to create a new sect, Manichaeism, as a complete and systematic religion, was a good example to follow, especially after its doctrines were Sinicized. As a result, some new sects usurped the religious titles of Manichaeism and made use of its terminology, or even imitated Manichean rituals and absorbed its doctrine. In terms of the history of religion, although such practice was reasonable, it confounded numerous religious sects with Manichaeism and misled people to the extent that it seemed there were many alternative designations for this religion. In the mind of this writer, even if the relationship of these new sects and Manichaeism was quite complex and confusing, we should not readily conclude that the former were parts of the Sinicized Manichaeism. The purpose of this paper is to distinguish equivalent names of Manichaeism in Chinese and to ascertain which title is the formal one. Based on this differentiation and abiding by the principle of "reality matches the name," it will also examine other relevant Chinese terms one after another and clarify their true relationship with Manichaeism, in the hope that this effort will help us reveal a glimpse of the genuine pattern of the Sinicization of Manichaeism. What this paper opines is, of course, just "tossing out a minnow to catch a whale" (i.e., a modest attempt at a grand goal). Further collaboration on this question will contribute more to our understanding of the problem.

[1] Chen Yinque (陈寅恪), *Three Books of Reading Notes for History* (*Dushi zhaji sanbian* 读史札记三集) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001).

Punctuating and Collating Historical Records for Manichaeism in The Fujian Gazetteer (Min shu 闽书)

To explore the Chinese terms for Manichaeism, we refer first to the overall history of how this religion was disseminated in China. For this history, the most explicit and complete record that could be found in ancient Chinese literature was in "the Mountain Huabiao" (*Huabiao shan* 华表山), *juan* seven of the "Geographical Gazetteer" (*fangyu zhi* 方域志), in *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu* 闽书), which was composed by He Qiaoyuan (何乔远, 1557–1631) of the Ming Dynasty. This four hundred sixty-seven character piece begins with a description of the Thatched Hut at the mountain foot. It then proceeds to trace the origins of Manichaeism, to present the essentials of the doctrine and rites of this religion, to delineate the history of its introduction to China in the Tang Dynasty and to Fujian, and to depict the state of its dissemination to the time of the writer. It frequently mentions Chinese names for Manichaeism. The author's biography, number 130 of "Biographies" (*lie zhuan* 列传) of *juan* 224 of the official *History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史), said that: "He Qiaoyuan was well-versed in books and fond of writing. He collected the incidents of the past thirteen reigns of the Ming Dynasty and wove them into the *Mingshan Storehouse* (*Mingshan zang* 名山藏), and then he composed the one-hundred-fifty-volume *Min shu*. Both of these were widely-circulated, but the primary sources he invoked were riddled with errors."[2] (30) What He Qiaoyuan portrayed about Manichaeism in his four hundred-odd words, however, had been increasingly approved by the research work of scholars in this field in recent decades.[3] *Min shu* was finished in the forty-seventh year of the reign of Emperor Wanli (1619) and was rarely seen. This record of such importance to Manichaeism was firstly discovered by Chen Yuan; and then it was cited in full length in Chen's well-known treatise—"A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China" (*Monijiao ru zhongguo kao* 摩尼教入中国考), in turn,

[2] *The History of Ming Dynasty* (*Min shi* 明史) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), p. 6287.

[3] Lin Wushu (林悟殊), "A Study on the Origins of Manichaeism in Quanzhou" (*Quanzhou moni jiao yuanyuan kao* 泉州摩尼教渊源考), in Lin Zhongze (林中泽), ed., *Chinese Civilization and the Western World* (*Huaxia wenming yu xifang shijie* 华夏文明与西方世界) (Hong Kong: Boshi yuan chubanshe 博士苑出版社, 2003). See also: Lin Wushu, *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng* 中古三夷教辩证) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 375–398.

Paul Pelliot translated it into French on the basis of Chen's full citation and did a textual study of it.[4] Both Chinese and foreign scholars quoted this record from Chen's citation. It was not until 1994 when Xiamen University published the punctuated and collated edition of *Min shu* that scholars could easily access the original and complete text. Because this record closely is the point of departure for the argument of the paper, this writer especially chose the edition of *Min shu* that is preserved in the Center for Southeast Asian Research of Xiamen University and copied it as follows. Compared to Chen's citation,[5] there are differences in individual characters of the punctuated-and-collated edition by Xiamen University.[6] I mark these discrepancies below with an interlinear note. I have punctuated the text with reference to the aforementioned two editions and Paul Pelliot's work.

The Mountain Huabiao (*Huabiao shan* 华表山)

> [This mountain] is joined to the waterhead and its two peaks stands as two imposing ornamental columns. There is a Thatched Hut at the foot of a mountain ridge, which was built for worshiping the Buddha Mani in the Yuan Dynasty. Mani the Buddha, also known as "Mani the Last the Buddha of Light" (*Mo moni guang fo* 末摩尼光佛), came from Suristan. He was another Buddha and had the title "Great Messenger of the Light with Complete Wisdom" (*Juzhi daming* shi 具智大明使). It was said that Laozi had set off westward and arrived the place of drifting sand, where he sojourned for more than five hundred years. It was in the

---

[4] Paul Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien," T'oung Pao, XXII (1923), pp. 193–208. Feng Chengjun (冯承钧), trans., in *The Ninth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong jiu bian* 西域南海史地考证译丛九编) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), pp. 125–149. Paul Pelliot did not read the original edition of *Min shu*, while he was translating this record. Therefore, he declared that he just quoted and rendered Chen Yuan's citation. To note, scholars in the preceding generations did not copy literally records as we do today. In their quotation, there were omitting, abridging and paraphrasing. Usually, they tended to add or delete some unsubstantial words for the quoted material. As for this record in question, Chen Yuan added the words "Jinjiang County of the Prefecture of Quanzhou" in front of it, and Paul Pelliot copied all of them.

[5] Chen Yuan (陈垣), "A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China" (*Monijiao ru zhongguo kao* 摩尼教入中国考), in Chen Yuan, *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwn ji* 陈垣学术论文集) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 367–368.

[6] *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu* 闽书) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1994), the punctuated-and-collated edition by Xiamen University, vol. 1, pp. 171–172.

thirteenth year of Jian'an of the reign of Emperor Xian of the West Han Dynasty (A.D. 208) when Laozi transfigured into "*nai yun* [亦奈]晕" (a pomegranate tree). The wife of King Badi (拔帝) ate the fruit of the tree and felt it was sweet. She thus became pregnant. (31) When she gave birth, the fetus opened her chest and came out. What the "nai yun" was the pomegranate tree planted in the imperial garden. (In Chen Yuan's citation, "garden or *yuan* 苑" is written as "yard or *yuan* 院." It seems that the latter is wrong.) This legend corresponded to the story of "climbing the plum tree and coming out through the left ribs." (In Chen Yuan's edition, the character "rib or *lei* 肋" is written as "rib or *xie* 胁.") The principle doctrine of this teaching is "the Light," and this sect venerates white clothes and worships sun at dawn and moon at night. It thoroughly examines the true nature of all existence and exhaustively explores the broadness of the Light. It says: just as your nature is my body, so my body is your nature. Such statement probably reflects a syncretism of Buddhism and Daoism. This religion was prevalent in Arabia (*Da shi* 大食), the Eastern Roman Empire (*Fu gu* 拂菻), Tochari (*Tuhuoluo* 吐火罗 [in the original edition, the Chinese character '吐' is missing or deleted.]), and the Persian states. This was in the second year of Taishi of the reign of Emperor Wu of the West Jin Dynasty (A.D. 266) (It appears that the collected edition mistakenly inscribed the Chinese character "*xu* 戌" as "*shu* 戍") when Mani the Buddha entered Nirvana in Persia and imparted his teachings to the top-echelon priests. It should then be in the reign of Emperor Gao of the Tang Dynasty when Manichean priests (Mushe 慕阇) began disseminating their religion in China. By the time of the Empress Wu Zetian, a Manichean priest, whose name was Gomidiwumosifuduodan (高密弟乌没斯拂多诞), again visited the imperial court. The Chinese monks were jealous of this and attacked his religion one after another. However, the Empress Wu was pleased with what the priest preached and asked him to stay and lecture his teachings. Then in one of the years of Kaiyuan of the Reign of Emperor Xuan, the court built the Grand Cloud and Light Temple (*Dayun guangming si* 大云光明寺) for Manichaeism. This religion proclaims there are two sages in its own state: one is "the First Thought" (*Xianyi* 先意) and the other is "the Jesus" (*Yishu* 夷数). Both of them are like Pangu (盘古) of China. The character "last (*mo* 末)" means the greatness. This sect has seven sacred scriptures; among theme, there is the *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians* (*Hua hu jing* 化胡经), which tells the story that Laozi headed westward into the land of drifting sand and was reincarnated in Suristan (Both Chen's edition and the punctuated-and-collated edition changed to "苏邻 [Sulin, Suristan]"). In the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism, the Teaching of Light was banned. There was a priest called Hulu (呼禄), who came to Futang and taught disciples in Sanshan. The priest Hulu traveled in the Prefecture of Fangquan and finally died and was buried (Chen's edition and the punctuated-and-collated edition changed the character "賫 [*ji*, bring to]" into "葬 [*zang*, bury]") at the mountain foot in the north of this Prefecture. In the years of Daozhong, one of the

literati of Huai'an, Li Tingyu (李廷裕), found the Manichean Buddha statue at a divination shop in the Capital City and bought it with fifty thousand cash. Thus, this auspicious Buddha statue was introduced into Fujian. In the reign of Emperor Zhen, Lin Shichang (林世长), who was a scholar-official from Fujian and was versed in the Manichean scripture, passed the imperial civil examination and was conferred the honor of "Master of Literatures of Fuzhou" (*Fuzhou Wenxue* 福州文学). When the founding emperor of Ming unified the country, the court employed the Confucian doctrines to teach the people and regarded the Teaching of Light to have usurped the official dynastic name "Light" (*ming*), such that the followers of the Manichean sects were ordered disbanded (the punctuated-and-collated edition records the Chinese character as "摒 [*bing*, disband]") and the Manichean temples destroyed. Yu Xin, the Chief Director of the Board of Revenue, and Yang Long, the Chief Director of the Board of Rites, presented a memorial to the Emperor asking that the teaching be retained; thus, this matter was postponed. In present days, there are people who practice this teaching through incantations and call their doctrine the "Teaching of the Masters" (*shi shi fa*). Such practice is, however, not conspicuous. Behind the Thatched Hut, there is a Ten-Thousand Rock Peak, the Jade Spring, one-hundred-step stone ladder and some stone inscriptions.

Investigation of the Formal Chinese Name of Manichaeism

The name of any ancient religion is designated either by the religion itself or by people outside the sect. As a rule, the matter of designation for one religion is very serious and sacred, that is to say, the title should originate from the name of the founding patriarch or come from the basic doctrine of the religion; as for names given by outsiders, they are another matter. (32) Manichaeism was created by Mani, a Persian in the third century; naturally, it was designated by the name of the founder. In Western languages, the name is written as "Manichaeism." At present, the universally accepted Chinese translation of the title of Manichaeism, that is, "*Moni jiao* (摩尼教)," has its own origin and is not a rendering of the Western term by modern scholars.

The above mentioned record by He Qiaoyuan designated Mani as "Mani the Buddha," and as for the formal contact between Manichaeism and the Chinese imperial court, it said: "…it should be in the reign of Emperor Gao of the Tang Dynasty when the Manichean priests began disseminating their religion in China. By the time of the Empress Wu Zetian, a Manichean priest, whose name

was Guomidiwumosifuduodan, visited again the imperial court. The Chinese monks were jealous of this and attacked his religion one after another. However, the Empress Wu was pleased with what the priest preached and asked him to stay and lecture on his teachings." This took place in the reign of Wu Zetian and has been verified by another piece of historical record. The thirty-ninth chapter of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖统记) by Zhi Pan (志磐), an eminent monk in the Song Dynasty, said:

> In the first year of Yanzai (of the Empress Wu of Tang Dynasty), a Persian called Fuduodan (拂多诞) (original annotation: Who is from the Eastern Roman Empire [*Daqin* 大秦] of the West Sea [*Xihai* 西海]) came and presented the court the false doctrine of the Two Principles.

No other historical records verify what He Qiaoyuan recorded concerning Emperor Gao of the Tang Dynasty. But as this writer has shown elsewhere, He's record is reliable.[7] "Fuduodan" and "Mushe" mentioned in the two records were ecclesiastical titles for priests of varying rank in the hierarchy of Manichaeism. The two records did not tell the name of the religion with which the two priests themselves were affiliated. It is, however, reasonable for us to believe that if the priest did visit the imperial court and began his missionary work, he naturally must have reported the name of his religion and the name of the founding patriarch to the court. If they did not provide this most basic information, it means that they met only with a courteous reception from the court, and that the Chinese had no genuine interest in their teachings. In terms of the rules of accommodation and the curiosity for knowledge, Chinese would have asked for such basic information from their guest. Thus, it is credible to conclude that the imperial court gave an explicit name to Manichaeism no later than the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian. Yet, as far as we know, the earliest record of the appellation of Manichaeism in the official literature can only be traced back to the imperial edict issued in the seventh month of the twentieth year of Kaiyuan of Emperor Xuan of the Tang Dynasty (732.). In this edict, it said:

---

[7] Lin Wushu, "The Question of the Time when Manichaeism was Introduced into China" (*Moni jiao ruhua niandai zhiyi* 摩尼教入华年代质疑) *History & Literature* (*Wen Shi* 文史), no. 18 (1983). See also: Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其东渐) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 46–63. For an enlarged edition of this book, see: *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (Taipei: Shuxin chubanshe 淑馨出版社, 1997), pp. 44–60.

> The Teaching of Mani the Last is above all an evil doctrine and it falsely declares itself to be Buddhism. This false declaration bewilders and cheats the public and shall be banned totally. Among the western barbarians, however, those who practice this sect shall not be punished, since it is indigenous to them.[8]

(33) According to Chen Yuan's investigation:

> As for the title "Mani the Last" in Chinese that was recorded in the literature, it was the earliest narrative. Previously, there were only titles such as Foduodan and Mushe. Hence, the emergence of the title "Mani the Last" was probably the consequence of naming this religion with its founding patriarch. Hereafter, the title "Moni" (摩尼) or "Moni" (末尼) appeared time and again in *The compendium of Monastic History of the Great Song Dynasty* (*Da song seng shi lüe* 大宋僧史略) and *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*).[9]

Apparently, the use of "Mani the Last" to designate Manichaeism came from Manichean priests. "Part One of the Doctrine: Titles of Patriarchs of the Reborn Place" (*Tuohua guo zhu minghao zongjiao diyi* 托化国主名号宗教第一) of the Dunhuang manuscript of the Manichean scripture *The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light* (*Monijiao guangfo jiaofa yilue* 摩尼光佛教法仪略. MS. Stein No. 3969. Hereinafter referred to as *Compendium*), which was "translated by Fuduodan the Great Virtue with the decree from the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*Jixian yuan* 集贤院)" and the signed date was "the eighth day of the sixth month in the nineteenth year of Kaiyuan" (just one year before the imperial issued the edict of banning this religion), the founding patriarch—Mani—had been venerated as "Mani the Buddha of Light." This title was explained as:

> The Buddha Isedewulushen (夷瑟德乌卢诜, a native pronunciation) is rendered as the Messenger of Light, also known as the King of Complete Wisdom or Mani the Buddha of Light, which is a further variant of "the Manifestation of True Body of the Supreme Medical King of the Light with the Great Wisdom" (*Guangming dahui wushang yiwang yinghua fashen* 光明大慧无上医王应化法身). When he is to appear in the world, two lights descend down and transform into three bodies. He has such great mercy that he confronts armies of demons. He personally receives the clear and pure edict from Radiant Father and is then reborn as the

[8] Du You (杜佑), *Encyclopedia for Institutions* (*Tong dian* 通典) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), vol. 40, "Offices" (*zhiguan* 职官), no. 22, p. 229, "Lower Part."

[9] Chen Yuan, *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwn ji* 陈垣学术论文集) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), vol. 1, p. 335.

> Messenger of the Light. He is clever, pure and insightful, and he is resolute, convincing and eloquent, thus he is the King of Complete Wisdom. He acts in concert with gods and thoroughly understands all things; therefore, he has the title "Mani the Buddha of Light."[10]

Accordingly, the eminent Manichean priests that came to China might well transliterate formally the name of their founding patriarch in Chinese as "Moni 摩尼." Probably, this manner of transliteration emulated the conventional "*moni* 摩尼"—this is "*mani*" in Pali, which means "jewels" or "gem"—in Buddhist sutras that were translated into Chinese, since the two words—"Mani" and "mani" were homophonic. Furthermore, the Manichean missionary that entered China came from the group in Central Asia, where Buddhism was prevalent and had made an impact on Manichaeism.[11] (34) It was thus easy to detect the word "mani" in the Buddhist sutra as homophonic to the name of the founding patriarch of Manichaeism; moreover, "mani" already its own Chinese transliteration. As for the title "Mani the Buddha of Light," it was borrowed from a Chinese title of Buddha—Manipr abhatathāgatārhatsamyaksambuddha.[12] As for the character prefixed "Moni," "*mo* 末" (the last), in the edict of Kaiyuan, the aforementioned He Qiaoyuan's record interpreted it as "the character 'last (*mo* 末)' meaning greatness." Paul Pelliot observed that "mo Moni 末摩尼" (Mani the Last) was the parallel pronunciation of the Syriac "Mar Mani," in which "Mar" meant "the Lord."[13] Among the contemporary student of this field, there is a rather general agreement on such interpretation of the Syriac "Mar," which underlines its function as a salutation.[14] Evidently, when the Manichean priests conversed

---

[10] All the Chinese scriptures of Manichaeism I cite in this paper are from the "Interpretation" of *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*) (Lin Wushu, 1997).

[11] Lin Wushu, "Chinese Manichaeism in Tang Dynasty and the Central Asian Manichean Groups" (*Tangdai moni jiao yu zhongya jiaotuan* 唐代摩尼教与中亚教团), *Wen Shi*, no. 23 (1984). See also: *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*) (Lin Wushu, 1997).

[12] G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light," Asia Major, III (1952), p. 192, n. 37. For the philological investigation on the term of "Mani the Buddha of Light," see: Ma Xiaohe (马小鹤), "A Study on Mani the Buddha of Light" (*Moni guang fo kao* 摩尼光佛考), *The Historical Review* (*Shi lin* 史林), no. 1 (1999).

[13] Paul Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien," pp. 122–123.

[14] S. Muramatsu, "Eine nestorianische Grabinschrift in türkischer Sprache aus Zaiton," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, XXIV (1964), pp. 394–395. Samuel N. C. Lieu, "Nestorians and Manicheans on the South China Coast," *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 34 (1980),

with the Chinese authorities, they would definitely add the salutation "Mar" to the name of their founding patriarch whenever he was mentioned. Consequently, the authorities prefixed the name of Mani with the transliterated character "*mo* 末" (the Last). The character "*mo* 末" (the Last) has, however, the meaning of "final" in Chinese and has no connotation of respect. Indeed, we cannot verify whether the official practice of prefixing the name of Mani with such a character demonstrated their ignorance of the true meaning of the Syriac word "Mar," or whether they did it intentionally to show contempt. It seems that the Manichean priests did not like the character "*mo* 末" (the last). For example, the abovementioned *Compendium* did not adopt this character. This *Compendium* was a Manichean scripture, onto which Laozi was later grafted. With reference to *The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* (*Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡经), the *Compendium* said:

> I strode the *Qi* (the Vital Breath) of Way of Nature and Light (*ziran guangming dao qi* 自然光明道气) and flew to the Suristan of the *Śūnyatā* (xi na yu jie 西那玉界), where I was reborn as the Prince. Then, with the title "Moni," I abandoned the royal family and began practicing the Way. After turning the *Dharmacakra* (*Falun* 法轮) and preaching the doctrines, percepts, rules, concentration and wisdom, I proceeded to promote the teaching of Three Times and Two Principles (i.e., Manichaeism). All sentient beings from the bright world to the dark world be delivered by the teaching. It should be forty-five years after the parinirvana of Mani that the teaching became prevalent.

(35) There was indeed such a paragraph in the first fascicle of the Dunhuang manuscript of *The Scripture of Laozi's Ascension to the West and Conversion of the Barbarians* (*Laozi xisheng huahu jing* 老子西升化胡经) collected by Paul Pelliot. Compared with what I cite here, there were minor differences in words of the Dunhuang manuscript: "…with the title 'Moni the Last', I abandoned the royal family and began practicing the Way." Obviously, the composer of *Compendium* deliberately deleted the character "*mo* 末" (the Last) from the original text.[15] Given

---

p. 73. Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), p. 190.

[15] Lin Wushu, "*The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* and Manichaeism" (*Laozi huahu jing yu Moni jiao* 老子化胡经与摩尼教), *Studies in World Religion* (*Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究), no. 4 (1984). See also: *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*) (Lin Wushu, 1997), pp. 172–182. For the most recent discussion on the Canon, see: "The Turning-Point of the Fate of Manichaeism in the Years of Kaiyuan: Centered on the Dunhuang Manuscript of *The Scripture of Laozi's*

that later generations of Manichean faithful did use the term "Mani the Last" for the founding patriarch, their reason would be ignorance or misunderstanding of this title. The designation of Mani as "Mani the Buddha" in He Qiaoyuan's record probably happened after the *Compendium* designated Mani as "Mani the Buddha of Light." Prior to this, if there was the title "Mani the Buddha" for Mani, the *Compendium*, as a hermeneutic text would have some explanation for it in the chapter that interpreted the title of the founding patriarch.[16] Besides, the abbreviation of "Mani the Buddha of Light" to "Mani the Buddha" did follow the Chinese linguistic practice of abbreviating superfluous terms. Moreover, He Qiaoyuan noted that "the full name of Mani the Buddha is Mani the Last the Buddha of Light," that is to say, the author added the character "*mo* 末" (the last) in front of "the Buddha of Light." Such an appellation could only appear in the post-Tang Sinicized Manichaeism and resulted from the fact that the Chinese arbitrarily placed this character in accordance with the official literature of Tang Dynasty. Neither in the *Compendium* nor other archaeological materials used such a title, only the title "Mani the Buddha of Light." As it had been pointed out, the title "Mani the Buddha of Light" was borrowed from the Buddhist title for Buddhas. For as much as the founding patriarch had been designated as "*fo* 佛" (a Buddha), this Chinese character "*fo* 佛" was equivalent to the Syriac "Mar." In view of this, placing the character "*mo* 末" on the title "Mani the Buddha" was supposedly seen as superfluous. But it is widely known that the Manichean priests were very talented in translating scriptures, and so far there are Manichean scriptures in more than ten ancient languages. The priests who came to China in the Tang Dynasty were well versed in the languages of the Western Region and Chinese, it is beyond imagination that they would committed such a fundamental mistake in their Chinese translation.

Ascension to the West and Conversion of the Barbarians and *The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light*," (*Tang kaiyuan nianjian Moni jiao mingyun de zhuanzhe—yi dunhuang ben Laozi xisheng huahu jing he Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe wei zhongxin* 唐开元年间摩尼教命运的转折——以敦煌本老子西升化胡经和摩尼光佛教法仪略为中心), *Dunhuang and Turpan Studies* (*Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006), vol. 9, pp. 85–109.

[16] Lin Wushu, "The Emergence of Dunhuang Manuscript of *The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light*" (*Dunhuang ben Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe de chansheng* 敦煌本摩尼光佛教法仪略的产生), *Studies in World Religion*, no. 3 (1983). See also: *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*) (Lin Wushu, 1997), pp. 189–197.

Hence, the Manichean priests who came to China in the Tang Dynasty must have transliterated the name of their founding patriarch as "Moni 摩尼." This transliteration was indeed accepted by the imperial court, who formally designated the religion as "*Moni jiao* 摩尼教" (Manichaeism) in its official literature. For instance, in Chapter Five—"The Original Idea of the Letter Conferred to the Khan of Huihu" (*Ci huihu kehan shu yi* 赐回鹘可汗书意)—of *The Collection of Drafts of Imperial Edicts & Decrees in the Years of Huichang* (*Huichang yipin ji* 会昌一品集), (36) said: "Before the years of Tianbao, *Moni jiao* 摩尼教 (Manichaeism) was banned in China…" As for non-Manichean scriptures, especially those composed by Buddhist monks, Mani was called "*moni* 末尼" or "*mani* 麻尼" in them. It is unnecessary for us to ascertain whether these monk substituted the original "*Moni* 摩尼" with simply-stroked homophones or they had ulterior motives in doing this. Additionally, we, however, find that Mani, the founding patriarch, was transliterated into "*mangni* 忙你" in the Dunhuang manuscript of Chinese Manichean scripture of *Hymn of the Lower Section* (*Xiabu zan* 下部赞) (MS. Stein No. 2659). Such a poor transliteration probably resulted from desperation, since it has been proved that this Hymn was translated in the late years of the Tang Dynasty.[17] Or rather, because the edict of Kaiyuan had banned Manichaeism, the translator of this Hymn was forced to evade the overt use of "*Moni* 摩尼" and replace it with the phonogram "*mangni* 忙你." Although the combination of the two characters, "*mang* 忙" ("busy") and "*ni* 你" ("you"), had no meaning, neither of them, at least, sounded derogatory.

The precise Chinese translation of Manichaeism—a religion originating in Persia and prevalent in China in the Tang Dynasty, should be ascribed to Manichean missionaries. International scholars have unanimously agreed with Manichaeism was expansionist by nature in

[17] Originally, the date of the manuscript of *Hymn of the Lower Section* cannot be traced. Based on its contents and the history of the dissemination of Manichaeism in China, this writer estimates that it should be translated in the late Tang, that is to say, the upper limit of time is the third year of Dali (768) and the lower limit is the second year of Huichang (842). See: Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*) (Lin Wushu, 1997), p. 234. In light of the forbidden words in this manuscript, Yu Wanli (虞万里) observes it should be hand-copied in the period between the first year of Jianzhong (780) and the twenty-first year of Zhenyuan (805). See: Yu Wanli, "A New Investigation on the Date of the Dunhuang Hand-Copied Manuscript of the Manichean *Hymn of the Lower Section*" (*Dunhuang Moni jiao xiabu zan xieben niandai xintan* 敦煌摩尼教下部赞写本年代新探), *Dunhuang and Turpan Studies*, vol. 1 (1995), pp. 37–46.

medieval times. This was manifested in the Manichean priests' repeated efforts to visit the imperial court, which account for the Chinese historical records and translated Manichean scriptures discovered in Dunhuang. He Qiaoyuan's introduction of the founding patriarch was very familiar; in other words, he was as familiar with Manichaeism as Buddhism. After checking with other Chinese sources and Manichean literature in other languages, his description of the doctrines and rites of Manichaeism is credible. The work of Manichean missionaries contributed greatly to Chinese understanding of this religion.

As well as Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism originated in Persia and was designated by the name of the founding patriarch, that is, Zoroastre. Zoroastre, in fact, should be Zarathustra, but the Greek mispronunciation of this name is still upheld today. Although the ancient Chinese knew the right name of Zarathustra and transliterated it as "*Suluzhi* 苏鲁支,"[18] (37) we cannot find that the word "*Suluzhi*" or similar transliterated word was employed to denominate Zoroastrianism in ancient Chinese sources. Instead, it was "*Xian jiao* 祆教." According to Chen Yuan's observation, the employment of the title "*Xian jiao*" for this religion resulted from the fact that: its followers "worship the Light, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars; in other words, because of their worship of Heaven, the Chinese created the term 'God of Fire' (*huoxian* 火祆). In Chinese, the character '*xian* 祆' is a simply-stroked character for the celestial gods (*tianshen* 天神). And the reason why '*xian* 祆' was employed instead of (*tianshen* 天神) was that the former would emphasize that the deities were foreign rather than Chinese."[19] The followers of Zoroastrianism never challenge this designation, as they had no intention to spread their religion among the ethnic Han Chinese.

[18] In the Item of "Mani of Daqin" (*Daqin Moni* 大秦末尼) of the Part Two of *The Compendium of Monastic History of the Great Song Dynasty* (*Da song seng shi lüe* 大宋僧史略), which was composed by Zan Ning (赞宁) in the Northern Song Dynasty, it noted: "The teachings of Zoroastrianism derive from the Great Persia and it has the title 'Suluzhi 苏鲁支'. Among its faithful, there was a priest, Xuanzhen (玄真), who grasped doctrines of the Master and became the Grand Patriarch of Persia, and then went to the Mountain of Fire. Later, he disseminated this teaching in China. In the fifth year of Zhenguan, one of the missionary, Helu the Mogh (muhu helu 穆护何禄), presented the imperial court the doctrine of Zoroastrianism." "Suluzhi 苏鲁支" appeared in this record should be the Chinese transliteration of Zarathustra.

[19] Chen Yuan, *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwen ji*, 1982), vol. 1, p. 304.

With regards to the Christianity that was introduced to China in the Tang Dynasty, it was as expansionary as Manichaeism. Its Tang dynasty appellation, although not as out of place as the Chinese name of Zoroastrianism, was nevertheless a complicated task to rectify.

The *Jing jiao bei* of Xi'an (*Stele of the Diffusion of the Jing Teaching of Daqin in the Middle Kingdom*, *Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中国碑), recorded that:

> The Emperor Tai, whose posthumous title was "Wen 文" (refined), was brilliant and pathbreaking. He was so sagacious and broad-minded that he always chose the most talented people. There was a man named Alopen (*Aluoben* 阿罗本, Abraham) with great virtue from Daqin (the Eastern Roman Empire), who divined through the sky and carried with the true scriptures, and foresaw by winds and advanced in spite of difficulties and dangers. In the ninth year of Zhenguan (635), he arrived at Chang'an. The Emperor asked the Prime Minister, Fang Xuanling (房玄龄), to lead the guard of honor and receive this distinguished visitor. Alopen translated the scripture in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (*Ji xian yuan*), and discussed the doctrines in the imperial court. Thus, the Emperor obtained a deep understanding of the teachings and allowed it to be disseminated in China.

Alopen was affiliated with Nestorian Eastern Church of Christianity.[20] Since the entrance of Nestorianism into China, it was named "*Jing jiao* 景教". This Chinese title for such Christian church, however, was self-created, and it was never employed by the imperial court. In light of the geographical origin of this church, the imperial court initially called it the "Teaching of Persia" or the "Teaching of Persian Scripture," and later denominated it the "Teaching of Daqin." (38) Concerning the "The Temple of Daqin" (*Daqin si* 大秦寺) in the Volume Thirty-Nine of the *Compiled State Regulations of Tang* (*Tang huiyao* 唐会要) showed:

> In the ninth month of the fourth year of Tianbao (745), the edict reads: The Teaching of Persian Scripture (*Bosi Jing jiao* 波斯经教) is from

[20] Recently, there are scholars who argue that the Christian Melkite had been to China in the Tang Dynasty. See: Lin Ying (林英), "Priests from the Byzantine Empire: A Speculation on the Introduction of other Christian Churches to China Except for Nestorianism" (*Fulin seng—guanyu tangdai jingjiao zhiwai jidujiao paibie ruhua de yige caice* 拂菻僧——关于唐代景教之外基督教派别入华的一个猜测) (Paper delivered at the International Conference of The Ancient Inland Euro-Asia and China, Shanghai, June 24–26, 2005). Later this paper was published in *Studies in World Religion* (no. 2, 2006).

> Daqin and it has been disseminated in China for a long time. At first, when it built the church, the name of the building followed the title of this teaching. If it wants to be known to the people, it must rectify its foundation. Thus, the Persian churches in the two Capitals shall be renamed to the "Church of Daqin." Those built in prefectures must follow suit.

Leaving aside those words, the inscription on the *Stele* cited here concerned how Alopen arrived at Chang'an with scriptures of the teaching in the ninth year of Zhenguan and began his translation and missionary work. So far, there is no question about this account. With regards to the Chinese name of this teaching, it appeared that Alopen did not provide an acceptable appellation for the imperial court, and that the latter thus denominated it in accordance with the place from which it came. Of course, the fact that the imperial court issued an edict that designated this religion the "Teaching of Daqin" (*Daqin jiao* 大秦教) signified the acceptance of it. Naturally, its followers were pleased with this result. Nevertheless, the fact that the formal title of their teaching could not be manifested remained a point of contention. As a result, Jing Jing (景净), the writer of the *Stele*, protested on the tablet that: "The Way of truth and eternalness is so deep that it cannot be easily named. Its efforts are so manifest that it can be reluctantly designated '*Jing jiao* 景教'." Here, the character "reluctantly" (*qiang* 强) vividly revealed the writer's painstaking efforts of choosing a Chinese name for the religion.

There is no unanimous agreement on the reason behind the adoption of "*jing* 景." It is argued that "the meaning of '*jing* 景' is greatness, illumination and brightness."[21] It is also observed that (the adoption of "*jing* 景") resulted from that "Christianity praises 'the Light of Life' by which it enlightens all sentient beings."[22] Or, the character of "jing 景" is expounded as "sacred" (*sheng* 圣).[23] In light of the study by

---

[21] "After Reading *The Stele of the Diffusion of the Jing Teaching of Daqin in the Middle Kingdom*" (*Du Jing jiao bei hou* 读景教碑后), interpreted by Li Zhizao (李之藻), in Emmanuel Diaz (阳玛诺), ed., *Corrective Annotations for Tablet Inscriptions for Nestorianism* (*Jingjiao beisong zhengquan* 景教碑颂正诠) (Shanghai: Cimu tang 慈母堂, 1878).

[22] Luo Xianglin (罗香林), *Nestorianism in Tang and Yuan Dynasties* (*Tang yuan erdai zhi jingjiao* 唐元二代之景教) (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe 中国学社, 1966).

[23] Fang Hao (方豪), "Book Review for Luo Xianlin's *Nestorianism in Tang and Yuan Dynasties*" (*Shuping Luo Xianglin Tang yuan erdai zhi jingjiao* 书评罗香林唐元二代之景教), Modern Academy (Xiandai xueyuan 现代学苑), vol. 4, no. 10 (1967). See also: Fang Hao, *Personal Anthology at the Age of Sixty* (*Fanghao liushi ziding ji* 方豪六十自定集) (Taipei: The Student Book 学生书局), Part Two, p. 2433.

Bernhard Karlgren, in the ancient times, the character of "*jing* 景," however, was pronounced as "king" or other similar sound and all of these pronunciation's initial consonant was "k." And, the character "*jing* 景" has the connotation of "bright" and "great."[24] If we judge this character on account of the context in the inscription, we find why the writer "reluctantly designated" this teaching, it was just because "its efforts are so manifest"; that is to say, the character "*jing* 景" exactly referred to the "manifestation" (*zhaozhang* 昭彰) of the teaching's effort. Based on the Chinese dictionary, "*zhao* 昭" means "bright" and "*zhang* 彰" means "manifest." In my humble opinion, (39) the phrase "*zhaozhang* 昭彰" here had such a double meaning. First, it referred to the enlightening function of this teaching; second, it emphasized that such function was visibly apparent. If this argument is reasonable, this writer can conclude that "*zhaozhang* 昭彰" embraced both the meaning of "bright" or "great" as noted by Bernhard Karlgren and the meaning of "sacred" in Chinese. Now that the ancient character "*jing* 景" had the same initial consonant—"k"—with the western word "Christ" and "Catholic," employing this word to be the name of this Christian church may well be regarded as a masterpiece of transliteration accomplished by the Nestorian missionary that entered China in the Tang Dynasty.[25] The creator of this Chinese title must have mastered Chinese at an extraordinary level; therefore, I think he was in all probability the writer of the inscription of *Jing jiao bei of Xi'an*—Jing Jing.

According to the "Note" attached to the Dunhuang hand-copied Nestorian manuscript (P. 3847) *The Scripture of Veneration* (*Zun jing* 尊经), Jing Jing had translated numerous scriptures into Chinese. It said as follows:

> Strictly adhere to the list of scriptures. The total number of scriptures of the Teaching of Daqin is five hundred and thirty volumes, and all of them are in original writing. In the ninth year of Zhenguan of Empeor Tai of Tang Dynasty, Alopen, the priest with great virtue from the Western Region, arrived in China and presented the original scriptures. Fang Xuanling and Wei Zheng (魏征) read the translated ones to the Emperor. Later, Jing Jing, a Nestorian priest with great virtue, was sum-

[24] Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serca Recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1972), p. 200.

[25] Lin Wushu, *Reinvestigation on Nestorianism in Tang Dynasty* (*Tangdai jingjiao zai yanjiu* 唐代景教再研究) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003).

moned to translate thirty scriptures and most of the remaining ones are still in the original folder and has not been rendered yet.

The extant Dunhuang manuscript of *The Scripture of Preaching the Essentials of the Jing Teaching of Daqin* (*Daqin jingjiao xuanyuan benjing* 大秦景教宣元本经) was one of Jing Jing's works.[26] In both the translated scripture and the inscription of *Jing jiao bei of Xi'an*, the writing was fluent, clear and even brilliant. Some Chinese scholar-officials might well have participated in the translation work. Even so, they just served to polish the translation or to ascertain the meaning of some words. Because of the specialized nature of the Christian teaching and the complete foreignness of the Syriac writing, it was impossible for them to translate it alone. Thus, we believe with good cause that Jing Jing was well versed in Chinese. The aforementioned "Note" of *The Scripture of Veneration*, indeed, revealed that, after Alopen, Jing Jing was the most learned person among the Nestorian missionaries in China. Furthermore, the belief that *Stele* was inscribed by him was an adequate evidence to tell that he enjoyed an eminent position in the teaching. With his mastery of Chinese and privileged status inside the teaching, it was none other than Jing Jing who accomplished the work of naming for the Nestorian teaching. In light of the extant literature, there was no reference to the title of "*Jing jiao* 景教" before Jing Jing. The Dunhuang manuscript (P. 3847), contains a scripture entitled *The Hymn for Ascribing Glory to The Trinity of The Teaching of Jing* (*Jingjiao sanwei mengdu zan* 景教三威蒙度赞), (40) which was also one of Jing Jing's translated scriptures listed in *The Scripture of Veneration* (*Zun jing*). As for *The Scripture of Preaching the Essentials of the Jing Teaching of Daqin* (*Daqin jingjiao xuanyuan benjing*) and the *Stele of the Diffusion of the Jing Teaching of Daqin in the Middle Kingdom* (*Daqin jingjiao liuxing zhongguo bei*), both of them employed the title "*Daqin jingjiao*" (大秦景教 the Jing Teaching of Daqin). Such a type of nomenclature showed respect to the imperial court's denomination for the teaching as well as vindicated the teaching's own canonical appellation. In view of this, it was indeed an indication of Jing Jing's great effort. As the above analysis shows,

[26] Lin Wushu, "An Investigation and Interpretation to the Dunhuang Manuscript of *The Scripture of Preaching the Essentials of the Teaching of Daqin*" (*Dunhuang yishu Daqin jingjiao xuanyuan benjing* kaoshi 敦煌遗书大秦景教宣元本经考释), *Chinese Culture Quarterly* (*Jiuzhou xuelin*), VI, no. 4 (Special Number for Dunhuang Studies) (2003), pp. 23–40. For the revised edition, see: *Reinvestigation on Nestorianism in Tang Dynasty* (*Tangdai jingjiao zai yanjiu*), pp. 175–185.

he explained in particular why adopted "*jingjiao* 景教" as the title for this religion. All of these attest that Jing Jing was closely connected with the matter of designating Chinese Nestorianism. Given that this Christian church had possessed the name "*Jing jiao*" before Jing Jing's effort and such designation was well known to Chinese, Jing did not need to add his effort on the inscription at all.

When Alopen entered the Middle Kingdom, he, most probably, did not consider the word "*jing* 景" as the formal title of his teaching, instead, he would have sought to transliterate the Church's name into homophonic Chinese words. But, phonic transliteration without substantive meaning was foreign to Chinese. As has been discussed, Manichaeism was denominated by the name of the founding patriarch, "Mani," with the pronunciation of "Mani" being homophonic with that of the word "*mani*" (gem) of the Indian Buddhism. The word "*mani*" (gem) had long been in the Chinese Buddhist sutras and it was well known to Chinese; therefore it was not difficult for Chinese to speculate as to the meaning of "Mani," and the imperial court from the very start was glad to accept such title. Thereafter, the imperial court never attempted to change this Chinese name of Manichaeism. As regards to Eastern Christianity in the time of Alopen, it could not correlate with Buddhism and absorb some Buddhist elements to adapt itself to China's Buddhist milieu as the Central Asian Manichean group did. Even so, Alopen introduced his teaching in detail to the imperial court and the latter showed certain understanding of this religion. Thus, for the imperial court, it was acceptable to name it by the geographic origin of the teaching. Otherwise, the Nestorianism, which was known to the people for its "pacifying the world with the cross" and worshiping the cross, would more likely be designated the "Teaching of Cross" (*Shizi jiao* 十字教) just as Zoroastrianism was designated as "*Xian jiao* 祆教."[27] The complex nomenclature for Chinese Nestorianism serves to be a referential framework for the following discussion on other Chinese names of Manichaeism in the Middle Kingdom.

[27] Sometimes, the Christianity in the Yuan Dynasty was designated the "Teaching of Cross." See: Chen Yuan, "An Investigation on the Teaching of Yelikewen in Yuan Dynasty" (*Yuan yelikewen kao* 元也里可温考), in *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwen ji*, 1982), vol. 1, p. 42.

Study on the Origin of the "Teaching of Light" (Ming jiao 明教)

Another popular name of Manichaeism was the "Teaching of Light." Chen Yuan observed this very early: (41) "The Teaching of Light was a variant name of Manichaeism, just as the Jing Teaching was for Christianity."[28] In the past, some scholars argued there the title of "Teaching of Light" was created as soon as Manichaeism entered into China. The evidence that they hold was the Chinese-written *Stele of Khans of the Nine Tribes of Huihu* (*Jiuxing huihu kehan bei* 九姓回鹘可汗碑), which was inscribed in the years of Changqing of Tang (821–824). On the tablet, there were two characters—"*Ming jiao* 明教."[29] Just at the beginning of the two characters, there were words missing; furthermore, in light of the context in which the two characters were placed, it could not be assured that they were inscribed as the religious title. As for this, Lian Lichang (连立昌) investigated in detail as early as in 1988.[30] In fact, long before it was associated with Manichaeism, the word "*mingjiao* 明教" had been in frequent use to mean "bright teaching" and "clear instruction." The ancients often employed it to show their respect to other people's opinion.[31] In this context, such use of the word "*mingjiao* 明教" on the tablet appears more likely. In the east capital of Tang, Luoyang, there was "Community House for Bright Teaching" (*mingjiao fang* 明教坊); and in the Song Dynasty, there was "Community Hall for Brilliant Instructions" (*mingjiao tang* 明教堂) in

---

[28] Chen Yuan, "A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China," in *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwen ji*, 1982), p. 356.

[29] For the recent edition of its inscription, see: Lin Meicun (林梅村), Chen Ling (陈凌), Wang Haicheng (王海城), "A Study on the *Stele of Khans of the Nine Tribes of Huihu*" (*Jiuxing huihu kehan bei* yanjiu 九姓回鹘可汗碑研究), in Yu Taishan (余太山), ed., *Eurasian Studies* (*Ouya yanjiu* 欧亚研究) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), no. 1, pp. 151–171. See also: Lin Meicun, *Forgotten Trails in the Fall Wind—Findings of Cultural Communications between China and the West in Recent Archeological Discoveries* (*Gudao xifeng—kaogu xinfaxian suojian zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 古道西风——考古新发现所见中西文化交流) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2000), pp. 285–320.

[30] Lian Lichang (连立昌), "My Humble Opinion about the Nature of the Teaching of Light" (*Mingjiao Xingzhi chuyi* 明教性质刍议) *Fujian Forum* (*Fujian luntan* 福建论坛), no. 3 (1988).

[31] For example, in the item of "The Segment One of Wei State—The Master Su Persuades the King to Join the Alliance of East States Initiated by the State Zhao" (魏策一·苏子为赵合从说魏王) of the Volume Twenty-two of *Slips of the Warring States* (*Zhanguo ce* 战国策), it says: "I am not talented and never heard brilliant ideas." (寡人不肖，未尝得闻明教).

Changle of Fujian, which is still preserved well today.[32] The former took "*mingjiao* 明教" as its title and the latter was used as a community school for the purpose of teaching students. Here, both of the two "*mingjiao* 明教" were an indication of the educational connotation and they were not relevant to Manichaeism. It was not rare in Tang and Song dynasties to confer upon Buddhist monks the title of "The Grand Master of Brilliant Instruction" (*mingjiao dashi* 明教大师) for their mastery of Buddhist ideas,. We should not automatically conclude that the word "*mingjiao* 明教" always referred to Manichaeism.[33] Finally, the time of erecting the *Stele of Khans of the Nine Tribes of Huihu* was in the years of Changqin, when the Chinese Manichaeism was at its peak. At that time, the Huihu, whose Khan had converted to Manichaeism and supported this religion, was enjoying great favor for having helped the imperial court to suppress rebellions. Moreover, the title of Manichaeism originally was designated by the founding patriarch's name and its Chinese transliteration had been accepted by the imperial court. As analyzed above, it was unnecessary to conceal the formal religious name and replace it with the "Teaching of Light" on the *Stele*. In view of this historical background, (42) it will be more convincing to say that the two characters—"*Ming jiao* 明教"—did not refer to Manichaeism at all.

Edouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot, the founders of the study of Chinese Manicheanism, incisively concluded the Manichean teaching that was prevalent in China: "genuine Manichaeism, which was in essence the teachings disseminated by the great Manichean priests that came to China, had been annihilated since the imperial edict issued in the year of 843 A.D. What remained was a changed Manichaeism, that is, a Sinicized Manichaeism."[34] In my humble opinion, as for the

[32] Both the local gazetteers and genealogies note that the Community House for Brilliant Instructions was located in the Yaokeng Village of the twenty-third lane of Changle. It has been repaired in recent years. Acknowledgement: I am indebted to Mr. Yao Shiyin (姚诗殷), who works for the Secretariat of the Standing Committee of Fujian Provincial People's Congress, for his kindness of informing me and providing me the relevant local literatures.

[33] Lin Wushu, *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng*), p. 64.

[34] Ed. Chavannes et P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine" (Deuxième partie, suite et fin), *Journal Asiatique*, I, sér. 11 (Mars–Avril 1913), p. 303. For the Chinese translation, see: Feng Chengjun, *The Eighth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea*

question that the Teaching of Light became the variant name of Manichaeism, we should follow Chavannes and Pelliot's interpretations.

In the first year of Huichang, Manichaeism suffered its great persecution, and the missionaries from Central Asia were expelled from China. Consequently, the remaining followers were cut off from their organizational connection with Central Asia. To continue its diffusion in the Middle Kingdom, Manichaeism needed to actively adapt to China. As such, the process of Sinicization was both forced and voluntary, both self-conscious and spontaneous. It was evident that discarding the original name in the event of trouble and changing it to a genuine Chinese name would be helpful for its dissemination and acceptance by the masses. The new name emerged at such a moment.

As mentioned above, the word "*mingjiao* 明教" had existed since ancient times in China and its meaning was quite complimentary. Therefore, using this inherent word for renaming this religion would be beneficial for Manichaeism. The basic doctrine of Manichaeism was the worship of light as expressed in "enlightening the principle of Light and dispelling the dark bewilderment," to which the name of "*Ming jiao* 明教" (the Teaching of Light) matched perfectly.[35] In addition, Manichaeism had the important ritual revealed in the aforementioned He Qiaoyuan's record "(to) worship sun (*ri* 日) at dawn and moon (*yue* 月) at night". As the character "*ming* 明" consists of the Chinese character component for "sun" (*ri* 日) and "moon" (*yue* 月), it was a perfect match for the Manichean followers. The ancient character of "*ming* 明" can also be written as "*ming* 朙," which follows the character component "*mu* 目" (eye) or "*yue* 月." In the Dunhuang manuscript of *Compendium*, there were in total twenty-two characters of "ming 明" and all of them were written in the form of "朙" that follows the character component "*mu* 目" (eye) or "*yue* 月." Nevertheless, on the bowl used by the Manichean assembly, which was discovered in Quanzhou, (43) and on the Manichean stone inscription in front of the Thatched Hut of Jinjiang and two Manichean steles excavated in

in Ancient China (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong ba bian* 西域南海史地考证译丛八编) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), p. 80.

[35] The Dunhuang manuscript of Manichean scripture: *The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light* (*Monijiao guangfo jiaofa yilue* 摩尼光佛教法仪略), "Section One of the Doctrine: The Title of Patriarch of the Reborn Place" (*Tuohuaguo zhu minghao zongjiao diyi* 托化国主名号宗教第一).

Putian of Fujian, we find that the characters of "*ming* 明" were written in the shape of combining the character component "*ri* 日" and "*yue* 月." This adoption of the character "*ming* 明" might attest that the Sinicized Manicheans' efforts to rename their religion and project their worship of the sun and moon. Supposing that they just wanted to express their veneration of the Light, there were many other Chinese characters that have the meaning of brightness, especially among those characters that follow the character component of "*ri* 日" (sun) or "*huo* 火" (fire). We may say that the adoption of "ming 明" for Manichaeism could be analogous how the Empress Wu Zetian imaginatively created a new Chinese character "曌" (*zhao*, "the sun and moon is hanging in the sky and shining") by which the Empress renamed herself and compared herself to the sun and moon that is hanging in the sky and shining over the earth. In view of this, the title of "*Ming jiao* 明教" (the Teaching of Light) was a deeply Chinese appellation. The process of renaming "*Moni jiao*" (Manichaeism) to "*Ming jiao*" (the Teaching of Light) was every bit as complex as that of the Chinese Nestorianism. In comparison, the work of the Chinese Manicheans even outdid the Chinese Nestorian's effort to name itself. Of course, renaming Manichaeism in such a way was beyond the imagination of the Manichean missionaries that first came to China. In their time, the name "*Moni*" had been accepted and they felt no need to rename this religion. It was only under the circumstances that Manichaeism had lost its legitimacy that it needed to rename itself to survive, together with the premise that there was a certain basis of Sinicization, when the emergence and prevalence of this new name became possible.

In fact, so far the earliest firm textual evidence of "*Ming jiao* 明教" (the Teaching of Light), as the variant name of Manichaeism, can be only traced back to the record in the item of "The Commander of Guards (*Dujiang* 都将) of Qingyuan" in the Volume Three of *Accounts of the Inspection of Spirits* (*Ji shen lu* 稽神录), which was composed by Xu Hong (徐鉉, 916–991) in the late Five Dynasties and quoted by a previous generation of scholars such as Edouard Chavannes, Paul Pelliot, Wang Guowei (王国维) and Chen Yuan. This record stated that the household of Yang in Qingyuan (Quanzhou) was haunted; "then there was a person who was good at sorcery, which was called the Teaching of Light, and he was invited to continuously chant the scripture for whole night for the family of Yang. Consequently, the ghost cursed Yang and was forced to leave. Finally, it vanished

completely."[36] Lu You (陆游, 1125–1210), an official who concerned himself with the matter of publicity of the Teaching of Light, wrote in the tenth volume of his *Jottings from the Life-Long Learning Hut* (*Laoxue an biji* 老学庵笔记):

> In Fujian, there are people who practice an evil sorcery, called the Teaching of Light. This teaching also has scriptures which falsely copy the approved titles of Daoist scriptures. They insist on burning fragrant incense and eating red fungus. Therefore, these two things become very expensive. There are even official-scholars and children of noble families, who openly say: 'today we will go to the place of Teaching of Light for a vegetarian feast.' I admonish them: 'It is an evil practice. Why continue with it?' They answer: 'No. Those who do not separate the two sexes are devils, while Manichaeans have the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving. Manicheans will not eat food that has been cooked by a woman.' After reading the Manichean scriptures, I find the teaching is absurd and deceitful and has nothing of value. It is teaching practiced by vulgar and evil people. Some people point at the family of eminent official-scholars and say: "it is also the Teaching of Light." I am not sure whether this is credible. I have read the *Accounts of Inspecting Spirits* (*Ji shen lu*) written by Xu Hong, the Regular Attendant, in which it said: '…there was a person who was good at the sorcery, which was called the Teaching of Light.' (44) Therefore, I know the Teaching of Light has existed for a long time.[37]

Lu You was impressed that the Teaching of Light had long been existent because he happened to read the *Accounts of Inspecting Spirits* (*Ji shen lu*). If the word "*Ming jiao* 明教," as a religious title, had indeed been prevalent in the Tang Dynasty, surely Lu You, a learned scholar-official with great attention to Manichaeism, would have been able to trace this teaching more sources than the *Accounts*. Carefully weighting Lu You's words, we find that the name "*Ming jiao* 明教" was used not only by outsiders, but judging from the tone of self-justification of its followers, also by the religion itself. Thus, the name "*Ming jiao* 明教" was coined by the teaching itself, rather than designated by outsiders.

---

[36] Xu Hong (徐鉉), *Accounts of Inspecting Spirits* (*Ji shen lu* 稽神录) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), punctuated and collated by Bai Huawen (白化文), in *The Series of Ancient Chinese Story Books* (Gu xiaoshuo congkan 古小说丛刊).

[37] Lu You (陆游), *Jottings from the Life-Long Learning Hut* (*Laoxue an biji* 老学庵笔记) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), punctuated and collated by Li Jianxiong (李剑雄) and Liu Dequan (刘德权).

Opinions differ concerning whether the story of the Teaching of Light's exorcism of devils in Quanzhou was a credible account or just a fanciful fabrication. The story, however, at least reflects that there were Manichean activities in Quanzhou and the local residents were no strangers to them. Therefore, the Teaching of Light enters this story as one with a considerable scale and regular activities. As such, the teaching was written into the work of narrators. From this point of view, I suppose the name "*Ming jiao* 明教" appeared in an earlier period than Xu Hong's lifetime. In light of extant literatures and archaeological materials, after the period of Huichang, Fujian was the region where Manichaeism was the most active. Based on this, we cannot but suspect that the vigorous growth of Manichaeism in the coastal region in Song and Yuan dynasties might well have proceeded from Fujian. He Qiaoyuan's record includes such points as: "In the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism, the Teaching of Light was also banned. There was a priest called Hulu (呼禄), who came to Futang and taught disciples in Sanshan. The priest Hulu traveled in the Prefecture of Fangquan and finally passed away and buried at the mountain foot in the north of this Prefecture." Lian Lichang has pointed out that: "Here, to say 'the Teaching of Light was also banned' was incorrect, since there was no such title as yet."[38] This is an indisputable statement. Because in all the imperial edicts concerning the prohibition of Buddhism in the period of Huichang, there was only the mention of the title "*Moni* 摩尼" but no reference to the name "*Ming jiao* 明教" at all. It might be that He Qiaoyuan mistakenly substituted the title of Manichaeism in the period of Huichang with the popular name of this religion at his time. But, the cause over such misuse probably was generated from the particular connection between the emergence of the name "*Ming jiao* 明教" and the Manichean priest "Hulu 呼禄." My analysis is as follows.

In view of the several hundred words of He Qiaoyuan, he deeply understood Manichaeism, so that it was impossible for him to make such a basic mistake based on his ignorance of the imperial edicts relevant to the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism. (45) In my humble opinion, it might well be the priest Hulu who created the title "*Ming jiao* 明教." As Cai Hongsheng (蔡鸿生)—the teacher I am

[38] Lian Lichang (连立昌), *The Secret Societies in Fujian* (*Fujian mimi huishe* 福建秘密会社) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1989), p. 6.

greatly indebted to—has pointed out that the Teaching of Light "was right sowed by the Manichean priest Hulu."[39] The two characters "hu lu 呼禄" have been verified as the transliteration of the Middle Persian word "*xrwhxw'n*" and their combined meaning in Chinese is "preacher."[40] This "preacher" or priest was, without any doubt, from the Western Regions. At that time, the imperial court publicly ordered the expulsion of Manichean monks who were from the West Regions, using methods so cruel that many of the monks died. Facing such a precarious situation, the priest Hulu considered fully the status and his religion and finally chose to flee eastward to Fujian.[41] Obviously, the reason that Hulu dared to defy the imperial edict and refuse to return was, beside his firm insistence of missionary work, the confidence in his mastery of Chinese and familiarity with the Chinese society. As a professional missionary of Manichaeism, he understood the malleable tradition of the Manichean teaching.[42] When it arrived in Fujian, this religion could not go so far as to overtly flaunt the title "Moni" and preach this religion. A relatively reasonable path was simply to rename Manichaeism. Hulu did this, so that he could "…(teach) disciples in Sanshan…(and could) travel in the Prefecture of Fangquan"; in the end, he died a peaceful death and was "buried at the mountain foot in the north of this Prefecture." Even if the local government was unwilling to implement the imperial edict, it could not turn a blind eye to the religion in Fujian, had it not changed its name. In terms of Hulu's

[39] Cai Hongsheng (蔡鸿生), "The Variance of Manichaeism in the Coastal Regions in Tang and Song Dynasties" (*Tang Song shidai Moni jiao zai binhai diyu de bianyi* 唐宋时代摩尼教在滨海地域的变异), *The Journal of Sun Yat-sen University (Philosophy & Social Sciences Edition)* (*Zhongshan daxue xuebao [zhexue shehui kexue ban]* 中山大学学报 [哲学社会科学版]), no. 6 (2004).

[40] Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Polemics against Manichaeism as a Subversive Cult in Sung China, A.D. c.960–c.1200* (Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1979), p. 138. Mary Boyce, *A Word-List of Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian* (Leiden: 1977), p. 99. Moriasu Takao, "On the Uighur cxcaptay and the Spreading of Manichaeism into South China," in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, P. Zieme, eds., *Studia Manichica*, IV, Internationaler Kongress zum Manich¸ismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften Sonderband 4: Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), pp. 430–440.

[41] For the reason why Hulu chose Fujian as his destination has been explained by Cai Hongsheng. See: Cai Hongsheng, "The Variance of Manichaeism in the Coastal Regions in Tang and Song Dynasties."

[42] For survival, Manichaeism changed consistently. Therefore, it was given the name of "chameleon" in the West. See: Ch. Astue, *et al.*, eds., "Les sources grecques pour l'histoires des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," Travaux et memoires, no. 4 (1970), p. 13.

mastery of Chinese and Manichean doctrine, rites and tradition, it might well be that the name "*Ming jiao* 明教" was his masterpiece, just as "*Jing jiao* 景教" was out of Jing Jing's great effort. Since Hulu was a Manichean missionary from the Western Regions before he "came to Futang," (46) and then became the founding patriarch of the Teaching of Light in Futang, He Qiaoyuan wrote as "the Teaching of Light was also banned" when he narrated the incident of prohibiting Manichaeism in the Tang Dynasty.

Hulu's effort of renaming "Moni jiao 摩尼教"—Manichaeism—to "*Ming jiao* 明教"—the Teaching of Light, indeed, marked the point that the Persian Manichean teaching had transformed into Sinicized Manichaeism, one which was rooted in the Middle Kingdom and became one of Chinese religions.

Now that the priest Hulu renamed Manichaeism as the Teaching of Light to avoid persecution, the teaching he preached actively avoided using the word "Moni." Such efforts certainly affected the sect that later identified itself with the Teaching of Light. Hence, we noticed that narration about the Teaching of Light in literature of Song, generally did not refer to the title "Moni." For instance, the "Speeches of the Officials" on the fourth day of the eleventh month in the second year of Xuanhe (1120), which was accounted in the Section Two of "The Criminal Law" (*Xingfa* 刑法) of *The Compilation of State Regulations of Song Dynasty* (*Song huiyao jigao* 宋会要辑稿), wrote:

> Scriptures the followers of the Teaching of Light chant, and images of the god they worship have names such as: *Scripture on Exhortation to Meditation* (*Qien jing* 讫恩经), *Scripture on Verification* (*Zhengming jing* 证明经), *Scripture on the Descent and Rebirth of the Prince* (*Taizi xiasheng jing* 太子下生经), *Scripture on the Father and the Mother* (*Fumu jing* 父母经), *The Book of Illustrations* (*Tu jing* 图经), *Scripture of the Essay on Causes* (*Wenyuan jing* 文缘经), *The Verse of Seven Moments* (*Qishi ji* 七时偈), *The Verse of Sunlight* (*Riguang ji* 日光偈), *The Verse of Moonlight* (*Yueguang ji* 月光偈), *The Essay on Justice* (*Pingwen ce* 平文策), *The Hymn for Virtuous Men* (*Han zan ce* 汉赞策), *The Hymn for Verification* (*Zhengming zan* 证明赞), *The Portrait of Grand Confession and Buddha the Wonderful Water* (*Guangda chan miaoshui fo zhen* 广大忏妙水佛帧), *The Portrait of Buddha the First Thought* (*Xianyi fo zhen* 先意佛帧), *The Portrait of the Buddha Jesus* (*Yishu fo zhen* 夷数佛帧), *The Portrait of Good and Evil* (*Shan e zhen* 善恶帧), *The Portrait of the Prince* (*Taizi zhen* 太子帧), *The Portrait of the Four Kings of Heaven* (*Sida tianwang zhen* 四天王帧).*
>
> * Translator's note: the English renderings of these scripture titles are based on Sammuel L. C. Lieu's "Manichaeism in China." See: www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Religions/iranian/Manichaeism/manichaeism_china.htm, accessed on September 30, 2009.

Among the listed thirteen scriptures and six illustrations of Manichean gods,[43] none used the name "Moni." If it did not necessarily follow the way of marking the scripture with "As Mani the Buddha says," how should we explain that there was no portrait of Mani the Buddha in all of these illustrations of Manichean gods? The portrait of Mani, which was unearthed in the ruins of the city of Gaochang (高昌) Huihu, became prevalent no later than the tenth century in China. Even He Qiaoyuan's record said: (47) "In the years of Daozhong, one of the literati of Huai'an, Li Tingyu (李廷裕), found Manichean Buddha statue at a divination shop in the Capital City and bought it with fifty thousand cash. Thus, this auspicious Buddha statue was introduced into Fujian." According to a textual investigation, this so-called Buddha statue was the image of Mani the Buddha.[44] As for *The Portrait of the Prince* (*Taizi zhen* 太子帧) in the listed images of gods, my humble opinion holds that in light of the *The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* (*Laozi huahu jing* 老子化胡经), in which it said "I strode the *Qi* of Way of Nature and Light and flew to the Suristan of the *Śūnyatā*, where I was reincarnated as the Prince," might well be the portrait of Mani. No matter what they were, when the authorities were investigating the Manichean teaching, they found no image of Mani the Buddha. This might tacitly prove that the Manichean followers did not publicize the title "Moni."

---

[43] The traces of the above-listed *Scripture on Verification* (*Zhengming jing* 证明经), *The Verse of Sunlight* (*Riguang ji* 日光偈) and that sort of thing can be found in the Dunhuang manuscript of Manichean scriptures. Therefore, they were not fabricated in the Song Dynasty. It was Wu Han (吴晗) who first cited this record. See: Wu Han, "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo* 明教与大明帝国), in his *Reading Notes of History* (*Dushi zhaji* 读史札记) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1956). There is difference in his punctuation of the title of these scriptures in comparison with that of later researchers. See also: Mu Runsun (牟润孙), "Manichaeism in Song Dynasty" (*Song dai moni jiao* 宋代摩尼教), *Fu Jen Studies* (*Furen xuezhi* 辅仁学志), vol. 7, no. 1–2 (1938), in his *Collections of Studies on the History of Song* (*Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究辑) (Taipei: Compilation and Review Committee for Chinese Academic Series of The National Institute for Compilation and Translation 国立编译馆中华丛书编审委员会, 1958), no. 1; and, Mu Runsun, Series of The Studio of Annotating History (*Zhushi zhai conggao* 注史斋丛稿) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 94–116. In other languages, see: A. Forte, "Deux etudes sur le Manichéisme chinois," *T'oung Pao*, LIX, no. 1–5 (1973), pp. 227–253; Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey* (Manchester [Greater Manchester]; Dover, N.H., USA: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 234–235.

[44] Lin Wushu, "Origins of the Manichean Idolatry in Quanzhou in Yuan Dynasty" (*Yuandai quanzhou moni jiao ouxiang chongpai tanyuan* 元代泉州摩尼教偶像崇拜研究), *Maritime History Studies* (*Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究), no. 1 (2003). For a revised edition, see: Lin Wushu: *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng*), pp. 5–32.

It appeared that Manichean followers avoided employing the title "Moni" even in the Yuan Dynasty. In the twelfth chapter, "Memorial to Zhuxi Tower" (*Zhuxi lou ji* 竹西楼记), of *Writing Collections of A Completely Unrestrained Man* (*Bu xi zhou yu ji* 不系舟渔集), which was composed by Chen Gao (陈高, 1315–1366) in Yuan, there was an account of The Temple of Hidden Light (*Qian guang yuan* 潜光院), which was a Manichean monastery located in Pingyang of Wenzhou. This record clearly narrated the origins, developments and tradition of Manichaeism but did not mention the name of the founding patriarch:

> The Temple of Hidden Light is a monastery for the pagoda of the Teaching of Light. It is said the Teaching of Light originates from Suristan and then it diffused into China. Among residents in the southeast, there are many who follow this teaching. The faithful of this teaching are rather strict in abstention and observance. They have one meal a day and practice the ritual of kneeling down with closed eyes and placing their palms together at the seventh two-hour period of every dawn and night.[45]

As well as the Thatched Hut of Quanzhou, the Temple of Hidden Light was a monastery dedicated to Mani the Buddha. Nevertheless, Mani the Buddha here was metaphorically written as "the pagoda of the Teaching of Light." As for the Sixteen-Word Verse, which was prevalent at the end of Yuan and in the early Ming, it included the title "*Moni guang fo* 摩尼光佛" (Mani the Buddha of Light).[46] As it has been pointed out, the four characters (*mo ni guang fo* 摩尼光佛) were coined from the Buddhist title for Buddhas, therefore it was unnecessary for the faithful of Manichaeism to have any scruples about using it.

Although it can be argued that the name "Teaching of Light" emerged after the persecution of Manichaeism in the Huichang persecution and might have originated from Hulu's flight to Fujian, (48) it does not meant that the title "Moni 摩尼" would have disappear

---

[45] Lin Wushu, "A Critical Examination on the Account of Manichaeism in 'Memorial to Zhuxi Tower' of Yuan Dynasty" (*Yuan zhuxi lou ji moni jiao xinxi bianxi* 元竹西楼记摩尼教信息辨析), in Zeng Xiantong (曾宪通), *Sinology* (*Hua xue* 华学) (Guangzhou: The Sun Yat-sen University Press, 2004), vol. 7. For the revised edition, see: *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng*), pp. 142–160.

[46] Lin Wushu, "Textual Criticism and Explanation of Lapidarian Sixteen-Character Verse of Manichaeism in Fujian" (*Fujian shiliu zi ji kaoshi* 福建明教十六字偈考释) *History and Literature*, no. 1 (2004). For the revised edition, see: *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng*), pp. 5–32.

completely or that all individuals or groups relevant to Manichaeism evolved from the seed that Hulu sowed. The forty-first and fifty-fourth chapter of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*) record that by the third year of Dali (768), there were already Manichean temples in the prefectures of southeast China. The records state: "The Huihu asked to build the Grand Cloud and Light Temples in prefectures such as Jing, Yang, Hong and Yue." From this account, Chen Yuan had observed: "The Prefecture of Hong was today's Nanchang of Jiangxi, Yue was Shaoxing of Zhejiang. In those days, however, there might not have been Huihus living in the prefectures of the region of Hong and Yue. That is to say, the region to which the Manichean teaching diffused was far more extensive than the area that the Huihu lived."[47] Even in the years of Huichang, when Manicheans were persecuted, the priest Hulu fled to Fujian and preached Manichaeism regardless of the danger. One scholar notes that Manichaeism was already prevalent in Fujian before Hulu's arrival.[48] Although there is little concrete evidence, the fact that Fujian was distinct in "being superstitious about sorcery and evil spirits and being indulgent in excessive sacrifice" and the fact that Manichaeism had already been widespread in the Tang Dynasty, residents in Fujian must have been open to this teaching. Above all, if there was no Manichean organization in Fujian and the priest Hulu did not know the local religious situation, he would not have chosen Fujian as his destination to take refuge. The history of religion in Chinese and elsewhere tells us that, as a rule, religious belief cannot be uprooted by administrative force. Hence, this writer believes that after the prohibition of Manichaeism in the Huichang period, followers did not necessarily submit to the ban and stop their practice; conversely, their activities might have gone underground. We can suppose that, because individual Manichean followers or small groups lacked a public religious organization, that they should readily rely on the indigenous religious beliefs. They gradually merged with local religion and became indistinguishable to the people outside Manichaeism. Besides, since such groups were too small to greatly affect society or become a real threat to the authorities, they do not appear in historical records. Even the Teaching of Light in Fujian

[47] Chen Yuan, "A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China," in Chen Yuan, *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (1982), p. 343.

[48] Lian Lichang, *The Secret Societies in Fujian* (*Fujian mimi huishe*), pp. 6–10.

handed down from the priest Hulu has a long unwritten history. In my observation, besides the sect that the priest Hulu created, there must be a considerable number of followers, who borrowed the words from *The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* (*Laozi huahu jing*)—"With the title 'Moni', I (Laozi) abandoned the royal family and began practicing the Way"—(49) and assumed a Daoist pose, but stealthily practiced the Manichean teaching. Among them, the most distinguishable case was Zhang Xishen (张希声), who was the superintendent of the Temple of Venerating Life (*Chongshou gong* 崇寿宫) that was located in Siming (Ningbo) in the Song Dynasty. Chen Yuan has studied this case.[49] It was recorded in the "Memorial to the Palace of Venerating Life" (*Chongshou gong ji* 崇寿宫记), which was written by Huang Zhen (黄震), a thinker at the end of the Southern Song Dynasty, and was signed in "the fifth month of the fifth year of Jingding (1264)." In which, the superintendent Zhang said: "Laozi, my Master, headed westward into the West Region, where he reincarnated in the form of Mani the Buddha. The teaching is extremely strict in the observance of precepts and rules. Not only does it hold that there should be pureness and tranquility in this world, but it also requires the faithful eat only one meal a day and not leave home while fasting. The temple I live in is a Daoist monastery and consecrated to Mani, since the latter originates from Laozi."[50] Thus, in the Song Dynasty, there must have been many Manichean followers, who practiced Manichaeism in the name of Daoism as Zhang Xisheng did. They straightforwardly called their own scriptures the Manichean scripture and as one of Daoist sects they practiced their Way openly; so that when the imperial court began compiling the *Daoist Scriptures* (*Dao Zang* 道藏), the Manichean scriptures were included. The "Introduction" to *The Seven Slips of Satchel of Cloud* (*Yunji qiqian* 云笈七籤), which was written by Zhang Junfang (张君房), attested to this:

> The Emperor Zhen resolutely promoted Daoism, and sent all Daoist canons that were stored in the Chamber for Treasured Books in the imperial palace down to the Prefecture of Yuhang. I was appointed the Assistant Commissioner for Compilation and I alone concentrated on this compiling work. At that time, I received all Daoist canons sent from

[49] Chen Yuan, "A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China," in *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwn ji*, 1982), pp. 359–361.

[50] Huang Zhen (黄震), "Memorial to the Palace of Venerating Life" (*Chongshou gong ji* 崇寿宫记), in his *Personal Daily Notes* (*Huangshi richao* 黄氏日钞), vol. 86.

> the imperial palace, and obtained one thousand or so ancient Daoist scriptures from Suzhou, Yuzhou and Taizhou respectively. In addition, I collected the Daoist canons and scriptures of Mani the Messenger of Light that the imperial court later sent down to Fujian and other prefectures and circuits. I and the Daoist priests compared the resemblance and difference between these cannons and scriptures and arranged them in order, finally compiling them into the Daoist Scriptures, which total four thousand five hundred and fifty-five volumes entitled "*The Heaven-Treasured Scriptures of the Great Song Dynasty*" (*Dasong tianbao baozang* 大宋天宝宝藏).[51]

The fact that the Manichean scriptures were compiled into the Daoist Scriptures of the Song Dynasty was narrated in the above-cited "Memorial to the Palace of Veneration," in which it mentioned *Review Collections* (*Hengjian ji* 衡鉴集) and quoted the latter as follows: "(*The Review*) records that in the ninth year of Dazhongxiangfu (1016) and the third year of Tianxi (1019), the imperial court issued the edict to Fuzhou and then the Board of Rites issued the official notice to Wenzhou in the seventh year of Zhenghe (1117) and the second year of Xuanhe (1120) respectively. The goal of these edicts and official notices was to order the two regions to select Manichean scriptures for the Daoist Scriptures." This type of Manichean follower, who relied on Daoism, was not necessarily from the Manichean sect created by the priest Hulu. It was quite probable that the Manichean scriptures they held were handed down from the Tang Dynasty edition. Of course, they were much more tinted with Daoism than their Tang equivalents; (50) otherwise, they could not be selected for the Daoist Canon.

With regards to Manichaeism of the Song Dynasty, the Manicheans who were nominally Daoists went unnoticed by the authorities. It was only after modern scholars read the "Memorial to the Palace of Veneration," a purely literary text, that they came across such Manicheans.[52] Neither the official literature nor the formal historical records deliberately record this. Conversely, the authorities were vigilant with the rehabilitated popular sects of the Teaching of Light and other types of

---

[51] Edouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot were the persons who first noticed the Manichean traces in this record. See: Ed. Chavannes et P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," pp. 326–327.

[52] Hu Shi (胡适) first noticed the Manichean message in the "Memorial to the Palace of Veneration." See: "Letter to Chen Yuan on June 3, 1924," in Chen Zhichao (陈智超), ed., *Collection of Chen Yuan's Letters* (*Chen Yuan laiwang shuxin ji* 陈垣来往书信集) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), pp. 173–174.

religiously-bound grassroots associations at the turn of the two Song dynasties. All of them were recorded in great numbers in the official documents.

Critical Study on Variant Names of Manichaeism in Song

It has become commonplace to dwell on the complicated racial and class contradiction and conflicts of all social sectors and interests at the turn of the two Song dynasties. Facing the social environment filled with natural calamities and man-made misfortunes, it was easy for Manichaeism, which "observed this world through the prism of 'darkness-or-light,' had a negative attitude towards the existing social order and acted as an opposition for both secular and spiritual orthodoxy,"[53] to win the hearts of the people. This period was a rare opportunity for the rehabilitation of the Manichean teaching. This writer maintains that, for the Manichaeism in the coastal region, which "was located in the border area between north and south China and rose like a phoenix from the ashes," we need not look to the so-called "seafaring barbarians."[54] Rather, the kindling left by the Tang Dynasty was adequate to rekindle the fire, especially in such ideal circumstances.[55]

In the heyday of the peasant revolt in the Southern Song Dynasty, the Manichean followers, especially those members of the sect of the Teaching of Light, became the most conspicuous group. Thus, the forty-eighth chapter of *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*) said: (51)

> As *The Record of the Listener* (*Yi jian zhi* 夷坚志) observed that the practice of "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" was especially prevalent in the area of Sanshan. The leader of such practitioners wore a purple hat and loose clothes, and the female followers dressed themselves

---

[53] Cai Hongsheng (蔡鸿生), "Introduction to '*Reinvestigation on Nestorianism in Tang Dynasty*'" (*Tangdai jingjiao zai yanjiu* xu 唐代景教再研究序), in Cai Hongsheng, *The Realm of Pursuing Learnedness* (*Xue jing* 学境) (Hong Kong: Boshi yuan chubanshe, 2001), p. 158.

[54] Wang Guowei (王国维), "A Study on the Prevalence of Manichaeism in China" (*Moni jiao liuxing zhongguo kao* 摩尼教流行中国考), in Wang Guowei, *The Collected Writings of Guantang* (*Guantang jilin* 观堂集林) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 4, pp. 1189–1190.

[55] Lin Wushu, "A Rebuttal of the Idea that the Teaching of Light in Song and Yuan Dynasties was Introduced through Seaways," (*Songyuan binhai diyu mingjiao fei hailu shuru bian* 宋元滨海地域明教非海路输入辩) *The Journal of Sun Yat-sen University* (*Philosophy & Social Sciences Edition*) (中山大学学报 [哲学社会科学版]), no. 3 (2005).

> in black hats and white robes. They were called the sect of the Teaching of Light. Because their scripture said that "the White Buddha speaks and then the world venerates (him)," the Buddha they worshiped was clad in white. Following the order of Buddha in the *Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang jing* 金刚经), that is, the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Buddha, it venerated the Fifth Buddha, also known as "Mani the Last." This name was adopted from the *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians* (*Hua hu jing*), in which it said: "…strode the *Qi* of Way of Nature and Light and entered Suristan, where he was reborn in the royal family and became the prince of the state. Then he abandoned the family and began practicing the Way. He had the title 'Mani the Last'…" In this way, this teaching manifested itself. Their scripture was the "Two Principles and Three Times." The "Two Principles" refers to the Dark and the Light, and the "Three Times" to the Past, the Present and the Future. When the imperial court issued the edict for compiling the Daoist Scriptures in the years of Dazhongxiangfu, a rich man named Lin Shichang (林世长) bribed the officer in charge and adulterated the collected Daoist ones with Manichean scriptures. Those collected scriptures were emplaced in the Palace of Illuminating the Way (Mingdao gong 明道宫), which was located in the Prefecture of Bo. Nay, it even falsely claimed one of Bai Letian's (白居易) poems for itself, that is, "While I am reading the accounts of Suristan, I am so surprised at the teachings of Mani. The Two Principles narrate the tranquility and silence, and the Fifth Buddha resumes the Light. The sun and the moon are venerated, and heaven and the earth recognize all sentient beings. When it comes to observing the fast, they are on par with the Buddhist faithful." These eight verses of Bai's poem were displayed at the top of their scripture. As for the people who practice this teaching, they have only one meal a day, are buried naked after death, and perform the ritual of worshiping in every seventh two-hour period. These might be the relics of the Yellow Turban Rebellion.[56]

As for the "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" that appears in this record, some scholars in the past held was that it was a variant name for Manichaeism, and hence was not reliable.[57] As a matter of fact, many of peasant rebellions in the Southern Song Dynasty abode

---

[56] Hong Mai (洪迈), *The Record of the Listener* (*Yi jian zhi* 夷坚志), (original) Section 420. In the extant edition of the *Record*, it is in Section 206. Zhi Pan's *Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism* (*Fozu tongji*) was written in the fifth year of Xianchun (1269), and what he quoted from Hong Mai's *Record* cannot be found in the extant edition. Therefore, for some scholars, it is still arguable that whether Zhi Pan's citation was literally copied from the original edition of the *Record*, or it was just his own fabrication.

[57] Lin Wushu, "'Abstaining from meat and worshiping demons' and Manichaeism" (*Chicai shimo yu moni jiao* 吃菜事魔与摩尼教), *History & Literature*, no. 26 (1985). See also: Lin Wushu, *Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*, 1987, 1997), pp. 135–144, pp. 156–165.

by illicit religious discipline and were thus counted as "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons." Thus, the term "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" was an overall term used for the popular religious groups and assemblies, of which the Manichean sect was one. Students of this field have have increasingly come to agree upon this use of the term. The concrete reference to "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" in *The Record of the Listener* (*Yi jian zhi*) might indeed be modeled on the Manichean sect. Although the writer specifically pointed to "the sect of the Teaching of Light," those who deliberately adulterated the Daoist Scriptures with the Manichean ones were the Manicheans that concealed themselves in Daoism; (52) and such followers were distinct from those who maintained independent Manichean belief. Whatever the case may be, the abovementioned quote explicitly points to the Manicheans, showing that the activities of the Manichean followers were so visible that this teaching was regarded as the representative of the practice of "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons." As such, similar non-orthodox religious groups were hard pressed to avoid being categorized in the same way. As Lu You (陆游) showed in his "Item-by-Item Reply" (*Tiaodui zhuang* 条对状):

> Since ancient times, rebels were forced by the cold and hunger that results from flood, drought and famine to form gangs, attack and rob. They could be pacified so long as their case is properly handled. There is no possibility for them to be the real threat to the imperial court. For those evil persons, who deceive and confuse the innocent people, form their secret bonds and bide their time, it is hard to foretell when they will make trouble. Such persons can be found everywhere. In Huainan, they are called "People of the Double Collar-Crossings" (*Er gui zi* 二襘子), the "Teaching of Mouni" (*Mouni jiao* 牟尼教) in Zhejiang, the "Four Fruits" (*Si guo* 四果) in the lower Yangtze River, the "Vajra Chen" (*Jingang chan* 金刚禅) in Jiangxi, the Teaching of Light or the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" (*Jie di zhai* 揭谛斋) in Fujian, and so forth. They have different titles; among them, the Teaching of Light is especially (rampant). There are even scholars, officials and military personnel who practice this teaching. The title of their god is the Messenger of Light; besides, it has the Flesh Buddha (*rou fo* 肉佛), the Bone Buddha (*gu fo* 骨佛), the Blood Buddha (*xue fo* 血佛), and that sort of thing. The followers wear white clothing and black hats, and have gatherings in places they live. They engrave false scriptures and evil portraits for printing and circulation. One Daoist priest named Cheng Ruoqing (程若清) and other persons proofread these printings in the years of Zhenhe; and Huang Chang (黄裳), the Prefect of Fuzhou, supervised the engraving work. (Through these printings) the followers gather more frequently for learning and they are firmly attached to each other. In the name of

> offering sacrifices to ancestors, they worship devils and cease offering the sacrifices of meat. They take drowning as a magical form of practice and have other evil and absurd performances. They burn fragrant incense and then the incense becomes costly; they eat fungus and then the fungus becomes expensive. They gather ever more frequently and grow ever more firmly attached each other. When they stir up incidents, it is chilling. What Zhang Jiao (张角) did in the Han Dynasty, Sun En (孙恩) in the Jin Dynasty and Fang La in recent times, were exactly that sort of thing. I earnestly entreat the imperial court to admonish the officials in charge to be alert to Manichean activities. In case any deeds that violate the law must be punished accordingly. On no account should one be tolerant to them with the rationale that they are just "learn[ing] the heterodox scriptures." The authorities shall post up more notices and let those who practice this teaching know that they must sell their scriptures, portraits and religious apparels and surrender themselves to the government within one month, and they would be pardoned for their crime. When the time limit has passed, the authorities should raise handsome reward and encourage people to report offenders. As for the engraved plates of their scriptures and portraits, the government of prefecture and county shall find the original ones and destroy them immediately. Furthermore, the authorities shall stipulate that anyone who draws the evil portrait and transcribes and prints evil scripture like that of the Teaching of Light will be sentenced to one-year penal servitude. Only these efforts could eliminate all the troubles as those were stirred by stealth in the past.[58]

(53) In these words, Lu You enumerated the titles of this group of "evil and bewildering persons" in different regions. Obviously, he held that no matter how different the titles of "People of the Double Collar-Crossings" in Huainan, the "Teaching of Mouni" in Zhejiang, the "Four Fruits" in the lower Yangtze River, the "Vajra Chan" in Jiangxi and the Teaching of Light or the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" in Fujian were, these groupings essentially consisted of the same sort of "evil and bewildering persons." To his mind, the so-called "evil persons" were those who "deceive and confuse innocent people and go about with each other waiting for the right opportunity." Measured this way, any popular religious organization would wear this label. Was there any place that did *not* have such groups in the crisis-ridden Southern Song? Since the Teaching of Light was relatively active and Lu You knew more about it, he pointed out that "the Teaching of

[58] Lu You, *Collected Writings of Weinan* (*Weinan wenji* 渭南文集), in *The Complete Works of Lu You* (*Lu Fangwong quanji* 陆放翁全集) (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986), pp. 27–28.

Light is especially (rampant)." As did Hong Mai (洪迈), Lu You took Manichaeism as the primary point of reference for all "evil and bewildering persons."[59] Thus, this would give people a false impression that "People of the Double Collar-Crossings", the "Teaching of Mouni", the "Four Fruits", the "Vajra Chan" and the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" were variants of Chinese Manichaeism. It is understandable that an outsider would designate the same religions in the same historical period and cultural region differently. It would be absolutely impossible for an outsider to know that groups with different names are or are not the same religion, especially should these groups willfully act to disguise themselves. As for those new Manichean sects that originated from various sources, names such as "*Ming jiao* 明教" discussed above, must have been denominated accordingly. Manichaeism in the Song Dynasty was a systematic and independent teaching. It had its own scriptures, rituals and rules; and it had its own organized—albeit disparate and not necessarily unified—institutions. Indeed, Song dynasty Manichaeism had very distinct monasterial and popular types of organization, (54) and specific patterns in different regions. As a substantial religious group, the Teaching of Light was distinct from other religions. Therefore, for the Manicheans, they could call themselves "Moni jiao 摩尼教" or "Mingjiao 明教." Nevertheless, if there were followers that broke off into a separate sect and adopted a new title, they would be regarded as being treacherous. In light of the history of religion, such kind of new sect usually was denounced as a heresy. From this point of view, supposed that "People of the Double Collar-Crossings", the "Teaching of Mouni", the "Four Fruits", the "Vajra Chan" and the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" evolved

[59] Among the expressions and performances enumerated by Lu You, there were some ones—for instance, "The title of its god is the Messenger of Light; besides it, it has the Flesh Buddha, the Bone Buddha, the Blood Buddha, and that sort of thing"—apparently were relevant with the Teaching of Light. That is because such titles can be found or traced in the Chinese Manichean scriptures in the Tang Dynasty. For the related discussion, see: Ma Xiaohe (马小鹤), "A Study on the 'Flesh Buddha, Bone Buddha and Blood Buddha': The Relationship of Eucharist and Manichaeism" (*Roufo gufo xuefo yu yishuxuerou kao—jidujiao shengcan yu monijiao de guanxi* 肉佛、骨佛、血佛与夷数血肉考——基督教圣餐与摩尼教的关系), *The Historical Review* (*Shi lin*), no. 3 (2000). What the account described, that "They take drowning as a magic way of practicing and by which they shower" might be modeled on Zoroastrianism. See: Lin Wushu, "The Purifying Ritual of Zoroastrianism," in Lin Wushu, *The Persian Zoroastrianism and Ancient China* (*Bosi baihuojiao yu gudai zhongguo* 波斯拜火教与古代中国) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi 新文丰出版公司, 1995), pp. 61–69.

from Manichaeism as the Teaching of Light did, they could not escape the heretical label that was put on the Teaching of Light by the feudal despot. The disparity between them was that the Teaching of Light was "the orthodoxy of heterodoxy," "since it was directly planted by Hulu, the Manichean priest."[60]

The titles such as "People of the Double Collar-Crossings", the "Teaching of Mouni", the "Four Fruits", the "Vajra Chan" and the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" listed in Lu You's writing, however, cannot be found in the known Manichean scriptures and teachings. It is uncertain that whether or not these groupings originated from Manichaeism and what the Manichean characteristics of their activity would have been. Hence, it is difficult to equate them with the Teaching of Light. As for the "People of the Double Collar-Crossings" and the "Vajra Chan", Lian Lichang has painstakingly argued that they pertained to the Maitreyan teaching and "had existed in the Five Dynasties and prospered in the early Song."[61] The "Teaching of Mouni", did not become prevalent until the Ming Dynasty. In his observation, Wu Han takes for granted that "Mouni was Mani."[62] That is to say, since the writing of Mani, the founding patriarch, had been fixed as "Moni 摩尼" in all approved Manichean literature of the Song Dynasty, the faithful of this teaching would have never dared change it to the Buddhist "Mouni 牟尼." But then it is entirely possible that some newly-established secret societies deliberately took "Mouni 牟尼" as their title in an attempt to be ambiguous. Furthermore, if the "Teaching of Mouni" was really a Manichean sect, Lu You would have immediately brought it to official attention, as per the Tang dynasty edict banning Manichaeism. All in all, until more materials can be found, the claim that "Mouni 牟尼" was another Chinese name of Manichaeism cannot be seen as definitive. As for the "Four Fruits", as Wu Han notes, "it pertained to the Buddhist White Cloud School (*Baiyun zong* 白云宗) and was not the Teaching of Light."[63] According to studies, (55) the word "*si guo* 四果" is a Buddhist term, which "refers to the four realizations of Hinayana

[60] Cai Hongshen, "The Variance of Manichaeism in the Coastal Regions in Tang and Song Dynasties" (Tang Song shidai Moni jiao zai binhai diyu de bianyi).

[61] Lian Lichang (连立昌), *The Secret Societies in Fujian* (*Fujian mimi huishe*), pp. 22–30.

[62] Wu Han, "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo*), in his *Reading Notes of History* (*Dushi zhaji*), p. 268.

[63] *Ibid*., p. 246.

that obtained through practice and contemplation."[64] As there was no concept of "four fruits/realizations" in Manichean teachings, this idea could not be correlated with Manichaeism. Regarding the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence", Wu Han explains that "it was from the Manichean practice of abstention from meat" but does not verify this.[65] I am afraid that this is mere speculation. Assuming that they do not derive from a mistake in transcription, the two characters "*jie di* 揭谛" might be have been gleaned from an honorific title for the Buddha. Manichaeism did abstain from meat; but term such as "*jie di* 揭谛" for this practice in Manichean literature outside of China. No term such as "*jie di*" can be found in other ancient literature. Paul Pelliot discovered a charm from the end of the eighteenth century in the second volume of *Miscellaneous Quotations of the Hall of Aspiration of Decency* (*Zhiya tang zachao* 志雅堂杂钞), which contained the "incantation of Gate and Abstinence" (*jie di zhou* 揭谛咒).[66] This incantation probably imitated the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" in the Song Dynasty, and adds nothing to our understanding of the meaning of the two characters "*jie di*." As for the custom of abstention from meat, the Manichean teaching was not unique. The practice of abstention that was called "*jie di*" might have referred to a fast in a specific festival or occasion. There were a great number of such abstinences in Chinese folk custom; and many of them are preserved among overseas Chinese today. Thus, we do not need to embrace it as a unique custom of the Manichean teaching. After all, the Manichean abstention must be exercised regularly but not occasionally. Even if the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" was to certain extent involved with Manichaeism, it was nothing more than one of many shared rituals. In sum, followers absolutely did not designate their teaching "*jie di*."

In his "To Reply Item by Item" (*Tiaodui zhuang*), Lu You earnestly urged the authorities to mercilessly suppress "evil and bewildering persons." Nevertheless, Lu You only raised against potential threats, not actual ones. In his comment on "A Memorial Concerning the

---

[64] Ci Yi (慈怡), *Fo Guang Buddhist Dictionary* (*Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辞典) (Kaohsiung: Buddha's Light Publishing, 1988), p. 1713.

[65] See n. 62, *supra*.

[66] Paul Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien," T'oung Pao, p. 207. Feng Chengjun, trans., in *The Ninth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong jiu bian*), p. 139, n. 47.

Suppression of Rebel" (*Lun Zhendao shu* 论镇盗疏) by Wang Zhi (王质), an official of the Southern Song regime, Chen Gaohua (陈高华) says:

> Wang Zhi said the doctrine of "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" (*chicai shimo*) did "nothing but help people to draw on the advantages and avoid disadvantages as well as to seek happiness and avoid misfortune." Apparently, it was not against the feudal rule. Why was it prohibited? The reason was simple. On one hand, it "gathered a crowd" and had its own leadership and organization. On the other, it "gathered at night and dispersed at dawn," operating covertly, and beyond easy perception. These two aspects raised the possibility that it could be turned against the government. (56) To nip this potential threat in the bud, rulers must ban the "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons."[67]

In the eyes of a feudal despot, any popular religion was indeed a group of "evil and bewildering persons," so long as it had an organizational structure and large numbers of practitioners and was out of the authorities' reach. As for its tenets and creeds, rulers had little stomach for them. The reason why Lu You urged to ban all grassroots religious sects was nothing more than their organizational nature and mass popularity. Lu You was not interested in the content of the scripture and did not waste any time in comparing the similarities and differences between them. He targeted the Teaching of Light simply because this sect was relatively large.

The argument that groups such as "People of the Double Collar-Crossings", the "Teaching of Mouni", the "Four Fruits", the "Vajra Chan" and the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" were not necessarily offshoots of Manichaeism does not discount the possibility of connections between these groups and the Manichean teaching. Any new religion is bound to assimilate more or less ingredients of the present or past religious teachings. In the southern Song Dynasty, except for mainstream religions such as Buddhism and Daoism, Manichaeism was undoubtedly the most influential among the popular religious sects. Because of this, the Manichean sect drew the authorities' attention.

---

[67] Chen Gaohua (陈高华), "Manicheaism and 'abstaining from meat and worshiping demons': A Study Beginning from Wang Zhi's 'A Memorial Concerning the Suppression of Rebel' (摩尼教与吃菜事魔——从王质论镇盗疏说起)," in *Treatise on the Chinese Peasant War* (*Zhongguo nongmin zhanzhengshi luncong* 中国农民战争史论丛) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1983), no. 4. See also: Chen Gaohua, *Anthology of Chen Gaohua* (*Chen Gaohua wenji* 陈高华文集) (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005), p. 542.

As an independent religion with its own origin and development, Manichean doctrines, scriptures, rituals and organization were more advanced than those of popular sects, despite constant persecution. Thus, it was very possible for the secret societies of the Song Dynasty to absorb or syncretize, to different extent, some Manichean doctrines and rituals, since Manichaeism had been an important model. Some societies were so conspicuous that modern scholars can understand them, others are lost due to a lack of historical records. On the other hand, the Manichean teaching necessarily absorbed doctrines and rites of local religion. As such, these religious sects, Manichaeism included, were a threat to the contemporary regime. (57) Because of these, it is quite difficult for an outsider to distinguish these sects from Manichaeism, let alone the despotic authorities, who had no intention to express a distinction between them.

An Explanation of the Yuan Teaching of Suristan

During the Yuan Dynasty, the popular name of Manichaeism was the Teaching of Light. One stele of Yuan attests to this. This stele currently is preserved in the Museum of Maritime History in Quanzhou. It reads as follows:

> Dedicated to Malishilimen (马里失里门), the most venerable (*malihaxiya* 马里哈昔牙) Bishop (*abisibiba* 阿必思古八) of the Teaching of Yelikewen (也里可温) and Superintendent of the Teaching of Light, the Teaching of Daqin and other teachings in all circuits (lu 路) of the region south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Written with great respect and sorrow by Tiemidasaoma (帖迷答扫马) and other people on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in the second year of Huangqing (1313).

In addition to the name "Teaching of Light," another one—the Teaching of Suristan (苏邻法), appears in a source discovered by Li Yukun (李玉昆), a local expert on history and culture in Quanzhou. It says:

> (Zhuang) Huilong was born on the third day of the fourth month in the eighteenth year of Zhiyuan (1281) and passed away on the twenty-first day of the tenth month in the ninth year of Zhengji (1349). He lost his parents when he was still young. Then he resolved to improve himself and studied under the instruction of Qiu Diaoji, an intinerant learned scholar. He showed filial piety to his family and created marvelous writings. All one hundred or so of his poems were worthy to be printed. He greatly extended his family learning and left it as a treasure for his descendants. Ouyang Xian, the chief clerk of Jinjiang had a very high

> opinion of him and called him the "Elderly Hermit of Mountain Forest and Spring." In his twilight years, Huilong grew tired of the worldly truth. Building a shamanic altar for entertaining his guests and friends, he threw himself into the Teaching of Suristan.

This record is found in the hand-copied sequel to *The Genealogy of Family Zhuang in Qingyang* (*Qingyang zhuangshi zupu* 青阳庄氏族谱) in the Ming period of Chongzhen. Recently, Nian Liangtu (粘良图), who works for the Museum of Jinjang, discovered in the extra edition of *The Genealogy of the Family Zhuang Founded by the Winner of the Imperial Examination in Qingyang* (*Qingyang zhaoji kejia zhuangshi zupu* 青阳肇基科甲庄氏族谱) the epitaph composed by Ouyang Xian—the chief clerk of Jinjiang—in the years of Zhizheng of Yuan Dynasty for Zhuang Huilong, in which it said: "In his twilight years, (Zhuang) Huilong tired of worldly truth and threw himself into the Teaching of Suristan, and built a shamanic altar in the right part of his community, where he contacted and entertained his friends in carefree leisure according to his own aspirations."[68] (58) It showed the account that Zhuang Huilong believed in the Teaching of Suristan in his remaining years in the Genealogy was based on this epitaph in the Zhizheng period of Yuan.

The most authoritative account for the relationship of Manichaeism and Suristan is the aforementioned "Section One of the Doctrine: The Title of Patriarch of the Reborn Place" (*Tuohu guo zhu minghao zongjiao diyi*) of the Dunhuang manuscript of *The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light*, in which the word "Suristan" appeared two times:

> Mani the Buddha of Light was born in the imperial palace of the King Patig (*Ba di* 跋帝) of *Sūrisātn*, and was born of Maryam (Manyan 满艳), who was the King's wife and from the family of Kamsarakan (Jinsajian 金萨健).

Another was in *The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* (*Laozi huahu jing*) that the *Compendium* had quoted. Since it has been cited in the above discussion, here I will not repeat it.

These two sources may be the origin of the connection between Manichaeism, Laozi and Suristan in the literature of Song and Yuan dynasties. He Qiaoyuan's record, however, said: "Mani the Buddha,

---

[68] Here I express my sincere thanks to Mr. Nian Liangtu for his notification of such an important finding.

also known as 'Mani the Last the Buddha of Light', came from Suristan. He was another Buddha and had the title 'Great Messenger of the Light with Complete Wisdom'. It was said that Laozi had set off westward and arrived the place of drifting sand, where he sojourned for more than five hundred years. It was in the thirteenth year of Jian'an of the reign of Emperor Xian of the West Han Dynasty (A.D. 208) when Laozi transfigured into "*nai yun*" (a pomegranate tree). The wife of the King Badi ate the fruit of the tree and felt it was sweet. Thereupon, she became pregnant. When she gave birth, the fetus opened her chest and came out. What the 'nai yun' was the pomegranate tree planted in the imperial garden. This legend corresponded to the story of 'climbing the plum tree and coming out of the left ribs'." Here, the birth of Mani converged totally with the legendary reincarnation of Laozi. This story could not appear in the Manichean scripture of Tang, because western scholars have verified that in the *Compendium's* narrative—"Mani the Buddha of Light was born in the imperial palace of the King Patig of *Sūrisātn*, and was born of Maryam, who was the King's wife and from the family of Kamsarakan"[69]—there was no legend of "transfiguration into 'nai yun'" at all. He Qiaoyuan's account, however, was not groundless. In light of Mr. Nian Liangtu's fieldwork, there is a Palace of Territorial God (*Jingzhu gong* 境主宫) in the south of Sunei Village, where the Manichean Thatched Hut is located. In this Palace, Mani the Buddha is the principal deity and is worshiped together with other four deities. "It is said that all the territorial gods are 'vegetarian Buddhas' (*cai fo* 菜佛), so that the food laid on the altar must be vegetables, fruits and preserved fruits. But, the guava—'*nai ba* 奈拔' in vernacular and is treated as the '*nai yun*' (pomegranate) through which Mani the Buddha of Light incarnated—cannot be offered."[70] (59) It is thus clear that the legend of "transfiguring into '*nai yun*' (a pomegranate tree)" did come from Manichean

[69] "Sulinguo 苏邻国" was *Sūrisātn* [i.e., the Babylon]. "Ba di 跋帝" meant Mani's father, and it was the transliteration of the word "Patig." "Man yan 满艳" was the transliteration of the name of Mani's mother, "Maryam." "Jinsajian 金萨健" was "Kamsarakan," a family that was frequently mentioned in the history of Armenia in the fourth century. Since this family claimed it was from the royal family of Parthia, Mani's mother usually was regarded as one of princesses of the Parthian royal household. See: W. B. Henning, "The Book of Giants," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XI, Part 1 (1943), p. 52.

[70] Nian Liangtu (粘良图), "The Manichean Belief in Jinjiang" (*Moni jiao xinyang zai jinjiang* 摩尼教信仰在晋江), *Religion in Fujian* (*Fujian zongjiao* 福建宗教), no. 6 (2004).

followers of the time. Supposedly, it was the Manicheans who posed as Daoist who fabricated this story on the basis of *The Inner Chapter of Mysterious Sublimity* (*Xuanmiao neipian* 玄妙内篇) and *The Scripture of Highest Origin* (*Shangyuan jing* 上元经) in the *Daoist Scriptures*. Their purpose was to prove the shared origin of Manichaeism and Daoism, thereby helping them to keep practicing their Manichean way. In any case, the fact that Chinese Manicheans believed that the founding patriarch was born in Suristan was beyond all doubt.

As far as we know, two of the numerous popular religions in ancient China that could be textually verified as related to "Suristan," these are Daoism and Manichaeism. Many Daoist scriptures refer to a "*Sulin fa* 苏邻法" or "*Sulin jiao* 苏邻教" (i.e., the Teaching of Suristan). Therefore, the so-called Teaching of Suristan in which Zhuang Huilong projected himself must have been Manichaeism or the Teaching of Light. In view of the manner of writing, the title—"the Teaching of Suristan"—must have been an appellation invented by a third party, and could not have been designated by Zhuang himself. Logically, Manichaeism must have had an official title and even variations such as "the Teaching of Light" were accepted. There was no need for Manichean followers to rename it to "the Teaching of Suristan," a name that was in line with the cradle of their religion. Just as Christianity was designated as the "Teaching of Daqin," the practice of renaming a religion in accordance with its place of origin was apparently the work of outsiders. To the Manichean faithful, this designation was acceptable since it was neither derogatory nor complimentary. Now that the contemporaries called Manichaeism or the Teaching of Light "*Sulin fa* 苏邻法 [the Chinese character '*fa* 法' literally means 'law,' but here alludes to Buddhist dharma]," there was most likely the formulation of "*Sulin jiao* 苏邻教 [the Chinese character '*jiao* 教' means teaching]." In *Memorial to The Temple of Being Perfection* (*Xuanzhen si ji* 选真寺记), a stele of Yuan discovered in the Pingyang County of Wenzhou, it said that this "Temple of Being Perfection was the building for the teaching originated from Suristan."[71] In terms the conventions for simplification, "the teaching originated from Suristan"

[71] For discussion on this stele, see: Lin Wushu, "Re-Examination on the Manichean Attribute of The Temple of Being Perfection in Song and Yuan Dynasties" (*Song Yuan wenzhou xuanzhen si moni jiao shuxing zai bianxi* 宋元温州选真寺摩尼教属性再辨析), *Treatise on Chinese History and Literature* (*Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛), vol. 84, no. 4 (2006).

could of course be abbreviated to "the teaching of Suristan 苏邻教." In view of these extant materials, so far there are only the two cases, in which the Manichean teaching had the name "Sulin 苏邻." The reason might have been due to public opinion. That is to say, since the Teaching of Light was largely categorized into the cohort of "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" and "evil and bewildering persons" in the official literature of Song, such practice must have created a disadvantageous image of the Manichean teaching. The legacy of this kind of public opinion manufactured in Song still influenced the Yuan Dynasty, though the latter adopted a more tolerant policy for various religions and never issued any edict of prohibition that targeted in particular at the Teaching of Light. Additionally, during the Mongol conquest of China, many foreign religions swarmed into the Middle Kingdom; among them, (60) there was the Christian churches, that is, the "Yelikewen 也里可温," whose followers were dominantly people of the caste of "assorted categories" (*Semu ren* 色目人 ["people with colored eyes," referring to Central Asians]) who enjoyed prerogatives that the Han Chinese (*Hanren* 汉人) and the Southerners (*Nanren* 南人) were denied.[72] This situation may have facilitated a fashion for foreign religion in the public. Consequently, when people mentioned the Manichean belief of their ancestors, relatives and friends, they would rather emphasize the foreign origin of this teaching than have it mistakenly labeled as an evil religious sect.

An Analysis of the "Teaching of the Radiant Father"

Past scholarship held that Manichaeism adopted new names in the Ming Dynasty, in which the most identifiable one was the Teaching of the Radiant Father (*Mingzun jiao* 明尊教). In one treatise, Edouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot maintained that it looked like Manichaeism had disappeared in the Yuan Dynasty, and "then it reemerged with a new title in the fourteenth century."[73] Although in their original paper the two writers did not directly name what this new title was, they

[72] Yin Xiaoping (殷小平), "The Rise of Nestorianism in the Lower Yangtze River Region in Yuan Dynasty with Regard to the Grand Temple of Prospering the State" (*Cong daxingguo si kan yuandai jiangnan jingjiao de xingqi* 从大兴国寺看元代江南景教的兴起), *Treatise on Chinese History and Literature* (*Zhonghua wenshi luncong*), vol. 84, no. 4 (2006), pp. 290–313.

[73] Ed. Chavannes et P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," p. 364.

affirmed the "Teaching of the Radiant Father" as Manichaeism in their discussion on this teaching that appeared in the literature of Ming in the latter part of their writing, Feng Chengjun (冯承钧) translated their exposition as: "It seemed that Manichaeism had vanished in the Yuan Dynasty. Then, this religion transmuted into the Teaching of the Radiant Father by the time of Ming Dynasty."[74] Consequently, it gave the Chinese reader an impression that the name of Manichaeism had become the Teaching of the Radiant Father in Ming. Not surprisingly, they suspected Manichaeism had been extinct in Yuan, since He Qiaoyuan's *Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu*) had not been available for them and they did not know of "Memorial to Zhuxi Tower" (*Zhuxi lou ji*) by Chen Gao, let alone the *Memorial to The Temple of Being Perfection* (*Xuanzhen si ji*), when Chavannes and Pelliot worked on this treatise. Whether or not it conformed to the writers' real intention, the apprehension of Feng Chengjun that Manichaeism transformed into the Teaching of the Radiant Father in Ming was far from the historical reality.

As for materials concerning the Teaching of the Radiant Father, there were only statutes which names this teaching on a list of banned sects. (61) Chavannes and Pelliot first made use of one record in the verbatim transcription of *The Veritable Records of the Period of Honghu* (*Hongwu shilu* 洪武实录), which was preserved in the Cambridge University Library and Bibliothèque Nationale de France and was rarely seen in China at that time. This source records an edict from the third year of Hongwu (1370) banning all secret sects. It read:

> For those monks and Daoist priests who build altar for performing rituals, they are neither allowed to write memorials on paper to present to Heaven nor to draw portraits of the celestial gods and the earth deities. The White Lotus Society, the Teaching of the Radiant Father, the White Cloud School (*Baiyun zong* 白云宗) and witches and wizards who practice spirit writing, pretend to be possessed by deities, draw magic figures and make charmed water, all must be strictly prohibited. Only when heterodoxies are suppressed will people not be misled. The decree must be strictly abided by.

This imperial edict was issued in the third year of Hongwu, but it might be conceived in the first year of Hongwu (1368). In accordance

[74] For Feng's translation, see: *The Eighth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong ba bian*), p. 96.

with the Section Three—"The Biography of Li Shanchang" (*Li Shanchang zhuan* 李善长传)—of *Accounts of Achievements of Renown Ministers* (*Mingqing jiji* 名卿绩纪) by Wang Shizhen (王世贞):

> The Emperor Gao [Zhu Yuanzhang's posthumous title] returned from his inspection trip to Bian [Kaifeng]….(the Minister) presented the memorial for banning the White Lotus Society, the Teaching of the Radiant Father, the White Cloud School, witches and wizards, sorceries of spirit writing, faking possession by spirits, drawing magic figures and making charmed water. The Emperor issued the degree and approved it.[75]

In light of the textual study of Wang Chien-ch'uan, a Taiwanese scholar, it was in the first year of Hongwu when "the Emperor Gao made an inspection trip to Bian."[76] Obviously, the program proposed by Li Shanchang was implemented and it finally became the statute of "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries" (*Jinzhi shiwu xieshu* 禁止师巫邪术), which was adopted into *The Great Ming Code* (*Daming lü* 大明律). It read as follows:

> Witches and wizards who make use of séances, illustrated incantations, charmed water, spirit writing, who pretend to be possessed by deity and call themselves the Upright Lord and Grand Guardian (*Duangong taibao* 端公太保) and the Great Instructress (*Shi po* 师婆), and for those assemblies that falsely proclaim the Maitreya Buddha or claim to be the White Lotus Society, the Teaching of Venerating Light (*Zun Ming jiao* 尊明教), the White Cloud School and that sort of thing, all of which are evil and misleading practices. They conceal images or portraits of their deities, burn incense and convene gatherings, gather at night and disperse at dawn, pretend to do charity work, and mislead and instigate the residents. Their leader shall be punished by strangulation, and the accessory offenders shall be bludgeoned by three hundred strokes and be exiled to three thousand *li* away. For those military personnel and civilians who dress themselves up as deities and strike gongs and beat drums and welcome spirits through organizing parades of idols, they shall be bludgeoned by one hundred stokes. This punishment is only applicable to those who lead the activities. For those wardens of *li* (里) who know these activities but fail to report them to the authorities, they shall be whipped by forty stokes. This statute is not to be applied to the popular

[75] Wu Han first cited this record. See: "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo*), in his *Reading Notes of History* (*Dushi zhaji*), p. 267.

[76] Wang Chien-ch'uan (王见川), *From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light* (*Cong moni jiao dao Ming jiao* 从摩尼教到明教) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1992), p. 348. In the official *History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史), the Volume Two—Basic Annals of the Founding Emperor (*Taizu benji* 太祖本纪)—put down "on the day of *jiazi*" of the fourth month in the first year of Hongwu, the Emperor "inspected Bianliang."

spring and fall *she* rituals, in which the residents ask for blessing from the Heaven and requite sacrifices.[77]

In view of the time when this decree was proposed and issued, the Teaching of the Radiant Father should have emerged before the early Ming. It cannot, however, be traced the literature before the Ming Dynasty. Thus, this writer suspects it might well have been created at the end of Yuan and, like the White Lotus Society and the White Cloud School, aligned itself with Zhu Yuanzhang to overthrow the Mongol regime. In the process of grabbing power, Zhu Yuanzhang and his attendants had dealings with this sect and knew well its potential threat, and thereby took steps to crush it immediately after the

[77] See: "The Article of Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries" (禁止师巫邪术), in Ying Jia (应槚), *Explanations on The Great Ming Code* (*Da Ming lü shiyi* 大明律释义) (The blocked edition of Jiajing of Ming Dynasty.), vol. 11. Chavannes and Pelliot had quoted this Article, but their quotation was based on Section One of "Rites" of "Supplementary Provisions" in the eleventh volume of *Collected Commentaries on The Great Ming Code* (*Da Ming lü jijie* 大明律集解). It stipulated: "For witches and wizards who make use of séance, illustrated incantation, charmed water, spirt writing, pretending to be possessed by deity and call themselves the Upright Lord and Grand Guardian and the Great Instructress, and for those assemblies that falsely proclaim the Maitreya Buddha or claim to be the White Lotus Society, the Teaching of Venerating Light, the White Cloud School and that sort of thing, all of which are evil and bewildering practice. They conceal images or portraits of their deities, burn incense and convene gatherings, gather at night and break up at dawn, pretend to do charity work, and bewilder and instigate the residents. The leading figure of them shall be punished by strangulation, and the accessory offender shall be bludgeoned by three hundred strokes and be exiled to three thousand *li* away. [Original Note: The Maitreya Buddha of the West (*Xifang mile fo* 西方弥勒佛), the White Lotus Society of the Lord Huiyuan (*Yuangong bailian she* 远公白莲社), the Teaching of Venerating Light of Mouni (*Mouni zun Ming jiao* 牟尼尊明教) and the Buddhist White Cloud School (*Shishi baiyun zong* 释氏白云宗) are the four cases.]." For the "Teaching of Venerating Light" (*Zun Ming jiao* 尊明教) appeared in the Article and its original note, Chavannes and Pelliot observed it was the misnomer of the "Teaching of the Radiant Father" (*Ming zun jiao* 明尊教). See: Ed. Chavannes et P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," pp. 368–369; and Feng Chengjun, trans., in *The Eighth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong ba bian*), p. 98. Other scholars agree with their observation and directly quote it. "Radiant Father" (*Ming zun* 明尊) was the well-known title of the supreme god of Chinese Manichaeism, therefore, employing it to denominate the Manichean teaching was quite reasonable. Besides, it was not impossible to name the teaching "Venerating Light" (zun ming 尊明), as this title meant "uphold brightness." After retrieving the literatures of Ming and Qing dynasties, in all documents that mentioned the title of the banned religions, it was written as "*ming zun jiao* 明尊教" and there was no equivalent case of "*zun Ming jiao* 尊明教." Of course, we cannot preclude the possibility of erroneous circulation. Since there is no scripture of this teaching by far, this question should be left for future consideration.

founding of the new dynasty. As for the illegal activities mentioned in this edict, they were repeated in the accounts of evil and heretical sects in the official literature of all Chinese dynasties. The Sinicized Manichean sects did these as well, but it was not unique. With regards to the doctrines, organizations, rituals and activities of the Teaching of the Radiant Father, there was nothing new from these years. Hence, based solely on the aforementioned records, it is impossible for us to affirm this teaching was exactly an incarnation of the Teaching of Light, except that its title might bear on Manichaeism. The reason why scholars claimed that it was a Manichean teaching was based on none other than the two characters—"*ming zun* 明尊 ['the light' and 'the respected']." This is was what Chavannes and Pelliot did in their textual study:

> The Teaching of the Radiant Father was Manichaeism. In both the fragments of Manichean scripture and *The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* (*Laozi huahu jing*), all of which are preserved in The Capital Library in Beijing, Mani was denominated as "*ming shi* 明使" (the Messenger of Light). The meaning of "*ming shi* 明使" and "*ming zun* 明尊" was close. (63) In view of this, at the end of the fourteenth century, Manichaeism still had followers in China.[78]

This coauthored treatise by Chavannes and Pelliot was first published in 1913. The first portion of the *Compendium*, which explained the title of Mani, was proved as a Manichean scripture in 1923 by two Japanese scholars, Keiki Yabuki and Mikinosuke Ishida. Therefore, the two writers equated Radiant Father with Mani, because they did not know of such a record at that time. According to the explanation of the *Compendium*, the title of Mani, the founding patriarch, was transliterated as "Foyisedewulushen 佛夷瑟德乌录诜" and rendered as "the Messenger of the Light"; besides, he was also known as "the King of Complete Wisdom," or "Mani the Buddha of Light, which is a variant title for 'the Manifestation of True Body of the Supreme Medical King of the Light with the Great Wisdom' (*Guangming dahui wushang yiwang yinghua fashen* 光明大慧无上医王应化法身)." He was the man who "receives in person the clear and pure edict from the Radiant Father" and was reborn in this world. He was therefore the messenger

[78] See: Ed. Chavannes et P. Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine," p. 366; and Feng Chengjun, trans., in *The Eighth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong ba bian*), p. 97.

of Radiant Father but not the Father himself. In the *Hymn of the Lower Section* (*Xiabu zan*), the word "*ming zun* 明尊" in total appeared nine times. Judging from the context from which they emerge, none of them referred to the founding patriarch—Mani. The word "*ming zun* 明尊" also appeared in Chavannes and Pelliot's translation of the Chinese Manichean scriptures preserved in Beijing. There were two cases. One was in Line 77, and the complete paragraph read as follows:

> The Ether, the Wind, the Light, the Water, the Fire, the Mercy, the Honesty, the Perfection, the Forbearance, the Wisdom, and "*Hu□sede*" (呼□瑟德) and "□lou□de" (□喽□德), together with the Maiden of Light (*Huiming* 惠明), in all they are thirteen and they are the mark of *the Father* (*ming zun* 明尊) of the immaculate and bright realm. [Translator's note: square denote missing character. Emphasis added by Lin Wushu.]

The other was in Line 133:

> *The Evangelion* (*Ying lun jing* 应轮经) says: those like Diannawu (电郍勿) who have the virtuous doctrines in their body, and the Father and Sons of the Light and the Living Spirit frequently stroll about and have rest in their own body. The Radiant Father is the supreme *god of the Light*; the Sons of the Light are the Sun, the Moon and the Light. The Living Spirit is the Maiden of Light. (Translator's note: emphasis added by Lin Wushu.)

Ruminating over these two paragraphs, we know that the "ming zun 明尊 [the Patriarch of the Light]" was the Radiant Father, that is, the supreme deity of Manichaeism. (64) Of course, since there were no more explicit Chinese materials for reference at that time, Chavannes and Pelliot's misinterpretation is understandable. Later, on the basis of the abovementioned *Compendium*, and consulting the western Manichean scriptures, scholars have confirmed that the supreme god of the Light in the Manichean doctrine of creating the world was denominated as "*ming zun* 明尊" (Radiant Father) in Chinese Manichean scriptures.[79] As for Mani, the founding patriarch, he did have the title "*ming shi* 明使" (the Messenger of Light), but calling him "*ming*

[79] Lin Wushu, "A Preliminary Study on the Two Principles and Three Times of Mani and its Origin" (*Moni de erzong sanji lun jiqi qiyuan chutan* 摩尼的二宗三际论及其起源初探), *Studies in World Religion* (*Shijie zongjiao yanji*), no. 3 (1982). See also: Lin Wushu, *Dissemination in the East* (*Monijiao jiqi dongjian*) (Beijing, 1987; Taipei: 1997), pp. 12–34, pp. 12–32. And: Xu Dishan (许地山), "On the Two Principles and Three Times of Manichaeism," *The Yenching Journal* (*Yanjing xuebao* 燕京学报), vol. 3 (1928), pp. 383–402.

zun 名尊" was out of the question. But then, whether the title "*ming zun* 名尊" referred to Mani himself or the supreme deity, it certainly was unique to Manichaeism. Based on this, Chavannes and Pelliot straightforwardly equated the Teaching of the Radiant Father with Manichaeism. Their opinion, however, was not groundless, so that it affected all through the Chinese study on Manichaeism.

The above discussion shows that Manichaeism did have a fixed title. After the Tang, when it was not given the name of its founding patriarch, this religion would be designated as the Teaching of Light in accordance with its doctrine and ritual custom. By the Ming, the heart of Manichaeism was still beating. The record of He Qiaoyuan said: "When the founding emperor of Ming unified the country, the court employed Confucian doctrines to educate the people and regarded the Teaching of Light as usurping the official state title "Light," so that the followers of Manichean sects were ordered disbanded and the Manichean temples destroyed. Yu Xin, Chief Director of the Board of Revenue, and Yang Long, the Chief Director of the Board of Rites, presented a memorial to the Emperor for retaining this teaching; thus, this matter was postponed." Although there was no mention of this event in the "Basic Annals of the Founding Emperor" (*Taizu benji* 太祖本纪) or the biographies of the official *History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*), nor any article that specially mentioned the Teaching of Light in the Ming codes, the fact that the Ming government had indeed prohibited this teaching in its very early years is beyond question.[80] Volume Four—"The Epitaph for the Deceased Mr. Xiong, the Chief Officer for Records of the Guard Post of Qining" (*Gu qining wei jingli Xiong fujun muming* 故岐宁卫经历熊府君墓铭)—of *A Sequel to Anthology of the Virtue Garden* (*Zhiyuan xuji* 芝园续集) by Song Lian (宋濂) attested:

> The imperial designation of the reign was changed to "Hongwu 洪武" in the next year, and the Emperor mounted the throne. Since then, there were public works, of which Mr. Xiong was mostly informed in advance. The Emperor treated Mr. Xiong kindly and generously and often directly called him by his courtesy name.... In the region of Wenzhou, a flock of people practiced a heresy called the Teaching of Great Light (*Daming jiao* 大明教). They built and decorated extravagant temples and halls. Many of the dispossessed were taken by it. Mr. Xiong

[80] "Biography of Yu Xin" (*Yu Xin zhuan* 郁新传), no. 38, "Assembled Biographies" (*Lie zhuan* 列传), vol. 150, *The History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*) (the punctuated-and-collated edition by Zhonghua shuju), pp. 4157–4158.

> felt that this heterodoxy deluded the people, bewildered society and even usurped the official state title; thus, he wrote a memorial to the Emperor for the banning of this teaching. Then, the authorities confiscated the property of the sect, disbanded its followers, and dispersed them back to work on the farmland.

Wu Han first made use of this piece of historical record.[81] On the basis of Wu's work, (65) Wang Chien-ch'uan (王见川) further observes the protagonist of this incident was Xiong Ding (熊鼎), then Assistant Commissioner of the Provincial Surveillance Commission of Zhejiang.[82] While there was no record for this matter in Xiong's biography in the *History of the Ming Dynasty*,[83] what the Epigraph described—"(this teaching) usurped the official state title"—was same as what He Qiaoyuan recorded. These records show that this event did take place at that time. On the other hand, the prohibition of the Teaching of Light demonstrated it was still so influential that it drew the authorities' attention and incurred this ban in early Ming. Of course, the substantive reason of the autocratic authorities' forbidding the popular religious group was not necessarily its usurpation of the official state title but what was mentioned above—its real or latent threat to the dictatorial rule. That was why the founding emperor of Ming banned the Teaching of Light for a time. What the Epigraph records—"Mr. Xiong held that this evil sect deluded the people, bewildered society and even usurped the official state title; thus he wrote a memorial to the Emperor for banning this teaching"—disclosed the true motivation. That it "deluded the people, bewildered society" was the substantial crime, and "usurping the official state title" was simply a pretext. Considering this, since titles such as Maitreya Buddha, the White Lotus Society and the White Cloud School had no relationship with the official state name; were they exempted from being banned? Because of the lack of primary sources, we cannot tell why Yu Xin (郁新), the Chief Director of the Board of Revenue, and Yang Longzhi (杨隆之), the Chief Director of the Board of Rites, "presented a memorial to the Emperor for retaining this teaching." The fact that

---

[81] Wu Han, "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo*), *Reading Notes of History* (*Dushi zhaji*), p. 268.

[82] Wang Chien-ch'uan, *From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light* (*Cong moni jiao dao Ming jiao*), p. 350.

[83] "Man of Loyalty and Righteousness" (*Zhong yi* 忠义), no. 177, "Assembled Biographies" (*Lie zhuan* 列传), vol. 285, *The History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*) (the edition by Zhonghua shuju), pp. 7417–7418.

their successful effort of discerning the act of "delud(ing) the people and bewilder(ing) the society" and finally allowed "this matter (be) postponed" could give us a hint. The fact that there was no edict directed solely against the Teaching of Light gave weight to it. The Teaching of Light, whose "matter was postponed," was active at least in the area of Quanzhou. In archaeological excavation work in Quanzhou in the 1950s, besides the Thatched Hut and the stone statue of Mani the Buddha, all of which were described in He Qiaoyuan's account, one Cliffside Inscription was found in the place roughly forty meters ahead of the hut. It has sixteen Chinese characters which read as follows:

> The Immaculacy and Brightness (*qingjing guangming* 清净光明).
> The Great Power and Wisdom (*dali zhineng* 大力智能).
> The Highest Perfection (*wushang zhizhi* 无上至真).
> Mani the Buddha of Light (*Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛).[84]

Undoubtedly, the "Mani the Buddha of Light" which appears in this inscription pertains to the Teaching of Light mentioned by He Qiaoyuan. That someone could brazenly promote the Teaching of Light by inscribing such a verse on a precipice indicates that local authorities did not intervene in the sect's activities. In the fieldwork carried out in villages around the Thatched Hut, in addition to discovering that Mani the Buddha was worshiped as a local guardian—the Territorial God, there are some residents who still enshrine idols of Mani the Buddha.[85] Historical sources, archaeological excavation, and fieldwork all attest that, at least in the Ming Dynasty, the Teaching of Light still acted with "regal poise" in the area of Quanzhou. Thus, as late as the Ming, the orthodoxy of the Teaching of Light still existed and the heart of this teaching continued to beat. Chavannes, Pelliot and Feng Chengjun's assertion that "…this religion transmuted into the Teaching of the Radiant Father by the time of Ming Dynasty," (66) that is, the Teaching of Light was replaced by the Teaching of the Radiant Father, is out of the question.

---

[84] For its relationship with Manichaeism in the Tang Dynasty, see: Lin Shuwu, "Textual Criticism and Explanation of Lapidarian Sixteen-Character Verse of Manichaeism in Fujian" (*Fujian shiliu zi ji kaoshi*), in Lin Wushu, *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng*), pp. 5–32.

[85] Nian Liangtu, "The Manichean Belief in Jinjiang" (*Moni jiao xinyang zai jinjiang*).

Recently, Zhang Shuqiong (张淑琼) conducted a computer-aided search for items related with the Teaching of the Radiant Father, and checked all of sources against the corresponding ancient books. She uncovered records that had never been used before. Probably, this new evidence will be helpful for us to clarify these problem:

Ying Jia (应㮨, 1493–1553), in the Volume Eleven of *Explanations on The Great Ming Code* (*Da Ming lü shiyi* 大明律释义), wrote an explanation to the aforementioned Article "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries," in which he said:

> Male and female followers of the Teaching of the Radiant Father observed abstentions. Currently, they follow the doctrine of Mouni the Buddha of Light (*Mouni guangfo* 牟尼光佛).[86]

The expression that "Male and female followers of the Teaching of the Radiant Father observed abstentions" might imitate the stereotyped definition of "heterodoxy" in previous reigns. In the aforementioned Volume Ten of *Jottings from the Life-Long Learning Hut* (*Laoxue an biji*) by Lu You, the narrative of the Teaching of Light connoted this type of charge. Just as Lu You recorded, the faithful of the Teaching of Light had defended themselves by saying: "those who do not separate the two sexes are devils, while Manichaeans have the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving." Therefore, the statement that "male and female followers of the Teaching of the Radiant Father observed abstentions" is not enough to prove that the Teaching of the Radiant Father was definitely the Teaching of Light. It is possible that "the doctrine of Mouni the Light of Buddha" in the second part of this paragraph is related to Manichaeism, since the above-mentioned *Compendium* named the founding patriarch "Mani the Buddha of Light," the same designation as in the inscription of the Manichean stele in Fujian. The Chinese character that the Teaching of the Radiant Father employed for the title was, however, "*mou* 牟" but not "*mo* 摩"; the character "*mou* 牟" was from the Buddha's Chinese transliterated name "*Shijiamouni* 释迦牟尼" (Sakyamuni). As for the character "*mou* 牟" in the title "Mouni (牟尼) the Light of Buddha," it was not a mistake in the process of printing, because the above discussion has mentioned there was the Teaching

[86] Ying Jia, *Explanations on The Great Ming Code* (*Da Ming lü shiyi* 大明律释义), in *A Sequel to Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Xuxiu siku quanshu* 续修四库全书), "Histories" (*Shi bu* 史部), vol. 863, p. 89, Upper Part.

of Mouni (*Mou ni jiao* 牟尼教). In the original note of the *Collected Commentaries on The Great Ming Code* (*Da Ming lü jijie* 大明律集解), cited by Chavannes and Pelliot, the annotator also combined "*mouni* 牟尼" and the Teaching of the Radiant Father. That this Teaching believed in "Mouni the Buddha of Light" might imply that it had subtle differences with Manichaeism and the Teaching of Light. If, as Ying Jia said, "the doctrine of Mouni the Light of Buddha" followed by the Teaching of the Radiant Father did have a substantive relationship with the Teaching of Light, the younger He Qiaoyuan, who was born four years after Ying's death and was known for being "well-versed in books," would not have neglected this piece of information. Moreover, if "the Mouni the Light of Buddha" was "the Mani the Buddha of Light" worshiped by the Manichean faithful in Quanzhou, why did He Qiaoyuan remain silent on the relationship between the two teachings, when he knew the then-prevalent Teaching of Light so well? (67) This at least tacitly proves that, in He Qiaoyuan's mind, the "Teaching of the Radiant Father" had nothing to do with the Teaching of Light.

From the historical records that Zhang Shuqiong has searched, it was recognizable that *The Qing Code* inherited the Article "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries" from the Ming code. Duplicating the Ming codes, the Qing equivalents naturally pointed out the Teaching of the Radiant Father in its numerous juristic writings, such as *Statutes and Sub-Statutes of the Great Qing* (*Da qing lü li* 大清律例) compiled by San Tai (三泰), *Collected Interpretations to the Great Qing Code* (*Da qing lü jizhu* 大清律辑注) by Shen Zhiqi (沈之奇), Xue Yunsheng's (薛允升) *Lingering Doubts after Reading the Sub-Statutes* (*Du li cunyi* 读例存疑) and Zhou Mengxiong's (周梦熊) *The Auspicious-Cloud-Like Collection of Precedents Conformed to the Sub-Statute* (*Heli pan qingyun ji* 合例判庆云集). Therefore, it gave the false impression that the Teaching of the Radiant Father was still active even at the time of Qing. Actually, this teaching, unlike the White Lotus family, did not have many cases; so far, scholars seldom refer to verified incidents of the Teaching of the Radiant Father. In his *Combined Compilation of Tang and Ming Code* (*Tang ming lü hebian* 唐明律合编), Xue Yunsheng (1820–1901) added an "annotation" to the Article "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries" of the Ming code. It read:

> "师" (*shi*, "master or instructor") refers to the "master" (witch or wizard) who performs sorcery. "巫" (*wu*, "sorcerer or sorceress") is the person who calls down spirits. The Upright Lord and Grand Guardian (*Duangong*

> *taibao* 端公太保) are false titles for wizards. Great Instructress (*Shi po* 师婆) is a false title for witches. The White Lotus Society bewitches the common people by falsely proclaiming that Maitreya is descending into the world and will save all sentient beings from the great calamity of war. Thus, it should be called "The Maitreya Buddha-White Lotus Society," which is the most prevalent one today. As for the Teaching of the Radiant Father and the White Cloud School, there are no reports of their practitioners. The Non-Action Teaching (*Wuwei jiao* 无为教) has just recently emerged and is not as popular as the White Lotus Teaching.
>
> Interpretation: it shall be referred to the Statute for Fabricating Heterodox Writings and Speeches, and attention be paid to its nature of deluding and instigating the common people.[87]

The annotation—"As for the Teaching of the Radiant Father and the White Cloud School, there are no reports of their practitioners"—meant that by Xue's time, the Teaching of the Radiant Father existed in name only.

Even in the Ming Dynasty, among the numerous legal precedents invoked in the Article "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries," it is difficult to distinguish followers of the Teaching of the Radiant Father from ordinary criminals. For example, the court verdict issued on the thirteenth day of the fifth month in the fourth year of Tianqi (1624) in the ninth volume of *Drafts of Memorial to Throne by Zhu Xieyuan the Lord of Excellence and Resoluteness in his Supervision of Sichuan* (*Shaoshi zhu xiangyigong dushu shucao* 少师朱襄毅公督蜀疏草). This verdict was recorded in Zhu's "Memorial for Capturing and Punishing Heterodoxy by Law" (*Qinzhi yaojiao shu* 擒治妖教疏), it read:

> …then the Acting Magistrate of Prefecture and the Deputy Magistrate of the Prefecture of Chongqing, whose surname was Yu, reviewed this case and affirmed the original judgment. (68) In keeping with the provision for those who falsely proclaim the Maitreya Buddha, the White Lotus Society and the Teaching of the Radiant Father, perform evil and bewitching sorceries to delude and instigate the common people, the leader Wang Shi was sentenced to the punishment of strangulation. In keeping with the same provision, Wang Wei, Yang Wu, Zhou

[87] Xue Yunsheng (薛允升), *Combined Compilation of Tang and Ming Code* (*Tang ming lü hebian* 唐明律合编) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1937), Volume Nineteen, pp. 151–152. See also: "The Article 'Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries'," "Statute for Rite" (*Li lü* 礼律), *The Ming Code* (*Ming lü* 明律) (The blocked edition of Mr. Xu of The Hall of Retiring from Position [*Tuigeng tang* 退耕堂] in the Republican Period.), Volume Eleven.

> Wenzhong, Fan Tingzhi, Wang Xia, Zhang Mingqing and Li Shangxu were sentenced to the punishment of being bludgeoned by three hundred strokes and being exiled to three thousand *li* away. Later they were exempted from the original punishment and were banished to the region outside the Great Wall for penal servitude…[88]

This case was from Sichuan and was judged by the Article "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries." However, none of the culprits in this case had anything to do with the Teaching of the Radiant Father. In view of this, we must admit that we are blind to the detail of this teaching's activities, especially to the sphere in which it operated. We have at least proven that Fujian was the beachhead of the Teaching of Light, where the teaching could act even in the Ming Dynasty. Fujian was widely known for its custom of "being superstitious about sorcery and evil spirits and indulgent and excessive sacrifices." Since the 1980s, local scholars have produced a large number of works on religions—popular religion and secret societies in particular—in Fujian, in which no trace of the Teaching of the Radiant Father has been reported thus far. Similarly, in Wenzhou, another center of the Teaching of Light, there is as yet neither literature nor archaeological findings that pertain to this teaching. This conjures up the movement of "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" (*chicai shimo*) in the coastal region of the Song, in which the Teaching of the Radiant Father was notably absent, though the sect titles appeared in various historical records. Hence, this writer does question whether there was any substantive relationship between the Teaching of the Radiant Father and the Teaching of Light in the coastal region. This writer holds that the Teaching of the Radiant Father might well have been formed in the troubled times at the end of Yuan by some persons, who borrowed some Manichean terms and doctrines. In other words, it did not evolve directly from the orthodox Teaching of Light. The fact that in the *Ming Code*, this teaching was thrown into the group of popular religions like the White Lotus Society and was banned along with wizards, witches, and evil sorceries such as spirit writing, possession, writing incantations, making charmed water and the like—demonstrated

---

[88] Zhu Xieyuan (朱燮元), *Drafts of Memorial to Throne by Zhu Xieyuan the Lord of Excellence and Resoluteness in his Supervision of Sichuan* (*Shaoshi zhu xiangyigong dushu shucao* 少师朱襄毅公督蜀疏草), the blocked edition of Zhu Renlong in the fifty-ninth year of Kangxi (1720). See: *Existing Titles of Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku cunmu congshu* 四库存目丛书) (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996), "Histories" (*Shi bu*), vol. 65, p. 301.

that even if it did have some relationship with Manichaeism, the teaching did not adopt the monasterial pattern; rather, it followed the mode of a secret society. Since the primary sources are inadequate, we cannot discern to what extent and how much this teaching absorbed, mixed and remolded the Manichean teachings. However, we shall not be so simplistic to equate the Light of Teaching with the Teaching of the Radiant Father, even to observe the latter was an evolvement of the former, just because there was a touch of Manichaeism in the title "Teaching of the Radiant Father."

(69) An Observation on the "Teaching of the Masters"

In past scholarship, it was maintained that the Manichean teaching in Fujian finally changed its title to the "Teaching of the Masters" (*shi shi fa* 师氏法). Such an opinion was grounded on the last sentence of He Qiaoyuan's record:

> 今民间习其术者行符咒名师氏法不甚显云。(At present, there are people who practice this teaching through incantations and call their doctrine the "Teaching of the Masters." Such practice is, however, not conspicuous.)

Because of the characteristics of classical Chinese, for this sentence, in which consists of eighteen Chinese characters, the manner of punctuation varies with each individual. As a rule, the credibility and accuracy of punctuation depends on the understanding of the background materials rather than on the level of mastery of classical Chinese. As the punctuation differs, the interpretation will vary; even if the punctuation is the same, the understanding may differ. For these eighteen characters, Chen Yuan punctuated as:

> 今民间习其术者，行符咒，名师氏法，不甚显云。[89] (In the present days, there are people, who practice this teaching through incantations and call their doctrine the "Teaching of the Masters." Such practice is, however, not conspicuous.)

[89] Chen Yuan, "A Study on the Introduction of Manichaeism to China" (*Monijiao ru zhongguo kao*), *Collected Academic Works of Chen Yuan* (*Chen Yuan xueshu lunwn ji*, 1982), p. 368.

In the edition of Xiamen University, it is:

> 今民间习其术者，行符咒，名师氏，法不甚显云。[90] (In the present days, there are people, who practice this teaching through incantations and call their doctrine "Of the Masters." Such teaching is, however, not conspicuous.)

Since neither of them expound this sentence, it is impossible to make further comparison. As far as I know, Paul Pelliot, a French sinologist, and Wu Han, a Chinese historian explain the eighteen words.

(70) In Pelliot's "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien," the French translation of this sentence is:

> A présent, dans le people, ceux qui suivent les pratiques des [manichéens] se servent de formulas d'incantation qu'on appelle "recette du maitre" (?); ils ne sont pas trés en vue.[91]

If we literally re-translate this French translation into Chinese, it may read: "At present, people who follow (Manichaeism) employ the incantation named 'the Master's Instruction'. They are not notable."

When Feng Chengjun rendered Pelliot's treatise, based on the original author's French renderings, he punctuated this sentence as: "今民间习其术者，行符咒名师氏法，不甚显云。"[92] Obviously, this punctuation conforms to Pelliot's understanding. In 1998, Professor Samuel N. C. Lieu (刘南强), a foreign scholar of Chinese descent, translated the complete "Mountain Huabiao" (Huabiao shan 华表山) recorded by He Qiaoyuan in his *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. He translated these eighteen characters as:

> At present, those among the people who follow its (Manichean) practices use formulas of incantation called "The master's prescription," (but) they are not much in evidence.[93]

In light of this English translation, Professor Lieu followed Pelliot. It was possible that Lieu consulted Pelliot's French rendering when he was working on this English translation.

---

[90] *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu*), the punctuated-and-collated edition by Xiamen University, vol. 1, p. 172.

[91] Paul Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien," p. 207.

[92] Feng Chengjun, trans., in *The Ninth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong jiu bian*), p. 131.

[93] Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*, p. 195.

To make it easier for westerners to understand the title "*shi shi fa*," Pelliot paraphrased it into "recette du maitre." Since he apparently could not rest easy on this translation, he drew a question mark inside the bracket and added an annotation:

> (71) The meaning of "*shi shi fa*" is unknown. In the second volume of *Miscellaneous Quotations of the Hall of Aspiration of Decency* (*Zhiya tang zachao*), there was one incantation which mentioned the "Incantation of Gate and Abstinence" (*Jie di zhai*). According to Lu You's "To Reply Item by Item" (*Tiaodui zhuang*), there was an account of the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" in Fujian." Supposedly, "*shi shi fa*" was one of such type of things.[94]

This annotation did not make clear the meaning of "*shi shi fa*," but it further indicated Pelliot regarded it as an incantation. In other words, the so-called "*shi shi fa*" was one sort of incantation title.

As for the incantation (*fuzhou* 符咒), Chinese dictionaries generally interpret it as "the combination of '符箓' [*fulu*, figures or lines drawn by a Daoist priest] and '咒语' [*zhouyu*, incantation]." Originally, "符箓" (*fulu*, figures or lines drawn by a Daoist priest) was a characteristic practice of Daoism. "咒语" (*zhouyu*, incantation) appear in various religions, including the primitive ones, in the ancient world. Scholars have proven that Manichaeism was not an exception.[95] But in the ancient Chinese books, "符咒" (*fuzhou*, incantation) was used as a specific term for Daoism and it became an item for Daoist dictionaries:

> (*fuzhou* 符咒) is the way of practicing omen and incantation. [The Biographies of The Celestial Masters of the Han Dynasty 汉天师世家]: The Celestial Master Zhang Daoling (张道陵) instructed the people to believe in the Way of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi. He often performed healing service for people through incantations and the sick would be immediately cured after drinking the charmed water! Because such way of healing was very efficacious, there were so many followers.[96]

---

[94] Paul Pelliot, "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien," p. 207. Feng Chengjun, trans., in *The Ninth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China* (*Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong jiu bian*), p. 139, n. 47.

[95] Xu Wenkan (徐文堪), Ma Xiaohe, "A Study on the Manichean Great Spiritual Mantra: Reexamining the Parthian Manuscript M1202" (*Moni jiao dashenzhou yanjiu—patiya wenshu* M 1202 *zai yanjiu* 摩尼教大神咒研究——帕提亚文书M1202再研究), *The Historical Review* (*Shi lin*), no. 6 (2004).

[96] Li Shuhuan (李叔还), *The Dictionary of Daoism* (*Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987. The photolithographic facsimile edition.), pp. 502–503.

What He Qiaoyuan identified in his record should be the common incantations pertaining to Daoism. In terms of "符箓" (fulu, figures or lines drawn by Daoist priest), Nian Liangtu's fieldwork has demonstrated there still are statues of Mani the Buddha in the area surrounding the Thatched Hut and he obtained copies of two symbolized incantations and one figured incantation. The first symbolized incantation is said to read as "Mani is enshrined in the *li*" (*An moni yi li feng* 安摩尼以里奉). Whether this reading is correct awaits review by an expert on "符箓" (fulu, figures or lines drawn by Daoist priest). The second one cannot be interpreted. As for the figured one, it has a portrait of Mani the Buddha the Banner of Light (*Moni chuang guang fo* 摩尼幢光佛). In the eyes of this writer, its appearance is obviously modeled on the statue of Mani inside the Thatched Hut, though there are many differences under a scrutiny. In addition, there are four characters—"镇宅平安" (*Zhen zhai ping an*, Guarding the House and Maintaining the Safety)—on the figured one, so that it must be used as a protection against evil spirits. The style of the three incantations is clearly similar with that of Daoist ones. (72) As for the problem that whether these incantations can be traced back to a dynasty from which they originated, it needs to be clarified. Overall, the existence of such incantations gave weight to the credibility of what He Qiaoyuan recorded. Furthermore, we cannot preclude the possibility that the incantation, which prevailed in the Manichean faithful at that time, might be the sixteen characters inscribed on the cliff next to the Thatched Hut—"The Immaculacy and Brightness (*qingjing guangming* 清净光明). The Great Power and Wisdom (*dali zhineng* 大力智能). The Highest Perfection (*wushang zhizhi* 无上至真). Mani the Buddha of Light (*Moni guangfo* 摩尼光佛)." Since these characters were widely inscribed and the followers were instructed to recite them, they were very likely believed to have magical powers and could function as an incantation.[97] According to recent fieldwork conducted by Nian Liangtu, there indeed are villagers who recite the sixteen characters as an incantation. Of course, it was possible that this sixteen-character incarnation might be the most public one, while there were many other popular incantations at that time. If it was really an incantation, Daoism apparently affected this

[97] Lin Wushu, "Textual Criticism and Explanation of Lapidarian Sixteen-Character Verse of Manichaeism in Fujian" (*Fujian shiliu zi ji kaoshi*), in Lin Wushu, *A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China* (*Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng*), pp. 5–32.

sixteen-character verse, in which the word "无上至真" (*Wushang zhizhen*, The Highest Perfection) was certainly from the Daoist scriptures.[98]

The Daoist incantation was analogous to sorcery and not inherent to Manichaeism, since the Central Asian Manichean church had the explicit rule: "perform no sorcery."[99] In the early years when Manichaeism was introduced to China, there were few accounts of such activities. Even in the story of exorcism that was recorded in the aforementioned *Accounts of Inspecting Spirits* (*Ji shen lu*), what the exorcist depended on was not the Daoist incantation, but the power of the Manichean scripture.[100] This, at least, tacitly proves that the Teaching of Light did not widely adopt the art of incantation up to the Five Dynasties. Therefore, it served to show the practice of incantation originally was foreign to Manichaeism. In the Song Dynasty, because of the increasing Sinicization and in particular its interaction with local Daoist and other religions, it was natural for Manichaeism to adopt the Chinese practice of incantation.

The syncretism of religions in Fujian was well known. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, not only did Daoism and Buddhism prevail in this region, but a great variety of popular religions and more or less religiously-bound secret societies prospered. Each sect or group had its own incantation, which differed in thousands of ways. The understanding of Pelliot—that among those who practiced the Teaching of Light, one incantation prevailed—of course does not run counter to possibility. On the basis of his understanding, the eighteen characters could only be punctuated as Feng Chengjun did: "今民间习其术者，行符咒名师氏法，不甚显云。" (73) Although it is readable with such punctuation, it does read a bit oddly. In comparison, Chen Yuan's punctuation—"今民间习其术者，行符咒，名师氏法，不甚显云"—is more congruous to the habitual expression of classical Chinese and reads more smoothly. After all, the placement of the attribute after the qualified noun is not a traditional Chinese expression and was not common in Chinese until the western way of representation

[98] *Ibid*.

[99] J. P. Asmussen, "Xuāstvānīft," in *Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965), p. 195.

[100] From the perspective of religious studies, the faithful of all kinds of religion generally believe that, besides incantations, their canon also has magical power. Through reciting the canon, there will be marvels and by which the follower can head off danger or even exorcize demons.

was introduced. Furthermore, to confirm Pelliot's theory, it is necessary to verify there was exactly an art of incantation named "*shi shi fa*" (the Master's Instruction) in Fujian in the time of Ming. Pelliot knew very well of this. That was why, in his annotation, he suspected that the "*shi shi fa*" might be something resembling the "incantation of Gate and Abstinence" (*Jie di zhou* 揭谛咒) that appeared in the *Miscellaneous Quotations of the Hall of Aspiration of Decency* (*Zhiya tang zachao*), the "Teaching of Light" or the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence (*Jie di zhai*)" in Lu You's writings. This was at best mere guesswork. As the above discussion has shown, the relationship between the "incantation of Gate and Abstinence" (*Jie di zhai*) and the Teaching of Light remains unknown.

Wu Han did not specially work on the eighteen characters and simply quoted them in his "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (*Mingjiao yu daming diguo*) published in 1940. And, this writer cannot be certain whether Wu Han had read Pelliot's treatise or not. Obviously, Wu Han had a different understanding of these characters, and some of his writings are as follows:

> Groups of the Teaching of Light in the region of Wenzhou were banned one after another with the charge that "its title usurped the official state title." Since then, the Teaching of Light of this region disappeared from historical records. The teaching in Fujian changed its title to "*shi shi fa*," but it was increasingly at a low ebb. He Qiaoyuan also recorded: "今民间习其术者，行符咒，名师氏法，不甚显云。(At present, there are people who practice this teaching through incantations and call their doctrine the "Teaching of the Masters." Such kind of practice is, however, not conspicuous.)"[101]

In light of these words by Wu, he took "*shi shi fa*" as one new name of the Teaching of Light in Fujian, and this name was not designated by the outsider but by the sect itself. That is to say, the "*shi shi fa*" was not the name of a prevailing art of incantation at that time.

It seems that Wu's interpretation still affects scholars in later generations. The abovementioned Wang Chien-ch'uan, in his *From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light* (*Cong moni jiao dao mingjiao*), writes down:

> Although the Teaching of Light could not legally exist in Ming, there was no statute specifically banning it. (74) In the eyes of local officials

[101] Wu Han, "The Teaching of Light and the Ming Empire" (Mingjiao yu daming diguo), *Reading Notes of History* (*Dushi zhaji*), p. 268.

> and the literati, the Teaching of Light was not the same as the Teaching of the Radiant Father prohibited by *The Great Ming Code*. Thanks to this discrepancy in cognition, they could evade the authorities' investigation and tacitly practice, build halls, and create stelae. As time went on, the teaching, however, was increasingly in decline. In the reign of Wanli, "people who practice it" had changed the name to "*shi shi fa*" and the Teaching of Light had become "inconspicuous."[102]

Here, the author apparently holds that the Teaching of Light in Ming was renamed to "*shi shi fa*."

The difference between the interpretations of Pelliot and Wu resides in their understanding of "*ming shi shi fa* 名 ['name' or 'denominate'] 师氏法." While Pelliot's argument cannot be accepted without reserve, Wu Han's opinion is not necessarily appropriate either. Literally speaking, Wu's interpretation stands apart by itself. From the perspective of the history of dissemination of religion, along with relevant historical records, we find there are some points that should be raised to question Wu's argument.

To begin, according to He Qiaoyuan's record, the founding emperor of Ming "employed the Confucian doctrines to moralize the people and regarded the Teaching of Light as usurping the official state title 'Light'" and began persecuting the Manicheans so that "the followers of Manichean sects were ordered disbanded and the Manichean temples destroyed." Yet "Yu Xin, Chief Director of the Board of Revenue, and Yang Long, Chief Director of the Board of Rites, presented a memorial to the Emperor for allowing this teaching; thus, this matter was postponed." That is to say, there was a brief pause in the persecution against the Manicheans. To the extent that the situation had taken a turn for the better, was it necessary for the Teaching of Light to give up the original title "*ming* 明" (light) and adopt the new one—"*shi* 师" ("master")?

Second, the eighteen characters begin with the character "*jin* 今" ("today, at present"). Although his writings were criticized because "the primary sources he invoked were repeatedly erroneous," the position of the character "*jin* 今" showed that what He Qiaoyuan recorded was the things he saw and heard in person, not secondary materials, therefore there should be no problem of erroneous "citation." If he did witness or hear that the Teaching of Light had changed its name,

---

[102] Wang Chien-ch'uan, *From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light* (*Cong moni jiao dao mingjiao*), p. 352.

it would be an important event for him. Because he introduced in the history of the Teaching of History in his writings, He Qiaoyuan should explicitly narrate this event. If so, he would write like this—"In the present days, the teaching changes its title to '*shi shi fa*' (the Teaching of the Masters). And there are people, who practice this teaching through incantations. Such kind of practice is, however, not conspicuous."—rather than just brushed lightly over this event.

Third, as this writer points out above, for the religious faithful, the title of their religion was a very solemn matter. Had followers of the Teaching of Light actually changed the title to "*shi shi fa*," it would be viewed as an entirely groundless effort, even if they were not accused of "forgetting their own origin." The reason was that the title "*Shi Shi*" could be related with neither the founding patriarch nor any doctrine of Manichaeism.

(75) Finally, the aforementioned fieldwork conducted by Nian Liangtu reveals that the residents in the area surrounding the Thatched Hut designated the stone statue enshrined inside the Hut as "Mani the Buddha," "Mani the Lord" or "Mani the Buddha of Light." There is no title such as "*shi shi* the Buddha" (*shi shi fo* 师氏佛).[103] In the extant stone inscriptions and artifacts, no characters of "*Shi Shi*" have been found. By right there must be some traces, if this teaching did indeed rename itself "*shi shi fa*."

In view of the above four points, in spite of this single source—one ambiguous sentence in *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu*)—barring any new evidence, the opinion that the Teaching of Light in Fujian changed its name to "*shi shi fa*" is not reliable. By contrast, Pelliot's interpretation seemed more logical.

As there are as many as four questionable points in Wu Han's understanding and the interpretation of Pelliot is not impeccable, there is still room for further discussion. This writer leans towards the punctuation by Chen Yuan and Wu Han, because it is more congruous to the habitual expression of classical Chinese. As it has been pointed out above, even the same punctuation would bring about divergent interpretations. In my opinion, Chen and Wu's punctuation is based on the grammar of classical Chinese and it takes the character "*ming* 名" ("name") as a verb, whose agent can be the third party. "*shi shi fa*"

[103] Nian Liangtu, "The Manichean Belief in Jinjiang" (*Moni jiao xinyang zai jinjiang*).

should thus be a contemporary term. Since the people who preached the Teaching of Light also performed the art of incantations, the people called them "*shi shi fa*." To put it into the context of He Qiaoyuan's text, the title "*shi shi fa*" was the outcome and the act of performing the art of incantation. If the Manichean followers did not practice the art of incantation, they would not have been called "*shi shi fa*." Thus, for the interpretation of "*shi shi fa*," it is natural to investigate it from the perspective of "practicing the art of incantation."

In the eyes of ancient Confucian literati, incantation and sorcery usually were of the same kind. And, "*wu* 巫" ("witch or wizard") was frequently combined with "*shi* 师" ("master," "instructor"). In Chinese, there is a set phrase "*shiwu xieshu* 师巫邪术," which means "the evil sorcery employed by wizards and witches."[104] As pointed out above, *The Great Ming Code* contains an Article "Forbidding Witches and Wizards and Sorceries," in which the "illustrated incantation" and "charmed water" were attributed to Manicheans who "practice the art of incantation" in Quanzhou. Therefore, the character "*shi* 师" in "*shi shi*" first conjured up the "*shi* 师" of "*shi wu* 师巫." The "Manicheans who practiced the art of incantation" would have been sensitive to this, so that it was impossible for them to call themselves with the word "*shi shi*." In view of these, the so-called "*shi shi*" and "*shi shi fa*" must be a name given them by an outside third party. (76) In addition, incantation is similar to divination and astrology. Sorcerers who practiced divination and astrology in ancient China were called "*shi ren* 师人."[105] Through the computer-aided search, we can find many cases of this. Therefore, it might be possible that people at that time called the practice of incantation by the Teaching of Light "*shi shi fa*." From a language perspective, "*shi shi*" was a neutral word which was neither derogatory nor complimentary, and there were no lack of historical precedent of this word as a specialized term.[106] Based on the

---

[104] See: *Comprehensive Dictionary of the Chinese Language* (*Zhongwen da cidian* 中文大辞典) (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 中国文化研究所 Institute for Chinese Culture, 1956), vol. 11, p. 257.

[105] "Shi ren 师人" refers to "the sorcerer who practices divination and astrology." See: *The Unabridged Chinese Dictionary* (*Hanyu da cidian* 汉语大辞典) (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 2001), vol. 3, p. 716.

[106] "*Shi shi*" used to be an official title in the pre-imperial Zhou Dynasty, which "has the duty of assisting the royal family and educating the children of nobility and is in charge of the appropriateness of court etiquettes." It also refers to "the official who is in charge of academic affairs or the instructor" and to the "people who tend the females of nobility and teach them the womanly virtue." See: *The Unabridged*

aforementioned record of He Qiaoyuan and consulting other literatures, we can say that in the time of Yuan and Ming, followers of the teaching of Light were seen in a relatively positive light by residents of Fujian, especially Quanzhou. Thus, this teaching's religious practice of incantation would not have gone against the popular will for local residents to give it a courteous name like "*shi shi fa*." More likely, since the art of incantation the Manicheans performed was similar to that of the Daoist priests, the Manicheans and the Daoists were largely of the same kind in the eyes of their contemporaries. According to a kindly reminder from Mr. Lin Shundao (林顺道), a local expert on history and culture in Wenzhou, "there was a Daoist sect, alias '*shi gong* 师公' (the Lord Master), which might have referred to the Lüshan (闾山) School and was introduced to Pingyang in the Ming Dynasty." The fieldwork of Nian Liangtu in Jinjiang shows that local residents also called Daoist priest "*shi gong* 师公'. Cantonese also refer to Daoists in the same way. In light of this, we need not look for an inherent "*shi shi fa*" to impeccably match the Teaching of Light in Fujian. This word, however, was a specialized term, which was used by residents in Quanzhou and applied to the Manicheans who practiced the art of incantation. It was an outcome of the association with the local "shi gong 师公"; that is to say, such Manicheans were regarded as similar to "shi gong 师公."

In any case, this writer holds that it was very unlikely that the Manicheans in Quanzhou changed their name to "*shi shi fa*." As for the interpretation to "*shi shi fa*," on the condition that the existence of the art of incantation with the name of "*Shi Shi*" or "*shi shi fa*" has not been proven, my humble opinion might be an alternative choice.

(77) Concluding Remarks

Persian Manichaeism, which was first introduced to China via the Central Asia in the Tang Dynasty, took "*Moni jiao* 摩尼教' (Manichaeism) as its Chinese name. Then, it was Sinicized and renamed to "*Ming jiao*

Chinese Dictionary (*Hanyu da cidian*)), vol. 3, p. 717. In addition, thanks to Mr. He Fangyao's (何方耀) kindly reminder, there are lots of schools of "*qi gong*" (气功, the art of vital breath) in mainland China that denominate themselves in guise of the name of Shi Kuang (师旷)—a renown musician of the State of Jin in the era of Spring and Autumn—and thus have the word "*shi shi*' in their title. By reference, there must be many similar cases.

明教" (the Teaching of Light). The two Chinese names were popular in and outside the imperial court. The term "*Ming jiao* 明教" (the Teaching of Light) was a genuine Sinicized title and it prevailed in China after the Huichang Persecution of Buddhism.

Among the various titles that are held by the student of this field as alternatives for Manichaeism, only "*Sulin fa* 苏邻法" or "*Sulin jiao* 苏邻教" (the Teaching of Suristan), which had a relevance to the birthplace of the founding patriarch, unambiguously refers to this religion. The others, such as "abstaining from meat and worshiping demons" (*chicai shimo*) and "evil and bewildering persons" (*yaohuan xieren*) from the Song Dynasty, were derogatory names created by the authorities. They were not restricted to Manichaeism, though of course this sect was included in the mind of the authorities. Other groups with names such as "People of the Double Collar-Crossings", the "Teaching of Mouni", the "Four Fruits", the "Vajra Chan" and the "Teaching of Gate and Abstinence" in Song, most likely did not directly evolve from this religion, though they might have absorbed some elements of Manichaeism. The traditional idea that the Teaching of the Radiant Father was exactly the Teaching of Light was just a guesswork based on the title of this teaching. Even if the two teachings had a certain relationship, they were still distinct. In addition, the opinion that the Teaching of Light in Fujian finally changed its name to "*shi shi fa*" might have come from a misunderstanding caused by vague expression in primary sources.

In its dissemination to the East, Manichaeism constantly transformed itself to adopt the cultural and political environment of these societies. After all, the change of name discussed in this paper was just part of this religion's evolution in China. The more substantial change was the approximation and syncretism of Manichaeism and the traditional or mainstream Chinese religions. When it comes to the various names of the Chinese Manichean teaching, in our investigation, we must discern whether they were the variant names originating from the Sinification of Manichaeism or were simply new sects that used Manichean terms or absorbed some elements of Manichaeism. The latter cannot be regarded as a product of the self-transformation of Manichaeism. It is undoubtedly indispensable for us to pay great attention to the interaction and distinction of these groups, and cautiously making use of all sources to correctly understand the course of the transformation and final disappearance of Manichaeism in China.

CHAPTER THREE

ON THE RISE, DECLINE AND EVOLUTION OF THE THREE-IN-ONE TEACHING (*SANYI JIAO* 三一教), (林国平, "论三一教的兴衰嬗变")

Lin Guoping

Abstract

Based on rare *baojuan* collected locally, this paper presents an overall study on the rise, decline and evolution of the Three-in-One Teaching (*Sanyi jiao* 三一教). It argues that this teaching began as an association of Confucian literati during Lin Zhaoen's (林兆恩) lifetime, and then it evolved along the trajectory of popular religion but failed to become a religion in the strictest sense. The Teaching divided into two groups in the late Ming and early Qing, and these two groups inherited the academic and religious heritage of Lin Zhaoen. Among them, the religiously-oriented group represented the mainstream branch and succeeded in developing this teaching into a religion. The group reached its peak of its influence and developed in the direction of popular religion. After the reign of Kangxi and Qianlong in the Qing Dynasty, this teaching fell to at low ebb because the imperial court prohibited it. Nevertheless, it went underground and continued to spread secretly in the areas of Putian (莆田) and Xianyou (仙游) of Fujian. At the late Qing and early Republican periods, the Three-in-One Teaching was brought back to life in Putian, Xianyou and Hui'an (惠安) in Fujian, and was even introduced to Taiwan and Southeast Asia. This paper is the first effort to systemically trace the history of this teaching. Furthermore, it analyzes the cause of this teaching's rise, decline and evolution and presents this writer's point of view for the nature, social function and historical role of the Three-in-One Teaching.

Keywords: the Three-in-One Teaching; Lin Zhaoen; Syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism

The Formation and Development of the Three-in-One Teaching

(146, original page number, similarly hereinafter) Lin Zhaoen (林兆恩) publicly advocated the syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism and founded the Three-in-One Teaching in the thirtieth year

of Jiajing in the Ming Dynasty (1551).[1] Soon after, Lin began recruiting followers, and two years later there were dozens of disciples. From then, Lin Zhaoen preached his ideas at the Hall of Emulating Confucius (*Zong kong tang* 宗孔堂), which was located at Dongyan Mountain (东岩山) in Putian. Through these efforts, the Three-in-One Teaching became increasingly influential. As *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu* 林子本行实录) records: "At that time, people who heard (Lin's teaching) wanted to formally acknowledge (Lin as their master) and came together in crowds." When Lin Zhaoen established his sect at the beginning, he invented the "Method of Sitting in Meditation and Keeping the Mind Focused" (*Gen bei xinfa* 艮背心法) as a method of healing and in this way attracted the common people. Anyone who wanted to join this sect was required to swear by Heaven and strictly abide by the Confucian guides, values and ethics; in addition, they also must reflect on themselves everyday and candidly repent of any wrongs they had committed. In view of these practices, the sect was to a certain extent religious. But as a whole, Lin's sect was by no means an association with a religious nature before the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566). It was largely an academic association of Confucian literati in a general sense. My argument is as follows:

> First, prior to the forty-fifth year of Jiajing, followers of this sect consisted predominantly of the literati and key figures around Lin Zhaoen, the founding patriarch, "persons who study Confucianism," such as Huang Zhou (黄州), Huang Daben (黄大本), Zheng Yong (郑泳), Huang Yang (黄阳), Lin Zhaoju (林兆居), Lin Zhaohao (林兆浩), Huang Huiyang (黄辉阳), Lin Zhaoqiong (林兆琼) and Lin Zhaozhi (林兆豸), all renowned Confucian scholars in the area of Putian and Xianyou. The reason why they followed Lin Zhaoen was not only to learn "the Art of Way" (*Daoshu* 道术) from him, but more importantly they "worked together to prepare for the imperial examinations."[2] Lin Zhaoen never opposed his disciples' hard-work in the imperial examination, though he himself gave up the examination and decided to avoid politics. He held that taking the imperial examination and pursuing learning would complement each other, that is to say, "taking the imperial examination can be helpful for understanding learning."[3] He even said: "Those

[1] For Lin's life and his syncretic idea, see: Lin Guoping (林国平), *Lin Zhaoen and the Three-in-One Teaching* (*Lin Zhaoen yu sanyi jiao* 林兆恩与三一教) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1992).

[2] "The Hall of Emulating Confucius" (*Zong kong tang* 宗孔堂), in *Introduction to the Orthodoxy of the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun* 林子三教正宗统论), vol. 2.

[3] "The Hall of Understanding the Canons" (*Ming jing tang* 明经堂), *ibid*., vol. 4.

who can persistently learn Confucian mental cultivation methods and also can regularly study for the imperial examination and prevent the two things from impeding each other, are my disciples.... (Those) who make the work on the imperial examination a hindrance or readily give it up...are not my disciples."[4] (147) Except for his effort to instill his syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism into the minds of his disciples, he also played the role of an instructor and lectured on The Four Books and The Five Classics at the Hall of Emulating Confucius and urged his disciples to "study for the imperial examination."

Second, for the sake of disciplining his followers and supervising their study for the imperial examination, Lin Zhaoen worked out the "Hall of Understanding the Canons" (*Ming jing tang* 明经堂), in which there were nineteen rules that were proposed on the basis of the requirements of taking the imperial examination of the Ming. They were genuine rules for learning but none of them were religious code. For example, "Writing: on every fourth and ninth day, disciples shall finish one piece of writing from the fifth two-hour period to the seventh two-hour period. Although the canon that disciples study varies, on the meeting day, they must write the 'eight-part essay.' As for the writing of the canon they are learning, it is at their disposal." "Reading: in every ten days, disciples shall finish reading two commentaries (*yi* 义), one essay (*lun* 论), one discussion (*ce* 策) and one memorial (*biao* 表)." "On every fourth and ninth day, disciples shall meet in the Hall of Understanding the Canons. First, they shall revise the writing they have just finished and present it for review. After review, they shall recite original text of the classics through drawing lots. The person who gets the lot shall recite the first five verses. Then the lot is passed left in turn and the person who holds it shall recite another five verses. This process will not stop until they have finished reciting the whole book. The second round of lots is for the interpretation of the classics. At every turn, two persons shall question each other's interpretations. If the debate cannot be settled, there will be the third person to argue..." "Each disciple shall write one reading record, on which the commentary, essay, discussion, memorial and the classics that he has read are recorded." "As for people who can only present very simple reading record or fail to grasp the main idea of the classics, who want to follow other instructor, and who privately compose commentary, essay, discussion, memorial or read books concerning the Five Classics, the human nature and heavenly principles, the reflections and the detailed outlines, they are allowed to do so."[5]

After the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566), Lin Zhaoen did not act as an instructor any more and spent all of his time preaching the syncretism

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] See n. 3, *supra.*

of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. With the expansion of Lin's activities, the influence of the Three-in-One Teaching increased rapidly. This was reflected in not only its territorial expansion but also the soaring number of followers.

To begin, there was the territorial expansion. After the forty-fifth year of Jiajing, Lin Zhaoen assigned his disciples to other places, where they carried out missionary work. The influence of his sect had gone beyond the area of Xianyou in Fujian and extended to most of this province and to some regions south of the Yangtze River. As the table shows:

Table 3.1: Missionary expansion of the Three-in-One Teaching (148)

Time	Place of missionary work	Missionary
The Fourth Year of Longqing (1570)	Jinling (金陵)	Yu Qin (余芹)
The Eighth Year of Wanli (1580)	Rongcheng (榕城)	Chen Biao (陈标), Li Zhang (李章)
The Eleventh Year of Wanli (1583)	Jinhua (金华), Yiwu (义乌)	Chen Yikui (陈一夔)
The Thirteenth Year of Wanli (1585)	Zhangzhou (漳州)	Huang Jiusi (黄九思)
The Thirteenth Year of Wanli (1585)	Jingchu (荆楚)	Jin Laixiang (金来相)
The Thirteenth Year of Wanli (1585)	Jinling (金陵)	You Sizhong (游思忠), Zhang Hongdu (张洪都)
The Fifteenth Year of Wanli (1587)	Jian'an (建安)	Zhu Youkai (朱有开)
The Twenty-second Year of Wanli (1595)	Jinling (金陵)	Cai Jingjun (蔡经俊)
n. d.	Songjiang (松江)	Chen Jixian (陈济贤)
n. d.	Guangdong (广东), Guangxi (广西)	Wang Wenbing (王文炳)
n. d.	Ninghua (宁化)	Huang Tianqiu (黄天球), "The Yellow Robe" (黄袍)
n. d.	Jiangnan (江南)	Zhang Zisheng (张子升)
n. d.	Duxia (都下)	Yu Shizhang (俞士章), Wang Keshou (汪可受)
n. d.	Jinling (金陵)	Wang Xing (王兴), "Really Lazy" (真懒)
n. d.	Jingdu (京都)	Lin Jingmian (林敬冕)

Sources: This table is based on *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu* 林子本行实录), *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱) and *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu* 林子门贤实录).

In this time period, the rapidly increasing influence of *Sanyi jiao* was also reflected in the followers' place of origin as recorded in *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu* 林子门贤实录). In this book, there were in total two hundred and fourteen "Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin," "Virtuous Disciples of Building Halls" and "Virtuous Disciples on Duty." Among them, there were one hundred and thirty from Fujian (Putian, 86; Fuzhou, 23, Minqing, 5; Xianyou and Fuqing, 5; Ninghua, Quanzhou and Min County, 3; Zhangzhou and Gutian, 2; Liancheng, Zhangpu, Jianning, Shaowu and Minzhong, 1), which was 60.7 per cent of the total number. Besides them, there were thirty-two persons from other provinces (Jiangsu and Anhui, 8; Zhejiang, 4; Southern Zhili and Hubei, 3; Jiangxi, 2; Henan, Shaanxi, Shandong and Shanxi, 1), which was 15 per cent of the total number. The remaining 24.3 per cent were those people whose native places were unknown. In light of these statistics, together with an overall investigation on the places where Lin Zhaoen and his closest disciples did missionary work, it was obvious that the center was Putian (莆田), the sub-center was in Fujian and the diffusive region was located in regions south and north of the Yangtze River.

(149) Now to examine the number of followers of *Sanyi jiao*. In this period, the number of faithful was soaring and there were tens of thousands of followers in this sect. We can see its spectacular development in *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*) and *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱). For instance, in the third year of Longqing (1569), Lin Zhaoen "went to visit the Mountain Wudang. Nevertheless, he failed to reach there. Then he sojourned in the town of Wannian in Jiangxi. On the way to Wannian, there were people who came together in crowds and visited him with gifts." The next year, Lin left for Jinling and passed by Danyang of Lianjiang, where "all the local gentry and common people were eager to visit him…when Lin arrived at Jinling, the number of visitors was quite large." In the sixth year of Longqing (1573), Lin went to Shaowu, and "people followed him like clouds." In the first year of Wanli (1573), he went to Xin'an, where "thousands people visited him and converted (to this teaching)." In the eighth year of Wanli (1580), Lin preached in Ninghua, and "the road swarmed with people, who burnt incense and kneeled in worship." After the fourteenth year of Wanli (1586), Lin lived in seclusion in North Mountain, but "people from everywhere defied dangers and difficulties, and more and more of them visited

(Lin) and presented their gifts. During the day, there was no room for them to stand and there was no place for them to sleep at night." On his eightieth birthday in the twenty-fourth year of Wanli (1596), "there were approximately eight thousand people who extended greetings in advance." In the twenty-sixth year of Wanli (1598), Lin Zhaoen passed away, people who came to pay respects "were far more than ten thousand." In addition, according to *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu*), there were more than eight hundred disciples that could be designated with "the Greater Virtue" or "the Lesser Virtue" among followers. It also reflected the large numbers of faithful in this sect.

The above records came from the faithful of *Sanyi jiao* and were certainly exaggerated. Nevertheless, consulting other sources, it is certain that its followers were in great quantity. In the thirteenth year of Wanli (1585), Yang Sizhi, the Itinerant Regional Inspector, said in the public notice banning *Sanyi jiao*: "In the previous year, I passed by Yanping, Jianyang, Jiangxi and Zhejiang, and found more than one thousand persons who gathered.... Recently, there are people who come together in crowds at night in the town and recite scriptures and worship the Buddha, all of them follow this teaching."[6] He Qiaoyuan, who lived in Fujian at the end of Ming, wrote in his *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu* 闽书): "The number of people who followed Lin Zhaoen was well-matched with those studying Confucianism. In the region south of the River Lu, and in the area inside and outside where he lived, everybody came to visit him and formally acknowledged him as master. Lin Zhaoen was venerated as the Master of Three Teachings (Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism)."[7] Huang Zongxi (黄宗羲) recorded at the turn of Ming and Qing dynasties: "From the literati to the Buddhist monks and Daoist priests, there were no less than one thousand persons who formally became disciples (of Lin Zhaoen). All of them were sent to different areas for spreading this teaching. Wherever (Lin) passed by, all residents in the town and villages came out and worshiped him. Although the authorities attempted to restrain them, they could not be stopped."[8]

---

[6] *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu* 林子本行实录).

[7] "The Biography of Lin Zhaoen" (*Lin Zhaoen zhuan* 林兆恩传), in He Qiaoyuan (何乔远), *The Fujian Gazetteer* (*Min shu* 闽书), vol. 129.

[8] "The Biography of Lin Sanjiao (Zhaoen)" (*Lin sanjiao zhuan* 林三教传), in Huang Zongxi (黄宗羲), *Writing Collections of Mr. Nanlei [Southern Thunder]* (*Nanlei wenan* 南雷文案), vol. 9.

The reasons why *Sanyi jiao* spread so rapidly after the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566) are as follows:

(150) 1) During the years of Jiajing, the southeast coastal region suffered a great deal from Japanese pirates (*wokou* 倭寇). The Prefecture of Xinghua (兴化) from whence the Three-in-One Teaching originated, is an example. Lin Run, who lived at that time, wrote in his memorial to the imperial court: "Under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture of Xinghua, there are only two counties—Putian and Xianyou. The total number of registered households is slightly more than two hundred and twenty *li* (里). Japanese pirates recently invade this area and residents are slaughtered to near extinction. Only a quarter of them survived by fleeing. Putting the remaining *li* together, the number is only forty or fifty."[9] In addition, epidemic was rampant at that time, so that "if there were ten households in a land, more than half of them died out. If one household had dozens of members, a great part of them lost their lives. It has even happened that entire households have perished. Tears are heard in every household, and corpses are scattered all over the land. Outside the lonely city, the vast expanse of region is in ruins; the farmland is full of weeds and the town is overgrown with thorns."[10] When the Japanese pirates were suppressed, the calamities that local residents were suffering were not alleviated; instead, they were deepened by the corruption of the authorities. The local officials ignored the fact that the population had sharply decreased and most farmland was deserted and still "collected taxes and levies according to the registration book and assigned corvée duties on the basis of residents registered on the book.... Thus, for those who should pay one *dan* of rice every year in the past, they shall pay two or three *dan* at present; and for those who should pay one tael of silver, they shall pay four or five taels.... In addition, there are various unexpected tributes to military affairs and excessive unreasonable taxes, all of which came from the fortune that the common people accumulated by hard toil."[11]

---

[9] "A Detailed Memorial to the Throne for Six Matters" (*Beichen liushi shu* 备陈六事疏), in Lin Run (林润), *Writing Collections of the Hall of Aspiration of Universal Order* (*Yuan zhi tang ji* 愿治堂集), vol. 3.

[10] "A Memorial to the Throne for Providing Relief to the Three Prefectures" (*Qing xu sanfu shu* 请恤三府疏), *ibid.*

[11] "A Memorial to the Throne for Comforting the Common People and Putting down Bandits through Reducing Taxes and Corvée since the Local Community is in the Danger of being Completely Devastated." (*Difang canhai yiji qi qing fuyi juan zushui yi anmin fangdao shu* 地方残害已极乞清赋役蠲租税以安民弥盗疏), *ibid.*

Furthermore, when they supervised the compilation of household registration, some officials did not care whether the people lived or died and "fabricated more registered residents to please the superior officer. Therefore, there are fake names such as 'Mengsheng' (梦生, born in a dream) and 'Weisheng' (未生, not born yet) in the registration book. Residents who survived the calamities have to swallow the grievance and find no way to complain."[12] Facing such dire circumstances, the common people felt helpless and lost all hope for life, and in turn began seeking protection from deities and turning themselves over to the supernatural forces in exchange for a kind of spiritual comfort by which they could escape the devastating despair. Thus, it provided a fertile soil for breeding and developing religion. The fact that popular religions mushroomed in the mid- and late-Ming demonstrated this situation. At the time when the common people so earnestly expected a savior, Lin Zhaoen stepped forward. He sold his family fortune to relieve the people's suffering. He provided relief to people in disasters and organized his disciples to bury the scattered corpses. At last, his personal wealth ran out. He provided timely assistance for residents in despair, naturally, he won respect from the common people, especially by those of Putian and Xianyou, who directly benefited from Lin's work and even venerated Lin as a savior. Consequently, more and more people converted to the *Sanyi jiao* founded by Lin Zhaoen. There were even cases of entire families joining this sect. At that time, a popular ballad prevailed in the country, which sang: "The achievement of Longjiang (Lin Zhaoen) is immortal! He donates his entire fortune to save the life of all people!"[13] (151) It showed that, in the mind of the common people, the image of Lin Zhaoen was very good due to his courageous act of sacrificing his family fortune to free the people from their sufferings. It was said there was no one who did not know the name of Lin Zhaoen. Such was the case even among Japanese pirates. When pirates broke into the city of Putian, "some of them were attracted by Lin's reputation and wanted to visit him, some guarded him while Lin was going out, some worshiped his portrait,

[12] "The Verse of Not-Born-Yet" (*Weisheng qu* 未生曲), in Zheng Wangchen (郑王臣), ed., *Writings in the Breeze of Putian and Tinkling Sounds* (Pufeng qinglai ji 莆风清籁集), vol. 26.

[13] Liu Zhi (刘枝), "The Disaster caused by Japanese Pirates at the end of Ming" (*Mingmo putian zhi wohuo* 明末莆田之倭祸), *The New Fujian* (*Xin fujian* 新福建), vol. 1, no. 6.

and some protected Lin's house from being wrecked. At that time, countless residents were kidnapped or killed, but the members of the founding patriarch's homes were left unharmed. And, his house was well kept, though pirates set fire everywhere."[14]

Moreover, what Lin Zhaoen preached—all disciples were equal, all followers should provide assistance to those who are in need or suffering from illness, all disciples should be kindly and help each other, all followers should help people in distress and aid people in peril, and so forth—had great appeal for the commoners, who lived in an abyss of misery and was quite in line with their aspirations of tiding over the difficult times.

In short, as for the rapid dissemination of *Sanyi jiao*, the deepening social catastrophe in the mid- and late-Ming was its objective condition; meanwhile, Lin Zhaoen's charity work of providing relief to people at the expense of his personal wealth and his idea of helping and being friendly each other were the great impetus to this sect's expansion.

2) The "Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders" (*jiuxu xinfa* 九序心法) created by Lin Zhaoen was indeed helpful for curing illness and building body in practice. Among these methods, the first one—the "Method of Sitting in Meditation and Keeping Mind Focused" (*Gen bei xinfa* 艮背心法)—was most popular among the poor people who could not afford expensive medicines, because it was simple and easy to practice. Tan Qian (谈迁), who lived in the Ming Dynasty, pointed out: "Lin Zhaoen from Putian performed the healing service by the '*Gen bei xin fa*,' and people came together in crowds."[15] At the turn of Ming and Qing, Huang Zongxi said: "Zhaoen taught people the '*Gen bei fa*' through which they could heal themselves, and in most case this method was efficacious. Besides, he could, with magical methods, provide help for people when they were in peril. Thus, more and more people followed him."[16] Even Xie Zhaozhe (谢肇淛), who lived in Fujian in Ming and had a bias against *Sanyi jiao*, admitted:

---

[14] See: "Anecdotes" (*Cong zhui* 丛赘), in Tan Qian (谈迁), *Miscellaneous Collections in the Date Grove* (*Zaolin zazhu* 枣林杂俎). See also: *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] "The Biography of Lin Sanjiao" (*Lin sanjiao zhuan*). See: Huang Zongxi, *op. cit.*, vol. 9.

"(Lin Zhaoen) could teach people the method '*Gen bei*' and by this they could heal themselves. Since there were some cases in which this method was effective, the followers came to him in crowds and passed it on one after another. In the Prefecture I live in, there are many people that believe in it."[17] The mental cultivation method of "Nine Orders" not only was held as a valuable treasure by the poor, but attracted some Confucian official-scholars, such as Liu Xun, an Inspector of Inspectorate-General, Qi Jiguang (戚继光), the Garrison Commander, Zhu Guangyu, the Touring Regional Inspector, Liu Siwen, the Governor of Fujian. They visited Lin one after another and consulted him about his healing. Huang Hongxian, an historian in the imperial court, sent the letter to Lin and "ask for mental cultivation methods, such as 'nourishing the nature' (*xing gong* 性功), 'the seed of maintaining inner emptiness and tranquility' (*shouzhong zhongzi* 守中种子) and 'the vital breath emitting from the inside' (*yao zi wai lai* 药自外来)." Other imperial historians, like Yuan Zongdao, Xiao Yunju and Wu Yingbin, and Wu Yongxian, a student of the Imperial College, also wrote to Lin for advice on these mental cultivation methods.[18] (152) It was thus evident that the mental cultivation methods created by Lin Zhaoen were one of the important reasons of the popularity of *Sanyi jiao*. For a considerable proportion of followers, they were much more interested in the "Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders" than in the grand ideas preached by the founder.

3) The idea of syncretizing Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism prevailed in the mid- and late-Ming. The ideological system of combining Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, which was proposed by Lin Zhaoen and took the concept of "xin 心" (literally, the heart; figuratively, the mind) as the basic doctrine, aroused sympathy from some scholar-officials and won their support and even conversion. "For a moment, celebrities, such as Yuan Zongdao (袁宗道), Xiao Yunju (萧云举), Wang Tu (王图) and Wu Yingbin (吴应宾), humbly called themselves the disciples (of Lin). Zou Yuanbiao (邹元标) painstakingly complimented that the learning (of Lin) was quite upright. Somebody disagreed with him and Yuanbiao debated: 'Expounding the learning

[17] "Section of Human Being" (人部), no. 4, in Xie Zhaozhe (谢肇淛), *Miscellaneous Writing Collections* (*Wuza zu* 五杂俎), vol. 8.

[18] *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).

depends on the expounder's own idea. It is unnecessary to argue the point!' Yuan Huang (袁黄) also said: 'There were many things that I could not understand when I began studying in my early years. Whenever I put Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism together, I at once became enlightened.'"[19]

4) Lin Zhaoen advanced some ideas for political reform, which targeted the government's malpractice at that time, while he was expounding his syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. For example, on the problem of land annexation, Lin proposed: "Farmland shall be surveyed on the basis of its actual condition, and then it shall be divided equally according to the checked total number in *mu*." That is to say, peasants were allocated twenty-*mu* farmland *per capita*, instead of strictly following the "conventions of the 'nine squares' system."[20] When it came to the eunuch's arrogation of power and the decay of politics, Lin strongly protested against the abusive punishment and advocated the way of "governing without countermining nature." He said: "To make a living through action will bring harm to your life, and to administer the people through action will bring more disturbances to them."[21] He also suggested that the ruler learn from others and listen to the voice of the common people. Moreover, the ruler should adopt not only "the wisdom of the learned" and "the wisdom of the worthies" but also "the wisdom of the common people" and even "the wisdom of the unworthies."[22] As for the corruption in the armed forces and the enormous military expenditures, he was opposed to the mercenary system and promoted the practice that "soldiers work as farmers in time of peace and act as fighters in case of war" (*yu bing yu nong* 寓兵于农).[23] In his time, the number of Buddhist monks and nuns and Daoist priests was huge. Therefore, Lin advocated that the number of Buddhist monks and Daoist priests be strictly limited and the majority of their landed property be taken back. The grain paid as the tax for renting monastic farmland should be used to provide relief to people in need in disaster, or be used to award incorruptible

[19] See n. 8, *supra*.
[20] "The Nine-Squares Farmland" (*jing tian* 井田), in *Introduction to the Orthodoxy of the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun*), vol. 5.
[21] "Brief Interpretation to Dao te ching" (*Dao de jing shilüe* 道德经释略), *ibid*., vol. 19.
[22] "The Master Lin" (*Lin zi* 林子), *ibid*., vol. 2.
[23] "Talks Just Before Falling Asleep" (*Meiyan lu* 寐言录), *ibid*., vol. 35, Part One.

retired officials and to subsidize poor Confucian scholars.[24] To a certain extent, Lin's propositions reflected the interests and demands of the middle and lower class and from which—the impoverished Confucian scholars and the dispossessed owner-peasants in particular—he won support.

(153) 5) Lin Zhaoen objected to solving life's problems through taking Buddhist or Daoist ordination; in contrast to "leaving home," he preferred to practice at home and live as an ordinary person, that is, being married, having children, making a living with his own hands and moving amongst everyday life. Such practice, which had a strong secular nature, on one hand, did not restrain the ordinary people from enjoying the pleasures of secular life; on the other hand, it could fulfill their religious aspiration of being so pure and sagacious that they could keep the "life" immortal. Consequently, the way of practice Lin Zhaoen preached had a strong appeal for the common people.

6) Since his followers were of various educational levels, Lin Zhaoen employed the method of "teaching students in accordance with their abilities" in his missionary work. As for scholars whose expertise varied in Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, Lin preached by corroborating these three canons. Those who were "very poorly educated" were instructed with "vernacular terms and slang," by which the profound philosophical issues were vulgarized and visualized. Lin hung a mirror on the wall of the Hall of Emulating Confucius and the Veranda of Aspiring to Sagehood (*Xin sheng xuan* 心圣轩), through which he compared the original nature of *xin* (the heart/mind) to the empty and pure mirror. He also used the twisted silver that was very common in everyday life to allegorically express how everyone shared the spiritual substance of the Sage.[25] In order to teach the illiterate, Lin "first instructed them to practice the method of mental cultivation and to keep good health, by which they gradually gained an upright mind and gave up unclean thoughts"; and then, they were guided to proceed step by step and finally obtain mastery of the doctrine.[26]

---

[24] "Reply of Six Good Items" (*Liu mei tiao da* 六美条答), *ibid*., vol. 5.

[25] "The Enlightenment of The Heart Mirror" (*Xin jing zhimi* 心镜指迷), *ibid*., vol. 3; "The Allegory of Twisted Silver" (*Siyin Yu* 丝银喻), *ibid*., vol. 15; "Slang for Understanding I Ching" (*Yijie li Yu* 易解俚语), *ibid*., vol. 34.

[26] See n. 7, *supra*.

Such type of instruction, which used many patterns and was popular and straightforward, made his ideas understandable by the common people at various levels, and greatly facilitated the dissemination of *Sanyi jiao*.

7) After the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566), Lin Zhaoen expanded the goal of his missionary work to enlightening the whole of society. He composed "The Great Equal Assembly of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism" (*Sanjiao wuzhe dahui* 三教无遮大会) and expounded his idea that "there is no social or intellectual discrimination in teaching." His method of spreading his "religion" was to "preach the teaching in different regions"; that is to say, he sent his closest disciples to do missionary work in different areas.

As *Sanyi jiao* became increasingly influential, its nature changed significantly. The Three-in-One Teaching, which had been primarily an academic association of Confucian literati in a general sense, gradually transmuted into a popular religious sect. We can see this change from:

1) In the first year of Longqing (1567), Lin Zhaoen stated he would no longer supervise his disciples' work on the imperial examination, and was going to take his leave to roam about freely. His destination would not be decided and he would preach the teaching whenever and wherever possible. (154) From then on, in the mind of his followers, the image of Lin Zhaoen evolved from an instructor, scholar, philanthropist and recluse to the founding patriarch of this religion. In the sixth year of Longqing (1572), it was said of the followers of Shaowu in Fujian that "everybody enshrined and worshiped the portrait of Lin Zhaoen."[27] In the twelfth year of Wanli (1584), his disciples venerated Lin as "*Xia wu ni shi*" (夏午尼氏): "*Xia* (夏) meaning 'great' and *wu* (午) 'upright.' The combination of the two characters implied that all guiding principles can only be originating from uprightness. The Master Lin arises at the right moment. He expounds the most upright Ways in Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism and incorporates them into the

[27] *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱).

oneness. Hence, the Three-in-One Teaching is born."[28] The character "*ni* 尼" imitated "Zhongni 仲尼"—the courtesy name of Confucius, "Qingni 清尼"—another name of Laozi, and "Shijia muni 释迦牟尼"—the Buddha's Chinese transliterated name. In other words, Lin Zhaoen was elevated to the level of Confucius, Laozi and Sakyamuni. In the fifteenth year of Wanli (1587), a sorcerer of Zhejiang drew a chart of the syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism in a séance, and falsely alleged: "Recently the gods meet the Jade Emperor and the Heavenly Lord. They worship the Chart of the Syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, that is, the Master of the Three Teachings. It shall be passed on and enshrined."[29] Thus, Zhu Youkai organized the followers to print the portrait of Lin Zhaoen for worship, and "by this time, the followers of *Sanyi jiao* had begun venerating Lin as the 'Patriarch of Three-in-One Teaching.'"[30]

2) Before the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566), Confucian literati were predominant among the faithful in this sect. After that year, Lin Zhaoen changed his cautious manner of recruiting followers and expanded recruitment to all social classes. "If there is anyone who is willing to follow, he will be accepted."[31] Since the requirements for admittance were greatly eased, "from the gentry and scholars down to the impoverished and humble residents, all of them intend to follow."[32] The majority of followers now came from the lower social classes, such as farmers, small merchants, craftsmen, fishermen and monks and Daoist priests. Lin Zhaoen was thus forced to abandon preaching through lectures, and adopt more popular methods, that is, the methods of popular religion. *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*), recorded: "Any person who comes to the sect shall offer one set of fruit and drink, which is converted to one or half copper cash. Then he can register as a disciple. After burning incense and drawing a figured incantation, and secretly reading the incantation and swearing an oath, (the patriarch) gives him a portrait and requires him to

[28] *Brief Interpretation to the Original Scripture of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benti jing shilüe* 林子本体经释略).

[29] *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] "The Great Equal Assembly of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism" (*Sanjiao wuzhe dahui* 三教无遮大会), *Introduction to the Orthodoxy of the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun*), vol. 14.

[32] See n. 7, *supra*.

enshrine and worship it. He shall abstain from meat everyday, and such practice is named 'Never-being-Stubborn Abstinence' (*buyu zhai* 不迂斋). He will be told that he shall not speak anything about the sect, even if his parents ask."

3) Numerous sites for this sect to conduct religious activities—the Hall of *Sanyi jiao*—were built in succession. From the twelfth year of Wanli (1584) to the twenty-sixth year of Wanli (1598), there were nineteen such halls for which the time and place of building and the name of founder could be verified. (155) Please see the following table.

The reasons why *Sanyi jiao* transformed into a popular religious sect are as follows:

Table 3.2: Construction of *Sanyi jiao* halls, 1584–1598

Year of construction	Location	Founder	Remark
Wanli 12 (1584)	Mafeng (马峰), Putian, Fujian	Huang Fang (黄芳)	or in the thirteenth year of Wanli (1585)
Wanli 16 (1588)	Hanjiang (涵江), Putian, Fujian	Su Huang (苏簧), Lin Ziming (林自明)	
Wanli 18 (1590)	Tangxia (塘下), Putian, Fujian	Chen Qin (陈芹), Chen Yili (陈一鲤)	or in the sixteenth year of Wanli (1588)
Wanli 18 (1590)	Yaotai (瑶台), Putian, Fujian	Lin Wei (林蘶), Lin Mengxiong (林梦熊)	
Wanli 18 (1590)	Yuexiu (岳秀), Putian, Fujian	Lin Zhijing (林至敬)	or in the seventeenth year of Wanli (1589)
Wanli 18 (1590)	Meilan (美澜), Putian, Fujian	Lin Hong (林红)	
Wanli 20 (1592)	Chongqin (冲沁), Putian, Fujian	Zhang Mou (张谋), Zhang Yuanji (张元吉)	
Wanli 20 (1592)	Shuinanhouzhu (水南后珠), Putian, Fujian	Zhu Fengshi (朱逢时)	
Wanli 21 (1593)	Yuxi (玉溪), Putian, Fujian	Zhang Zisheng (张子升), Zhang Hongdu (张洪都)	
Wanli 22 (1594)	Qingjiang (清江), Putian, Fujian	Li Yingshan (李应善), Huang Dayin (黄大寅)	or in the twenty-first year of Wanli (1593)
Wanli 22 (1594)	Just in front of the Directorate of Imperial Academy (Guozi jian 国子监), Nanjing	Cai Jingjun (蔡经俊)	or it was located at the Sanshan Street
Wanli 23 (1595)	Qishan (岐山), Putian, Fujian	Zhou Qiming (周启明)	or in the twenty-second year of Wanli (1594)
Wanli 23 (1595)	Bangtouxiaming (榜头下明), Xianyou, Fujian	Feng Yi (冯一), Feng Er (冯二)	

Table 3.2 (*cont.*)

Year of construction	Location	Founder	Remark
Wanli 24 (1596)	Guqingxingtou (谷清硎头), Putian, Fujian	Lin Xin (林馨)	
Wanli 25 (1597)	The Dwellings of Familiy Lin, Fenggu (奉古), Putian, Fujian	Lin Mingwu (林鸣梧)	or in the twenty-third year of Wanli (1595)
Wanli 26 (1598)	Shicheng (石城), Putian, Fujian	Lin Fengyi (林凤仪)	
Wanli 26 (1598)	Fengting (枫亭), Xianyou, Fujian	Wang Kefang (王克芳), Liao Dexin (廖德馨)	
Wanli 26 (1598)	Shangzepu (上泽埔), Fuqing (福清), Fujian	Lin Zebo (林则勃), Lin ZeYu (林则育)	
Wanli 26 (1598)	Anminpu (安民埔), Putian, Fujian	Lin Su (林速), Chen Tianyou (陈天佑)	

Sources: This table is based on *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu* 林子本行实录), *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱) and *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu* 林子门贤实录).

1) The basic elements of Lin Zhaoen's syncretism were Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, though his theoretical paradigm was Wang Yangming's 王阳明 "*xin xue*" (心学, the learning of heart/mind). He interpreted the three doctrines from the perspective of his own personal requirements and extracted the guides, virtues and ethical codes from Confucianism, the mental cultivation method from Daoism and the theory of emptiness and essence from Buddhism. By reshuffling these metaphysical substances, he created a new ideological system. In this ideology: the basis was Wang Yangming's "learning of *xin*"; the fundamental doctrine was Confucian cardinal guides, constant virtues and ethical codes; the way of admittance was the Daoist mental cultivation; (156) the supreme principle was the Buddhist emptiness and essence; the principle of living was the combination of mundane and transmundane practices; the aim was to rely on Confucianism and to venerate Confucius; and ultimately, Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism were ascribed to the *xin* (heart, or mind). Such system was in nature a kind of religious philosophy, which determined the possibility of *Sanyi jiao*'s transformation into a popular religion.

2) For Lin Zhaoen, a commoner, to fulfill his goal that "all sentient beings in this world will practice his cultivation," he had to take the "Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders" (*jiuxu xinfa*), which also performed as a healing service, as an expedient measure to attract

people. As Lin Zhijing (林至敬), one of his disciples, pointed out: "The Patriarch made use of [Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders] to convince people. He never implied that the Great Way was in it. People who preach one teaching usually have power. Thus, when they spread their teaching, the situation will be like 'the grass bending as the wind blows over it.' The Patriarch, however, was just a commoner, although he had the supreme Way, who would believe him? Who would respect him? Who would follow him? He had no choice but to employ the principle of broadening one's mind and comforting one's body and the instruction of consolidating the vitality and obtaining radiating health to heal those who were impoverished and sick. When they were cured, all of them would believe, venerate and follow (the Patriarch). People were quickly and completely enlightened. That which healed the illness was this *xin*, and the mental cultivation practiced was also this *xin*. As a result, this teaching began prevailing throughout the country and the compliments began pouring in."[33] In fact, most of the followers failed to understand the Patriarch's effort; instead, they concerned themselves with the way of healing and mystified and spiritualized the "Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders." As for this, once the religious content of *Sanyi jiao* was released , it could not be stopped, even as Lin Zhaoen observed it very early and warned his disciples: "The way of healing does not mean there is indeed the way of healing people's lives. It is just a derivative of the 'heart/mind cultivation.' The application of Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders to healing served to assist in spreading the teaching. At present, since we have now won the trust of the public, please do not mention this again."[34]

3) Lin Zhaoen had no ambition to become the Founding Patriarch while he was creating this teaching. Even in the twelfth year of Wanli (1584), he still considered himself as a "scholar and instructor." As *Sanyi jiao* grew increasingly influential, Lin's sense of self importance grew, and he tacitly allowed his disciples to create a personality cult. For example, in the third year of Longqing (1569), when followers donated two hundred taels silver to build a hall for *Sanyi jiao*, Lin Zhaoen resolutely stopped them and said: "Our teaching has not

[33] Lin Zhizhi (林至致), *Reflections at Noon* (*Zhuowu shiyi* 卓午实义), Part One.
[34] See n. 2, *supra*.

yet won the trust of the public. It will not be late to build the Hall once we have done so."[35] Nevertheless, after the twelfth year of Wanli (1584), Lin turned a blind when many halls in which his portrait was enshrined and worshiped were built in succession. (157) At the age of eighty, he even made trip to inspect these halls. Such a trip, however, further opened the door to Lin's own apotheosis.

4) The rapid expansion of this sect encouraged the deification of the founder by its followers. At that time, the social order was unstable and the common people lived in misery. Since they could not find an escape in real life, commoners had to resort to the supernatural and created many new deities. In the mid- and late-Ming, popular religion expanded and the practice of apotheosis was flourishing. Lin Zhaoen was a likely appropriate candidate, since he had used his own family fortune to provide relief for others, and was known for his high moral standard. That is, he perfectly fit the equation that "a deity is a perfected man."[36] There was the chart of the syncretism of the three doctrines, which was cut and printed by his followers. An appellation such as "the Patriarch of *Sanyi jiao*" and "*Xia wu ni shi* 夏午尼氏" was designated voluntarily by the disciples. Even the halls were built by the faithful with self-raised funds. That is to say, the believers of this sect deliberately directed the various apotheosis of Lin at that time. Furthermore, the lower classes were predominant among the followers and it was difficult for them to appreciate the academic ideas of Lin Zhaoen; on the contrary, they were accustomed to superstition. Thus, the academic substance of *Sanyi jiao* was diluted, while its religious nature was increasingly evident.

It must be pointed out that *Sanyi jiao* was not a religion in the strictest sense, though it became increasingly religious after the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566). Historical materialism holds that the basic character of religion resides in believing in and worshiping supernatural forces. This has two meanings. On one hand, it refers to the internal characteristic of religion; that is to say, religious belief in certain supernatural forces. Such belief consists of religious philosophy and the derivative religious ethical codes, both of them are relevant to the

---

[35] *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).

[36] Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Lecture on the History of Philosophy" (Heige'er zhexue jiangyan lu 黑格尔哲学讲演录), in *Philosophical Notebooks* (*Zhexue biji* 哲学笔记) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1956).

internal characteristic of religion. On the other hand, it also refers to external characteristics, specifically the worship of a supernatural force, which is correlated with a variety of rites, canons, rules, clerics and hierarchies. Both of these are necessary to the strict definition of religion. From this point of view, the Three-in-One religion was far from complete, even though it had a rite of admittance, halls of worship and other external religious features. After all, the hall of *Sanyi jiao* had the nature of "*shengci*" (生祠 [a memorial hall built for an eminent person who is still alive. This type of practice was very popular in the Ming Dynasty]) and was distinct from other religious temples. Even if Lin Zhaoen had become an idol worshiped by his followers, it could be, to a greater or lesser extent, regarded as an act of venerating a great man (but not a god). Above all, the ideological system of Lin Zhaoen was substantially a *religious philosophy*. (158) During his lifetime, Lin never discussed ghost stories, and denied the existence of supernatural forces and other worlds, such as the Penglai (the legendary isle of the blessed), the Pure Land, the Heaven and the Hell. He also denied Daoist and Buddhist ideas such as immortality, ascent to heaven, karma and the cycle of rebirth. In view of this, *Sanyi jiao* did not have the complete internal characteristic of a religion. To sum up, during his lifetime of Lin Zhaoen, this sect did not finish the process of transforming itself into a true religion.

Differentiation and Prosperity of Sanyi jiao

While Lin Zhaoen was alive, *Sanyi jiao* had two sides: the academic group, and the religious association. In other words, there was always the possibility that the two groups would eventually go their separate ways. At the turn of Ming and Qing, when Lin Zhaoen, the Founding Patriarch of *Sanyi jiao* who had combined the academic and spiritual sides, passed away, the two did split.

At this time, *Sanyi jiao* was divided into two groups and they inherited and developed Lin's academic and religious heritage respectively.

The group represented by Lin Zhaoke (林兆珂) continued the academic tradition established by the founding father. Lin Zhaoke, whose style name was Maozhong (懋忠) or Mengming (孟鸣) and whose appellation was Rongmen (榕门), was a cousin of Lin Zhaoen. In his early years, Zhaoke followed Zhaoen and passed the highest imperial examination in the second year of Wanli (1574). From then on, he held positions such as Minister of Justice (司寇) and Prefect of Anqing.

After he retired from the post and returned to his hometown, he was still enthusiastic about the work of *Sanyi jiao* and compiled *The Complete Works of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi quanji* 林子全集), *True Words of Wuni* [i.e., Lin Zhaoen] (*Wuni zhenyan* 午尼真言) and other books. The group led by Zhaoke venerated Lin Zhaoen as a brilliant thinker of *lixue* (理学, literally, the Learning of Principle) and held that Lin "uniquely observed the remote antiquity and understood thoroughly the pure and tranquil way of cultivation. He syncretized Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism into one doctrine and linked up the past, present and future. He corrected all doctrines through the Confucian cardinal guides and constant values and checked them by the 'golden mean.' What he achieved might well carry forward and further develop the learning of Zhu Xi, Yang Shi, Zhou Dunyi and the Brothers of Cheng Yi and Cheng Hao."[37] "As for the learning of the Master, its greatness lies in expounding the basic principle of life and aspiring to benefit all sentient beings. The method of healing and prolonging life is nothing more than an insignificant issue."[38] They openly criticized some followers' work of building halls, creating altars for prayer and making clay statue of deities saying: "I really do not know why at present the people who follow the Master would create an altar. From where does such practice originate? (160) What are their grounds for making a clay statue? It is going too far! If they keep doing these, followers in the latter generation will not obtain the true teachings!"[39] In view of the situation that after the death of Lin Zhaoen—"there are various edition of the chronicle of the Master, and their contents are distorted and are based on hearsay, in which the exaggeration of the Master's deeds are startling,[40] they organized people to compile and print *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu*, a.k.a. *Lin Zhaoen xiansheng nianpu* 林兆恩先生年谱). This *Chronicle* was edited with the serious academic standards: it "consulted previous editions and carefully examined them. Then, it corrected the errors in the previous editions, deleted absurd writings, and supplemented what they miss."[41] By these

[37] "Introduction" (xu 序), *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu*).

[38] "Preface to the Hall of *Sanyi jiao* Built in Yangcheng" (*Yangcheng jian sanjiao ci xu* 洋城建三教祠序), in Lin Xiangzhe (林向哲), *The Writings of Oulizi* (*Oulizi ji* 瓯离子集), vol. 2.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] See n. 37, *supra*.

[41] *Ibid.*

efforts, they hoped to present Lin Zhaoen in his true color and through which instruct the faithful "to understand the greatness of the syncretism of the three doctrines and seek the principle of modeling after Confucius."[42] In this *Chronicle*, Lin Zhaoen was called "the Master" or "My Teacher" and there was no appellation such as "Patriarch," "the Patriarch of the Three-in-One Teaching" or "the Great Master of Deliverance of the Three-in-One Teaching." It demonstrated that in the compilers' minds, Lin Zhaoen was not a founding patriarch of religion but a great learned scholar or instructor. With regard to the content, its record of the founder's life was concise and to the point. There was no apotheosis of Lin Zhaoen, let alone ghost stories. In a word, this *Chronicle* was much less religious. Since this group was very academic and only exerted a slight effect on intellectual circles at that time, it was hard for the common people to accept it. Therefore, this group was less known to popular society and fell into oblivion after the early Qing.

The other group carried on Lin Zhaoen's work from the perspective of religion. They venerated Lin as the Founding Patriarch of *Sanyi jiao* and named their sect "*xia jiao*" (夏教, the Great Teaching). In addition, they further developed their religious philosophy and ethical codes and perfected the religious rites, rules and hierarchies. The members of this group were passionate about religious activities. Because this group was able to facilitate the sanctification of *Sanyi jiao*, it was firmly anchored in popular society and had a great number of followers. It continues to represent the mainstream development of this sect.

According to "The Achievements of the Hall of the Golden Mean in Jinling" (*Jinling zhongyi tang xingshi* 金陵中一堂行实): "After the death of the Master of the Three Teachings, the disciples acted as instructors and went to different regions as missionaries."[43] Among them, there were three most influential branches. The first was led by Chen Biao and Wang Xing and disseminated this teaching in Xin'an of Zhejiang, Huangshan of Anhui, Jinling of Jiangsu and Fuzhou of Fujian. The heads of the second group were Zhang Hongdu and Zhen Hui, who were active in the region south of the lower Yangtze River, Jiangxi, the South Zhili and Jinling. The last was the most prominent

[42] *Ibid*.

[43] "The Achievements of the Hall of the Golden Mean in Jinling" (*Jinling zhongyi tang xingshi* 金陵中一堂行实), *The Complete Works of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi quanji* 林子全集), "The Zhen (贞) Collection," vol. 9.

and far-reaching, which was under the lead of Lu Wenhui (卢文辉), Lin Zhijing, Zhu Fenghshi, Chen Zhongyu and Dong Shi and took Fujian as the base. At the turn of Ming and Qing, the main activities of the faithful of *Sanyi jiao* included:

(160) 1) Complete the Apotheosis of Lin Zhaoen

As the above discussion shows, even before his death, the followers had begun apotheosizing Lin Zhaoen. It was after Lin's death, that is, at the turn of Ming and Qing, when the faithful carried out the systematic apotheosis. The method they employed was to compile chronicles, biographies, memoirs and sketchy accounts of the founder. At that time, besides for the above-mentioned Lin Zhaoke's *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu*), there were *Records of Deeds of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi xingshi* 林子行实) and *A Brief Account of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing jilüe* 林子本行纪略), both of them composed by Zhang Hongdu (张洪都), Lin Zhijing's *Biographic Sketches of Dingwu* (*Dingwu benji* 丁戊本纪), *The Chronicle of the Master of the Three Teachings* (*Sanjiao xiansheng nianpu* 三教先生年谱) by Zhu Fengshi (朱逢时), *Anecdotes of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi jiwen* 林子纪闻) complied by Huang Daben (黄大本), Lin Qisheng's (林齐圣) *A Sketchy Biography of the Master of the Three Teachings* (*Sanjiao xiansheng xingzhuang* 三教先生行状), *The Chronicle of Lin Zhaoen* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱) delineated by Weng Yao (翁耀), *The Biography of the True Master of Yuzhang* (*Yuzhang zhenshi ji* 豫章真师记) by Huang Zhou (黄胄) and *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*), which was written by Lu Wenhui, edited by Chen Zhongyu (陈衷瑜) and revised by Dong Shi (董史), and so forth. Unlike the edition of Lin Zhaoke, these writings "are distorted and are based on hearsay, in which the exaggeration of the Master's deeds are startling." For instance, in Zhu Fengshi's book, it was recorded: "when the Master Lin became accomplished in his practice, all his family members ascended to the Heaven."[44] Weng Yao's *Chronicle* reads: "The writing is much more detailed. There are, however, some pieces of records that (the Master) offered sacrifice to the Heavenly Dog while he was falling sick. This practice absolutely does not accord with the Master's Way of impartiality and uprightness. And the narration

[44] *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of The Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu* 林子门贤实录).

(of this book) is very vulgar."[45] Among such type of writings, the most typical was *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).

This *Chronicle* was a product of the group effort by Lu Wenhui, who was under the direct instruction of Lin Zhaoen, Chen Zhongyu, a second-generation disciple, and Dong Shi, one of the third-generation followers. It was printed in the twelfth year of Shunzhi of the Qing Dynasty (1655). Therefore, it reflected most accurately the circumstances of how the followers of *Sanyi jiao* apotheosized their founding father. The complete title of this book [using Lin's title as the Great and Upright Patriarch, tr.] was *Xiawuni sanyi jiaozhu benxing shilu* (夏午尼三一教主本行实录). In this book, Lin Zhaoen was called "the Patriarch" or "the Patriarch of *Sanyi jiao*" throughout and the founder's life was apotheosized completely. For instance, they claimed that Lin was born in the twelfth year of Zhengde (1517), the year of *dingchou* (丁丑). These writers invented the fact that the founder was born in the year of *dingchou* in order to fulfil the ancient oracle—"It is in the year of *dingchou* when Maitreya descends down onto the world." Concerning Madam Li, Lin Zhaoen's mother, they said: "The bright red moon flew into the bed while she was sleeping. Then the Madam was pregnant." When the founder was born, "people saw an auspicious beam lighting up the sky from the room where Madam Li was in and smelled a tantalizingly extraordinary fragrance." In addition, as for Lin Zhaoen' syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, this book boasted that the founder not only "visited masters with great wisdom and was given the secret (of learning)," but also "was visited by Confucius in a dream and was taught the refined principles of *Lulun* (鲁论, [An edition of *Analects* that was circulated in the state of Lu in the pre-imperial era.])…and then by Laozi who instructed him to apprehend the Way and by Sakyamuni who enlightened him with the Emptiness. Since then on, the Patriarch began preaching the syncretism of the three doctrines." Indeed, the Maitreya Buddha, the Buddha and the Sage Bodanduo (*Bodanduo zunzhe* 钵但多尊者) descended and met Lin later. They either secretly passed on the way of practice to him or endowed him with authority. (161) In these writings, Lin Zhaoen was depicted as a god, who possessed the unimaginable power and was able to expiate the sins of all spirits, to settle disagreements

[45] *Ibid.*

and resolve difficulties and to exorcise devils using written incantations. It was said that the incantation produced by Lin was so powerful that "all demons and evil spirits would be dispelled and any difficulty and danger would be dissolved; and all the people who held it found their wishes came true." Wherever Lin Zhaoen went, demons and evil spirits "fled in crowds." When Lin passed away, "the heavenly music rang sonorous and forceful and golden beams shone radiantly." Confucius, Laozi and Sakyamuni invited him to "take charge of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism and to release all sentient beings from suffering and lead them to the gate of truth." Such exaggeration can be seen throughout this *Chronicle*. In short, in his lifetime, the worship of Lin Zhaoen contained certain elements of veneration for a great man because of his noble ideas and high standard of morality. After his death, the worship by the followers of *Sanyi jiao* turned into naked idolatry.

2) Further Development of Lin's Religious Ideas

After Lin Zhaoen's death, his disciples wrote numerous books developing his religious ideas. Those were recorded in historical sources include: *The True Sayings of the Master Lu* (*Lu zi yaoyan* 卢子要言), *Writings of the Great Mind* (*Xia xin ji* 夏心集), *The Authentic Teachings from the Master about the Three Teachings* (*Sanjiao zhenchuan* 三教真传), *The Rituals of Freeing Captive Animals* (*Fangsheng yiwen* 放生仪文), *Writings of Repentance in the Three Assemblies under The Dragon Flower Three* (*Longhua sanhui chanwen* 龙华三会忏文), *The Purport of Keeping Impartiality and Mindedness* (*Zhongyi xuyan* 中一绪言) and *Collection of Spiritual Poems* (*Xingling shi* 性灵诗), all of which were worked out by Lu Wenhui; *Drafts of Sanshan* (*Sanshan xiaocao* 三山小草) written by Chen Biao (陈标); Wang Xing's (王兴) *The Mental Cultivation Methods of Nine Orders* (*Jiuxu xinfa* 九序心法); Lin Zhijing's *Discussions on the Supplementary Records of the Assemblies under The Dragon Flower Tree* (*Longhua biezhuan huiyu* 龙华别传会语), *Collection of Apprehending the Great Teaching* (*Ming xia ji* 明夏集) and *Reflections at Noon* (*Zhuowu shiyi* 卓午实义); Zhu Fengshi's (朱逢时) *True Scripture of Sea of the Mind* (*Xinhai zhenjing* 心海真经); *The Bright and Elixir-like Lessons* (*Jinguang danjian* 金光丹鉴) by Huang Zhou (黄州); *True Saying for Apprehending the Way* (*Mingdao yaoyan* 明道要言), *Essence of Apprehending the Way* (*Mingdao yaolun* 明道要论), *Rules Proposed by the Master Chen* (*Chenzi huigui* 陈子会规), *Ritual Services of the Three Doctrines of Dragon Flower* (*Sanjiao longhua jiaodao* 三教龙华醮祷), *Rites of Repentance* (*Chanhui keyi* 忏悔科仪), *Rites of Releasing the Soul of the Dead* (*Lanpen keyi* 兰盆

科仪), all of which were penned by Chen Zhongyu; Dong Shi's (董史) *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao* 东山集草), and the like. In these extant writings, they further developed Lin Zhaoen's religious ideas in two aspects.

First, these framers resumed the Buddhist ideas such as karma, the cycle of rebirth, the celestial palace and hell. In Lin Zhaoen's name, Zhu Fengshi created *True Scripture of Sea of the Mind* (*Xinhai zhenjing*), in which he advocated Buddhist karma, the cycle of rebirth, Heaven and the Hell. For the tragic scene in which "the dead lie everywhere and the corpses float in the river" after a flood, Zhu expounded: "this was because of evil karma. Though it was an adversity, it resulted from disbelief of karma, profanity against the 'three treasures,' scorn for the practice of the Way and imputation of the teaching." He also preached: If anyone wanted to "free those dead and drowned from suffering, he must practice the cultivation of goodness and earnestly and sincerely recite the scriptures. Thus, the Grand Emperor of the River will stop the disaster and save all souls that were accomplished in their karma. This person would have been born in the Pure Land of the West, before the Maitreya Buddha. He originated from the Padma (*lianhua* 莲花, the lotus) and has great wisdom. He is from the realm of Buddha and he is in the realm of Buddha. He is from Heaven and he is in Heaven." Lu Wenhui held since everybody "gets entangled in sins of his prior existence," he "has numerous shortcomings and blunders" and thus he fell into the cycle of rebirth and could not be released. If he resolved to "expaite his sins and make a fresh start," he must (162) convert to *Sanyi jiao* and "surrender himself to the teaching and repent."[46] To promote such practice, he even compiled *Writings of Repentance in the Three Assemblies under The Dragon Flower Three* (*Longhua sanhui chanwen*), which absorbed and reformulated the Buddhist "noble eightfold path" (*ba zhengdao* 八正道) and "five precepts" (*wujie* 五戒). The faithful of *Sanyi jiao* were required to kneel while they were reciting this scripture at dawn and at night. This book had twenty sections and each section was divided into "repentance" (*chanwen* 忏文) and "exposition" (*shuozan* 说赞), by which it provided one complete set of precepts and rules.

[46] "The Opening Hymn" (*Kai chan song* 开忏颂), in Lu Wenhui (卢文辉), *Writings of Repentance in the Three Assemblies under The Dragon Flower Three* (*Longhua sanhui chanwen* 龙华三会忏文).

Second, they adopted Daoist practices of incantation. Lin Zhaoen himself had no interest in Daoist incantation, and severely rebuked such practice. The so-called "sorcery," he said: "are things like sword-ladder climbing, fire walking, chanting incantations and drawing magic figures. Those performers presume that what they do is the true way. As a matter of fact, these are absolutely not the Way of the Sage."[47] Regarding the art of incantation, Lin said: "It is illusion that deludes people into imagining that they will get rich after their death, by going to the altar and by receiving incantations. It is laughable that they pursue the highest Way through a selfish mind."[48] However, after Lin Zhaoen's death, his disciples not only enthusiastically preached the idea of ascending the heaven and becoming immortal, but also showed a great interest in Daoist arts of incantation, drawing magic figures and creating altars and introducing them into *Sanyi jiao*. At the turn of the Ming and Qing, this teaching wrote incantations, as "The Way is so supreme that even dragon and tiger will bow before it. The virtue is so sublime that even ghosts and deities will respect it." (道高龙虎伏, 德重鬼神钦) and "I aspire for the three teachings to extend in the six directions." (吾志在三教, 此心满六虚). There was a rumor that Lin Zhaoen personally wrote the two incantations and they were incomparably efficacious. As for creating altars, Lu Wenhui maintained it was "one of works of *Sanyi jiao*"[49] and asked Chen Zhongyu to compile books such as *Ritual Services of the Three Doctrines of the Dragon Flower* (*Sanjiao longhua jiaodao*), *Rites of Releasing the Soul of the Dead* (*Lanpen keyi*) and *Rites of Repentance* (*Chanhui keyi*). These rites or rules "are followed everywhere and people's responses echo loudly."[50] In addition, *Sanyi jiao* created many other incantations at this time. For example, "Incantation for Purifying the Mind" (*Jingxin shenzhou* 净心神咒), "Incantation for Purifying Body" (*Jingshen shenzhou* 净身神咒), "Incantation for Purifying the Word" (*Jingkou shenzhou* 净口神咒), "Incantation for Pacifying the Earth" (*An tudi shenzhou* 安土地神咒), "Incantation for Pacifying the Heaven and the Earth" (*Jing*

[47] "To Banish the Magic Arts" (Po mi 破迷), *Introduction to the Orthodoxy of the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun*), vol. 28.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] "The Chronicle of the Master Lu, the Disciple of the Founder in the Direct Line" (嫡传卢子本行), "Appendix," in *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).
[50] *Ibid.*

tiandi shenzhou 净天地神咒), "Incantation for Praying" (*Zhuxiang zhou* 祝香咒) and "The Incantation of Golden Light" (*Jin'guang shenzhou* 金光神咒) were popular among the followers. Most of them were either copied from Daoist incantations or Daoist teachings.

3) Enrichment of Religious Rites and Rules

In Lin Zhaoen's time, this sect's outward appearance, which consisted of rites and rules, was incomplete. At the turn of Ming and Qing, its followers consciously spent much effort creating rites and rules and to make their religion coherent. (163) In light of the extant works, their efforts concentrated on the three areas of investiture rituals, sermons and recitation and precepts of the teaching.

Investiture rituals. If a person wanted to join the sect, first, he must be recommended by a member. Then, with the permission of the Master in charge, he would attend the admittance rites in the hall on an auspicious day. In the rite, this person must burn an "admittance token" (*rumen qizhang* 入门启章) in air. Except for two items that were similar to the religious precept or rule, the "admittance token" for male members was approximately same as that created by Lin Zhaoen in his own lifetime. The two new items were: "Eat one vegetarian meal a day" and "Do not kill under normal circumstance." Since this sect began recruiting female followers in this period, it created an "admittance token for women," which was slightly different from the male version.[51] After burning the "admittance token," the Master in charge would read out the "Admittance Notice" (*rumen xuzhi* 入门须知).[52]

Sermons and recitation. On the sixth day of every month, followers gathered in the hall with which they were affiliated and a disciple of considerable mastery of the doctrine would be invited to preach a sermon. During the congregation, followers "must sit in meditation and practice the mental cultivation, by which they apprehend the original meaning of the teachings. Speaking aloud about mundane affairs are not allowed, as they will disturb the ritual." Before the sermon began, all followers should perform the "ritual of worshiping the Sage" before the statue of the Patriarch of the Three Teachings, in which they

[51] For details, see: *The Precious Scripture of Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism and the Great Teaching* [i.e., *Sanyi jiao*] (*Ru dao shi xia baojing* 儒道释夏宝经).

[52] For details, see: Chen Zhongyu (陈衷瑜), *Rules Proposed by the Master Chen* (*Chenzi huigui* 陈子会规).

burned incense and candles, offered fruits and bowed to the statue of the Patriarch and other deities. Then all read aloud the "Teachings of the Patriarch of the Three Teachings"—"Have no evil ideas or actions. The Master of the Three Teachings teaches me to live like this. If I cannot live this way, my mind will be dead. Alas! If the mind is dead, the body will be dead, too. Even you can live in this world for one hundred years, will you eventually escape death? If the mind is still alive while the body is dead, this is immortality." When the sermon began, all followers would "listen solemnly and silently." At the end of the morning lecture, everyone recited one *Poem of Awakening the Mind* (*Xin xin shi* 醒心诗). The sermon would resume in the afternoon with a ritual that was the same as the one in the morning. But at the start of afternoon lecture, all followers were required to read aloud *The Draft of Memorial of Worshiping the Heaven* (*Gao tian shu gao* 告天疏稿).[53]

Precepts of the teaching. In this period, the disciples took the "Ballad of Veneration" (*jing ci* 敬辞), "Ballad of Listening" (*ting ci* 听辞), "Ballad of Precaution" (*jie ci* 戒辞), "Ballad of Encouragement" (*mian ci* 勉辞) and "The Admonition of Five Never Dos for Disciples" (*Wu qiebuke shijie zhusheng* 五切不可示戒诸生), all of which were created by Lin Zhaoen in his lifetime, as sectarian precepts.[54]

4) Building Halls for *Sanyi jiao*

The Fujian Gazetteer (*Min shu*), recorded: when Lin Zhaoen died, "in Putian, from the mountains to the sea, even in the smallest communities that had only several households, residents held a memorial ceremony for the Master. From Yan, Jian, Ting and Shao in north to Jin, An, Qing and Zhang in south, there was the Hall of the Three Teachings, (164) in which the portrait of Lin Zhaoen was worshiped."[55] From the twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600) to the tenth year of Chongzhen (1637), there were twenty halls that the time and place of building and the name of founder could be verified. Please see the following table:

[53] *Ibid.*
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] See n. 7, *supra.*

Table 3.3: Construction of *Sanyijiao* halls, 1600–1637

Year of construction	Location	Founder	Remark
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Zhudun (朱墩), Putian, Fujian	Lin Yingbin (林应宾)	or in the twenty-sixth year of Wanli (1598)
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Wukuntou (五昆头), Xianyou, Fujian	Li Sheng (李盛), Li Kun (李昆)	or in the twenty-seventh year of Wanli (1599)
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Nanban (南坂), Xianyou, Fujian	Chen Qishen (陈齐莘), Chen Yingsun (陈应孙)	or in the twenty-seventh year of Wanli (1599)
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Hanxing (寒硎), Xianyou, Fujian	Cai Tingjiao (蔡廷教)	
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Aofengfang (鳌峰坊), Fuzhou, Fujian	Wang Xing (王兴), You Wanjun (游万俊)	
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Shuikou (水口), Gutian (古田), Fujian	Wang Xing (王兴), Yang Yue (杨钺)	
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Fangxi Yu (坊西嵎), Minqing (闽清), Fujian	Wang Xing (王兴), Wu Jiucheng (吴九成)	
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	inside the Jian'ning (建宁) city, Fujian	Wang Xing (王兴), Wu Hongjian (吴洪建)	
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	TangYu (唐屿), the County Min, Fujian	Wang Xing (王兴), Wu Yingshi (吴应时)	
The twenty-ninth year of Wanli (1601)	Hongtang (洪塘), Fuzhou, Fujian	Chen Tianci (陈天赐), Yu Tingliang (余廷良)	
The thirtieth year of Wanli (1602)	Dongshan (东山), Putian, Fujian	Chen Daozhang (陈道章), Lin Qiying (林齐瀛)	
The thirty-sixth year of Wanli (1608)	Hanjiangyaodao (涵江瑶岛) of Putian, Fujian	Lu Wenhui (卢文辉)	or in the thirtieth year of Wanli (1602)
The thirty-ninth year of Wanli (1611)	Lindun (林墩), Putian, Fujian	Fang Zhongtai (方钟台), Chen Dabiao (陈大标)	
The thirty-ninth year of Wanli (1611)	Fuyang (扶阳), Hui'an (惠安), Fujian	Chen You (陈友)	
The thirty-ninth year of Wanli (1611)	Chongwu (崇武), Hui'an (惠安), Fujian	Li Zhengkun (李正昆)	

Table 3.3 (*cont.*)

Year of construction	Location	Founder	Remark
The forty-second year of Wanli (1614)	Nantaihoupu (南台后浦), Putian, Fujian		
The second year of Chongzhen (1629)	Shangyang (尚阳), Putian, Fujian	Dong Yingjie (董应阶)	It was rebuilt in the eighth year of Kangxi and was put under the administration of Fuqing County.
The second year of Chongzhen (1629)	Songdong (嵩东), Putian, Fujian	Chen Zhongyu (陈衷瑜)	
The tenth year of Chongzhen (1637)	Xiguan (西关), Xianyou, Fujian	Wang Kai (王开)	
In the years of Chongzhen	Xianyou, Fujian	Liu Huaru (刘华如)	

Sources: This table is based on *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu* 林子本行实录), *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱), *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu* 林子门贤实录) and *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao* 东山集草).

(165) There also were many halls, whose date, place and founder could not be verified; in the words of Dong Shi: "at present, halls of *Sanyi jiao* spread all over this area."[56] Outside Fujian Province, there are a large number of newly-built halls, distributed over a wide area. In the tenth year of Kangxi (1671), Lin Xiangzhe (林向哲) pointed out: "The sect created by my granduncle, Mr. Lin Longjiang (Zhaoen), prevailed in the region of Wu, Yue, Yan, Qi and Yuzhang.... Today, halls for him are spread all over the country. Even in this single area, the hall is magnificent. It has green and gold and looks exquisite, resplendent and splendid. It has carved roofs and decorated rafters, and stretches across several *li*."[57] Since Lin Xiangzhe had visited these areas and met with local followers, and was opposed to building halls of *Sanyi jiao* and worshiping Lin Zhaoen as the Patriarch, his description should be relatively reliable. Because of their great age, there were only seven halls that could be verified:

[56] "Memorial to Xishan Hall" (犀山堂记), in Dong Shi (董史), *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao* 东山集草), vol. 1.

[57] See n. 38, *supra*.

Table 3.4: Construction of *Sanyijiao* halls as recorded by Lin Xiangze

Year of construction	Location	Founder	Remark
The twenty-eighth year of Wanli (1600)	Meilindu (梅林渡), Xiuning Prefecture (休宁), South Zhili (南直隶)	Wang Xing (王兴), Wang Shishu (汪时曙)	or in the twenty-sixth year of Wanli (1598)
The twenty-ninth year of Wanli (1601)	Jiangyin (江阴), Jiangsu	Li Tingxun (林廷勋)	or in the thirtieth year of Wanli (1602)
The twenty-ninth year of Wanli (1601)	Nianbadu (念八都), the Jiangshan County, Zhejiang	Xu Liangcai (徐良材), Mao Sixin (毛思信)	
The twenty-ninth year of Wanli (1601)	at the North Gate of the Prefecture of Songjiang, Jiangsu	Chen Jixian (陈济贤), Jiang Yunlong (姜云龙)	
The twenty-ninth year of Wanli (1601)	at the South Gate of the Prefecture of Songjiang, Jiangsu	Chen Jixian (陈济贤), Jiang Yunlong (姜云龙)	
The thirty-eighth year of Wanli (1610)	The Yuhe Bridge (玉河桥), Beijing, the Prefecture of Shuntian (顺天)	Zhang Hongdu (张洪都)	
The first year of Tianqi (1621)	The Pearl Bridge (珍珠桥), Jinling	"Really Lazy" (真懒)	

Sources: This table is based on *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu* 林子本行实录), *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu* 林子年谱) and "The Achievements of the Hall of the Golden Mean in Jinling" (*Jinling zhongyi tang xingshi* 金陵中一堂行实).

Sanyi jiao spread over a considerable area and the followers outnumbered those of Lin Zhaoen's time. This sect's growth culminated at the turn of Ming and Qing. When Lin was alive, there were halls in Jinling, Xianyou and Fuqing respectively, the remaining ones were located in Putian. By this time, *Sanyi jiao* halls were distributed over many provinces, such as South Zhili, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jinling, Beijing and Fujian (Putian, Xianyou, Fuzhou, Hui'an, Gutian, Minqing, Jianning, the Min County, Yanping, Jianyang, Tingzhou, Shaowu, Jinjiang, Anxi, Qingliu and Zhangzhou). As for the number of its followers, there are numerous records in historical sources. For example, when Chen Biao was preaching this teaching in Fuzhou, "the sect

prospered and the followers were in thousands."[58] (166) Wang Xing (王兴) did missionary work in Xin'an of Zhejiang, then "there were thousands followers."[59] Wang Xing did the same work in Jinling, where he "performed the healing service and the residents' response was overwhelming." When he went to Huangshan in Anhui, "the number of the followers was at its height." In Fuzhou, Wang "built five halls and he was followed by most of members of most high ranking families in the Prefecture of Yanping, Jianyang, Tingzhou, Shaowu."[60] Zhang Hongdu disseminated this teaching in Jinling, where "there were several hundred worshipers." When Zhang was in Beijing, "the disciples that came from the circle of literati were beyond counting."[61] While Zhen Lan spread *Sanyi jiao* in Jinling, "people who wanted to learn the Way and to be healed came in crowds" and thus "the number of followers increased steadily."[62] In Fujian, when Lu Wenhui, Chen Zhongyu and Dongshi were in charge of this sect, the disciples came together in crowds.[63]

It must be pointed out that while *Sanyi jiao* was developing along the trajectory of a popular religion at the turn of Ming and Qing, there were some disciples who defrauded the common people of money through healing and falsehoods. For instance, Weng Wenfeng, Weng Man and Wu Yiguan, who were the disciples of Lin Zhijing, "drew magic figures, made pills, and pretended to be a deity that could annihilate ghosts. They made profits in the guise of promoting the great learning and took healing as their livelihood. They invented various evil sorceries and bewildered the people. What they did was filthy and contemptible."[64] Xie Zhaozhe also pointed out in the late Ming: "After Lin Zhaoen's death, in the place where he had lived, there was a lecture hall, in which followers gathered on the first and the fifteenth day of the lunar month to perform rituals. Later, practices such as incantations, drawing magic figures, creating altars for worshiping heaven and exorcizing evil spirits, were added into this teaching. Such practices

[58] "The Achievements of Lin Yu" (*Lin Yu xingshi* 林于行实), The Complete Works of the Master Lin (*Lin zi quanji*), "The Zhen Collection," vol. 9.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] See n. 43, *supra*.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] For details, see: *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*) and *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao*).
[64] *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of The Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu*).

were like those performed by the rebels of the Yellow Turban and the White Lotus."[65] Besides, he said: "At present, its followers can be found everywhere. Among them, the virtuous ones are similar to those men of noble character. As for those wicked followers, however, they make personal fortunes by healing and they deceive the people through any means they can employ. Is there any difference between them and the evil wizards and witches?"[66] In the early Qing, this problem became more and more serious and even Dong Shi, the third-generation disciple of Lin Zhaoen in the direct line, had to admit: "People who follow the teaching of the Master Lin do not apprehend the impartiality and mindfulness of the Master's true teaching. Conversely, they even hold that the Way of the Master Lin is empty talk or talk about the supernatural. Some of them take the method of healing as a livelihood and some take the great learning as a way of making private profits. As such, the practice of the Master Lin is in danger of extinction and the sect is in disgrace."[67] Dong also said: "As time goes on, the true essence of the doctrine will lose more in the process of being passed down. Therefore, the ignorant will hold that the Way of the Master Lin is the method of healing, the way of reciting scripture and the way of repentance. By this token, the teaching will find it hard to escape the fate of degenerating into a type of magic healing service!"[68] (167) Between religions and popular religions, there is but a thin line. Mostly, they are correlated. It is almost universal for religions to walk along the course of popular religion. This is especially true for a folk religious sect. From this point of view, it was not surprising that *Sanyi jiao* had a tendency to become a popular religion from the turn of the Ming and Qing.

The Decline and Rehabilitation of Sanyi jiao

In the early Qing, to strengthen its rule over the country, the imperial court began investigating and prohibiting popular religious sects. As early as the third year of the reign of Emperor Shunzhi (1646), Lin

---

[65] "Section of Human Being," no. 4, in Xie Zhaozhe, *Miscellaneous Writing Collections* (*Wuza zu*), vol. 8.

[66] *Ibid*.

[67] *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).

[68] "Preface to the Ullambana Assembly in the Hall of *Sanyi jiao* in Xianyi" (*Xianyi sanjiao tang yulanpen xu* 仙邑三教堂盂兰盆序), Dong Shi, *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao*), vol. 1.

Qiyuan (林起元), a supervising secretary of the Board of Civil Service, presented a memorial to the throne, in which he said: "In the recent years, the moral climate is deteriorating and heresies rise in swarms. There are various sectarian groups, such as the White Lotus sect, the Greater Vehicle Teaching (*Dacheng* 大成), the Original Chaos Teaching (*Hunyuan* 混元) and the Non-Action Teaching (*Wuwei* 无为). They organize the rite of burning incense and confession, by which they bewilder and instigate the common people. As a result, there are plots and rebellions. They are the most dangerous elements among the villains.... If there is any sectarian group of such type, the authorities shall raid them and severely punish its members to root out similar cases elsewhere."[69] The emperor adopted this proposal and issued an imperial edict of strictly banning such "heterodoxy." However, since the Manchu army just entered the hinterland of China and the south was not yet under the firm control of the new regime, *Sanyi jiao* escaped the crackdown.

In the reigns of Kangxi and Qianlong, the Qing government intensified the suppression of popular religions and issued many decrees urging local governors to strictly prohibit heterodox groups. Under such circumstances, all kinds of popular religious sects, including *Sanyi jiao*, suffered. *The Chronicle of Events of Putian* (*Putian dashi ji* 莆田大事记) by Li Guangrong records: "In the fifty-fifth year of Kangxi (1713), the edict ordered the demolishment of the *Sanyi jiao* hall. The origins of this incident was that Zhu Kun, one of the followers, seduced a young woman and it was reported to the authorities. This case implicated all followers in the entire area. They were forced to place a tasseled crown on the statue of Lin Zhaoen and disguise the statue as the Great Jade Emperor. It was at this time that the name 'The Great Jade Emperor Palace' was changed to 'The Great Jade Emperor Hall.'" In his *Poem Collection of the Auspicious-Rain House in the Mountain* (*Ji yu shanfang shiji* 吉雨山房诗集), Guo Jianling (郭篯龄), who lived at the end of Qing, wrote: "The Jade Lake Academy enshrined the statue of Lin Zhaoen. In the early years of the regime, when the imperial court was demolishing the Hall of Three Teachings, this academy escaped destruction by dressing the statue up as the God of Literary Attainment (Wenchang

[69] "The Day of *bingxu* of the Sixth Month in the Third Year of Shunzhi" (*Shunzhi sannian liuyue bingxu* 顺治三年六月丙戌), *The Donghua Annals* (*Donghua lu* 东华录).

文昌)."[70] Even at present, there is folktale that "the Three-in-One Teaching was ruined by Zhu Kun" in Putian and Xianyou. Such a tale shows the historical record that the Qing suppressed *Sanyi jiao* in the fifty-fifth year of Kangxi is reliable. In light of these records, some halls survived by changing their names to the Pavilion for the God of Literary Attainment or the Great Jade Emperor Palace, while others did so by renaming themselves as Academies. (168) Today, there are many halls of *Sanyi jiao* named "the Academy" in the area of Putian and Xianyou. It might well be that such type of title originated from the above-mentioned incident in the early Qing.

Around the fifty-third year of Qianlong (1788), *Sanyi jiao* was banned again. At that time, the imperial court was working on the project of *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu* 四库全书) and ordered compilers to reject all writings that might be inimical to the Manchu rule. The works of Lin Zhaoen were not exempted and were placed on "the Grand Council-proposed list of books that shall be completely prohibited and destroyed."[71] In *The Synopsis of The Catalogue of The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四库全书总目提要), *The Complete Works of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi quanji*) was severely criticized and Lin Zhaoen denounced: "His combination of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism was so absurd that it is not worthy of debate at all. The story in particular, in which Lin visited Confucius and was taught the refined principles of the Lu-State Edition of *Analects*, was quite ridiculous.... (*The Complete Works of the Master Lin*) is full of unscrupulousness and absurdity." Here, this author also cited Xie Zhaozhe's critique to *Sanyi jiao* in *Collection of Sands in the Sea of Literature* (*Wenhai chaosha* 文海抄沙) as the evidence. Xie criticized: "Lin Zhaoen, who came from Puyang of Fujian, was learned and capable of writing. Moreover, Lin could perform healing through the mental cultivation method. His disciples, however, failed to grasp his learning and only work at exorcizing ghost by presenting memorials to the deities. Therefore, they are much like sorcerers. What is the point even if they can exorcize one hundred ghosts a day? Furthermore, the

[70] "Writing on the Eighth Day of the Fourth Month in the Jade Lake Academy" (*Siyue chuba zai yuhu shuyuan zuo* 四月初八在玉湖书院作), in Guo Jianling (郭钱龄), *Poem Collection of the Auspicious-Rain House in the Mountain* (*Ji Yu shanfang shiji* 吉雨山房诗集), vol. 4.

[71] "The List of Books that Be Totally or Partially Destroyed" (*Xiaohui chouhui shumu* 销毁抽毁书目), in *The Catalogue of Banned Books* (*Jinshu zongmu* 禁书总目).

number of its followers increases steadily and among them there are many villains. If one day they stage a rebellion, it will be on a par with the Yellow Turban and the White Lotus revolts."[72]

After the two suppressions, *Sanyi jiao* fell into abrupt decline. Followers in later generations regretted: "Since the period of Yongzheng and Qianlong, our teaching has been in decline. There is no worthy successor to carry on the cause and books of the teaching have been lost."[73] "It is a pity that the blessings of our great learning are on the wane in less than five generations. Although there are so many writings, they have to be hidden because there is no worthy successor to carry the torch."[74] Outside Fujian Province, *Sanyi jiao* had either been ruined or conflated with other popular religions. No trace of their rise and fall can be found in the historical sources. Nevertheless, in Putian and Xianyou from which the teaching originated, the situation was different. Thanks to the solid popular belief in this teaching, *Sanyi jiao* continued to spread underground in the two areas. Records for the status of *Sanyi jiao* in the period between the reign of Qianlong and the end of Qing were scarce in literature. With the help of fieldwork, however, we can draw a clear picture for the following two points:

First, *Sanyi jiao* spread without interruption in Putian, Xianyou and other areas.

At the Jiangdong Hall, which is located in Xiwen Village of Dongzhuang Township of Putian County, this writer found six memorial tablets that reflect the lineage of the Weng (翁) Branch of *Sanyi jiao*. These tablets read: "For Master Lin Zhenming of Yuexiu, the Disciple of the Three-in-One Teaching who was Directly Instructed by The Master Lin" (三教嫡传岳秀贞明林氏先生神位), "For Master Weng Wudao of Jiangdong, the Second-Generation Disciple of the Three-in-One Teaching in the Direct Line" (三教再传江东吾道翁氏夫子神位), "For Master Weng Yiyang of Jiangdong, the Third-Generation Disciple of the Three-in-One Teaching in the Direct Line" (三教三传江东一阳翁氏先生神位), "For Master Lin Hengshan of Qingjiang, the Fourth-Generation Disciple of the Three-in-One Teaching in the Direct Line" (三教四传清江恒山林氏先生神位),

[72] "The Eclectics" (*Zajia lei* 杂家类), in *The Synopsis of The Catalogue of The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四库全书总目提要), vol. 125.
[73] *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*).
[74] "Introduction," in *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao*).

"For Master Chen Maoshan of Shuangji, the Sixth-Generation Disciple of the Three-in-One Teaching in the Direct Line" (三教六传双髻茂山陈先生之神位) and "For Master Zheng Xuegui of Xianren, the Seventh-Generation Disciple of the Three-in-One Teaching in the Direct Line" (三教七传仙人学规郑先生之神位). Except for Lin Zhenming, none of these names appear in sources. These tablets clearly present the lineage of the Weng Branch and convincingly demonstrate that *Sanyi jiao* was never interrupted in the area of Putian and Xianyou, even though the tablet for the fifth-generation disciple is missing.

Second, *Sanyi jiao* of Putian and Xianyou further split into many groups.

Guo Sizhou, a follower of *Sanyi jiao* in the early republican China, pointed out: "It was regrettable that there was no worthy successor after the third generation. The teaching was divided into many groups and each group went its own way. When it came to the decadent stage, there were followers who made a living by healing through the art of incantation, and those who practiced occult learning by means of mystical talk. The true way of the Master Lin had almost died!"[75] There are numerous sects, the "Ancestral Hall" (*Zuci pai* 祖祠派), "Apprehending the Great Learning" (*Mingxia pai* 明夏派), "Three-in-One Group" (*Sanyi pai* 三一派), "Zhu Teaching" (*Zhu jiao* 朱教), "Zhang Teaching" (*Zhang jiao* 张教) and "Lu Teaching" (*Lu jiao* 卢教) in Putian, all of which formed in the period "after the third generation." Because this teaching was spread secretly and there was no Master, the deviation from the true idea of *Sanyi jiao* was very serious, as Chen Puyao, a disciple at the end of Qing, deeply regretted: "…as for those who follow the teaching, the change is very great. On the surface, they follow what the Patriarch teaches, but stealthily they delude people. There are followers who talk about ghosts and evil spirits and make charmed water and incantations or magic figures. There also are followers who set Buddhist and Confucian verses to music and make them pleasing to ear, by which they make profits. There are even disciples who make a living from practicing Buddhist or Daoist sorceries. They neither apprehend the learning of nature nor are they conscious

[75] *Reader for the Orthodoxy of The Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Linzi sanjiao zhengzong yizhi lu* 林子三教正宗易知录). Lu Wenhui, Chen Zhongyu and Dong Shi were venerated as the "first three-generation disciples."

of mental cultivation. These persons deviate from the true doctrine, disgrace the teaching and deceive people. The harm they have done is beyond words!"[76]

In the mid-eighteenth century, since the Qing government was plagued by internal and external troubles, it became unable to effectively suppress heterodox teachings. This provided an opportunity for popular religions to regroup. After it had secretly spread for more than one hundred years, *Sanyi jiao* "returned" to Putian and Xianyou.

The leading figures who facilitated the rehabilitation, were Chen Zhida (陈智达, ?–1872) and Liang Puyao (梁普耀, ?–1904). They were from Putian and they were venerated as "The Disciple of Resuming the Three-in-One Teaching" (*Sanjiao jichuan dizi* 三教继传弟子) and "The Disciple of Advancing the Three-in-One Teaching" (*Sanjiao jiechuan dizi* 三教接传弟子) respectively. (170) Chen and Liang took the Hall of Apprehending the Essence (*wuben tang* 悟本堂) that was located in Jingshan of Putian as their base and worked actively in the area of Puxian. Finally, they established the "Group of Apprehending the Essence" (*Wuben pai* 悟本派), which had more than thirty halls.[77] When Liang Puyao passed away, Liu Kaihuai succeeded his position as the Chief Superintendent and Chen Zhenlin, Guo Pianzhou, Zheng Hongxiang, Lin Fengbiao and Tang Ziyi acted as the Deputy Superintendent. From that point, they shifted their base to the Hall of Embracing the Three Doctrines (*Hansan tang* 函三堂), which was located near the gate of Putian, and extended their group. At last, they developed this group into the more influential "Branch of Embracing the Three Doctrines" (*Hansan pai* 涵三派).[78]

At the close of Qing and the beginning of the Republic, the activities of *Sanyi jiao*'s followers included:

1) Construction of *Sanyi jiao* halls

In the years after the reign of Kangxi and Qianlong, many halls of this teaching were worn down and fell into ruin, even though they, by the way of changing their title to the Great Jade Emperor Palace, the Pavilion for the God of Literary Attainment or the Academy,

[76] "Preface to the Reprinted *The True Scripture of Xiawu*" (*Chongke xiawu zhenjing xu* 重刻夏午真经序), in *The True Scripture of Xiawu* [i.e. *Sanyi jiao*] (*Xiawu zhenjing* 夏午真经), vol. 1.

[77] *Addendum to Treasures of Maintaining Famlily* (*Zhenjia bao buyi* 镇家宝补遗), vol. 2.

[78] *Ibid*., vol. 1 and vol. 2.

survived the previous suppression. Therefore, at the turn of Qing and the Republican China, many halls in the area of Putian and Xianyou were repaired. In addition, some new halls were built. For instance, the Hall of Apprehending the Essence was originally built in the fifth year of Tongzhi (1866), which was located in Jingshan of Hanjiang in Putian. By 1914, the "Group of Apprehending the Essence" had more than twenty newly-built halls, and this increased to more than thirty in 1916.[79] The Hall of Jade Brilliance (*yuhui ci* 玉辉祠), located in Bangtou of Xianyou, was rebuilt at the end of Qing, with thirty-three new halls attached to it.[80] According to Zhang Qin, who lived at the transition from Qing to Republic, "at present, there are hundreds halls for worshiping the Master Lin in Putian and Xianyou, and the torch was carried without interruption."[81] Even Shanghai had a hall for *Sanyi jiao*—Hall of Venerating Confucius of Xing'an (*Xing'an zongkong tang* 兴安宗孔堂), which was built by a merchant who came from Xinghua of Fujian and sojourned in Shanghai.

2) Reprinting the texts of *Sanyi jiao*

For the problem that "the original edition has been lost over time and the preserved original text is seldom in good shape and thus there are many unavoidable mistakes in the current copies,"[82] Chen Zhida, Liang Puyao and other disciples "endeavored to collect old works and reprint them gradually."[83] At the end of the Qing, the reprinted works included: *Introduction to the Orthodoxy of The Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun*), *The True Scripture of Xiawu* [i.e. *Sanyi jiao*] (*Xiawu zhenjing* 夏午真经), *Summary of The True Scripture of Xiawu* [i.e. *Sanyi jiao*] (*Xiawu zhenjing zhuan zuanyao* 夏午真经篆纂要), *Illustrated Internal Canon for Inspirations of Nine Order* (*Jingxu zhaiyan nejing tu* 九序摘言内景图), *The Chronicle of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi nianpu*), *The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benxing shilu*), *The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi menxian shilu*), and so forth. In the republican period, there were reprinted works such as *The Exact Implication of the Four Books by the Master Lin* (*Lin zi sishu zhengyi* 林子四

[79] *Ibid.*, vol. 2.
[80] *The Traveling Bag for Internal Medicine* (*Neike xingnang* 内科行囊).
[81] *Proposal of Preserving the Shrine through Examining Rites and Rectifying Customs* (*Kaoli zhengsu baocun shenshe shuotie* 考礼正俗保存神社说帖).
[82] See n. 76, *supra*.
[83] "Introduction," in *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao*).

书正义), *Reflections at Noon* (*Zhuowu shiyi*), *Rules Proposed by the Master Chen* (*Chenzi huigui*), *Collection of Apprehending the Great Teaching* (*Ming xia ji*), *Writing Collections of the Notables* (*Dongshan jicao*) and *The Original Canon of the Patriarch of Three Teachings: The Precious Scripture of the Grand Master of Four-ni* (*Sanyi jiaozhu benti jing: Sini dazongshi baojing* 三一教主本体经·四尼大宗师宝经). (171) Some of them, *Introduction to the Orthodoxy of the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching*, *The True Scripture of Xiawu* and *The Exact Implication of the Four Books by the Master Lin* in particular, were reprinted many times. Most of the works of *Sanyi jiao* that we find at present are the ones that were reprinted in the Republican period.

3) Compilation of concise readers

Liang Puyao and other masters held the fundamental reason of the phenomenon that "(some followers) deviate from the true doctrine, disgrace the teaching and deceive people" was: "(they) do not thoroughly investigate mistakes in the scripture."[84] Furthermore, except for the case that some persons were not "adept in the word," the reason why disciples did not "thoroughly investigate" was that the scriptures were so voluminous and profound that ordinary followers found them inpenetrable. Thus, Chen Zhida composed the *Guide for Beginner of the Teaching of Three Teachings* (*Sanjiao chuxue zhinan* 三教初学指南). In this book, he assembled the "plainly articulated ideas" from Lin Zhaoen's original works, by which he hoped to "help followers to read and apprehend."[85] Liang Puyao similarly composed *Brief Interpretation to the Original Canon of the Master Lin* (*Lin zi benti jing shilüe* 林子本体经释略). There were also very concise and popular works edited by Guo Sizhou and Lin Zhaolin, such as *Reader for the Orthodoxy of The Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Linzi sanjiao zhengzong yizhi lu* 林子三教正宗易知录), *Reader and Rules for Practice* (*Xiuxing daojing yizhi lu* 修行道经易知录) and *An Introduction to the Perfect Man Longjiang, Zhang and Zhuo* (*Longjiang zhang zhou zhenren jingshi* 龙江、张、卓真人经史).

4) Foundation of Relief Societies

In 1912 and 1914, the Hall of Embracing the Three Doctrines and the Hall of Virtue and Morality (*shan de tang* 善德堂) in Hanjiang each

[84] See n. 76, *supra*.

[85] "Introduction," in Chen Zhida (陈智达), *Guide for Beginner of the Teaching of Three Doctrines* (*Sanjiao chuxue zhinan* 三教初学指南).

founded a Relief Society (*Zhenji hui* 赈济会). These societies provided free food, medicine and coffins for destitute residents. Concerning food: "After a survey, any resident who has no record of misbehavior in normal times is given five *jin* rice and several dollar every month. This is the regular annual relief. By the end of every year, a vast number of recipients and common people come to collect the rice." For medicine: "If a poor resident falls ill, and is introduced by a neighbor, he can receive the medicine from the herbal medicine shop and need not pay. At the end of the year, the Hall will pay off the fee. In summer, there will be herbal tea for free." For coffins: "When the member of a destitute family passes away, his neighbor can come and collect a free coffin and some money for the funeral. Other relief efforts will be offered if there is a need."[86] The similar charity work of Hall of Venerating Brightness (*shangyang ci* 尚阳祠) in Fuqing lasted for decades and exists to this day.

5) Reorganization and revision of rites and rules

Since this teaching had been banned for a very long period and it could only be disseminated in secret, the rites and rules of *Sanyi jiao* at the end of Qing were fragmentary. In view of this, Chen Zhida, Liang Puyao and Lin Zhaolin worked to reformulate the extant rites and rules. They successively revised the admittance rite, the rules of the sermon, (172) the ritual and standard of offering sacrifice, the clerical hierarchy and the sectarian precepts. These rites and rules were very complex and the discussion of them is omitted here.[87] They also tried to incorporate other rites and rules from the area of Putian. Nevertheless, *Sanyi jiao* in this area had split into various groups. Therefore, the revised rites and rules could only be applied to their own group.

Facilitated by the effort of Chen Zhida, Liang Puyao and other disciples, *Sanyi jiao* presented a rejuvenated landscape in Putian. When Liang Puyao was the Chief Superintendent, "there were two or three thousand followers and more than twenty halls. The teaching

[86] "Local Customs" (*Fengsu zhi* 风俗志), Zhang Qin (张琴), *Gazetteer of Putian County* (*Putian xianzhi* 莆田县志), vol. 8, Section Two.

[87] See: *Rules and Precepts of Sanyi Jiao* (*Sanjiao guitiao* 三教规条); *Rules of Hall of Apprehending the Essence* (*Wenben guicheng* 悟本规程); "Rules of Hall of Embracing Three Doctrines" (*Hansan tang guicheng* 涵三堂规程), in *Reader for the Orthodoxy of The Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching* (*Linzi sanjiao zhengzong yizhi lu*), "Appendix"; *The Traveling Bag for Internal Medicine* (*Neike xingnang*); *Treasures of Maintaining Family* (*Zhenjia bao zhengji* 镇家宝正集); *Addendum to Treasures of Maintaining the Home* (*Zhenjia bo buyi*).

prospered like a spring bubbling out of the ground."[88] When Guo Sizhou presided over the Hall of Embracing Three Doctrines, "*Sanyi jiao* prospered and halls were built everywhere. People who wanted to join the sect came one after the other."[89] In the Republican period, local scholars of Putian described the influence of *Sanyi jiao*: "The Three-in-One Teaching prevails in Putian and Xianyou County. There are twelve districts in Putian. Except in Guangye, there is one hall in almost every relatively large township. Especially in the District of Huating and Hushi, there are many more halls.... In Xianyou County, most residents are followers of *Sanyi jiao* and the teaching is viewed almost as the county religion. There is one Hall in every township. Whatever happens in a household, members will ask for advice from the master of the teaching.... On the sixteenth day of the seventh lunar month in every year, that is, the birthday of the Founding Patriarch, each township picks out ten or more persons and delegates them to offer sacrifices in the Shrine for the Founder in Dongshan. While they are on the way to the Shrine, these persons wave flags, beat drums and play music. In one month, such teams come one after the other."[90] In the north Hui'an, *Sanyi jiao* was also rehabilitated. In Houlong and Nanpu Townships, there were halls of this teaching in almost every village. In addition, the Hall of Dragon River [i.e., the gracious name of Lin Zhaoen], which was located in Hongtang of Fuzhou, was rebuilt in 1934.[91] It is worth mentioning that, at the end of the Qing, the Three-in-One Teaching was introduced and became influential in Taiwan, Singapore and Malaya.[92]

---

[88] *Addendum to Treasures of Maintaining the Home* (*Zhenjia bo buyi*), vol. 2.

[89] "Preface by Gao Zhanmei (高占梅)," *The True Scripture of Xiawu* [i.e. *Sanyi jiao*] (*Xiawu zhenjing*), vol. 1.

[90] "About the Three-in-One Teaching" (Sanjiao tan 三教谈), in *Narrated History of Putian* (*Putian shihua* 莆田史话).

[91] "Temples" (*Siguan* 寺观), in *Gazetteer of Minjiang Jinshan* (*Mingjiang jinshan zhi* 闽江金山志), Part One.

[92] For details, see: Zheng Zhiming (郑志明), "The Religious System of *Sanyi jiao* in Taiwan" (*Taiwan xiajiao de zongjiao tixi* 台湾夏教的宗教体系), in *The Taipei Literature* (Taibei wenxian 台北文献), Issue *Zhi* (直), no. 76. See also: Wolfgang Franke, "Some Remarks on the 'Three-in-One Doctrine' and its Manifestations in Singapore and Malaysia," *Oriens Extremus*, vol. 19 (1972) and vol. 27 (1980).

(173) *Conclusion*

Demarcated by the forty-fifth year of Jiajing (1566), the evolvement of *Sanyi jiao* could be divided into two stages before Lin Zhaoen's death. The first stage began from the thirtieth year of Jiajing (1530) and ended in the forty-fifth year of the same reign, which was the founding year of this teaching. In this period, its influence was limited to two counties, Putian and Xianyou, and its nature was as an association of Confucian scholars. From the first year of Longqing (1567) to the twenty-sixth year of Wanli (1598), it experienced a rapid development. During these years, *Sanyi jiao* expanded to most of regions south of the Yangtze River and some areas north of the River, in which Putian was the center and Fujian was the sub-center. At that time, *Sanyi jiao* had tens of thousands of followers and Lin Zhaoen, as the founding patriarch of this teaching, became a deity worshiped by the faithful. Consequently, the Three-in-One Teaching began evolving towards becoming a popular religion. It, however, did not complete the religious transformation yet.

At the turn of Ming and Qing, *Sanyi jiao* split into two groups. One followed the academic ideas of Lin Zhaoen and was less known to the public. Thus, it disappeared after the early Qing. The other inherited and developed Lin's religious legacy and succeeded in the sanctification of his teaching. In other words, thanks to their effort, *Sanyi jiao* became a religion in the strictest sense. This group represented the mainstream development of the teaching. Its influence surpassed that of Lin's lifetime at its apex.

After the reign of Kangxi and Qianlong, this teaching went on the wane because of the imperial court's strict prohibition against heterodoxy. Even so, it did not completely disappear. It hid in local society and spread in secret in Putian and Xianyou. At the end of the Qing and the early Republic, *Sanyi jiao* came to life again in Putian, Xianyou and Hui'an. It was even introduced into Taiwan and Southeast Asia. But, the influence of *Sanyi jiao* was far from that in its heydays at the turn of Ming and Qing.

In retrospect, there were numerous popular religions throughout Chinese history, but most of them withdrew from the public arena. Unlike them, since it was founded in the thirtieth year of Jiajing of Ming, the Three-in-One Teaching passed through trials and hardships over hundreds of years and finally survived. Even in a very hostile political environment, this teaching could lie low and spread in secret.

When the situation changed in their favor, (174) it could again develop and increase its influence. In the history of Chinese popular religion, few religious sects had such tenacious vitality as *Sanyi jiao*. Therefore, the reason for this teaching's persistence is indeed worthy of further investigation.

Sanyi jiao not only exerted a great influence in the past, it still exerts a considerable impact in present Putian and Xianyou of Fujian Province, where there are more than one thousand halls and approximately one hundred thousand followers. It has become a social force that cannot be ignored. Particularly in Putian and Xianyou, halls of *Sanyi jiao* abound and its followers can be seen everywhere. For matters important or trivial, the faithful go to the Hall for advice. That is to say, the faith extends to all aspects of local society and it rules the lives of its followers. The power it has far exceeds that of the orthodox religions, such as Buddhism, Daoism and Christianity. In the reconstruction of community order and authority and in the "ecosystem" of regional religious belief, *Sanyi jiao* has great significance.[93] Hence, the problem of *Sanyi jiao* is not just an academic inquiry. It is also a practical question, that the current government has to face.

[93] For the details of the state of *Sanyi jiao*, see: Lin Guoping (林国平), "Research on the state of the Three-in-One Teaching in Fujian" (*Fujian Sanyi jiao xianzhuang de tiaocha yanjiu* 福建三一教现状的调查研究), in *Monthly Journal of Chinese Affairs* (Japan), vol. 47, no. 3 (March 1993). This Japanese paper later was revised and published in a Taiwan-based journal. See: *Popular Religions* (*Minjian zongjiao* 民间宗教) (Taiwan), no. 3 (1997).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EVOLUTION OF THE LUO TEACHING (罗教) AND THE FORMATION OF GREEN GANG (青帮), (马西沙, "罗教的演变与青帮的形成")*

Ma Xisha

Abstract

Based on Qing archival materials, this paper examines the relationship between the Luo Teaching (*luo jiao* 罗教) which appeared in mid-Ming and the Green Gang (*Qingbang* 青帮) in Qing. It points out that the Green Gang originated from the Luo Teaching and the former broke away from the latter in its development. During the Ming-Qing transition, one branch of the Luo Teaching became active in a wide water area, which was centered on the Grand Canal and was supplemented by other river systems. The main body of the Luo Teaching consisted of sailors of the riverine Grain Transport (*caoyun* 漕运). This sect evolved a type of trade association, which was unified by the faith in the Luo Teaching. During a period of drastic change, it finally became one of the largest Chinese secret societies. This paper criticizes the point of view that there was no connection between the Luo Teaching and the Green Gang.

Keywords: the Luo Teaching; the Green Gang; Sailor of Grain Transport

(175, original page number, similarly hereinafter) The Green Gang (*qingbang* 青帮) was the best known secret society in modern China. As for its origin, the students in this field and even members of the Gang itself have different opinions. This writer has been researching this topic since the early 1980s. After years of work on the Qing archives, I draw the conclusion that the Green Gang originated from the Luo Teaching (*luo jiao* 罗教). In the third year of Xianfeng (1853), the Qing government abolished river-based Grain Transport (*caoyun* 漕运). Instead, grain was transported by sea. As a result, tens of thousands

* This paper originally was in Wang Chien-chu'an (王见川) and Chiang Chu-shan (蒋竹山) eds., *Exploring Popular Religions since the Ming and Qing Dynasties: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Dai Xuan-zhi (Mingqing yilai minjian zongjiao de tansuo: jinian Dai Xuanzhi jiaoshou wenji* 明清以来民间宗教的探索—纪念戴玄之教授文集) (Taipei: Shangding wenhua chubanshe 商鼎文化出版社, 1996).

of sailors and trackers in the traditional grain transport system became unemployed and were forced to lead a wandering life. Some of them gathered in northern Jiangsu and made a living in the salt fields located in the region north of the Yangtze River and south of the River Huai. They smuggled illegal salt and formed an association named "Friends of the Way of Tranquility and Purity" (*anqing daoyou* 安清道友)—the Green Gang. (176) The emergence of the Green Gang was a complex history of the evolution of a popular religion to a trade association of sailors and then to a secret society.

The Luo Teaching and Its Branches

The relationship between the Luo Teaching and the predecessor of the Green Gang—the trade association of sailors has been discussed in detail in the paper, "From the Luo Teaching to the Green Gang."[1] Professor Li Shiyu (李世瑜) opposes the opinion of this paper. In his paper "Green Gang, the Society of Heaven and Earth and the White Lotus Teaching," Li "expounds that the Green Gang was not a branch of the Luo Teaching."[2] In another treatise—"A Brief Examination on its Early Organization of the Green Gang" (*Qingbang zaoqi zuzhi kaolüe* 青帮早期组织考略), Professor Li reasserts his view that the Green Gang did not involve the Luo Teaching.[3] I did a comprehensive study on the internal relationship of the two sects in the sixth chapter of *The History of Chinese Popular Religions* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史), which was published in 1992.[4] Personally, I believe that Professor Li's opinion is mistaken, resulting from a lack of historical materials and his preconceived ideas when it came to the issue of choosing materials. In other words, his conclusions are far from the actual history.

---

[1] Ma Xisha (马西沙) and Cheng Xiao (程獻), "From the Luo Teaching to the Green Gang," *History Studies in Nankai University* (*Nankai shixue* 南开史学), no.1 (1984).

[2] Li Shiyu (李世瑜), "A Brief Examination on its Early Organization of the Green Gang," (*Qingbang zaoqi zuzhi kaolüe* 青帮早期组织考略), in *The Inside Story of Secret Societies in Modern China* (*Jindai zhongguo banghui neimu* 近代中国帮会内幕) (Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1992).

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang (韩秉方), *The History of Chinese Popular Religions* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), Chapter Six.

The original name of Luo Teaching was the "Non-Action Teaching" (*Wuwei jiao* 无为教). Since the surname of its founder was Luo (罗), this teaching was called the Luo Teaching, the Sect of the Way of Luo (*Luodao jiao* 罗道教) or the Sect of the Patriarch Luo (*Luozu jiao* 罗祖教). The name of the Patriarch Luo was Luo Menghong (罗梦鸿 or 罗孟鸿), also known as "罗孟洪" or "罗梦宏" in other historical records. This person was venerated as Patriarch Luo and his religious title was Luo Jing (罗静 [literally, tranquility]) or the Hermit of Non-Action (*Wuwei jushi* 无为居士). Luo Menghong lived in the Chengyang Community of Zhumao Township in Jimo County, the Prefecture of Laizhou of Shandong. He was born in the seventh year of Zhengtong (1442) and passed away at the age of eighty-five in the sixth year of Jiajing (1527). When he was young, he did military service at the Miyun Guard Post in Zhili. In the armed forces, the Ming government carried out the "guard post system," which consisted of "*suo* (所, the basic unit of Guard Post) in single prefectures and *wei* (卫, the Guard Post) in adjacent prefectures." The soldiers of *wei-suo* were divided into three groups: the recruited, the affiliated and the banished. Recruited soldier were those "whose family has been registered in the army for generations."[5] The family of Luo Menghong was in such type of military service. The sacred books of the Luo Teaching, including *The Scroll of Apprehending the Way through Hard Work* (*Kugong wudao juan* 苦功悟道卷), which consisted of "five sections and six volumes" (*wubu liuce* 五部六册). One of them, *The Precious Scroll of Obtaining Result by Taking Deep Root like the Steadfast Tai* (*Weiwei taishan shengen jieguo baojuan* 巍巍不动太山深根结果宝卷), recorded: Luo's family "was in military service for generations." After he joined the army in Zhili, the Patriarch Luo served in "the Guard Post of Miyun, Gubeikou, Simatai, Wulingshan and Jiangmaoyu." (177) In the period between the years of Jingtai and Jiajing, Mongols frequently invaded the Ming frontier. Therefore, the Ming forces gathered in the area of Miyun Guard Post, giving Miyun great military importance. For the maintenance of defense, it became indispensable to transport grain there. According to historical records, Luo Menghong was involved with the transport of army provisions: "In the years of Zhengde, there was a soldier in the brigade for transporting army provisions in Jimo County

[5] "The Guard Post" (*Wei suo* 卫所), Part Two of "Soldier" (*Bing* 兵) in the sixty-sixth volume of "Records" (*Zhi* 志), *The History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史).

of Shandong. This soldier's name was Luo Jing (罗静), he practiced vegetarianism in his early years and one day he met a heretical sorcerer and was given some secret formulae. Then he sat in meditation for thirteen years and suddenly beheld a beam of light in the East, by which he claimed he realized the truth of the Way."[6]

Army provisions were transported to Miyun by water. Since grain for the army was from the region south of the Yangtze River, it was transported through the Grand Canal, which departed from Hangzhou. It is generally believed that the terminal for transporting grains of the south to the north was Tongzhou of Beijing. Actually, it was not. For the defense of the frontier, the imperial court first built forty-one granaries in the Capital City and "then built granaries in Beiping, Miyun and other places in case of warfare at the Northern frontier."[7] Miyun was located at the confluence of the River Chao and the River Bai. Grain for army could be transported to the Guard Post of Miyun via the waterway of Tongji River, which was also called "*Bai cao*" (白漕, literally, the transportation of River Bai). "'*Bai cao*' is the Tongji River. It originates from the northern frontier area and flows through the Mountain Wuling in Miyun County, where it is renamed the Chaohe River. The River Fu, the Zengkou River, the Qidu River, the Sang'gan River and the Sanli River also join at the same place and they are called the River Bai. It flows southward across Tongzhou and joins the Tonghui River, the River Yu and the River Hun. For three hundred and sixty *li*, it is also known as the River Lu. Finally, it joins the River Wei at Zhigu and runs into the sea. The grain transport is dependent on this river."[8] This historical record clearly showed the relationship between Tonghui River, the north terminal of the Grand Canal, and the rivers of Chao and Bai that flowed through the Guard Post of Miyun. Furthermore, this fact tells us that the terminal of grain transport from southern China was, at least by the Ming, not Beijing but Miyun. (Of course, the situation changed greatly in Qing, since the Guard Post of Miyun, which had been prosperous, declined.) With regard to this, Patriarch Luo, who was one of the soldiers concerned

[6] "The Item of Five Sections and Six Volumes" (*Wubu liuce tiao* 五部六册条), *Collections of Unofficial Scriptures* (*Cang yi jingshu* 藏逸经书), in *Scriptures of True Words* (*Mi zang* 密藏).

[7] "Part Three of Treatise on Food and Goods" (*Shi huo* 食货), in the fifty-fifth volume of "Records" (*Zhi*), *The History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*).

[8] "Part Four of Rivers and Canals" (*He qu* 河渠), in the sixty-second volume of "Records" (*Zhi*), *Ibid.*

with riverine transportation, frequently shuttled back and forth along the Grand Canal and the River Chao and Bai. Consequently, Luo was tightly bound to the soldiers who transported army provisions and created a religious bond for the formation of a secret society of transport sailors. Then, Luo Menghong separated himself from the troop and "founded a preaching hall at the village of Simatai, which was sixty-five *li* distance from Shijia and twenty-five *li* from Gubeikou. He called himself the Way of Luo and moved his family to Shijia."[9] Luo Menghong created his teaching in Miyun; thus, Gubeikou, Jiangmaoyu, Wulingshan, Shijiacheng and Simatai became key areas for his missionary work. Simatai was only twenty-five *li* distant from Gubeikou, a place where soldiers of defense and transportation gathered in large numbers. Patriarch Luo created a hall for preaching in this area and the people who attended his preaching must have been mainly these soldiers. (178) Even among the senior officers of the station troops, there were people who believed in Luo's teachings. That was why when Luo passed away, "the garrison commander and the patrol inspector donated nine pieces of wood and employed the carpenter to make a coffin for him. Then, they attended his funeral and buried him at a place just one *li* from his home. They even built a stone pagoda, which had thirteen stories and was very bright"[10] In light of this, it is clear that Luo Menghong and his teaching exerted a great influence on the troops and local residents. Believers in the troops were not confined to the rank and files and lower-echelon officers.

In the sixth year of Jiajing, the Patriarch Luo "returned to his origin and bore fruit" (还源结果, an euphemism for death). Similar to other religions, the death of the founder caused the fragmentation and diversification of his teachings Inside the Luo Teaching, the situation was characterized by "no single sacred book and no single group."[11] In this process, the Luo Teaching affected regions all over China. As time went on, some branches of this teaching kept their original appearance,

---

[9] "The Memorial to the Throne by Na Yancheng (那彦成), the Governor-General of Zhili, on the Twenty-First Day of the Third Month in the Twenty-First Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe* 军机处录副奏折).

[10] *The Scroll of Apprehending the Way through Hard Working* (*Kugong wudao juan* 苦功悟道卷).

[11] "The Memorial to the Throne by Li Yichou (李奕畴), the Governor of Zhejiang, on the Thirteenth Day of the Fourth Month in the Nineteenth Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

while the others were changed beyond recognition. The Luo Teaching had the following main branches:

1) The Non-Action Teaching (*Wuwei jiao* 无为教)

The Non-Action Teaching was a pure branch of the Luo Teaching. Based on the idea of tranquility and Non-Action, the Patriarch Luo created his teaching. His ideas combined the Buddhist concepts of *emptiness* and Taoist *inactivity* to form the fundamental thought of the *wuwei* cult. The leaders of this cult consisted of the descendants of the Patriarch Luo and his seven great disciples. Descendants included: son of the Patriarch Luo Fozheng (罗佛正), daughter Luo Foguang (罗佛广), grandson Luo Wenju (罗文举), and great-grandson Luo Congshan (罗从善). Even Luo Mingzhong (罗明忠), who was an offspring of the Patriarch in the seventh generation and lived in the period of the reign of Yongzheng and Qianlong, became leader of this cult.[12] As for the seven great disciples, they were: Li Xin'an (李心安), who wrote *Quotations for Pacifying Mind* (*Xin'an Yulu* 心安语录); Qin Dongshan (秦洞山), who composed *The Precious Scroll of Non-Action and Enlightenment* (*Wuwei liaoyi baojuan* 无为了义宝卷); Song Guzhou (宋孤舟), *The Precious Scroll of Monastery* (*Shuanglin baojuan* 双林宝卷); Sun Zhenkong (孙真空), *The Precious Scroll of True Emptiness* (*Zhenkong baojuan* 真空宝卷); Yu Kungang (于昆岗) *The Precious Scroll of Grand Monastery* (*Conglin baojuan* 丛林宝卷); Xu Xuankong (徐玄空), *The Precious Scroll of Wisdom and Lotus* (*Boruo lianhua* baojuan 般若莲花宝卷); and Ming Kong (明空), who wrote six books including *Enlightenment* (*Liaoyi* 了义), *Preserving Life* (*Baoming* 保命) and *The True Emptiness* (*Zhenkong* 真空).[13] In addition, there was *The Precious Scroll of Apprehending the Orthodoxy, Filial Piety and Righteousness and Reaching the Origin* (*Mingzong xiaoyi daben baojuan* 明宗孝义达本宝卷), written by Da'ning the Monk (僧大宁), who carried forward the idea of Patriarch Luo.[14]

---

[12] "The Memorial to the Throne by Yang Tingzhang (杨廷璋), the Governor-General of Zhili, on the Twenty-First Day of the Ninth Month in the Thirty-Three Year of Qianlong," *Ibid.*

[13] Sawada Mizuho, *Further Studies on Precious Scrolls* (*Zoho hokan no kenkyu*) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1975), pp. 330–332. See also: "The Memorial to the Throne by Na Yancheng (那彦成), the Governor-General of Zhili, on the Nineteenth Day of the Second Month in the Twenty-First Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

[14] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang, *op. cit.*, Chapter Five.

(179) 2) The East Great Vehicle Teaching

The Great Vehicle Teaching (*Dacheng jiao* 东大乘教) in the Ming Dynasty was divided into two groups, the East and the West. The East Great Vehicle Teaching was also known as the Incense Smelling Teaching (*Wenxiang jiao* 闻香教), the Vast Seal Teaching (*Hongfeng jiao* 弘封教) and the Pure Tea Teaching (*Qingchamen jiao* 清茶门教). The founders of this sect were Luo Foguang (罗佛广), daughter of Patriarch Luo, and Wang Sen (王森), son-in-law of Luo Foguang. At first, Luo Foguang was married to Sun Zhenren (The True Man), a fourth-generation disciple of the Patriarch, and they had one daughter. Later, Sun and Foguang took Wang Sen, who was from the Prefecture of Ji, as their disciple and married their daughter to Wang. Then, Wang was sent to Shifokou of the Prefecture of Luan in Zhili for missionary work. The teaching he preached was the East Great Vehicle Teaching (*Dong dacheng jiao* 东大乘教). Sun Zhenren built a temple for his wife at Panshan of the Prefecture of Ji and named it the Non-Action Nunnery, in which the Buddha was enshrined in the main hall and the Patriarch Luo was worshiped in the rear court. They handed down *The Precious Scroll of Illumination* (*Tongming baojuan* 通明宝卷), *The Precious Scroll of Disseminating and Awakening* (*Chuandeng xinyin baojuan* 传灯心印宝卷) and *The Precious Scroll spoken by the Buddha about Perfect Enlightenment* (*Foshuo yuanjue baojue* 佛说圆觉宝卷).[15] At the end of Ming, Wang Sen's East Great Vehicle Teaching was very influential and was said to have more than two million followers in six provinces. This sect also made contact with powerful eunuchs and persons of rank. Finally, it staged a rebellion and was suppressed by the authorities. The founder of this sect composed *The Precious Scroll as the Supreme Way, Golden Elixir and Pure Land for Rectifying Belief and Returning the Origin* (*Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan* 皇极金丹九莲正信归真还乡宝卷), *The Precious Scroll Spoken by the Buddha about Attaining Completion when the Palace of Dudou and Litian Meet* (*Foshuo dudou litian hou hui shouyuan*

[15] Ma Xisha, "An Investigation on the Historical Facts of the Golden Banner Teaching [Jinchuang jiao 金幢教]" (*Jinzhuang jiao shishi bianzheng* 金幢教史实辩证), in Chiang Tsan-t'eng (江灿腾) and Wang Chien-ch'uan (王见川), eds., *Historical Investigation on the Vegetarian Teaching in Taiwan and their Prospects* (*Taiwan zhaijiao de lishi guancha Yu zhanwang* 台湾斋教的历史观察与展望) (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe 新文丰出版社, 1994). See also: "The Memorial to the Throne by Na Yancheng, the Governor-General of Zhili, on the Nineteenth Day of the Second Month in the Twenty-First Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

baojuan 佛说都斗立天后会收圆宝卷) and *The Complete Almanac of the Three Teachings Responding to the Epoch* (*Sanjiao yingjie zong guan tong shu* 三教应劫总观通书). In the Qing Dynasty, the East Great Vehicle Teaching changed its name to the Pure Tea Teaching and the clansmen of Wang Sen went to many provinces to disseminate this teaching. But in the twentieth and twenty-first year of Jiaqing, all were arrested, which dealt a serious blow to the sect. One of the left branches of this teaching was the Teaching of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment (*Yuandun jiao* 圆顿教), which was founded by Zhang Hao (张豪) from Zhili. Generally, it is held that Zhang and his disciples created *The Precious Scroll of the Woodworker of Founding and Highlighting the Teaching and Expounding the Orthodoxy* (*Muren kaishan xianjiao mingzong baojuan* 木人开山显教明宗宝卷) and *The Precious Dragon-Flower Scripture Verified by the Ancient Buddha as It Originally Is* (*Gufo tianzhen kaozheng longhua baojing* 古佛天真考证龙华宝经). *Yuandun jiao* was also known as the Mahayana Teaching of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment. It was introduced into Jiangxi in the sixth year of Kangxi (1667) by Luo Weixing (罗维行) from Zhili. This group that spread in Jiangxi was the predecessor of not only the Way of Penetrating Unity (*Yiguan dao* 一贯道) but also the Teaching of Former Heaven (*Xiantian jiao* 先天教) and the Fellowship of Goodness (*Tongshan she* 同善社). That is to say, the Way of Penetrating Unity, the Teaching of Former Heaven and the Fellowship of Goodness had the same origin, but developed along different pathways.[16] Another group was the Golden Banner Teaching (*Jinchuang jiao* 金幢教), which still exists in Fujian and Taiwan. It was preached by Dong Yingliang (董应亮), a disciple belonging to the Wang Sen faction, and was introduced to Fujian and Taiwan by a disciple whose surname was Cai.[17] This group, together with the Teaching of Former Heaven and the Dragon Flower Teaching, were called the Vegetarian Teaching (*Zhai jiao* 斋教).

(180) 3) The Vegetarian Teaching of Venerable Seniors (*Laoguan zhaijiao*) In the period of Jiajing of Ming, the Luo Teaching extended to the Prefecture of Chu, where Yi Ji'nan (殷继南) organized the consolidated religious group and asked its members to recite the five scriptures written by the Patriarch Luo. This group called itself the "Authentic

[16] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang, *op. cit.*, Chapter Eighteen.
[17] *Ibid.*, Chapter Ten, "Appendix One."

School of Non-Action" (*Wuwei zhengpai* 无为正派) and established a preliminary hierarchy. In the time of Yin Ji'neng (殷继能), all followers of this sect were named with the character "*pu*" (普, universal) and the group spread to more than ten counties in both east and west Zhejiang. Yin Ji'neng was executed in the tenth year of Wanli (1582). Forty years later, in 1621, Yao Wenyu (姚文宇; religious style name Pushan [普善, universal virtue]), who was from Qingyuan County of the Prefecture of Chu and a follower of the Luo Teaching, went to Wuyi of Zhejiang to preach and rehabilitate this sect. Yao reconsolidated the disparate groups and formed a rigorous organization. In the following decades when he controlled this sect, this religion influenced Zhejiang and extended to Jiangxi, Fujian, Jiangsu and Anhui. Unfortunately, Yang Dingchen and his son, a pair of local warlords, murdered Yao in the third year of Shunzhi (1646). In the Qing Dynasty, the family of Yao became the hereditary family for missionary work and the "Authentic School of Non-Action" was renamed to the Vegetarian Teaching of Venerable Seniors (*Laoguan zhaijiao* 老官斋教), which was also known as the Teaching of the Patriarch Luo (*Luozu jiao* 罗祖教), the Teaching of Non-Action, the Mahayana Teaching, the Three Vehicles Teaching (*Sancheng jiao* 三乘教), the Dragon Flower Teaching (*Longhua jiao* 龙华教), the Rice Cake Teaching (*Ciba jiao* 糍粑教) or the One-Character Teaching (*Yizi jiao* 一字教). Among these titles, "*Laoguan zhaijiao*" was the most well-known. The authorities called it "the Vegetarian Teaching" or "the vegetarian bandits."[18] One group of "*Laoguan zhaijiao*," i.e., the Dragon Flower Teaching, was introduced to Taiwan. This teaching, the Golden Banner Teaching and the Teaching of Former Heaven were called the Vegetarian Teaching. In present Fujian Province, there are still a lot of followers. Nevertheless, these followers call themselves Buddhists and join local Buddhist associations.[19]

[18] Ma Xisha, "Study on the Vegetarian Teaching in the Region South of Lower Yangtze River" (*Jiangnan zhaijiao yanjiu* 江南斋教研究), in *Collection of Studies on Qing History* (*Qingshi yanjiu ji* 清史研究集) (Beijing: Guangmingribao chubanshe, 1990), no. 7.

[19] This writer and his colleagues did much fieldwork on the state of popular religion in Fujian from 1983 to 1989.

4) The Luo Teaching among Sailors and Trackers of the Grain Transport

From the mid-Ming, there were sailors of the grain transport who believed in the Luo teaching. Most of these were soldiers that had served at the Miyun Guard Post in north Zhili. At the end of the Ming, the Luo Teaching extended to Hangzhou and built temples. Therefore, many sailors converted to this teaching. Later, the followers linked together through religious bonds and took the temples of the Luo Teaching as their base. The faithful of the Luo Teaching spread all over the reaches of the Grand Canal and the total number was approximately forty or fifty thousand. Among them, there were various groups, societies and associations, all of which consisted of sailors of the grain transport. Between these sailor groups and the "*Laoguan zhaijiao*," there was no organizational connection, though both were branches of the Luo Teaching. Existing under different circumstances, the two branches developed their own characteristics as time went on.

(181) In accordance with the evolution of the organization of grain transport sailors, this writer will examine the antecedents and formation of the Green Gang.

Dissemination and Development of the Luo Teaching Along the Grand Canal

Grain transport by water was an important economic activity in Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. The practice of transporting grain to the Capital City through the Grand Canal began in Yuan. As the course of the Grand Canal became blocked, transportation was shifted to sea in the Yuan Dynasty.[20] Large-scale grain transport from the south to Beijing by way of the Grand Canal started from the period of Yongle of Ming. According to *The History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史): "In the time when the Emperor Cheng reconstructed Beijing, grain was transported from the southeast by both water and land. It also followed the practice of Yuan and adopted the transport by sea. After the Huitong River was opened, the imperial court stopped land and sea transport."[21] The grain transport by water was divided into two

[20] "Rivers and Canals" (*He qu* 河渠), in the sixteenth volume of "Records" (*Zhi* 志), *The History of Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuan shi* 元史).

[21] "Rivers and Canals" (*He qu*), in the sixty-first volume of "Records" (*Zhi*), *The History of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi*).

types in Ming: one was undertaken by soldiers, and the other was done by civilians. Luo Menghong, the founder of the Luo Teaching, was just one of many soldiers that served in the transportation work. In the Qing, this service was performed mainly by civilians and there were changes in the organizational system, in which the transportation personnel consisted of Jiangsu Gang, Zhejiang Gang, Jiangxi Gang, Anhui Gang, Huguang (Hubei and Hunan) Gang, Henan Gang, and so forth. Furthermore, inside each gang, there were sub-groups based on the region from which its members came. For instance, in the Jiangsu Gang, there were forty-three sub-groups, such as the Capital Gang of Yangzhou, the Capital Gang of Huai'an, the Fouth Gang of Huai'an, the Second or Third Gang of Luzhou and the Gang of Yizheng. The situation in Zhejiang Gang was similar and it had dozens of sub-groups. Each sub-group was "led by one or two heads of *qianhu suo* of the Guard Post, and one provincial military candidate would follow them to give assistance;" the candidate was designated the Supervisor for Transport (*Yunbian* 运弁).[22] In the thirty-fifth year of Kangxi, it was changed to appoint one Man of Transport (*Yunding* 运丁) for each ship and this Man could employ nine persons. The government would decide the fee of employment. At that time, there were more than ten thousand ships and more than one hundred thousand sailors for the transport work. This number of sailors did not include that of trackers. Among these gangs, the "White Grain Gang" was special, because it transported grains for the Imperial Household Department and the grain it transported were reserved for the royal family. It hoisted a dragon flag (symbol of the emperor) when its fleet was entering the Capital City, and phoenix flag while the fleet was leaving. In normal times, this gang carried an apricot yellow banner and had the title "The Authentic Tribute of Tiangeng" (*Tiangeng zhenggong* 天庚正贡).

This knowledge may be helpful for us to understand the dissemination and characteristics of the Luo Teaching among the sailors of riverine grain transport.

Hangzhou was the terminus of the Grand Canal and sailors gathered in large numbers there. The Luo Teaching emerged in Hangzhou at the end of Ming. The archives of Qing record:

[22] "Part Three of Treatise on Food and Goods" (*Shi huo* 食货), in *The Draft of History of Qing Dynasty* (*Qingshi gao* 清史稿).

(182) In the last years of Ming, there were people from Miyun, whose surname was Qian (钱) and Weng (翁), and people from Songjiang with the surname Pan (潘). They sojourned in Hangzhou and worked together to disseminate the Luo Teaching. In Hangzhou, these persons built temples, in which Buddhist statues were enshrined, and they recited scriptures and did not eat meat. Thus, there was a Hut of Qian (*Qian an* 钱庵), Hut of Weng (*Weng an* 翁庵), Hut of Pan (*Pan an* 潘庵) and so on. Since these huts were close to the quay where the ships for grain transport berthed, some sailors lodged with them. As time went on, these sailors converted to this teaching.[23]

> The two persons, whose surnames were Qian and Weng respectively, were from Miyun, where Luo Menghong founded the Luo Teaching. What they preached should be the orthodoxy of this sect—the teachings of Non-Action. They might well be the soldiers of grain transport or the sailors of the transportation ships. Their livelihood involved moving back and forth along the river which allowed them to "sojourn in Hangzhou" and build huts and work together to preach the teaching. Pan, who came from Songjiang, also was a follower of the Luo Teaching. Because his native place was different from that of Qian and Weng, they must have attracted different sets of disciples. Gradually, these developed into three independent branches of the Luo Teaching. In the secret books of the later generations of Green Gang, it was recorded: Weng, Qian and Pan were the three patriarchs; "the three patriarchs propagated doctrines according to the former heaven;" "the three patriarchs preached in the area of Hangzhou" and "the familial temple in Hangzhou was handed down," and so forth. These records demonstrated the Hut of Qian, Weng and Pan that was built at the end of Ming in Hangzhou was the birthplace of the Green Gang.[24]

After the establishment of temples by the "three patriarchs" and the spread of their preaching, the teachings became very popular. Because they were close to the Grand Canal, these temples soon turned into a locus of sailors. In the early Qing, seventy-two temples affiliated themselves with the three patriarchs' familial temple. According to *Vermilion Endorsements and Edicts of the Emperor Yongzheng* (*Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi* 雍正朱批谕旨):

---

[23] "Memorial to the Throne by Cui Yingjie (崔应阶)," *Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials* (*Shiliao xunkan* 史料旬刊) (Beijing: Jinghua yinshuju, 1930), vol. 12.

[24] Wang Dianjia (王殿甲), *Writing Collections for Grain transport by Water* (*Caoyun huikan* 漕运汇刊): pieces of writing about the "Hall of Offering Incense" (*Jin xiangtang* 进香堂).

Most sailors of the Zhejiang Gang believe in the heretical teachings of Luo. In the area of Beiguan of Zhejiang Province, there are sporadic huts, where monks or Taoist priests live, with some old folks to act as doorkeepers. The deities that they worship differ from temple to temple. These temples are quite ordinary. Originally, there were seventy-two temples; currently, there are only thirty or so left. Every year the sailors donate some money to these temples and they will stay there when they go back in winter. The accommodation is free for them. Any money left-over after providing food, is saved for emergencies. In Huai'an, Tianjin, Tongzhou and the Capital City, there are special persons who attend to these gangs' affairs. Sailors of these gangs are largely dispossessed people of Shandong and Henan and their number is estimated to be tens of thousands.[25]

> (183) This memorial to the throne tells us the fact that after more than one hundred years of dissemination among grain transport sailors, the teaching of Luo had become prevalent in the group of Zhejiang sailors. Most grain transport sailors consisted of dispossessed people from Henan and Shandong. These people made a living from the grain transport by the Grand Canal and took the doctrines of Luo Teaching as their basic belief. They formed trade-association-like organizations and had specially-assigned personnel all along the Canal. At that time, the organization of the Luo Teaching had the distinctive characteristic of trade association. Again, as *The Complete Book of Sea Transportation of Jiangsu* (*Jiangsu haiyun quanan* 江苏海运全书) recorded: "All sailors who served the grain transport in the region south of the lower Yangtze River and Zhejiang were vagrants from Shandong. They worked on ships all year round and had no home to return to."[26] In Jiangsu, another important province of grain transport, the Luo Teaching extended to the sailors at the turn of Ming and Qing. In light of one memorial to the throne, Chen Shixia, the executive head of Suzhou, detected twelve huts of the Luo Teaching, such as the Hut of Yan, Yu, Wang and Xilai: "all of which have several rooms and worship the Buddhas of Past, Present and Future. Followers recite scriptures and perform rituals, but they are neither monk nor Taoist priest. They have close contacts with the grain transport sailors ship. When the grain ship comes to the south, sailors will donate some grain to these huts. If there are sailors who fall sick or lead a wandering life in poverty, these huts will provide them financial aid. After our investigations, we find that there are many outlaws among the sailors. And, counting on their large

[25] "Memorial to the Throne by Li Wei (李卫) in the Fifth Year of Yongzheng," in *Vermilion Endorsements and Edicts of the Emperor Yongzheng* (*Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi* 雍正朱批谕旨).

[26] "Memorial to the Throne by Xiong Yutai (熊遇泰), the Imperial Inspector," *The Complete Book of Sea Transportation of Jiangsu* (*Jiangsu haiyun quanan* 江苏海运全书), vol. 1.

> numbers, they participate in brawls and provoke quarrels and fights."[27] These twelve huts of the Luo Teaching had no connection with the Huts of Weng, Qian and Pan in Zhejiang. They belonged to the Great Vehicle Teaching and the Non-Action Teaching respectively and most were built in the early years of the reign of Kangxi. The group of Non-Action Teaching "was introduced to the family of Yan in Fengyang by the family of Qian of Huai'an and then to Suzhou by Yan. It is still spreading." The branch of the Great Vehicle Teaching "was carried by the family of Lang in the north and handed down to the family of Zhang in Hengshui. Previously, there was a scripture hall of the Great Vehicle Teaching at Zhangjiawan and it extended to the south."[28] As for the origin of the Great Vehicle Teaching, "its groups, scriptures and portrays were created by the person with the surname Wang and then it was passed on one after another."[29] Here, the so-called "person with the surname Wang" was Wang Sen, the founder of the East Mahayana Teaching and a well-known leader of popular religion at the end of the Ming. With regard to the first section of this paper, regardless what the group was, the Mahayana Teaching or the Non-Action Teaching, they were the branches of the Luo Teaching and all of them were based on Luo Menghong's doctrine of "creating the teaching through tranquility and inactivity and persuading people to practice for future life." Scriptures seized by authorities included "those circulated in the Luo Teaching, like *The Scroll of Apprehending the Way through Hard Working* (*Kugong wudao juan*), *To Break the False Belief* (*Po xie* 破邪), *To Open the Mind* (*Kai xin* 开心), *To Return to the Origin* (*Huan yuan* 还源) and *To Repay an Obligation* (*Bao en* 报恩). These scriptures are filled with vulgar words and slang…but there are no seditious or subversive writings."[30]

In the reign of Qianlong, authorities continued to interrogate followers among sailors of Zhejiang. In this process, the government searched twenty-two huts of the Luo Teaching and seized one hundred and twenty-seven volumes of scripture, which included the "five sections and six volumes" of the Luo Teaching and traditional Buddhist

---

[27] "Memorial to the Throne by Chen Shixia (陈时夏), the Coordinator of Suzhou, on the Twenty-Ninth Day of the First Month in the Sixth Year of Yongzheng," in *Compilation of Memorials in Chinese with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor Yongzheng* (*Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 雍正朝汉文朱批奏折汇编).

[28] "The Memorial to the Throne by Zhang Bao (彰宝), the Governor of Jiangsu, on the Second Day of the Ninth Month in the Thirty-Third Year of Qianlong," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Memorial by Zhang Bao (彰宝), see: *Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials* (*Shiliao xunkan*), vol. 15.

canons. (184) All of these huts were places where "the sect and its scriptures are worshiped";[31] and some of them enshrined portraits of the Patriarch Luo. In comparison with those of the reign of Yongzheng, the suppression in the reign of Qianlong was far more cruel. For the Emperor Yongzheng, when it came to the issue of the Luo Teaching, his principle was as follows: "The appropriate way is neither be too strict nor too lenient. The key is that the local authorities shall treat these matters individually. Those who take the initiative and instigate trouble must be punished severely; but those who are ignorant and follow shall be dealt with leniently." "Our purpose is to enlighten those ignorant and stubborn people and instruct them to give up evil ways and return to the right path, by which we guard against those demagogic activities. How can we implicate innocent people?"[32] When Luo Mingzhong, the seventh-generation grandson of Luo Menghong and the "Patriarch of Non-Action," was involved with the case of Zhejiang sailors, authorities released him because his parents were still alive under the statute of "being pardoned to support parents."[33] Li Wei, the Chief Supervisor of Grain transport, however, did not destroy those huts but used them as community lodges, in which sailors were allowed to sojourn. The Qianlong Emperor took a very different stand. He decreed that the followers of Luo Teaching "be punished severely" and "all huts must be demolished," so that this sect "will be exterminated to its roots."[34] In fact, this Emperor's high-handed policy of suppression failed to exterminate the Luo Teaching among sailors; rather, it only forced this sect to go underground.

In the above discussion, this writer employs a large number of historical materials to demonstrate the "pre-history" of the Green Gang was the Luo Teaching's history of development in the group of grain transport sailors. This is sufficient to show the viewpoint of Professor Li Shiyu was erroneous.

Beyond historical tradition, there were two reasons for sailors to convert to the Luo Teaching. One was their religious needs. Grain transport sailors had to sail six thousand *li* along the Grand Canal every year. The ship would pass through the Qiantang River, Lake

---

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang, *op. cit*., p. 260.

[33] *Ibid*.

[34] Memorial by Yong De (永德), see: *Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials* (*Shiliao xunkan*), vol. 12.

Tai, the Yangtze River and the Hongze Lake, all of which were difficult. Storms and tides made the existence of a sailor tenuous. They suffered unimaginable hardship. Most were unregistered migrants from other provinces. Their family background and personal sufferings urged them to look for a religion as a spiritual therapy. Not only in the hut, but also in the fleet, the portrait of the Patriarch Luo was enshrined for prayer. The other need was practical. "Most sailors of the transportation gangs are dispossessed people from Henan and Shandong,"[35] and "they work on ship all the year round and have no home to return to."[36] (185) Farmland in northern China was infertile and the people poor. "A poor harvest in one year, leaves resident with nothing to maintain their. They are forced to walk south towards the region between the Yangtze River and the River Huai. Alternatively, they will go to the northern frontier." "Since there is no way of making a living (in their home villages), they have no alternative, but to wander up and down the country."[37] It was under such circumstances that wealthy Jiangsu and Zhejiang became the destination for vagrants from Shandong and other provinces. This contributed to the historical phenomenon that "sailors that the transport ship employed were largely the dispossessed."

Transporting grain by water was a seasonal profession. A round trip to deliver grain to the north would take the sailor more than half a year. In the remaining time, they were casual laborers and awaited the next year. Because "the ordinary inns dare not let them stay," accommodation became a serious problem for these "dispossessed people." The huts of Luo Teaching built along the Grand Canal, which served as religious sites for local society, provided some help for these sailors. That is to say, these homeless sailors could live in the huts and "the sect members would prepare food for them." "When grain transport restarted and sailors were employed, they would pay the hut daily." In this way, resident members could "make a meager profit."[38] In addition, huts had their own farmland and charitable graveyard, so that these outcast sailors could have a place to live in their lifetime

[35] "Memorial to the Throne by Li Wei (李卫) in the Fifth Year of Yongzheng," in *Vermilion Endorsements and Edicts of the Emperor Yongzheng* (*Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi*).

[36] *The Complete Book of Sea Transportation of Jiangsu* (*Jiangsu haiyun quanan*), vol. 1.

[37] "Part Two of Principle of Instruction," *The Complete Records of Shandong* (Shandong tongzhi 山东通志), "Preamble."

[38] "Memorial to the Throne by Cui Yingjie (崔应阶)," *Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials* (*Shiliao xunkan*), vol. 12.

and have a burial place after their death. Owing to the functions the Hut of Luo Teaching played, the sailors' need for them increased. Therefore, they raised money and built as many as seventy-two huts. All sailors attached to these huts converted to the Luo Teaching without exception. In view of this, the sailor's demand for this teaching was principally manifested in their practical needs. It was this reason that facilitated the organization of the Luo Teaching among sailors to evolve along a line that was different with that of other branches of this teaching. This was manifested in three ways.

First, the constituents of this sect were gradually homogenized.

Usually, the composition of a popular religion was very complex: the basic constituents were the peasants and small craftsmen; but there were also merchants, yamen runners, herbalists, people who had passed the prefectural examinations and students of the imperial college, and even monks or Taoist priests who had separated from the temple. The craving for spiritually united various groups of people. At the end of the Ming, when the three persons surnamed Qian, Weng and Pan preached the doctrine of Luo Teaching, more than sailors came to believe. In Jiangsu Province, while disciples of Luo Teaching from the north disseminated this teaching in the early years of Kangxi, "they belonged to separate branch and built the hut for preaching" and "people who first joined this sect each donated one or two taels of silver as admittance fee."[39] At that time, the followers of the huts of Suzhou absolutely did not exclusively consist of sailors. Nevertheless, as the dependence of sailors on these huts increased and new huts were built largely with the money raised by sailors, (186) the functions of the hut, originally the symbol of religion, transformed into a place in which grain transport sailors gathered and boarded. Furthermore, the right of property fell into their hands. In the period of Qianlong, even the guards of the hut became sailors and most of them "originally boatmen and went to the hut and joined the sect when they were aged and had nobody else upon whom to depend"; moreover, "all the followers acknowledged were either grain transport sailors or people driving boats on inland rivers."[40] The homogenization of the

[39] Memorial to the Throne by Zhang Bao (彰宝), see: *Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials* (*Shiliao xunkan*), vol. 15.

[40] *Ibid.*

Luo Teaching along the waterways of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, together with the common profession and practical need, constituted the economic and social foundation of this sect's transformation from religion to trade association. Their common profession, the mobile nature of their work and their common interest that made this sect resemble a trade association more than that a religious group.

Second, the religious master-disciple relationship replaced the blood-bound hereditary relationship.

Since most popular religions were based on farming and small-scale handicraft industry, they developed hereditary hierarchies, characterized by blood bonds and paternalistic rule. There are numerous such cases. The case of grain transport sailors, who had been separated from the rural economy and led a wandering lives along the Grand Canal, however, was different. Within this group, there was no paternalistic system, and blood bonds did not exist or could not function at all. Sailors were wandering individuals and it was impossible for them to own a household and marry and have children. Their common home was the hut or the grain transport ship. Through analyzing the historical materials, we find no record of the three patriarchs—Qian, Weng and Pan—being succeeded by their offspring, nor any such account in the seventy-two huts. The power of superintending the hut could only be handed down between master and disciple. In this period, nobody could escape the patriarchal relations and established true equality; rather, there was no alternative but to substitute one for another. According to historical records from the reign of Yongzheng, the practice of "creating their own sect, recruiting more followers, and then forming a group of diehards" was very common among the grain transport gangs.[41] Among sailors, there was the hierarchy of seniority and master-pupil, which acted as the restriction to membership. An important historical record showed how the twenty-four-character lineage in the associations took the doctrines of Luo Teaching as their religious belief:

> Sailors or boatmen have always venerated Patriarch Luo as their founder. Their sectarian group derived from three persons, surnamed

[41] "Excerption of official communication from the Board of Punishments (approximately in the fifth year of Yongzheng)," in *Compilation of Memorials in Chinese with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor Yongzheng* (*Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian*).

Weng, Qian and Pan. Weng and Qian were the "Senior Hut" (*Lao'an* 老安[庵]), while Pan was the "New Hut" (*Xin'an* 新安[庵]). (187) Both the Senior and New groups employed the twenty-four characters—"tranquility and morality" (*Qingjing daode* 清净道德), "honesty and dharma" (*Wencheng fofa* 稳诚佛法), "capability and wisdom" (*Nengren zhihui* 能仁智慧), "inherence and self-nature" (*Benlai zixing* 本来自性), "original nature and reviving rites" (*Yuanming xingli* 元明兴礼) and "great enlightenment and learning" (*Datong wenxue* 大通文学)—to name their branches. Any person who wished to be admitted would be registered a lineage named by one of the twenty-four characters. The sect was also modeled on Buddhism in that new members would be taught "three refuges and five precepts" (*sangui wujie* 三皈五戒) and be instructed to recite scriptures like *Mount Tai* and *The Diamond Sutra*. In this way, the sect divided into groups coordinated with each other.[42]

> This record coincides with the secret books of the Green Gang, composed as late as in the Qing reign of Daoguang. Moreover, in the period of Daoguang, the followers of this sect were already in the "明" (*ming*, or bright) or "兴" (*xing*, or prosperous) position of the twenty-four-character lineage, that is, the seventeenth or eighteenth generation. Thus, we can conclude that, it was in the early Qing, at least in the reign of Yongzheng when the hierarchy was put into practice. Besides the seniority and master-pupil relationship, there was a post of master of the fleet, which usually was held by a senior member who was venerated as "Old Superintendent" (*laoguan* 老管):

According to the investigation, most sailors employed by the grain transport ship were dispossessed people…(and) their head is called "Old Superintendent" (*lao guan* 老管), whose role was the same as the head of beggars. As for the title "guan," among sailors, the senior ones call each other by this word, and its meaning refers to old age but not to leadership.[43]

> "*Lao guan*" was not the supreme leader and there were persons with higher position, to whom "*lao guan*" went to pay tribute. As it was recorded: "Inside the grain transport gang, there usually was one who practiced abstention and was called 'Old Superintendent.' All sailors and trackers that abstained from eating meat subordinated themselves to this person. These 'Old Superintendents' studied the doctrines of the Teaching of Patriarch Luo. And every year, they

[42] "The Memorial to the Throne by Qi Shan (琦善), the Governor-General of Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi, on the Eleventh Day of the Fourth Month in the Sixth Year of Daoguang," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

[43] "The Memorial to the Throne by Tao Shu (陶澍), the Governor of Jiangsu, on the Twenty-Fourth Day of the Seventh Month in the Fifth Year of Daoguang," *ibid.*

> went to the Buddhist Hall of Family Zhang, which was located at Cuihua Lane of the Zhangyimen Street in the capital, to present a donation."[44] The Zhang family that lived in Cuihua Lane in Beijing was a well-known for preaching the Mahayana Teaching and before that were the descendants of Luo Menghong. In the period of Yongzheng and Qianlong, Luo Mingzhong, the seventh-generation grandson of Luo Menghong, was the Patriarch of Non-Action Teaching.[45] The trade association of the Luo Teaching, which consisted of grain transport sailors along the Grand Canal, still had connections with the Luo Family at least as late as the thirty-third year of Qianlong. Among the associations and societies which were based on the belief of Luo Teaching, they developed a stricter feudal patriarchal relation and organization. It was a practical need that played the following functions.

(188) To begin with, it maintained the mutual aid among sailors. Most grain transport sailors that worked in Jiangsu and Zhejiang were dispossessed residents from Shandong and Henan. It was almost impossible for these homeless and wandering people to live if there was no mutual aid and a relatively stable social organization. That is to say, "helping those in need and lightening each other's sorrows" was the prerequisite for the association of people of the lowly classes, especially that of the vagabonds. In society of this time, however, there was no democracy within such organizations; instead, they were patriarchal, and guaranteed that those who observed the sect rules and precepts could obtain the protection and help from the organization. According to the Qing archives:

> It is said that the "Old Superintendent" sets a rate of commission when the sailor is employed and saves these money for interest. If there is a sailor who falls sick or dies, the "Old Superintendent" will withdraw some of the money from the fund to provide aid. Those who do not donate money in normal times will not be cared for. The stupid and stubborn people think this practice is dependable, and are pleased to join.[46]

---

[44] "The Memorial to the Throne by Na Yancheng, the Governor-General of Zhili, on the Seventeenth Day of the Third Month in the Twenty-First Year of Jiaqing," *ibid*.

[45] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang, *op. cit*., pp. 252–255.

[46] "The Memorial to the Throne by Tao Shu, the Governor of Jiangsu, on the Twenty-Fourth Day of the Seventh Month in the Fifth Year of Daoguang," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

> Besides facilitating mutual aid, it also assisted in the sailors' conflicts with the authorities.

The government set the salary of grain transport sailor: "For the ten gangs of Jiabai and so forth, the helmsman receives 6.5 taels silver, sailor 5.3, and boatman 4." When they return with an empty ship, "the helmsman receives 1.7 taels and sailor 1.3 each."[47] This salary was startlingly low. Therefore, sailors' economic struggle against the grain transport authorities never stopped. For instance in the reign of Daoguang, their struggle became very violent.

A memorial to the throne presented in July of the fifth year of Daoguang (1825), recorded: the Jiabai gang of Zhejiang and the three gangs of Hangzhou "asked for increasing salary and fee for loading rice while the ship was sailing." During the trip, "each ship asked for 53,000 copper cash. They passed on the *liuzi* (a piece of paper with the sailors' demands) one ship another. The number of sailors was huge and they bore down menacingly. Each ship was blackmailed and the transport soldiers did not dare to refuse their demands."[48] In the next year, their salary, the thirteen gangs of Jiangsu "provoked brawls and disturbed the peace," (189) and even "beat the commander of *qianhu suo*" and besieged the ship of the inspector of grain transport in Jiang'an.[49] The reason why sailors could act so boldly was that they were tightly organized, "monopolized the grain transport and treated it as a private business." The government was unable to do anything with this situation, because sailors acted promptly and in concert. Usually, grain ships in the fleet sailed placed end to end. While they were in motion, sailors would suddenly stop them and then the "Old Superintendent" with a *liuzi*, with a wage increase written on it. In this way, they demanded what they wanted from the transport supervisor and soldiers. Meanwhile, sailors and other workers stood jeering on the ship deck or went ashore.[50] The transport supervisor and soldiers had assumed the great responsibility of delivering the grain to the north.

---

[47] "Salary of Sailors" (*Duoshou shengong* 舵手身工), in Yang Xiba (杨锡跋), *Compilation of Rules of Grain transport by Water* (*Caoyun zeli zuan* 漕运则例纂), vol. 9.

[48] "The Memorial to the Throne by Qi Shan on the Twenty-First Day of the Fourth Month in the Sixth Year of Daoguang" and "The Memorial to the Throne by Chen Zhongfu on the Fourteenth Day of the Sixth Month in the Sixth Year of Daoguang," in *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang, *op. cit.*, pp. 285.

To finish their task, they "would compromise in exchange for peace." As things continued this way, the transport supervisor and soldiers could not restrain the sailors at all. Even though the imperial court repeatedly forwarded the policy of execution and banishment, it was impossible to punish all of the sailors. At last, riverine grain transport became totally controlled by the trade association of the sailors.

In addition, it promoted internal cooperation within the group of sailors. Grain transport sailors did not have just one association: there were gangs within a gang or factions within a faction. As a rule, one fleet had forty or fifty ships. The fleet was split into two factions—the Senior Hut and the Young Hut. The Senior Hut referred to members affiliated themselves with the ancestral hut of the family Qian and Weng; while the Young Hut (a.k.a *Pan an*) consisted of members who identified themselves with the Hut of Pan An. Between these factions, there was no spirit of mutual concern and aid at all; rather, each was very exclusive. Sectarian vendettas repeatedly broke out as a result of conflicting economic interests. In the early years of Daoguang in particular, when parts of Jiangsu and Zhejiang began transporting grain by sea and a huge number of sailors were sacked, there was large-scale infighting. An unexpected case of revengeful slaughter during the fifth year of Daoguang inside the Jiabai gang of Xiushui in Zhejiang, shocked the imperial court. In that year, the Jiabai gang built eight new ships and to be "put under the administration of the Senior Hut." Nevertheless, the Young Hut took the initiative and claimed four of them. Then, Li Xiushi, the head of Senior Hut, led his followers to "burn incense and kowtow before the statue of the Patriarch Luo; after that, they donated money to purchase bamboo to make spears." They also went to the ships and intimidated sailors of the Senior Hut (to join the infighting). "Because they made a living from being employed as sailors and were coerced by the head, they promised to fight." From the fourth to the seventh day of the second month, more than forty members of Young Hut were killed in this merciless conflict and the Senior Hut lost several followers.[51] As for this infighting, (190) the opinion that it was an anti-Manchu struggle was incorrect. And, the account, which said several hundred persons were killed in this conflict

[51] "The Memorial to the Throne by Cheng Hanzhang (程含章), the Governor of Zhejiang, on the Twenty-First Day of the Ninth Month in the Fifth Year of Daoguang," in *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

and corpses floated along the Grand Canal, in *Four Writings of Anwu* (*Anwu sizhong* 安吴四种) by Bao Shichen (包世臣) was hearsay and obviously an exaggeration. Such infighting gave full expression to the cruelty of patriarchal relation and the violent exclusivity of the sailors' trade association.

Cruelty also manifested in the relationship between superiors and inferiors inside the association. The expression "master and disciple are like father and the son and fellow followers are like brothers" was nothing more than rhetoric. Inside the association, there were rules like "familial rites" and "familial disciplines." What this association practiced was a set of stern paternalistic rules that kept the firm grip on the life and death of disobedient sailors. The "Ship of the Senior Hut" (*lao tang chuan* 老堂船) was the center of the fleet of a sub-gang, in which there was a "sacred club" that was said to have been "titled by the Emperor Qianlong." Offensive sailors "would be seized and turned over to the 'Old Superintendent' to be given punishment ranging from scolding and fines to prompt execution; the corpse of the executed sailor would be thrown into the river."[52] Here, the so-called "familial rites" and "familiar disciplines" replaced law. Such records appeared from at least the reign of Yongzheng. For instance, "sailors and workers of grain transport ships of various gangs have formed sectarian groups and recruited numerous followers. The followers are under the instigation of their head and the head is unafraid of punishing his followers with such cruel ways as binding, burning and cutting ears or tendons."[53] We shall analyze the cruelty of this patriarchal relation, because it was an outcome of specific and concrete historical circumstances. The grain transport through waterways was a large-scale, hard and collective activity. Without unity and strict discipline, this task could not be accomplished. For sailors, failure to transport the grain meant collective unemployment. Furthermore, in their struggle for economic interest and smuggling activities, sailors did need to act in concert, keep secrets and act under a unified command. The composition of sailors society was very complex: there were bankrupt peasants, small handicraftsmen and even were wandering rogues, gamblers, thieves, sorcerers and acrobats. At that time, to organize these

[52] "The Memorial to the Throne by Cheng Hanzhang on the Sixteenth Day of the Seventh Month in the Fifth Year of Daoguang," *ibid.*

[53] See no. 41, *supra.*

persons and lead them to act with a united mind, the most direct and efficacious method was the "familial rites and rules," that is, the way that could extend immediate deference to life and limb. Evidently, in such an association, there was no room for "naïve egalitarianism" and it could only generate the "consciousness of master and slave." The mutual welfare and aid inside the association, however, was another dimension of the intra-group relationship. The reciprocity and cruelty of "familial rites and rules" were the two sides of patriarchal relations in the trade association of sailors.

(191) Third, it developed from religious beliefs to patriarch worship. This popular religion had the same characteristics the mainstream religions in the world. That is to say, it had its own religious organization, orthodox doctrines, rites, rules and worship of the founder or the patriarch. Most of followers of popular religion are enthusiastic and sincere. They have strong religious feelings and firmly believe in the doctrines. Nevertheless, for grain transport sailors along the Canal of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, the characteristic of grain transport profession and the bustling worldly pursuits hampered the growth of religiosity, even as they remained faithful to the Luo Teaching. Every year, sailors were occupied with shuttling back and forth along the river, so that they could not perform regular religious activities or observe the precepts and practice of the teaching. Most of superintendents of the Luo huts were aging or retired sailors, who were poorly educated and could not study scriptures, let alone expound or preach doctrines. As a result, the religious nature of the hut gradually faded away. In the reign of the Emperor Yongzheng and Qianlong, even though many huts still worshipped Patriarch Luo, recited scriptures of Luo Teaching and practiced abstention, all these were relics of the past. The majority of hut superintendents had "forgotten mastery of the teaching." The religious ritual had become a mere formality and was only occasionally performed in the sense of "worshipping the deity and reciting scripture for safety" when sailors returned from the north. Beyond this, "there was no gathering at night and dispersing at dawn and instigating residents" in the religious rituals. By this time, the association of Luo Teaching in sailors not only was widely divergent from the founding doctrines created by Luo Menghong, but it was distinct from other branches of the Luo Teaching. In other words, the nucleus of religious faith—that is, sincere belief—had disappeared from the sailors association; instead, the worship of the Patriarch Luo, Weng,

Qian and Pan prevailed. Patriarchal worship was one of characteristics of the trade association. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, as commerce prospered, trade associations emerged in great numbers in various professions. These associations worshiped different patriarchs and to whom they prayed for safety and prosperity. For example, in the sixth year of Qianlong, the trade association of dyestuffs in Shanxi erected a monument, on which it recorded: "Our predecessor founded this profession in the Capital City and began venerating the Patriarchs Ge and Mei. It has lasted for a very long time. From the Ming Dynasty to present, there has been more than one hundred years."[54] The patriarchs that other trade associations enshrined differed greatly: the jadeware association worshiped Qiu Zhenren (True Man Qiu); the association of construction artisans offered sacrifice to Lu Ban; associations of coppersmiths, blacksmiths, tinsmiths and charcoal burners venerated Lord Lao; paper producers established altars for Cai Lun; character carvers prayed to the Imperial Sovereign Wenchang; the silk association to the Cocoon Lady; tailors and folk musicians to the Yellow Emperor; butchers to Zhang Fei and Fan Kuai; and beggars and hairdressers as well as sailors worshiped Patriarch Luo. It was obvious that these associations' worship of deities or human beings did not have the nature of a religious group; rather, they engaged patriarchal worship. (192) Here, the grain transport sailors' worship of Patriarchs Luo, Weng, Qian and Pan evolved from the religious followers' worship of the founder. There is an evident distinction between these two types of votive practice.

From Sailor's Trade Association to "Friends of the Way of Tranquility and Purity"

During the reigns of Daoguang and Xianfeng, the fate of grain transport sailors in Jiangsu and Zhejiang changed dramatically. It was this radical change that facilitated the final formation of "Friends of the Way of Tranquility and Purity" (*anqing daoyou*), that is, the Green Gang.

---

[54] "Inscriptional Record for Building Roof of Theatre" (*Xiujian xitai zhaopeng beiji* 修建戏台罩棚碑记), in Li Hua (李华), *Selected Inscriptions on Tablet of Guild Hall of Commerce and Industry since Ming and Qing Dynasties* (*Mingqing yilai beijing gongshang huiguan beike xuanbian* 明清以来北京工商会馆碑刻选编) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 1980).

As *The Complete Compilation of Sea Transportation* (*Haiyun quan'an* 海运全案) recorded:

> Since the waterway of the Grand Canal silted up, Jiangsu began using sea transport from the sixth year of Daoguang, and Zhejiang commenced from the third year of Xianfeng. By the time of the rebellions in the reaches of the Yangtze River and the River Huai, sea transport was carried out every year. Transport expenses decreased sharply.[55]
>
> As sea transport was implemented, transporting grain through the waterway of the Grand Canal came to a grinding halt. Consequently, tens of thousands of sailors lost their jobs overnight and had to return to a vagabond life.

There were three reasons for the Qing government to promote the sea transportation. First, the Grand Canal had been silted up for many years and could not be used for the task of grain transport. According to records, "for the matter of grain transport in Zhejiang, both the transport gangs and government are terribly fatigued. Transport through the Canal has been at full capacity and never stopped over the years. This year the ships have run aground and all the transport gangs are delayed. Therefore, it was very difficult for them to return from the north for a new task in this year. The grain transport has to accommodate itself to circumstances and has moved to the sea."[56] This happened in the third year of Xianfeng (1853). Second, the Taiping Rebellion had extended from Guangxi to Jiangsu. At the end of the third year of Xianfeng, the Taiping army captured Wuchang. Then, it occupied Nanjing in the third month of the following year and went on to exploit victories in Jiangsu and Zhejiang. (193) The two provinces became the battlefield for Qing and Taiping troops. Third, the Qing government was going to discharge all grain transport sailors in case of disturbance. In the ninth month of the second year of Xianfeng, it was decreed that "most of the transport soldiers and officers go to the north" and (sailors) "are not to be permitted to gather in crowds and make an obstruction." Thus, Huang Zonghan, governor of Zhejiang, presented the memorial to the throne, in which he suggested: the imperial court "shall take this opportunity that there is no hindrance to

---

[55] "Preface to *The Complete Recompilation of Sea Transportation in Zhejiang*" (*Zhejiang haiyun quan'an zhongbian xu* 浙江海运全案重编序), in *The Complete Compilation of Sea Transportation* (*Haiyun quan'an* 海运全案), vol. 1.

[56] *The Complete Recompilation of Sea Transportation in Zhejiang*" (*Zhejiang haiyun quan'an zhongbian* 浙江海运全案重编), vol. 1.

discuss and promote the sea transport."[57] At the beginning of the third year of Xianfeng, when the fleet of Zhejiang gang was impeded in the north, the grain transport ship had traveled north by sea. Thereupon, all sailors of the Zhejiang grain transport gang were sacked. At that unstable time, tens of thousands sailors went on their own way. Some joined the Taiping Rebellion; some went up into the Qing army; and some resumed a wandering life. A part of the Young Hut gathered in salt fields located in the north of Jiangsu and the region north of the Yangtze River and south of the River Huai, and organized the "Friends of the Way of Tranquility and Purity" (*anqing daoyou*). They then began smuggling salt and looting. Therefore, the "*anqing daoyou*" was an organization that emerged after the grain transport by water was abolished and sailors as a whole became unemployed.

The "*anqing daoyou*" "has the style name 'the Gate of Pan,' 'the Family of Pan' and the nickname 'Qing (庆) Gang.' The name 'Qing Gang' was mistakenly called 'Qing (青, Green) Gang.'"[58] Secret books of Green Gang showed the Patriarch Pan was the principal idol. The so-called "Patriarch Pan" was the person with the surname Pan, who, together with Weng and Qian, preached the Luo Teaching at the end of Ming. He built a hut at the quay of the Grand Canal in Hangzhou, which later was venerated as the Hut of Pan. Under it, there were several sub-huts. As time went on, the sailors retained the sect of the Pan Hut. In some historical records of the reign of Daoguang this was named "*Pan an* 潘安," later as "*Pan men* 潘门" and "*Pan jia* 潘家." This sect was the Young Hut, which was antagonistic to the Senior Hut. The secret book of Green Gang recorded: "stretching out your hand and showing three fingers is the secret sign in the familial rite"; "people who know this rite belong to the same sect of Pan." Because the Hut of Pan "had three rooms" and the character Pan (潘) had the character component "氵" (three strokes of water), members of the Pan sect showed three fingers when they met. This greeting demonstrated they were from the same sect. The secret books contained sayings like: "I do not care about the Patriarch Weng and Qian. I only hurry to the

[57] Tao Chengzhang (陶成章), *A Sketchy Account of The Zhejiang Incident* (*Zhe an jilüe* 浙案纪略), in *Series of Primary Sources for Modern Chinese History: The 1911 Revolution* (*Jindaishi ziliao congkan: xinhai geming* 近代史资料丛刊·辛亥革命) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), vol. 3, p. 31.

[58] *Ibid.*

Incense Hall of Pan."[59] These sayings showed that the revenge killings, which happened in the reign of Daoguang, still affected these associations at the turn of Qing and the Republican China. *Complete Works of Three Huts* (*San'an quanji* 三庵全集) also said: "The familial rules are handed down from the Patriarch Pan, our three gangs and nine generations will last throughout ages"; "the familial doctrine of Linji (临济) is taught by the Patriarch Pan"; "any person who enters the gate will be surnamed Pan," and so forth.[60] It is thus evident that the group of unemployed sailors of the Young Hut, who "had extremely complex constituents and was accustomed making trouble," was the backbone of the "*anqing daoyou*" in the years of Xianfeng.

Opinion varies on the origin of the name "*anqing daoyou*." Roughly, there are three points of view. 1) (194) Ou Jujia (欧榘甲) holds that since this association "witnessed that the Manchu regime was in danger and wanted to stabilize it," it named itself "*anqing daoyou*." Ou contends further that "a comprehensive view of Chinese secret societies that every one took the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and reinstatement of a Han regime as their ultimate goal, but this society was an exception."[61] Ou's explanation strains the meaning of the words too literally and was in fact simply a wild guess. 2) Some people argue that because this organization operated in the area of Anqing of Anhui Province, it was called Qing Bang (庆帮). This idea is farfetched, since the place where "*anqing daoyou*" originally operated was not Anqing but northern Jiangsu. 3) Based on records in the secret books of the Green Gang, some maintain that there was forty-eight-character lineage of which the character "*qing* 清" was the first, so that later generations called it "*qing men* 清门." These records, however, were from stories circulated in members of this gang, in which there were many distorted stories. Therefore, they are not credible. In fact, most of members of the Green Gang were ignorant of the origin of the title of their organization. The fact that both Chinese and foreign scholars randomly quote records of the Green Gang's secret books without clarification facilitates the spread of these erroneous ideas.

---

[59] Wang Dianjia (王殿甲), *Writing Collections for Grain transport by Water* (*Caoyun huikan* 漕运汇刊): pieces of writing about "Carrying Incense Burner on One's Head" (*ding xianglu* 顶香炉).

[60] *Complete Works of Three Huts* (*San'an quanji* 三庵全集), pp. 33–35.

[61] Ou Jujia (欧榘甲), "The New Guangdong" (*Xin Guangdong* 新广东), in *Reviews in Ten Years Prior to the 1911 Revolution* (*Xinhai geming qian shinian shilun xuan* 辛亥革命前十年时论选) (Beijing: sanlian shudian, 1960), vol. 1, Part One, p. 298.

The name "*anqing daoyou*" first appeared in the memorial to the throne by Bian Baodi (卞宝弟) on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month in the first year of Tongzhi (1862):

> It is said that there are many bandits in the region north of the Yangtze River. Among them, there is a branch named "*anqing daoyou*," whose members are largely vagabonds from Andong and Qinghe. They stealthily gather in crowds and claim to be master and disciple. Previously, several hundred members pretended to be soldiers and controlled villages and towns in the area of Lixiahe. This act was called "occupying the quay" (*zhan matou* 站马头). On the false pretense of inspecting streets and rivers, they harassed travelers and robbed people of their belongings. Recently, bandits from other places arrived. The branch head harbors these thugs, so that the number of them has been more than ten thousand and is increasing steadily. What is worse, some low-level military officers, like Li Shizhong, put them under their protection. Thus, local authorities can do nothing to change the situation because of the fear of military force. I do worry that we are "warming a snake in our bosom" and they will have the opportunity to collude with the Taiping rebels and stage a rebellion…Compromising with them would not only restrain its expansion but also avoids provoking it to act rebelliously…[62]

This memorial is vital for the study in this paper because it reveals the origin and activities of the "*anqing daoyou*."[63] Based on this memorial, this writer concluded the name "*anqing daoyou*" was modeled on the name of place where this gang operated and it did not have any political or other meaning. (195) The "Qinghe 清河" that appeared in the memorial was located at the confluence of the River Huai and the Grand Canal, and "Andong 安东" was located in the east of Qinghe and the north shore of the River Huai (see: "Qing Dynasty," in *Historical Atlas of China* [*Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中国历史地图集]). After some analysis, we will not be surprised at the name "*anqing daoyou*." In the past, all grain transport gangs were designated by the name of province, prefecture or county. For example, there were Jiabai Gang, Xingwu Gang, and the three gangs of Hangzhou and Luzhou Gang, all of which were named by place, such as Jiangxi, Hangzhou and Luzhou. There were also some cases that the designation of Gang was

[62] "The Memorial to the Throne by Bian Baodi (卞宝弟) on the Twenty-Ninth Day of the Eleventh Month in the First Year of Tongzhi," in *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

[63] For figuring out the origin of "*anqing daoyou*," I combed through various archives for more than one month. One day, I read this memorial by Biao Baodi and I was so pleased beyond my expectation. Since then on, many people cite this piece of record but they never show where it is from. Fortunately, Zhou Yumin (周育民), one of my friends, knows what I have gone through with it. Here, I specially make an annotation for this matter.

> from the combination of the name of two places, like Changhuai (长淮) Gang and Fengchang (凤常) Gang. In the third year of Xianfeng, the grain transport gangs were disbanded. Then, some members took Andong and Qinghe as the base, where they followed the convention and named their organization as "*anqing daoyou*." In view of this, the traditional view that the Green Gang was founded in Anqing of Anhui Province cannot stand.

In addition, there are some noticeable points in this memorial. 1) "*Anqing daoyou*" followed the practice of trade association of sailors—"stealthily gathering in crowds and claiming to be master and disciple." Just as sailors held the dragon and phoenix flag while transporting grain to the Capital City, this group posed as a "governmental organization" and bullied travelers. 2) Shortly after it emerged, "*anqing daoyou*" colluded with military officers and received protection from Li Shizhong. Its members inspected streets and waterways, calling this practice "occupying the quay." Their life was dependent on racketeering and robbery. This demonstrated that they had no normal sources of income. It was this reason that brought about the inflation of their lumpen-proletarian nature and drove them to a thuggish way of life. 3) At first, the backbone of "*anqing daoyou*" consisted of only several hundred people, and most of these were from the Young Hut. As local bandits and various vagabonds joined the organization, its composition became much more complex. These people emerged in an unstable time. Originally, their goal was simply to make a living; later, they committed vicious crimes.

In the early phase of "*anqing daoyou*," Li Shizhong played an important role. Li Shizhong (李世忠), whose original name was Li Zhaoshou (李兆受, a.k.a 李兆寿 or 李昭寿), was from Gushi County of Henan. In the third year of Xianfeng (1853), the Nian Rebellion broke out and Zhang Lexing had free reign in the boarder area between Anhui and Henan. Li Zhaoshou responded to Zhang and staged a rebellion in the area of Huoqiu. In the tenth month of the fifth year of Xianfeng (1855), he surrendered to the Qing government. One month later, he rebelled again. In the eighth year of Xianfeng (1858), Li capitulated to Sheng Bao, a general of the Qing army, who "presented the memorial to the throne. The imperial court changed Li's original name, Zhaoshou, to Shizhong. Li was granted peacock plumes and was allowed to join the war (against the rebels)."[64] From then on, he supported

[64] Wang Dingan (王定安), *Writing Collections of Juniors of the House of Qiuque* (*Qiuque zhai zidiji* 求阙斋子弟集), vol. 14.

the Manchu regime and fought against the Taiping army. He had a private army and consolidated his power in the region of Huai'an and Yangzhou, where he kept a semi-independent status. At the beginning, when Sheng Bao accepted Li's surrender, in consideration of the fact that Li Shouzhao had no official provision, the general allowed Li to preserve a force of eighteen thousand men, which was "designated as 'Yusheng Camp' and had monthly salt provisions."[65] Hence, Li Shizhong was wedded to the salt fields in Lianghuai (两淮, the region north of the Yangtze River and both north and south of the River Huai in Jiangsu). By the first year of the reign of Tongzhi, (196) Li Shizhong had recruited fifty or sixty thousand soldiers in the region north of the Yangtze River and Huai'an and Yangzhou. The fees for this burgeoning army were increasingly heavy. Therefore, in order to acquire more financial resources, Li set his eyes on the salt produced in this region. As the historical record notes:

> According to my investigation, Sheng Bao reported (Li Shizhong) was allowed to preserve eighteen thousand men. The actual number, however, was almost thirty thousand. Because his surrendered force still occupied his territory, he obtained permission to keep his troops…At present, it is reported that (Li Shizhong) continuously recruits soldiers and the number of his troops has increased to fifty and sixty thousand. He occupies towns and consolidates his control over these regions. He sets several outposts for collecting *likin* in Zhang, Huai, Wuhe and other places, one outpost at the mouth of the Yangtze River and *likin*-collecting bureau in each county. By this way, he earns lucrative profits. In addition, he smuggles salt in great quantities. His troops collect and illegally sell the salt, which usurps the state's interest and harms commerce. It is indeed an insidious threat.[66]

This was from a memorial written by Zeng Guofan (曾国藩) in the eighth month of the first year of Tongzhi. Just several months later, there was Bian Baodi's memorial concerning the matter of "*anqing daoyou*." Regarding these memorials, this sect's practice of "occupying the quay"—illegally inspecting commercial groups, streets and waterways—exactly matched Li Shizhong's policy of setting up outposts and exploiting travelers. Thus, there was a report that "Li Shizhong provided protection (for '*anqing daoyou*')." The main reason for the cooperation between the "*anqing daoyou*" and the separate force of Li Shizhong was Li's goal of monopolizing the salt fields in the region.

[65] *Ibid.*
[66] *Ibid.*

As the historical record in the early years of Tongzhi showed: "Li Shizhong is very arrogant and capricious. His underlings in particular behave unscrupulously. They collect salt for sale and the salt fields dare not resist them because of their ferocity. This army set up outposts for extracting *likin* on the trade route, which was regarded as the dangerous road by travelers.... This army has many difficulties in military provisions and I cannot pay them monthly. They package the salt and go to the upper part of the river to sell. This business is not exempted from the river *likin*... If things go on like this, I am afraid that there will be an unexpected disaster."[67] In view of this record, the profit from selling salt had been crucial for the existence of Li Shizhong's army, so that Li had to decide to monopolize some salt fields in this region. "Except for the salt *likin* approved by the imperial court, Li Shizhong set up outposts for collecting salt for private use. Yang Yuzhen, one of his subordinate officers, led the 'foreign-rifle detachment' and rushed to Xiba, where he sealed up the salt for provisions and the commercial salt in each salt shop. Any person who removed the salt from the shop was executed promptly." Li Shizhong sealed up hundreds of thousands of packs of salt in Xiba. As a result, "the salt supply in the region north of the River Huai has become inadequate, the reason being Li Shizhong's monopoly and exploitation." The imperial court noticed Li Shizhong's activities and did worry of "a terrible disaster, (because he) possesses great wealth and recruits many outlaws." Nevertheless, the Qing government tolerated Li Shizhong occupying this region as long as seven years. Li and his Yusheng Army were in collusion with the "*anqing daoyou*" and other salt smugglers, by which many of them made a large fortune. The salt field in this region, however, turned into the battlefield between official salt merchants and salt smugglers.

(197) There were two reasons why the northern Jiangsu became the place for the "*anqing daoyou*" to become active. First, southern Jiangsu and most parts of Zhejiang had been the strategic location, for fighting between the Taiping and Qing armies. After the sailors were sacked, they could not return to the two regions; even if they went back, there was no work for them. Second, northern Jiangsu had the biggest salt field in China and its output accounted for fifty per cent of the total yield of the country. This region was also a "key place for smuggling

[67] *Ibid.*

salt."[68] Qinghe and Andong were exactly located on the lifeline road of salt transport. Evidently, the purpose of choosing the two places as the center of operation was to exploit the salt field.[69]

In the Qing Dynasty, smuggling salt was a serious social problem. For instance, simply in the Lianghuai region, there were as many as eleven kinds of salt illegally sold. "Smuggler salt accounts for ten or twenty per cent of the total salt illegally sold," and the salt carried in secret by the official salt merchants, the owners of the official salt transport and grain transport ships that returned from the north were also in large amounts.[70]

As for the question why the "*anqing daoyou*," which was reborn from the trade associations of sailors, rapidly targeted on the Lianghuai salt field, besides the collusion with Li Shizhong and his army, there was a more profound historical reason. Almost from the very beginning when the Manchu regime implemented grain transport by river, transport gang sailors were tightly bound to the Lianghuai salt fields. From the years of Shunzhi, grain ship returning from the north began large-scale smuggling of salt. "There were approximately six or seven thousand ships returned from the north, all of which passed the locks of Gua and Yi. The salt that one transport gang secretly carried was far more than hundreds of thousands *jin*. If we put all of it together, the amount would be tantamount with the output of hundreds of thousands of salt fields owned by official salt merchants in the region of Huai. This practice was extremely harmful."[71] This activity of smuggling salt was not reined in the reign of Kangxi and Qianlong. What is worse, the grain transport gangs were even in collaboration with "*fengke* 风客" (literally, the guest of wind)—"the big name salt smugglers." As one historical record in the seventh year of Yongzheng put it:

> The practice of smuggling salt in the grain transport fleet is very serious. There are elder brothers of salt smuggler, who have the title "fengke"

---

[68] *The Chronicle of Salt Administration in Lianghuai* (*the Region North of the Yangtze River and both North and South of the River Huai in Jiangsu*) (*Lianghuai yanfa zhi* 两淮盐法志), vol. 60.

[69] Ma Xisha and Han Bingfang, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[70] "One Writing for All Great Ways" (Zhongqu yishao 中衢一勺), Bao Shichen (包世臣), *Four Writings of Anwu* (*Anwu sizhong* 安吴四种), vol. 3.

[71] "Itemized Memorial to the Throne by Li Zanyan, the Patrolling Inspector of Lianghuai, in the Third Month of the Seventh Year of Shunzhi" (顺治十七年三月两淮巡抚御史李赞言疏言), in *The Chronicle of Salt Administration in Lianghuai* (*Lianghuai yanfa zhi*), vol. 59.

(the guest of wind) and are adept in colluding with the grain transport ships. When the fleet loads goods and arrives at Huai'an and Yangzhou, they authorize local crafty persons to negotiate with the ships to goods and buy salt. Then the salt is stored in the quay. When ships return from the north, they reload this salt one quay after another. The profits from selling salt are split by thirty-seventy-ratio between "*fengke*" and sailors. The grain transport ship covets the profits of "*fengke*," while "*fengke*" take the grain transport ship as protection.[72]

(198) Thus, in the reign of Kangxi, the Qing government stipulated: "when the grain transport ship returns from the north, the official who is in charge the matter of grain transport will appoint an officer to check the illegal salt in Yangzhou and Yizheng."[73] Nevertheless, sailors, who took the doctrine of Luo Teaching as their religious belief and took the trade association as their organization, had developed into a united group of salt smugglers. Therefore, the authorities had to fold its hands without knowing what to do. The practice of smuggling salt among grain transport sailors was gathering momentum. One hundred or so years later, in the reign of Daoguang, the smuggling of salt by grain transport gang had become "rampant." "In his memorial to the throne, Tao Shu (陶澍) reported that he investigated the act of carrying secretly (illegal salt) by grain transport ships…The practice that the grain boat carried secretly (illegal salt) in its return journey had always been a malady. There were the '*fengke*' who followed the transport gang and shared the profit (of smuggling). They grabbed hundreds of thousands of salt pacts and colluded with armed salt smugglers. They were swollen with arrogance and acted unscrupulously."[74] Among those collaborated sailors and "armed salt smugglers," there were "big groups, which employed the large junk to load several thousand *dan* of salt and these junks followed one after another." And there were "small groups, which had small junks that could load one hundred *dan*. They sailed together in tens or hundreds. The hordes headed from the river of salt field to Guakou, while their apparatus stood like a forest. These ships constantly sailed in the river for thousands *li* and kept in touch with each other…" Along the trip, they "bribed inspectors and the latter let them act brazenly. Fortunes accumulated from this practice were increasing and the number of followers was increasing…It was also heard that these outlaws had eyes and ears in all high- and low-level *yamen*;

[72] "Carrying Secretly on the Return Journey" (*Huikong jiadai* 回空夹带), in Yang Xiba, *Compilation of Rules of Grain transport by Water* (*Caoyun zeli zuan*), vol. 16.

[73] *Ibid*.

[74] "The Memorial to the Throne by Tao Shu (陶澍) in the Ninth Month of the Fourteenth Year of Daoguang," in *The Chronicle of Salt Administration in Lianghuai* (*Lianghuai yanfa zhi*), vol. 4.

> thus, they would always be informed before there was an action against them."[75] Although such large-scale smuggling of illegal salt was astounding, the Qing regime had no way of checking this malpractice.

To meet the requirement of smuggling by grain transport sailors and "*fengke*," a new group of salt smugglers, whose title was "green skin" (*qing pi* 青皮), emerged roughly in the years of Jiaqing and Daoguang. According to Deng Tingzhen's (邓廷桢) memorial to the emperor in the fifth month of the eleventh year of Daoguang:

> There is a type of mobster, which is entrenched on the quay and specifically does the work of tipping off and wholesaling for the grain ship by which they make profits. They are called the "green skin" (*qing pi* 青皮). The well-known quays where these people are active are Siheshan of Dangtu, Datongqiao of Tongling, the Congyang Town of Tongcheng, the Huayang Town of Wuchangguaiwang and Tuqiao of Wuwei . . . There are experienced "green skins" like Yue Yongting from Shandong.[76]

> Except for local vagabonds, the members of "green skin" group included many people "who originally were sailors of grain ship and later were expelled due to illegal activities. Then, they gathered in crowds in the area of the Lake Hong and called themselves 'green skin.'" It seemed that there was no fixed organizational connection between the sailor association and "*fengke*." For "green skin," however, the situation was different. Originally, "they were veteran mobsters working for grain ships" (199) and were tied up with the grain transport fleet. Moreover, "when the officials went to arrest (them), the transport soldiers and supervisors would intercede. Consequently, even if the sailor was captured, he would be released very soon." "The 'green skin' constantly shifted from one place to another." "Some of them followed the transport gangs and made profits from selling illegal salt" and "some did not follow the gangs but settled in a village, town or quay, while they awaited the grain ship's arrival."[77] There even were a few who "hid in the ship and pretended to be sailors."[78] Because of the inextricable connection between the "green skin" and the sailors' association, it was natural that the latter's tradition of worshiping the idol of Patriarch

[75] "The Intercalary Fourth Month in the Tenth Year of Daoguang," *ibid*., vol. 3.

[76] "Memorial to the Emperor by Deng Tingzhen (邓廷桢) on the Twelfth Day of the Fifth Month in the Eleventh Year of Daoguang," *ibid*.

[77] "Memorial to the Throne by Se bu xing (色卜星), the Governor of Anhui, on the Tenth Day of the Tenth Month in the Sixteenth Year of Daoguang," in *Compilation of Memorials with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor* (*zhupi zouzhe* 朱批奏折).

[78] "Biography of Wu er gong e" (*Wu er gong e zhuan* 乌尔恭额传), in *Selected Biographies of Notables in the History of Qing Dynasties* (*Qingshi liezhuan* 清史列传), vol. 38.

> Luo entered into the groups of salt smugglers. Furthermore, captors and *yamen* runners along the Grand Canal colluded with sailors and "green skins" and finally joined their organization:
>
> The boat in which the "Old Superintendent" lives is called the "Old Hut Ship" (*laotang chuan* 老堂船), where the scripture and portrait are preserved. (He) not only recruits disciples and collects money, but also coerces the transport soldiers and even colludes with the wandering gangs of mobsters. The Ship is really a curse in the grain transport gang.... Captors and waterway intendants work hand in glove with (sailors). There are members of the Senior and Young Hut, who mingle and collude with them and by which they make profits. The sailors and the "green skins" also take these officials as their patrons.[79]
>
> The above record clearly shows that the custom of worshiping the Patriarch Luo and the "three patriarchs" of Weng, Qian and Pan had not been confined to grain transport sailors, but it extended to Lianghuai salt fields, and towns and quays along the watercourse. The composition of these organizations was extremely complex. Above all, they had a common goal—smuggling salt. These members shared the worship of the Patriarch Luo and formed a giant and tight smuggling network, which further paved the way for the success of "*fengke*."

In order to create a place for their activities, the sailor associations "opened teashops or taverns in the bends along the river, where mobsters gathered and spoils were stored"; in these teashops and taverns "there was the scripture hall, in which sacred tablets were worshiped and the tablet specifically made for the 'Old Superintendent' was put."[80] In contrast to the hut of Luo Teaching that existed before the thirty-third year of Qianlong, (200) these newly-established dwelling places were different in nature from the traditional hut. These scripture halls, taverns and teashops were the rudiments of the Incense Hall and "Old Den" (*laowozi* 老窝子), where the "*anqing daoyou*" performed the admittance rites, stored spoils and harbored criminals.

In the third year of Xianfeng, grain transport through inland rivers was completely abolished; thus, tens of thousands of helmsmen, sailors and trackers, again, banded together with the groups of "green skins."

---

[79] "Memorial to the Throne by *En te heng e* (恩特亨额) on the Tenth Day of the Twelfth Month in the Sixteenth Year of Daoguang," in *Compilation of Memorials with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor* (*zhupi zouzhe*).

[80] "Memorial to the Throne by Tao Shu, the Governor-General of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, on the Eighth Day of the Twelfth Month in the Sixteenth Year of Daoguang," *ibid.*

In the vast area where the salt of Huai was produced and the region in the reaches of the Grand Canal and the lower Yangtze River, they colluded in salt smuggling and robbery. In the years of Tongzhi and Guangxu, "the 'green skin' gang and '*anqing daoyou*' went about in hordes and feared nothing." "This problem could not be resolved."[81]

In the two hundred years from the early Qing to the third year of Xianfeng, there was such a close connection between grain transport sailors and groups of salt smugglers, by which they collaborated and took advantage of each other. The profits from smuggling salt were an important financial resource for the sailor association and it was one of fundamental reasons why this association could dominate the grain transport gang. Through re-examining the history, it is easier for us to understand why sailors of the Young Hut could gather rapidly and firmly anchored themselves in Lianghuai salt fields.

How did the "*anqing daoyou*" and the "green skin" smuggle the illegal salt? In his *Four Writings of Anwu* (*Anwu sizhong*), Bao Shichen recorded:

> The title of the head of armed salt smuggler is "*da zhangtou*" (大仗头) and the deputy head is "*fu zhangtou*" (副杖头). Below them, there are weigher (*cheng shou* 秤手) and recorder (*shu shou* 书手). Generally, they are called the "acting green skin." These people dominate the quay. When the ship carrying in secret illegal salt passes by their turf, it must pay some money to them. Therefore, this quay is called the "Pass of Salt," in which the illegal salt can be weighed and traded. It was also called the "Salt Shop." The fight for controlling the quay is fiercer than a true battle. When one gang leads its members to exterminate opponents by night it is called "*chu heidao*" (出黑刀, to use a black knife, i.e., launch an under-handed attack); and when one gang sends people to detect the opponent is "*ba gou*" (把沟, to fathom the ditch). The big gang of smugglers must be vigilant against "*chu heidao*." Thus, such gangs usually have several hundred members, build strongholds, and dig fortifications. In each direction from the stronghold, there is an emplacement. It has a variety of weapons such as shotguns, lances, broadswords, iron chains and metal maces.… The big gangs usually have five or six hundred members, and the small ones, two or three hundred followers. All these gangsters are strong, cruel and experienced.[82]
>
> This record was a complete portrayal of underground syndicate in the late feudal society of China. Especially after 1840, a large

[81] Shen Baozhen (沈葆桢), *Discussions on Politics by Shen Baozhen, the Lord of Learnedness and Solemnity* (*Shen wensu gong zhengshu* 沈文肃公政书), vol. 7.

[82] See n. 70, *supra*.

> number of producers left their farmland or gave up their original professions. The vagabond class, which emerged in great quantity and was a child of the age, was the popular basis of Chinese criminal gangs.

(201) Why was this group always centered on the profits from smuggling illegal salt and constantly contended for it? In the feudal China, the profit from salt and iron was higher than that from any other kind of commodity. Salt in particular was a necessity. Half of the Qing government's fiscal revenue came from the salt tax and half of the salt tax was generated from the salt produced at the lower reaches of the River Huai. That is to say, the Lianghuai salt field was an economic lifeline of the Manchu regime. Furthermore, these salt fields brought about a large number of exceedingly wealthy barons and an economic and a cultural center—Yangzhou (扬州). In view of this, at that time, only the salt field in the Lianghuai region could support the vagabond class, which had more than tens of thousands of members, and provided them an opportunity of making a fortune. Once the "*anqing daoyou*" joined the war of grabbing profits from the salt, it would be unavoidable that it would come to conflict with not only the Qing government and the salt merchants, but also with the official and private groups of salt smugglers. In the cutthroat competition, a secret society, which had tight organization, the long history and tradition, emerged. It is observed that the "*anqing daoyou*" was the child of a specific historical conditions and traditions. It was an extension of the previous Luo Teaching and the trade association of grain transport sailors. Without the latter two organizations, there would be no "*anqing daoyou*" or Green Gang. Between them, however, there was a fundamental difference in nature. In addition, the range of activities and the composition of members of the "*anqing daoyou*" were distinct from that of its two predecessors.

At the beginning, the "*anqing daoyou*," or Green Gang, was active in the north Jiangsu and the north Anhui. Soon afterwards, it extended to the wealthy regions of the south Jiangsu and Zhejiang; meanwhile, it penetrated into northern China. As soon as it appeared, this society rapidly attracted a large number of wandering people who had totally lost their means of production. In just a few decades, it developed into a colossal secret society and ran wild over almost half of the country. It had enough strength to challenge another Goliath of the Chinese underworld—the Elder Brother Society (*Gelao hui* 哥老会). In the eyes of the authorities, the Green Gang-salt smugglers and Red

Gang-brotherhoods were two cancers that caused social instability and must be exterminated.

The membership of the Green Gang constantly increased. In different regions and inside different branches, the constituency experienced a great change. Among the low level followers, there were also members of the middle and upper classes. Then, thanks to the internal split and the intrusion of external forces, this organization finally fell into the hands of the middle and upper class. Consequently, the Green Gang, which used to be a dominated social group, by degrees obtained the ruling social status. Nevertheless, in the time of Qing, such change was far less evident and its arena was grassroots society.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TAIGU SCHOOL (太古学派) AND THE YELLOW CLIFF TEACHING (黄崖教): ANOTHER CASE OF TRANSFORMATION FROM CONFUCIAN ACADEMIC GROUP TO RELIGIOUS SECT, (韩秉方, "太古学派与黄崖教—又一个儒家学术团体向宗教演化的典型")

HAN Bingfang

Abstract

The Yellow Cliff Teaching (*Huangya jiao* 黄崖教)—also known as the Great Accomplishment Teaching (*Dacheng jiao* 大成教), the Kongtong Teaching (*Kongtong jiao* 崆峒教) or the Taizhou Teaching (*Taizhou jiao* 泰州教)—was a popular religious sect that evolved from the Taigu School (*Taigu xuepai* 太古学派). Its founder was Zhou Taigu (周太古), who posed as the master of the learning handed down from "Fuxi (伏羲), the King Wen of Zhou (周文王), the Regent of Zhou (周公), Confucius and Zhou Dunyi (周敦颐)" and left one book entitled *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu* 周氏遗书). This sect was carried by Zhang Jizhong (张积中) and Li Guangxin (李光炘), the two great disciples of Zhou, and lasted as long as four generations. The doctrine of this sect was characterized by its self-imposed mandate of recreating the learning of past sages. Furthermore, it established its own creed named the "learning of force and sincerity" (*Qiang cheng zhi xue* 强诚之学). This sect absorbed ideas from both Buddhism and Daoism and incorporated them; then, it developed into a religion. At the turn of Qing and Republican China, it spread in secret in the southeastern coastal regions and exerted great influence. Later, it came to public attention because of the "case of Yellow Cliff heterodoxy" that shocked the reign and the people. This paper traces the complete process of how the Taigu School transformed into a religious sect.

Keywords: the Taigu School; the Yellow Cliff Teaching; Confucianism

(268, original page number, similarly hereinafter) In the tenth month of the fifth year of Tongzhi (1866), an incident—the "case of Yellow Cliff heterodoxy"—occurred at the Yellow Cliff Mountain, located at the border between Feicheng and Changqing Counties in Shandong Province. This case aroused the attention of both the imperial court and the public.

At that time, the Nian Rebellion was very active in the vast "Jianghuai 江淮"—the region between the Yangtze River and the River Huai, in Henan and Shandong provinces. Wars constantly broke out and the local society was not yet pacified. Zhang Jizhong (张积中), a Confucian scholar from Yizheng in Jiangsu, taught at the Yellow Cliff Mountain, where he built a stronghold on the slope of hill and organized a group that was versed in both letters and martial arts, and consisted of scholars, peasants, merchants and soldiers. Later, Yan Jingming, governor of Shandong, judged this group to be a "heresy that colludes with rebels" and sent troops to exterminate it. (223) From their stronghold on the hill, these members fought against the government forces with desperate courage. Although they were very brave, the spirit of chivalry was no match for the official armed troops and finally the stronghold and its members were annihilated. Then, Zhang Jizhong led the remaining male and female followers to immolate themselves. None surrendered to the authorities. The Qing troops allowed its soldiers to loot the area, and the number of innocent people killed was more than ten thousand. The massacre caused a great sensation.

Since then on, in this field of study, there had been a longstanding debate about the political and the academic attributes of the Yellow Cliff Teaching (*Huangya jiao* 黄崖教). Some called it the Great Accomplishment Teaching (*Dacheng jiao* 大成教), the Kongtong Teaching (*Kongtong jiao* 崆峒教) or the Taizhou Teaching (*Taizhou jiao* 泰州教) and argued it was a religion. Meanwhile, others denied it had any religious nature and named it the New Taizhou School (*Xin taizhou xuepai* 新泰州学派) or the Taigu School (*Taigu xuepai* 太古学派).

This paper observes: Zhou Taigu founded this sect, recruited followers and created an independent doctrine; his successors—Zhang Jizhong and Li Guangxin (李光炘)—carried forward Zhou's ideas and developed this sect into a new school, an academic group that exerted certain degree of influence. Nevertheless, we must admit that since its creation, this school was enveloped in a shroud of mystery and its religious attributes were constantly growing as the academic group expanded. The Society of Yellow Cliff Mountain in particular, which was founded by Zhang Jizhong, had all characteristics of religion and could be called the Yellow Cliff Teaching.[1]

[1] Historical records in this paper were collected by Han Binfang (韩秉方) and Ma Xisha (马西沙). Han Binfang did the actual writing.

The Creation and Succession of the Taigu School

Zhang Jizhong, founding patriarch of the Yellow Cliff Teaching, devoted his life to preaching doctrine and instructing disciples. Zhou Taigu, who created the Taigu School, had taught Zhang when he was young.

Zhou Taigu's name was "*gu*" (谷) and his courtesy name was "*xing yuan*" (星垣) or "*tai gu*" (太古). He also chose the style name "*kongtong zi* " (空同子, the Master of Complete Emptiness). Zhou was born in Shidi County of Anhui, but the birth date was unknown. He passed away in the twelfth year of Daoguang (1832). As for his family and early years, "The Chronicle of Zhou Taigu" (*Zhou Taigu zhuan* 周太古传) in *The Draft of Comprehensive Gazetteer of Anhui* (*Anhui tongzhi gao* 安徽通志稿) recorded:

> His family background and personal history cannot be clarified. It is said he was a student of the Academy of the Prefecture of Chizhou. Since he had extraordinary physical strength, Zhou Taigu might have been a student of martial arts in the Prefectural Academy. When Zhou was very young, his father passed away. Then, his mother gave all family fortunes to him and encouraged him to make friends with various kinds of people. (224) Zhou visited different masters and studied different types of learning while traveling all over China. At first, he studied under the instruction of Han Ziyu (Yangyu) from Fuzhou and Chen Shaohua (Yiquan) from Nanchang. Chen Yiquan was well versed in Buddhism and Han Yangyu in Daoism. Later, when Zhou finished his study and practice in reclusion, Han and Chen gave up what they had learned and formally acknowledged Zhou as their master. In his late years, Zhou lived in Yangzhou. His teaching did not adhere to established methods.... Some disciples exaggerated, saying that Zhou was able to exercise his vital breath and abstain from cereals; he was well versed in extraordinary skills of Yin and Yang and magic figures and incantations; he also could drive ghosts and become invisible. Bai Ling, Governor-General of Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi, arrested Zhou but soon released him. Zhou Taigu, however, thoroughly understood the six Confucian canons, and also Buddhism and Daoism. By this, he established his own school and frequently examined the heavenly principle. There were people like Lin Sanjiao (Zhaoen) and Cheng Yunzhuang, who were similar to Zhou Taigu; meanwhile, they had differences.[2]

All followers of Taigu School stated that the learning of Zhou was handed down from "Fuxi (伏羲), King Wen of Zhou (周文王), the

[2] Jin Tianxiang (金天翔), "The Chronicle of Zhou Taigu" (*Zhou Taigu zhuan* 周太古传), in *The Draft of Comprehensive Gazetteer of Anhui* (*Anhui tongzhi gao* 安徽通志稿).

Duke of Zhou (周公), Confucius and Zhou Dunyi (周敦颐).” As Zhang Jizhong—the foremost disciple of Zhou Taigu—said:

> My great Master elucidated what Fuxi, King Wen of Zhou, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius did not say. He worked out the “section of caring parents” to teach people filial piety, the “inner section” to fraternal love and “outer section” to learn from sages.[3]

When he was young, Zhou Taigu traveled all over China and studied broadly Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. In the first year of Jiaqing (1796), he visited Mount Lu and read the remaining tablets of his ancestor—Zhou Dunyi (周敦颐). He fell into meditation and suddenly understood the breadth and profundity of Confucianism and realized this was the only true way of learning and apprehending the Way. Therefore, he repented that “he had indulged in martial arts, history texts, poems and rhymed prose in his early years and even despised the learning of thoroughly probing the principle and completely fulfilling nature as pedantry.” He sighed with emotion and wrote:

> In the year of *binchen* of Jiaqing, I passed by Mount Lu and read the inscription of Zhou Dunyi on stone tablet. Where, I understood why Yi Yin was set on learning and Yan Yuan devoted himself to the Analects. Then, I began reflecting on the virtue and righteousness of Mencius, the sincerity and wisdom of Zi Si, the enlightenment and morality of Zengzi and the learnedness and observance of Yan Yuan. I thought over repeatedly and found I knew nothing of them.[4]

(225) Since then on, Zhou Xingyuan (Taigu) devoted himself to studying Confucian canons and advancing his ideas. After two years, that is, the third year of Jiaqing (1798), he visited again Mount Lu. Facing the inscriptions left by the great scholars of the past, he intensively and profoundly meditated and at once became enlightened and understood the true meaning of the Way. He recorded:

> In the year of *wuwu*, I visited again Mount Lu, where I reflected again the way of Confucius: if I could be established I would help others to

---

[3] Zhang Jizhong (张积中), “Instruction for Formally-Admitted Pupils” (*shi jimen dizi* 示及门弟子), *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao* 山东近代史资料) (Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1961), vol. 1.

[4] “Apprehending Method of the Orthodox Confucianism” (*Ruzong xinfa* 儒宗心法), in *Transcription of The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu chao* 周氏遗书抄). It is quoted from: Liu Delong (刘德隆), *Primary Sources for Liu E and his Travels of Lao Can* (*Liu E ji laocan youji ziliao* 刘鹗及老残游记资料) (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1985), p. 561.

> be established and if I could be successful I would help others to be successful; if I could take myself as the guide and if I could learn repeatedly and meditate profoundly, I would be suddenly enlightened. When it comes to the learning of Mencius, Zi Si, Zengzi and Yan Yuan, the way was same.[5]

Furthermore, after a thorough examination on his thought, we find Zhou's unfathomable ontology was greatly affected by Zhou Dunyi's (周敦颐) *Explanations of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* (*Taiji tushuo* 太极图说) and *Penetrating the Book of Changes* (*Tongshu* 通书). The Taigu School was characterized by its practice of discussing and deducing the *Yijing*. In view of this, the last "Zhou" in the list of learning handed down from the past sages might well be Zhou Dunyi.

The difference between the thought of this school and the orthodoxy of Confucianism, however, was in the sources. It absorbed not only the ideas of traditional Confucianism, which followed the reverse order of Zhu Xi (朱熹)-Cheng Yi (程颐) and Cheng Hao (程颢)-Zhou Dunyi-Mencius-Zi Si (子思)-Yan Yuan (颜渊)-Confucius and pursued "the pleasure of Confucius and Yan Yuan and then was repaid the virtue of preserving the righteousness," but also exacted ideas from other intellectual sources. That is why there was one specially-cited full text concerning the idea of "force and sincerity" (*qiang cheng* 强诚) in the *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu* 周氏遗书). This remarkable piece of writing was signed by "*Qiupu zhouding*" (秋浦周鼎, literally, the tripod of Zhou in the autumn river.) in the reign of Yongle of Ming. It further warned those who obtained this "learning of Zhou" not tell it to "evil-minded people."

This "Zhou Ding" (周鼎) was an unknown figure and had no relevance for the orthodox Confucian schools of Lian (濂), Luo (洛), Guan (关), Min (闽), Lu (陆) and Wang (王). What on earth was this person? There is no way to answer this question. Based on the "learning of Zhou," or the "learning of strength and sincerity" (*qingcheng zhixue* 强诚之学), it was evident that this "learning" had significantly influenced the formation of Zhou Taigu's thought.

Hence, the last "Zhou" in this school's list of learning should not simply refer to one person, but to three persons: Zhou Dunyi in the Song Dynasty, Zhou Ding of the Ming and Zhou Taigu in the Qing. Such an explanation may be more relevant to history.

---

[5] *Ibid*.

In his *The Unexhausted Juice of Stone House* (*Shiwu xushen* 石屋续渖) Ma Xulun (马叙伦), a well-known Chinese scholar, quoted Shen Die'min (沈陟民) who knew the Taigu School well:

> (226) After Fuxi, the Yan Emperor (Yan di 炎帝) and The Yellow Emperor, the principal doctrine of this teaching could no longer be apprehended—even by King Wen of Zhou and Confucius—until the appearance of Zhou Dunyi. The person who obtained the true learning of Zhou Dunyi was none other than Zhou Taigu. When he was teaching at Mount Lu, there was a man with very strange clothes and shoes who wanted to study with the group. Suddenly, the man disappeared. Zhou looked for him and went to the lake, where he received a card that read as follows: "it is the Dragon King who comes to teach." People believed it was efficacious and there were more and more followers.[6]

This story put a shroud of mystery on the succession of the Taigu School.

In his later years, Zhou Taigu lived in Yangzhou, a city of distinguished people and wealthy merchants, where he secretly preached and recruited followers. Evidence indicates that his ideas were not accepted in his lifetime: he had been arrested and then was released. Zhou died of illness in the twelfth year of Daoguang (1832) and was buried at the Blue Mountain, which was located in Yizheng County. In the region between the Yangtze River and the River Huai, many people followed him. Besides the aforementioned Han Yangyu (韩仰俞) and Chen Yiquan (陈一泉), who used to be Zhou's masters and then became his disciples, there were famous followers such as Zhang Jizhong, Li Guangxin (李光炘), the brothers of Wang Quantai (汪全泰), Pan Xiaojiang (潘小江), Li Nanyuan (李南园) and Wang Shangfu (汪商甫). Even Xu Heting (许鹤汀), a seventy-year-old Confucian scholar in Yangzhou, who heartily acknowledged Zhou as his master.

Another point of view held that Zhou Taigu had three outstanding disciples: Xue Zhizhong (薛执中), Zhang Jizhong and Li Jianzhong (李健中). This view may be found in two books. In *Essays of the House of Gentle and Graceful Sakyamuni* (*Yaotiao shijia shi suibi* 窈窕释迦室随笔), Xia Jingguan (夏敬观) said: "The founder of the Great Accomplishment Teaching—Zhou Taigu—…traveled to the region between the Yangtze River and the River Huai, where he preached and recruited

[6] "Item of the Great Accomplishment Teaching" (*Dacheng jiao* 大成教), Ma Xulun (马叙伦), *The Unexhausted Juice of Stone House* (*Shiwu xushen* 石屋续渖).

followers. His sect was also known as the Kongtong Teaching (崆峒教). His disciples were divided according to the character '*zhu* 主.' Among them, there were three outstanding ones: Xue Zhizhong was finally executed in the Capital; Zhang Jizhong was killed in Shandong; only Li Jianzhong survived. At present, disciples of Li Jianzhong are the most numerous inside the Great Accomplishment Teaching; therefore, this Teaching is also called the 'Pingsan jiao.' For this reason, Li Jianzhong was called Li Pingsan."[7] Ma Xulun also wrote in his *The Unexhausted Juice of the Stone House* (*Shiwu xushen*): "in the years of Daoguang, there was the so-called Kongtong Teaching, which was created by a man from Taizhou whose surname was Zhou. Zhou's hometown was Pengze or Chizhou. Xue Zhizhong, one of Zhou's diciples, had sojourned in the Capital City and moved in circles with imperial family members and prominent officials. Later he was executed. There was also a disciple, who had the surname Zhang and lived in the Yellow Cliff Mountain in Shandong. Zhang was killed by Yan Jingming. The disciple surnamed Li lived longer. He traveled to many regions and passed away after the tenth year of Guangxu. This sect had approximately three thousand followers, in which there were some scholar-officials."[8] Records that introduced the Taigu School in a positive light (227) did not provide detail about the execution of Xue Zhizhong in the Capital City and did not explicitly state that Zhou Taigu had such a disciple. This might have been to avoid arousing suspicion.

In fact, among the disciples that had been directly instructed by Zhou Taigu, the best known were Zhang Jizhong and Li Guangxin.

Zhang Jizhong had the style name "Shiqin 石琴" and the title "*baishi shanren* 白石山人." He was born in the eleventh year of Jiaqing (1806) and passed away in the fifth year of Tongzhi (1866). He was from one noble family of Yizheng County. His brother, Zhang Jigong, had been the magistrate of Linqing in Shandong and died with his family in the northern expedition of Taiping Rebellion. Thus, he was honored by the imperial court. Zhang Jizhong "was generous and had

[7] Xia Jingguan (夏敬观), *Essays of the House of Gentle and Graceful Sakyamuni* (*Yaotiao shijia shi suibi* 窈窕释迦室随笔). To call Li Jianzhong (i.e., Li Guangxin) "Li Pingsan," however, was a misnomer. The style name of Li Guangxin was Pingshan (平山). Since in the dialect of the region between the Yangtze River and the River Huai, the pronunciation of "shan 山" and "san 三" was similar, there was the mistakenly-spelled name "Pingsan 平三."

[8] "Item of the Kongtong Teaching" (*Kongtong jiao* 崆峒教), in Ma Xulun, *op. cit.*

a broad mind. He studied hard and was renowned for his writing." Nevertheless, he "failed many times in the imperial examinations." At that time, "there was Zhou Xingyuan, who sojourned in Yangzhou and lectured the learning of nature and destiny. Zhou's explanations of the Four Books and the Five Classics were distinct and followed neither the Han Confucianism nor the Song Confucianism. His ideas roughly centered on the full extension of life. After listening to his lecture, Zhang Jizhong felt pleased and presented the gift by which he formally acknowledged Zhou as his master. Later, Zhang mastered the essence of Zhou's learning.... Zhang resented study devoted simply to the imperial examination and held that it was inadequate for the country. Therefore, he painstakingly carried forward the ideas of Zhou. For a time, scholars spoke very highly of him and were surprised at his talent. As a result, there were many persons following him."[9] In the beginning, Zhou Taigu thought Zhang Jizhong and Li Guangxian were the most virtuous among his disciples and regarded them as the right ones to carry forward his teaching. Thus he delegated Zhang to "return the teaching to the north" and Li to "spread his ideas in the south." When Zhou Taigu passed away, the Taiping Rebellion broke out and the area south of the Yangtze River was in chaos. Zhang Jizhong acted on the order of his master and moved with his whole family to Shandong, where he continued preaching and fulfilled the mission of "returning the teaching to the north."[10] What Zhang preached in Shandong was called "the northern sect." With a great sense of mission, he preached in Shandong for more than one decade. At first, he began his work in Boshan. Then, because of unrest, he moved to the Yellow Cliff Mountain, which was located in Feicheng and became the center of Zhang's missionary work. Zhang and his followers built a stone stronghold on the slope of the hill, in which disciples lived with their families. They studied and practiced the teaching while they were laboring. This group held to a principle of self-sufficiency. As the number of followers steadily grew, the

[9] "Biography of Zhang Jizhong" (*Zhang Jizhong zhuan* 张积中传), *A Recent Compilation of Yuchu-Style Stories* (*Yuchu jinzhi* 虞初近志), in *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao*), vol. 1.

[10] The Confucianism created by Confucius and Mencius originated from Shandong, which was located in north China. Later, the authentic practice of mind and nature declined. Zhou Taigu resumed the interrupted learning of past sages and specially ordered Zhang Jizhong to bring the authentic Confucianism back to Shandong. Therefore, this act was called "returning the teaching to the north."

group became more influential. In the stronghold, Zhang Jizhong acted as the patriarch. He was in charge of everything, ranging from from admitting disciples and preaching, to livelihood and weapons. All members were at his command. For a certain period, the Yellow Cliff Mountain became something like an independent kingdom. Not surprisingly, in times of chaos, it aroused attention of the authorities. One memorial to the throne said: "at present, the rebellion in Shandong was very serious. Many officers and soldiers believe the Yellow Cliff stronghold is secretly collaborating with rebels. If it cannot be exterminated rapidly, there will be a great disaster."[11] In the fifth year of Tongzhi (1866), (228) there was the "heterodox case of Yellow Cliff," in which disciples were killed and Zhang Jizhong immolated himself and his family. The work of "returning the teaching to the north" was seriously impeded.

Among Zhou Taigu's disciples, many were virtuous and capable. Zhang Jizhong, however, was the most outstanding in giving full play to the Master's teaching. As the most diligent disciple in writing, he left the number of works. His writings are an important source for the study on the Taigu School and the Yellow Cliff Teaching.

Li Guangxin's style name was "Qingfeng 晴峰" and title "Pingshan 平山." People also called him the "Master of Longchuan (龙川)." He also came from Yizheng County and was a cousin of Zhang Jizhong. He was born in the thirteenth year of Jiaqing (1808) and passed away at the age of seventy-seven in the eleventh year of Guangxu (1885). When he was at his twenties, Li, together with Zhang Jizhong, was under the instruction of Zhou Taigu and became one of the most outstanding disciples of the master. When Zhou was critically ill, he asked people to look for Li and bring him immediately. Zhou told them: "Only when this person arrives, can I die." Li came in and carefully attended to Zhou. After one hundred days, Zhou passed away. "Thus, the true learning of Zhou Taigu was also given to Li Qingfeng (Guangxin)."[12] Since then, Li Guangxin abided by the master's orders to "spread his ideas in the south." This was the origin of the "southern sect." He lived in the area of Lixiahe north of the Yangtze

---

[11] "The Memorial to the Throne by Qiao Shuzhan (乔树枏), the Inspector [n.d. Roughly at the end of Guangxu.]," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe* 军机处录副奏折).

[12] "*Postscript for the Transcription of Poems of Master of Longchuan*" (*Longchuan xiansheng shichao ba* 龙川先生诗钞跋), an appendix of *Great Inquisitions* (*DaYu ji* 大狱记).

River, where he recruited and instructed followers. He devoted himself to the work of preaching the teaching of his master. Later, "On its way to attack the Northern Camp of the Qing troops, the Taiping army passed by Yizheng and burned this city. The households of Li Guangxin and Zhang Jizhong were destroyed. In addition, the 'heterodox case of the Yellow Cliff' involved Li Guangxin. Thus, he had to move around in the area between Yangzhou and Jiangdu. Finally, he settled down in Taizhou and his disciples provided for his needs in turn."[13] The scene of Li's preaching in Taizhou was described as:

> The learning of the master Li was vast. For visitors who inquired after greater things, they would be greatly enlightened; for those for lesser things, they would be less enlightened. Each would leave with satisfaction. Every day, in the teashop or small market surrounding the lane of Chuwenyigong at the north gate of Taizhou, there stood two tables with the master Li sitting in the seat of honor. Disciples stood along two sides. The atmosphere was very solemn. It was in the style of teacher and pupil of the East Han Dynasty.[14]

Among the disciples of Zhou Taigu, Li Guangxin lived longest and had the most followers. It was said "there were several hundred followers registered";[15] it was also reported that "the number of followers was approximately three or four thousand."[16]

(229) Another two disciples of Zhou Taigu, Chen Yiquan and Han Yangyu, had legendary lives and tragic ends: they "were captured and executed in one peasant revolt in Jiangxi. The story was told in a fantastic way: the two persons were beheaded, but their bodies still stood and white *qi* projected out of their neck to several *zhang* high. Then, the body fell and bled."[17]

---

[13] Wang Xuejun (王学钧), "An Investigation on Liu E's *Notes and Preface to the Fuzhou-Printed Portrait of Decent Meeting at the Yuyuan Garden*" (*Liu E 'ti yuyuan yaji tu fuben hou bing xu' kaobian* 刘鹗《题愚园雅集图抚本后并序》考辩), *Literature* (*Wenxian* 文献), no. 3 (1990).

[14] "Item of the Master Li Longchuan," in Li Xiang (李详), *Tittle-Tattle* (*CuoYu* 脞语). Quoted from: *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao*), vol. 1.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] See n. 8, *supra*.

[17] Liu Huisun (刘蕙孙), "A Preliminary Discussion on the Political Ideas of the Taigu School" (太古学派政治思想探略), *The Wen Hui Bao* (Wenhui bao 文汇报), October 11, 1962, p. 3.

The numbers of third-generation disciples was very large; among them, the nominal successors were Huang Baonian (黄葆年) and Jiang Wentian (蒋文田).

Among the disciples directly taught by Zhang Jizhong, the famous ones included: Liu Yaodong (刘曜东), Han Meitang (韩美堂), Zhao Weitang (赵伟堂), Wu Zaixun (吴载勋), Zhu Yuchuan (朱玉川), Zhu Lianfeng (朱莲峰) and Zhao Cheng (赵成). Most of Zhang Jizhong's disciples died in the incident of the Yellow Cliff. The remaining ones either rallied to Zhu Yuchuan or went to Li Guangxin.

Except for Huang Baojian and Jiang Wentian, there were also some renowned disciples of Li Guangxin: Xie Fengyuan (谢逢源), Chen Shiyi (陈士毅), Mao Qingfan (毛庆蕃), Liu E (刘鹗), Yang Shisheng (杨士晟) and Rong Qing (荣庆).

The traditional practice of the Taigu School was that "the life-blood shall be handed on by the master" (ming you shi chuan 命由师传). The successor of the position of patriarch in particular, must be appointed by the master. Since the patriarch of "northern sect"—Zhang Jizhong—had died unexpectedly in the incident, the task of choosing the third-generation successor fell to Li Guangxin. In the year that Li Gaungxin passed away, that is, the eleventh year of Guangxu (1885), he advised his disciples: "there is Jian'an in our school, and all followers will be closer; there is Xipeng, and the instruction will be clearer." He also said: "Since Ziming loves learning, he can be responsible for teaching. Because Shixi is flexible, he can be delegated to spread our teaching."[18] "Xipeng" was Huang Baonian and "Ziming" was Jiang Wentian. Here, it was obvious that Huang would be in charge of preaching work and that Jiang should preside over the missionary work. In other words, Huang and Jiang were the co-intendants of this School; and within the coeval leadership, Huang was the principal and Jiang the assistant. As for the other two persons mentioned by Li Guangxin, Jian'an was Chen Shiyi and Shixi was Xie Fengyuan. They had their own expertise and could be appointed as heads of a special position. Li Guangxin composed one poem—*To Huang Xipeng (Baonian)*, in which he said:

[18] Xie Fengyuan (谢逢源), *The Chronicle of the Life of Master Li Longchuan* (*Longchuan xiansheng nianpu* 龙川先生年谱). Quoted from: Wang Xuejun, *op. cit.*

The rooster is crowing at dawn in Ru'nan;
And a low-born person is promising and will be outstanding.
He is going to speak on behalf of me in the future,
And this person shall be the upright and talented Huang Xipeng.[19]

It is thus clear that Li Longchuan had planed long in advance for Huang Baojian to be his successor.

(230) Huang Baonian was from Taizhou of Jiangsu Province and his courtesy name was "Xipeng 锡朋 [or 隰朋]." His title was "Xiping 希平." He was born in the twenty-fifth year of Daoguang (道光) and passed away in 1924. In the third year of Tongzhi (1864), he was introduced to Li Guangxin and then he formally acknowledged Li as his master. Among the disciples of Li Guangxin, Huang was the most highly praised by the master. In his own words: during Li's lecture, "at the point of the most delicate meaning and the most profound rhetoric, (the master) would turn to look at me and exhort: you shall preserve and bequeath (them) to posterity."[20] Later, Huang acted on the order of his master and three times took the imperial examination. In the sixth year of Guangxu (1880), he passed the highest examination and became a *jinshi*.

In addition, in *The Chronicle of the Life of Master Li Longchuan* (*Longchuan xiansheng nianpu* 龙川先生年谱), explicitly recorded: "Next year, Xipeng is destined to go to Shandong and carry on the 'northern sect.' When the destiny of Confucianism is revived in the future, it will extend from the north to the south. Then, the north will be prominent and the south will be obscure. From ancient times to the present, it has followed this way."[21] Here, the so-called "(to) carry on the 'northern sect'" was to succeed to the position of Zhang Jizhong. The last words of Li Longchuan reverently observed the will of Zhou Taigu. Zhou held it his duty to carry on the cause of Fuxi, King Wen of Zhou, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius and resume their interrupted learning. Shandong was the birthplace of Confucius and Mencius and the fountainhead of Confucianism. Therefore, Zhou constantly bore in mind that he should "return the teaching to the north." In view of this, we understand the devotional nature of the tradition of venerating the

[19] *The Transcription of Poems of Longchuan* (*Longchuan shichao* 龙川诗钞).

[20] The Transcribed Edition of *New Compilation of Chronicle of Taizhou School* (Xin taizhou xue'an 新泰州学案), Part One. Source: Wang Xuejun, *op. cit.*

[21] "The Eleventh Year of Gaungxu," in *The Chronicle of the Life of Master Li Longchuan* (*Longchuan xiansheng nianpu*).

master and respecting the Way within the Taigu School. Furthermore, we find that this School believed firmly in a "destiny" in everything: it was from the north whence the Way of Confucianism came, and to the north should the Way return.

Huang Baonian was appointed as magistrate of Ziyang County of Shandong in the twelfth year of Guangxu (1886). Over the following seventeen years, he was transferred to the same position in Chaocheng, Wuyang, Laiyang and Fushan. Holding the official position, however, was just a tedious job for Huang. His true purpose was to get in touch with the sporadic followers of the Yellow Cliff Teaching and through preaching, to rebuild the "northern sect." Within the range of his competence, Huang did make many efforts. For example, wrote a poem—*To Scholars of Yellow Cliff*, in which he depicted a meeting of Yellow Cliff scholars in Ji'an:

> The suppression of one faction has been firmly established; and in an atmosphere of sadness, I meet scholars from Shandong.
>
> In the coldness of winter, we know that only are pines and cypresses can stand; and in every corner of the earth, there are our brothers.
>
> I so miss Guo Tai when the mansion is hard to bolster; but where can an orphan look for Cheng Ying?
>
> My emotion has been buried in the dust of journey for ten years, and tonight let me put this love without end into drinking![22]

(231) In addition, when he was magistrate of Fushan County, he convened an important conference, in which disciples from the northern and southern sect gathered and discussed the matter of preaching and carrying forward the teaching. Huang wrote a poem and essay for it:

> Fushan is on the sea and it extends east as far as to Zhifu.... In the summer of the year of *bingzhong*, I came here. At the turn of fall and winter, followers (of the teaching) arrived (at Fushan) in succession. Then we climbed the mountain, where we meditated on the past and improvised poems.... In this meeting: there were two senior members—Zhu Yuchuan and Da Tingxiang; two junior members, Yan Xingfu and my nephew Li Pingsun; five elder members, Xie Shixi, Zhu Lianfeng, Jiang Ziming, Gao Xingzhong and Mao Shijun; three assistants, Qian Xifan, Yuan Danqiu and Ge Zhongxiu. All of them are pure-minded men. As

[22] The Transcribed Edition of *Collected Poems of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang shiji* 归群草堂诗集), vol. 1.

> for the children who participated in this conference, there were Master Liu's son Yizhong, my second son Peng and the third son.[23]

Among them: Zhu Yuchuan and Zhu Lianfeng were disciples of Zhang Jizhong; Da Tingxiang, Xie Shixi, Jiang Ziming, Gao Xingzhong, Mao Shijun and some others were disciples of Li Longchuan. Li Pingsun (李平孙) was the grandson of Li Guangxin and later became the fourth-generation nominal successor. The so-named "second son Peng" was Huang Shoupeng (黄寿彭), the successor after Li Pingsun.

In the meantime, Jiang Wentian did not stop his preaching in the south.

Jiang Wentian came from Taizhou of Jiangsu and had the style name "Ziming 子明." Followers of this teaching called him the "Master of Longxi (龙溪)." He was born in the twenty-fifth year of Daoguang (1845) and passed away in the first year of Xuantong (1909). Although he passed the imperial examination at the county level, he was never engaged in politics and instead devoted himself to missionary work. When Huang Baonian went to Shandong and took up office, Jiang continued the work of teaching and recruiting in the areas of Taizhou, Yangzhou and Suzhou.

In the twenty-eighth year of Guangxu (1902), Huang Baonian resigned his position in Sishui County and forever set aside his official burden. He then spent all his time and energy in instructing disciples. Soon after, he and Jiang Wentian came to Shanghai. At that time, Mao Qingfan, one of the disciples of Li Longchuan, was the superintendent of the Jiangnan Arsenal (江南制造局) and Liu E happened to be in Shanghai. Therefore, these disciples of the Taigu School convened a "decent" meeting at the Yuyuan Garden in Shanghai. Liu E had composed an essay for this meeting, in which he said: "It was in the year of *renyin*. Mr. Huang Xiping (Baonian) retired from office in Shandong and returned to Hailing, where he met Mr. Jiang Ziming (Wentian). Then they came together to Shanghai. I happened to be there from Beijing for other matters. When Mr. Cheng Zishao and Mr. Zhou heard that Mr. Huang and Jiang arrived at Shanghai, they came here from Hangzhou. Mr. Mao Shijun (Qingfan) was the superintendent of the Jiangnan Arsenal, so it was he who hosted this meeting. In this meeting, there were a dozen disciples."[24] This conference

---

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Liu E, "*Notes and Preface to the Fuzhou-Printed Portrait of Decent Meeting at the Yuyuan Garden*" (*Ti yuyuan yaji tu fuben hou bing xu*). See: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

was very important, because it resolved to set up a preaching hall in Suzhou, (232) where Huang Baonian would act as the director and Jiang Wentian the assistant. Mao Qingfan, Liu E and Yang Shisheng were responsible for raising funds. After this meeting, they rented a house in Suzhou as the site of a preaching hall and named it the "Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd" (*guiqun caotang* 归群草堂). There would be lectures on every third, sixth and ninth day in the hut. The title "*guiqun*" (returning to the flock) was adopted from Li Longchuan's verse: "From now on horses return to the herd and there will be the reconciliation of members at the Civilized Dragon pond." (牧马归群从次日, 化龙池上好将相). This title had a deep meaning. Since then on, the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd became the center of activity for the Taigu School.

Jiang Wentian passed away in 1909. Fifteen years later, the director Huang Baonian died of illness in 1924. Before his death, Huang had designated Li Taijie (Pingsun), the grandson of Li Longchuan, as successor and director of the hut. Li Taijie was the fourth-generation leader of the Taigu School.

Unfortunately, soon after he succeeded to the position, Li Taijie died. Thus, Huang Shoupeng, the second son of Huang Baonian, acted on the order of Madam Jiang, who was the wife of Jiang Wentian, to be the director of the Thatched Hut.[25] Huang scrupulously abided by Madam Jiang's order and did not stop teaching until the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

Here, Liu E, author of the well-known novel *Travels of Lao Can* (老残游记), becomes worthy of discussion, because he was one of the disciples directly instructed by Li Guangxin and made significant contributions to the Taigu School.

In his lifetime, Liu E visited his master only three times. The first was in the second year of Guangxu (1876), when "(Liu E) was utterly convinced as soon as he visited (Li Longchuan)." At that time, Liu E failed to be admitted as a disciple. In the second meeting, which was in the eighth year of Guangxu (1882), Liu E formally acknowledged Li as his master. In *The Chronicle of the Life of Master Li Longchuan* (*Longchuan xiansheng nianpu*), it said: "In the eighth year of Guangxu, the

[25] Li Taijie died unexpectedly in the prime of his life and did not designate the successor. The wife of Jiang Wentian, who enjoyed high prestige, was still alive. According to the tradition that "the lifeblood shall be handed on by the master," and at the circumstance that the master had passed away, the job of "handing on" should be done by the master's wife.

Master was at seventy-five. In the autumn of that year, Zhang Guoying invited the Master to travel in Shanghai. Liu E, who was from Dantu, and Gao Ergeng from Taizhou came there and visited the Master.... The style name of Liu E was 'Yuntuan 云抟' and that of Gao Ergeng was 'Xingzhong.' They were students in the Prefectural Academy." The third time happened in the fourth month of the tenth year of Guangxu (1884). In this meeting, Liu E and other disciples accompanied Li Longchuan in his trip to Shanghai. In the eighth month, they returned to Taizhou. Two months later, Liu E's father passed away and he returned home for the funeral. The next year, Li Longchuan died of illness.[26]

Even though he met his master only three times and his time under the master's instruction was very short, Liu E maintained sincere belief in the master's ideas throughout his life. He not only spread his teacher's thought through the mouth of Huanglongzi (黄龙子 the Son of Yellow Dragon) and other characters in his famous novel, but considered raising money for the Thatched Hut to be a personal responsibility. In his later years, Liu E wrote a letter to Huang Baonian, in which he expressed his loyalty to the Master's doctrine: "even if the seas dry and rocks crumble, I will not change my belief (in the teachings)." In this letter, Liu E also mentioned Li Longchuan had said "there will be two *si* (巳) who preach the teaching in the future" in his last words.[27] (233) This demonstrated that Li Guangxin greatly appreciated Liu E's talent and placed high hopes on him. In return, Liu never forgot his master's words and made special contributions to the dissemination of the doctrine of Taigu School.

In addition, after the death of Huang Baonian, Liu Fuzhi (刘赋之), who was from Jiangxi and a disciple of the Thatched Hut, returned to his hometown and founded the Southern Institution for National Study (南州国学院) in Nanchang. It later developed into a full-fledged branch of the Taigu School in Jiangxi Province.

[26] *The Chronicle of the Life of Master Li Longchuan* (*Longchuan xiansheng nianpu*).

[27] "Liu E's Letter to Huang Baonian." It was written in October 1902. In this letter, the so-called "two *si*" refers both Huang and Liu was born in the year of *si* (巳).

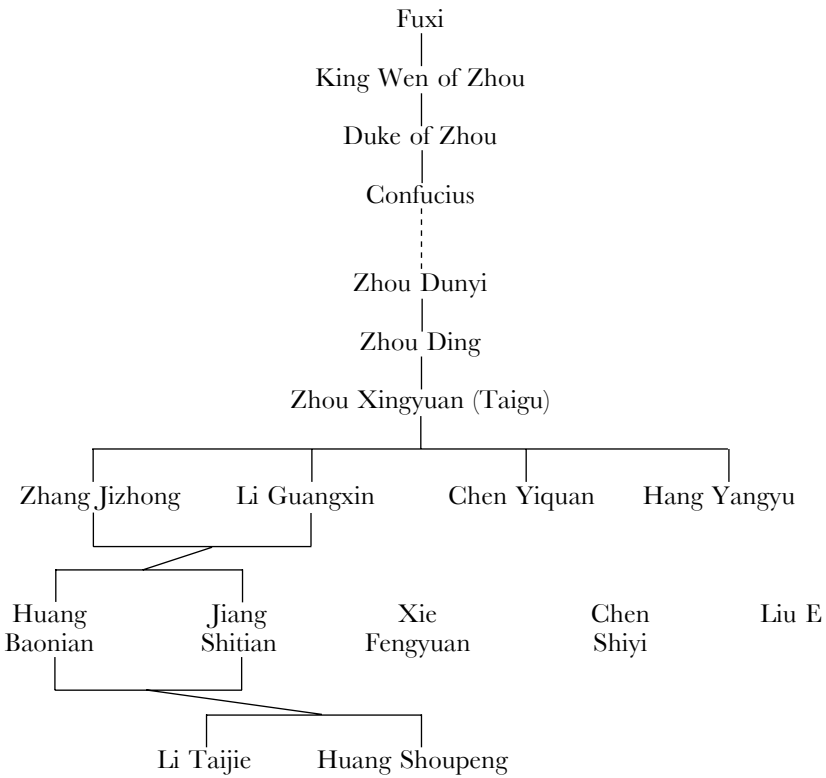


Figure 5.1: Succession of the Taigu School[28]

(234) Ideas and Beliefs of the Taigu School

The doctrines of the Taigu School were passed on through the masters' writings, disciples' notes and analects. From Zhou Taigu, the founding patriarch, however, there was strict regulation in the school: the words and ideas of patriarchs through the ages were not to be printed by presses and they could only be passed on in speech. These words and ideas could only be quicky jotted down by hand and secretly circulated inside the school.

Fortunately, Liu Huisun (刘蕙孙), who was an outstanding disciple of Li Longchuan and the grandson of Liu E, enjoyed exceptional advantages and devoted himself to the work of introducing the Taigu School. In his writings, Liu made public the school's various writings

[28] This diagram is based on: Liu Huisun, *Remaining Writings of the Taigu School* (*Taigu xuepai yishu* 太古学派遗书). See: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

that he had witnessed. Thanks to his great efforts, we now have some sketchy information about these writings.

There are two complete compilations: *Precious Writings of Returning the Herd* (*Guiqun baoji* 归群宝籍) and *A Sequel to Precious Writings of Returning the Herd* (*Guiqun baoji xubian* 归群宝籍续编). The two collections have eighty-eight categories and three hundred and one volumes composed by Zhou Taigu, Zhang Jizhong, Li Guangxin and other disciples. Key works include:

Zhou Taigu: *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu* 周氏遗书, a.k.a *The Sacred Book* [*sheng jing* 圣经]). It has a northern and southern edition. Each edition has ten volumes. This book was collected and compiled by Zhang Jizhong. The binding is very elegant: it has a yellow silk cover and is in cloth slip-case more than one *chi* wide. This style is very similar to Buddhist and Daoist Scripture.

Zhang Jizhong: *The Remaining Writings of Zhang Jizhong* (*Zhangshi yishu* 张氏遗书), three volumes; *Inner Annotations by Zhang Jizhong* (*Zhangshi neizhu* 张氏内注), seven; *Quotations of White Stone Mountain House* (*Baishi shanfang Yulu* 白石山房语录), two; *Poem Collection of White Stone Mountain* (*Baishishan shiji* 白石山诗集), four; *Miscellaneous Collection of White Stone Mountain House* (*Baishi shanfang congchao* 白石山房丛钞), one; *An Explanation to the Book of History* (*Shangshu shiyi* 尚书释义), six; *An Explanation of the Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu shiyi* 春秋释义), one; *An Explanation of the Four Book*s (*Sishu shiyi* 四书释义), one; *An Explanation to Shurangama Sutra* (*Lengyan jing shiyi* 楞严经释义), ten; *An Explanation of Laozi* (*Laozi shiyi* 老子释义), two; *An Explanation of Zhuangzi* (*Zhuangzi shiyi* 庄子释义), four; *An Explanation of Guanyinzi* (*Guanyinzi shiyi* 关尹子释义), one; *An Explanation of Pointing Directly at the Three Ways Unified and Normalized* (*Cantongqi zhizhi shiyi* 参同契直指释义), seven; *What I behold* (*Suojian lu* 所见录), one; *What I Heard* (*De suowen lu* 得所闻录), one; *Collected Ci Poems of the Light Green Mountain House* (*Qianbi shanfang cixuan* 浅碧山房词选), two; *Writings on Unifying with the Way in the Xuanji-Cave Study* (*Xuanji dong shuwu xuantong ji* 璇玑洞书屋玄同集), one; *Posthumous Works of the Grand Master of Yellow Cliff* (*Huangya tai fuzi yizhu* 黄崖太夫子遗著), one. Totally, there are fifty-two volumes and seven pieces.

Li Guangxin: *The Remaining Writings of Li Guangxin* (*Lishi yishu* 李氏遗书), one volume; *Collected Writings of Thatched Hut of Longchuan* (*Longchuan caotang wenji* 龙川草堂文集), one; *Collected Poems of Thatched Hut*

of Longchuan (*Longchuan caotang shiji* 龙川草堂诗集), two; *Quotations of Thatched Hut of Longchuan* (*Longchuan caotang Yulu* 龙川草堂语录), one; *Posthumous Works of the Grand Master Longchuan* (*Longchuan tai fuzi yizhu* 龙川太夫子遗著), one. In total, there are six volumes.

Respectfully Preserved Quotations (*Yulu jingcun* 语录敬存, a.k.a *Seven Compilations of Quotations of Longchuan the Yellow Cliff* [*Huangya longchuan Yulu* 黄崖龙川语录七种]), one volume.

Huang Baonian: *The Remaining Writings of Huang Baonian* (*Huangshi yishu* 黄氏遗书), eight volumes; *Reader of Book of Odes* (*Shijing duben* 诗经读本), four; *Reader of the Book of History* (*Shujing duben* 书经读本), two; (235) *Reader of the Book of Rites* (*Liji duben* 礼记读本), twelve; *Literary Archives of Tang and Song* (*Tangsong wencun* 唐宋文存), four; *A Sequel to Literary Archives* (*Xucun* 续存), one; *Reader of Tang and Song Writings* (*Tang Song wen duben* 唐宋文读本), five; *Open Questions for Argumentation on the Confucian Classics* (*Jingyi cunyi* 经义存疑), one; *Literary Archives of the Four Books* (*Sishu wencun* 四书文存), sixteen; *Reviewed Selections from Origin of Ancient Poems* (*Gushiyuan pingxuan* 古诗源评选), fourteen; *Archives of Ancient Poems* (*Gushi cun* 古诗存), eighteen; *Comments for Archives of Ancient Poem* (*Gushi cun shuhou* 古诗存书后), one; *Sounds of Nature* (*Tianlai ji* 天籁集), four; *Sounds of Nature from Past Ages* (*Tianlai yiyin* 天籁遗音), two; *Collection of Nine Genres of Shi-tie-Style Poems* (*Jiujia shitieshi lu* 九家试帖诗录), two; *Archives of Eight-Rhyme-Style Poem* (*Bayunshi cun* 八韵诗存), one; *Drafted Writings of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang hangao* 归群草堂函稿), two; *Sudden Enlightenment from Lianxi* [i.e. Zhou Dunyi] (*Lianxi yidi* 濂溪一滴), one; *Sequel to* the *Drafted Writings of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang hangao xubian* 归群草堂函稿续编), two; *Compilation of Answer to Letter of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang huishu wen* 归群草堂回书文), one; *Sequel to the Compilation of Answers to Letters of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang huishu wen xubian* 归群草堂回书文续编), one; *Collected Writings of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang wenji* 归群草堂文集), two; *Collected Poems of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang shiji* 归群草堂诗集), two; *The Eight-Part-Essay Teaching of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang keyi* 归群草堂课艺), fourteen; *Gleanings of The Eight-Part-Essay Teaching the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd* (*Guiqun caotang keyi shiyi* 归群草堂课艺拾遗), one. In total, there are one hundred and thirty volumes.

Jiang Wentian: *Collected Writings of the Thatched Hut of Longxi* (*Longxi caotang wenji* 龙溪草堂文集), one volume; *Collected Poems of the Thatched Hut of Longxi* (*Longxi caotang shiji* 龙溪草堂诗集), one; *A Sequel to Collected Writings of the Master Longxi* (*Longxi fuzi wenji xubian* 龙溪夫子文集续编), two; Collected Poems of the Master Longxi (*Longxi fuzi shiji* 龙溪夫子诗集), one. In total, there are five volumes.

Li Taijie: *Collected Writings of the Study of Shuangtong* (*Shuangtong shuwu wenji* 双桐书屋文集), two volumes; *Collected Poems* (*Shiji* 诗集), one. In total, there are three volumes.

Xie Fengyuan: *The Chronicle of the Life of Master Li Longchuan* (*Longchuan xiansheng nianpu* 龙川先生年谱).

Respectfully Preserved Biographies (*Liezhuan jingcun* 列传敬存), which was compiled by Zhang Lingyi (张令贻). It includes "The Chronicle of the Master Taigu in Anhui" (*Taigu fuzi wan zhizhuan* 太古夫子皖志传), "The Corrected Postscript for Incident in Shandong" (*Shandong zhengba* 山东正跋), "The Biography of the Grand Master of Yellow Cliff" (*Huangya tai fuzi Zhuan* 黄崖太夫子传) and collected stone inscriptions for members buried around the Yellow Cliff.

The abovementioned list of more than fifty hand-written copies of Taigu School's works which were secretly preserved in the family of Huang in Taizhou and other disciples' homes. It is surprising that these works have not been lost, though there were some changes due to the vicissitudes of life, generation after generation. At last, all of them have been preserved in the Library of Taizhou. After 1986, the library attempted to sort out these hand-written copies and publish its catalogue. It even published some copies and these copies are open to scholars for research or purchase.

As for the academic sources of the Taigu School, scholars who studied this school, like Liu Yizheng, Fan Wenlan and Liu Huisun, held that it was an outcome of the wing of the scholarship of Wang under some new circumstances and it progressed in one continuous line with to Wang Gen (王艮) School of Taizhou. They even directly called it the "New Taizhou School." When it comes to "the Scholarship of Wang that went against the ruling class," Fan Wenlan (范文澜) wrote in the sixth segment of Chapter Nine of the first edition of *A Simplified General History of China* (*Zhongguo tongshi jianbian* 中国通史简编):

> During the years of Xianfeng and Tongzhi, Li Qingfeng, who was from Taizhou, resumed the old teachings and added the anti-Manchu ideas to them. He secretly preached these ideas and had several hundred disciples scattered throughout the vast region north and south of the lower Yangtze River. Shen Baozhen, Governor-General of Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi, issued an order to arrest them. Li Qingfeng hastily destroyed their works. Thus, the Taizhou School fell to the ground.

For the term—the New Taizhou School, Liu Dashen, the son of Liu E and the disciple of Taigu School, had nodded his head in approval. (236) Liu Huisun, Liu Dashen's son, worked out in one paper—"Zhang Shiqin (张石琴) and the Taizhou School"—in the 1940s and admitted this school "originated from the Scholarship of Wang Yangming (王阳明)." Later, however, he denied this opinion. In 1947, he composed the postscript for *Apprehending Orthodox Confucianism* (*Ruzong xinfa*), in which he said:

> I do not know from whence the learning of Taigu originates. Several years ago, I finished the paper—"Zhang Shiqin (张石琴) and the Taizhou School"—and published it in *The Journal of Fu Jen Catholic University*. In this paper, I argued that this school was close to the scholarship of Wang Yangming. Now, I know this argument is not correct and regret very much I made such reckless conclusions in my early writings.[29]

In the 1980s, Liu Huisun published a paper and declared again that the Taizhou School was not from the scholarship of Wang Yangming. Liu stated: "Later, I read more and more works of the Taigu School. Except for one verse in one of Zhang Jizhong's poems, which read 'how the celestial Wang Yangming makes true Confucianism,' there were no other words dedicated to Wang's scholarship. Most probably there was no relationship between them."[30] He added: "as I see it, the guiding ideology (of Taigu School) was Song Confucianism (*Song xue* 宋学)."[31]

The point of view of Professor Liu is worthy of further discussion. According to our studies, there was a deep relationship between the

---

[29] *Apprehending Method of the Orthodox Confucianism* (*Ruzong xinfa*) and the "Postscript." See: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

[30] Liu Huisun, "The Undercurrent of the Popular Ideas in the Years of Daoguang and Xianfeng in Qing: Zhou Taigu and the Taizhou School" (*Qing Daoguang Xianfeng jian minjian sixiang de anliu: Zhou Taigu and Taigu xuepai* 清道光咸丰间民间思想的暗流—周太古和太古学派).

[31] See n. 17, *supra*.

Taigu School and Wang Yangming's learning of the cultivation mind. Conversely, this school revealed some problems in Song Confucianism.

Zhou Taigu had said: "If those devoted to learning can follow the order of Zhu Xi-Zhang Zai-Cheng Yi-Cheng Hao-Zhou Dunyi-Mencius-Zi Si-Zengzi, pursue the pleasure of Confucius and Yan Yuan, and repay the virtue of preserving righteousness, this effort is what learning demands." He also said: "As for the matter of freeing the mind,: since speaking is close to hearing, if speech is too fast, there will be no hearing; since seeing is close to acting, if action is unexpected, there will be no seeing. Then, the mind that has been freed can return to its origin."[32] In addition, for his personal learning, Zhou Taigu, as well as Wang Yangming, treasured the Buddhist and Daoist mind-nature ideas. Zhang Jizhong, who heard in person the lecture of Zhou Taigu and was entrusted with the work of "returning the teaching to the north," admired Wang Yangming very much. Besides his verse—"how the celestial Wang Yangming makes the true Confucianism," he wrote in his discussion of Confucian orthodoxy in the past and present:

> After the Three Dynasties, the method of mental cultivation of sages completely disappeared, but remnants of the well-governed time are still preserved. (237) The Five Overlords were modeled on the remnant of sages, and Buddha and Laozi grasped the mind of sages. If the remnant is lost, human being will vanish; if the mind evaporates, the heavenly principle will perish. Thus, the Heaven preserves the two things. In view of this, we know the heart of Heaven is still humane, though the fate of this world is at a low ebb. There are Confucian scholars who defile the Buddhist and Daoist portraits and statues. What they do is narrow-minded. How can we say it is right? The Buddhist way of apprehending nature through enlightening the mind is exactly the *Great Learning*'s teaching of extending knowledge. The meaning of extending knowledge is to understand knowledge. If one person knows what knowledge, he himself manifests virtue. The *Doctrine of the Mean* says "(be in) accordance with nature"; Mencius speaks about "apprehending nature"; and Confucius says that "there is nothing I conceal from you." As for the meaning of these words, the Confucian scholars in Han Dynasty were ignorant. The learning of Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao and Zhu Xi centered on rectifying the mind and attaining sincerity, but it was simply an extension of knowledge. With Wang Yangming, the idea of extending the innate conscience prevailed to All under Heaven. At that time,

[32] See n. 4, *supra*.

> Confucian scholars attacked Yangming by attaching Buddhism. Alas! How stupid they were![33]

In light of this discussion, Zhang Jizhong lavishly praised Wang Yangming as the person who recovered what Han Confucianism lost and what the Song Confucianism missed. Wang carried on the past and opened a way for future. How lofty his career was! Therefore, how can Professor Liu allege that "the scholarship of Wang" was never "mentioned" and claim that "most probably there was no relationship" between it and the Taigu School? As a matter of fact, not only were the Taizhou School and Taizhou geographically close; but, in terms of the idea of thoroughly inquiring the purport of mind-nature, they shared the ideological origin of the Taizhou School—as the left wing of the Scholarship of Wang and the Taigu sect. It did not exclusively center on resuming mind-nature learning.

In addition, the two schools shared the active participation in earthly life and the belief that the practice of cultivating oneself and establishing one's own destiny would transcend this lifespan.

Zhang Jizhong enthusiastically advocated the spirit of "jumping into the fire" (*tiao huo keng* 跳火坑) and objected to the selfish Buddhist and Daoist practice of renouncing the world and pursuing personal deliverance. He wrote:

> Why is the cause of sages grand? Because they practiced it for humanity. Although they were aware of the fire, they resolutely walked in and out of it… Nevertheless, the Buddhist and Daoist practice fears the fire and avoids it.[34]

Zhang Jizhong said it and did this. He acted bravely, despite the danger. (238) When the Qing army captured his stronghold at the Yellow Cliff Mountain, Zhang fearlessly faced the coming disaster and embraced death by immolation with his whole family. In view of this, it was identical to what the Taizhou School preached. Wang Gen, the leader of Taizhou School, that maintained there should be active participation in mundane affairs and opposed the passive attitude that

---

[33] See n. 3, *supra*.

[34] Zhang Jizhong, *Quotations of White Stone Mountain House* (*Baishi shanfang Yulu* 白石山房语录). Quoted from: Yang Benyi (杨本义), "Several Startling Similarities of the Old and New Taizhou School" (*Xinjiu Taizhou xuepai de jidian jingren xiangsi* 新旧泰州学派的几点惊人相似), in *Historical and Cultural Materials of Taizhou* (*Taizhou wenshi ziliao* 泰州文史资料).

people should only pay attention to their own deliverance without caring about others. All of his successors, like Yan Shannong and He Xinyin, were chivalrous men and were ready to die.

Li Guangxin also said: "The Mandate of Heaven remains within the body. If the body is cultivated, the mandate will be preserved; if the body is not cultivated, the Mandate will vanish. Since short or long life is not certain, you shall cultivate yourself and await it, by which your destiny will be established. If you cultivate the body, destiny will definitely not desert you. There is no doubt that life can fix destiny, but Heaven does as well."[35] These words mean: for any person, so long as he works hard to cultivate himself, regardless of the life he lives—long or short, he can create his destiny; that is to say, the spirit is immortal. For this reason, the followers of the Taigu School devoted to "establishing virtue (*li de* 立德), establishing merit (*li gong* 立功) and establishing idea (*li yan* 立言)" and spurred themselves by the "three immortalities" (*san buxiu* 三不朽). This practice was also in conformity with the Wang Gen's idea that "the Great Man makes destiny."[36]

Furthermore, the Taigu School affirmed that "human desire" was natural and reasonable and thus opposed the dogma of "eliminating desire and preserving principle." The Taizhou School shared this same idea.

Wang Gen preached that "(people should) follow their own nature."[37] Huang Zongxi had discussed the Taizhou School in one of his works, in which he said: "in normal times, (this school) was completely forthright and acted in accordance with nature. Any doctrine and pattern learned beforehand is a hindrance to the Confucian scholar."[38] Such practices are an affront to the doctrine of "preserving heavenly principles and eliminating human desires," proposed by the Cheng-Zhu School of Principle (*li xue*).

In *The Remaining Writings of Li Guangxin* (*Lishi yishu* 李氏遗书), it recorded:

> Some disciples ask about "nature and sentiment" (*xingqing* 性情). (The Master) answered: "nature" is what fits virtue and can be benevolence

[35] *Chronicles of Following of the Guanhai Mountain House* (*Guanhai shanfang lu* 观海山房录). Quoted from: *Ibid*.

[36] *The Chronicle of Wang Xinzhai* (Gen) (*Wan Xinzhai nianpu* 王心斋年谱).

[37] *Quotations of Wang Xinzhai* (Gen) (*Xinzhai Yulu* 心斋语录).

[38] "The Taizhou School," in Huang Zongxi (黄宗羲), *The Scholarly History of Ming Confucianism* (*Mingru xuean* 明儒学案).

> (*ren*, 仁), and "sentiment" is what aids righteousness and the way. If "nature" loses, heaven and earth will not be in the right position; and if "sentiment' loses, all things will not be fostered. Some ask: "The Book of Rites says: in the mid-spring, let man and woman met and those who are dating will not be forbidden. Is it true?" (The Master) says: "Yes, there is such thing." Some ask further: "Why is there such thing?" (The Master) says: "Alas! What the ancient kings taught the people is simply rites and music. When music is excessively dominant, the people will be reckless. Therefore, it must be checked by rites. To check, there must be restriction. With restriction, the people will have the sense of awe towards the heaven. When there is a sense of awe towards Heaven, the will of the people will be stable. When the will of people is stable, the order of rites and law will be followed. If rites are excessively dominant, the people will be separated. Therefore, they must be alleviated by music. To alleviate, there will be no restriction. (239) If there is no restriction, the people will be pleased with Heaven. When they are pleased with Heaven, they are calm. When the people are calm, the order of nature will be right."[39]

One day, Li Longchuan gathered his disciples and gave a lecture. He asked them to state their ideal and not to hold back their true feelings. One disciple said: "I do not love beauty." The Master reprimanded him: "This is not a human sentiment. Not even a dog or pig would say this."[40] He further said: "Love of beauty, wealth and courage are normal human feelings."[41] Zhang Jizhong also felt that a person who did not understand "sentiment" would not "reach ultimate goodness."[42]

Besides, in the Chapter Nine of *Travels of Lao Can*, through the mouth of Yugu (玝姑), Liu E eloquently criticized the hypocrisy and self-deceit of Song Confucianism. It read as follows:

> Love of beauty is human nature. Nevertheless, the Song Confucian scholars say that what man loves is not beauty but virtue. Is that not self-deceit? They deceive themselves and they deceive others. This is most deceitful! They insist on "preserving sincerity." Is it not detestable? The sage talks of sentiment and rites, but never of principle and desire. The Book of Odes begins with "*Guan ju*" (关雎), with the verse:

---

[39] *The Remaining Writings of Li Guangxin* (*Lishi yishu* 李氏遗书). See: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

[40] See n. 14, *supra*.

[41] See n. 35, *supra*.

[42] For the idea of "reaching the ultimate goodness" (*zhi zhishan* 止至善), see: Ma Xisha (马西沙) and Han Bingfang (韩秉方), *The History of Chinese Popular Religions* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), Chapter Twenty-Three. In this book, we can find the similarities between the Yellow Cliff Teaching and the Teaching of Master Liu (liu men jiao 刘门教).

> "A tender and graceful woman is a good match for the gentle man"; "He pursues her but fails to catch her," then "he lies awake all night long." Are not these heavenly principles and human desires? We see the sage never deceit the people by these. In the preface to "*Guan ju*," it says: "setting out with sentiment and stopping with the rites." "Setting out with sentiment" is the state of succeeding involuntarily.... The deceit of these Song Confucian scholars are too numerous to speak.

Here, the rebuttal against the Song Confucianism was merciless. Thus, how can we say the thought of Taigu School was from Song Confucianism and had no relation with the Scholarship of Wang Yangming?

An additional point is that the Taigu School's political ideals against autocratic monarchy and emphasizing that leaders could be replaced, also followed the Taizhou School.

Zhou Taigu had said several times that if "the monarch is immoral, (the people) can rebel against him with an army in the name of the supreme goodness and exile him." (240) Furthermore, he held the way of the monarch to imply that the emperor should "know the aspiration of Yi Yin (伊尹)."[43] He confirmed that a man of goodness has the right to crusade against and exile an immoral ruler and act as the regent. This idea was same as Wang Gen's proposition that: "if a monarch commits a serious offense, he shall be remonstrated; if after being remonstrated, the monarch still fails to correct his behavior, he shall be replaced."

The reason why we painstakingly clarify the relationship of the Taigu School and the left wing of the Scholarship of Wang Yangming is that if we fail to reveal their connection, we will be unable to demonstrate the ideas and beliefs of the Taigu School and correctly define its position in history.

After the Song Dynasty, the "learning of principle" (*lixue* 理学) was influenced by the Daoist Inner Elixir School (*Neidan pai* 内丹派) and the Buddhist meditation school (*Chan*) and thus was redirected to the learning of body, mind, nature and destiny. Confucianism entered into a new stage. By the time of Wang Yangming in the Ming Dynasty, these influences had achieved a perfect combination and the learning of principle reached its peak. Wang held: "Everybody has his own compass, and the origin of all change is always in the mind(s).

---

[43] *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu*). Quoted from: Yang Benyi, *op. cit.*

Please give up your possessions, and go begging alms door to door like a destitute child."[44] Here, Wang declared openly the sudden self-enlightenment (*zhi liangzhi* 致良知) to be the mark of attaining the way. By this, he opened the gate of syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. From that point on, the learning of the mind of Wang Yangming became a mighty torrent in the intellectual world of Ming and Qing dynasties, exerting a great influence on most creative thinkers—in particular on those who shifted their focus from Confucianism to religion, such as Li Zhi (李贽), Lin Zhaoen (林兆恩), Liu Yuan (刘沅) and Zhou Taigu, all of whom thought highly of the Scholarship of Wang and despised Song Confucianism. The idea of "extending knowledge through investigation of things" proposed by Cheng-Zhu School of Learning of Principle, however, was too fragmented because of its emphasis on investigating all things, and so ran counter to the teaching of enlightenment and practice of "inner-elixir" (*jie dan* 结丹). On the contrary, Wang Yangming's learning of the mind, which centered on attaining the innate conscience and enlightening the mind, could bridge mental cultivation and religious practice. As the above discussion shows, the Taigu School discarded the main ideas of Song Confucianism and respectfully followed the scholarship of Wang. It objected to fragmented and letter-bound doctrines and pursued the clear and enlightened state of mind, in which man would apprehend his true nature and recover his original simplicity. This might be regarded as the most distinctive characteristic of the idea and belief of the Taigu School.

There was another opinion, which argued that the thought of the Taigu School originated from Lin Sanjiao (林三教). It said: "It appeared that the learning of Zhou Xingyuan (a.k.a the Master of Complete Emptiness 空同子) was from Lin Sanjiao (Zhaoen)."[45] (241) In "The Chronicle of Zhou Taigu" (Zhou Taigu zhuan) of *The Draft of Comprehensive Gazetteer of Anhui* (*Anhui tongzhi gao*), the compiler recorded: "The learning of Zhou Taigu thoroughly understood the six Confucian canons and extended to Buddhism and Daoism. By which, he

[44] Wang Yangming (王阳明), "Ode to Innate Conscience" (*Yong liangzhi shi* 咏良知诗). Quoted from: Liang Shuming (梁漱溟), "After Reading Wang Yangming's Ode to Innate Conscience" (读王阳明先生咏良知诗), *The Front of Social Sciences* (*Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线), no. 2 (1988).

[45] "*Postscript for the Inquisition of Rebels of the Yellow Cliff Teaching*" (*Huanya jiaofei yu ba* 黄崖教匪狱跋), in *Great Inquisitions* (*DaYu ji*). Quoted from: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

established his own school and frequently examined the heavenly principle. There were people like Lin Sanjiao (Zhaoen) and Cheng Yunzhuang, who were similar to Zhou Taigu; meanwhile, they had difference." As for Lin Sanjiao, that is, Lin Zhaoen (林兆恩), his life and thought has been discussed elsewhere in this book. Here, examination will focus on whether there was a relationship between the Taigu School and Lin Zhaoen.

Professor Liu Huisun resolutely denied any relationship between them. He argued: "Contrary to generally held impression, the Taigu School was not a follower of the syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. This school never became involved in Lin Zhaoen's Three-in-One Teaching (*Sanyi jiao*)."[46] His evidence was Zhang Jizhong's own words:

> Neither the doctrine (of *Sanyi jiao*) nor their practice is same as ours. As for the aspiration of ascending to be Buddha and be immortal in military affairs, farm work, rites and music, the principle is apprehensible but the fruit is unattainable. For the practice of reciting *Shurangama Sutra* (*Lengyan jing* 楞严经) at dawn, studying *The Three Ways Unified and Normalized* (*cantong* 参同) at night, promoting rites, music, war and punishment when out in the world, and establishing the hierarchy of monarch, minister, father and son when at home, they are like going south by driving the chariot north. They are very irrelevant.[47]

We maintain even if the Taigu School was distinct from *Sanyi jiao* created by Lin Zhaoen, it did not mean Lin's syncretism of the three teachings and his sect had no influence on the Taizhou School.

Some students in this field know that Lin Zhaoen promoted the synthesis of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, but are not aware of the fact that Lin Zhaoen had the idea of "criticizing the unauthentic three teachings." Lin Zhaoen said that since Confucian scholars after the Han Dynasty did not understand the principle of mind and nature, "the remnant was only similar in form but different in nature (with that of past sages) and the authentic principles deteriorated further." He also criticized Buddhism and Daoism for not observing the three cardinal guides and not participating in regular political, agrarian,

---

[46] Liu Huisun, "Remaining Works of the Taizhou School" (*Taigu xuepai de yishu* 太古学派的遗书), *Journal of Fujian Normal College* (*Fujian shifan xueyuan xuebao* 福建师范学院学报), no. 2 (1957).

[47] "Letter to Qin Yunqiao" (*Zhi Qin Yunqiao shu* 致秦云樵书), in *The Remaining Writings of Zhang Jizhong* (*Zhangshi yishu*). Quoted from: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

handcraft or commercial professions, causing the population to dwindle and finally become extinct. Lin advocated his ideas of returning to Confucianism, worshiping Confucius, being united with the Confucian orthodoxy of uprightness and impartiality, and syncretizing the three teachings. In terms of his work of "criticizing the unauthentic three teachings," which laid stress on how the three teachings after the time of sages existed in name only and had deviated from the true principles of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, Lin's propositions were not very different with those of the Taigu School.

When he talked about the differences between Confucianism and Buddhism, Zhang Jizhong said:

> The difference between Confucianism and Buddhism is in the remnant (of past sages). The pillar of Confucianism is active participation in mundane affairs, while the prerequisite of Buddhism is renunciation of this world. All people who practice Buddhism act upon the idea of renouncing the world. Therefore, ruler and subject will cease to exist, (242) and father and son will be erased; there will be no people for the military, law, ritual and music, and there will be no soldiers, farmers, handicraftsmen or merchants. When we go looking for people, is there anyone available? When we observe people, is there anything they will do? If we follow Buddhism, human beings will be extinct.[48]

Here, as did Zhou Taigu, Zhang reprimanded the Buddhist practice of renouncing this world, not marrying, evading the three cardinal guides and giving up the four regular professions. With regards to the criticism of the deficiency of Confucian scholars (after sages), Zhang Jizhong and Lin Zhaoen followed the same track. He wrote:

> "The sages of the past taught people how to establish their destiny, how to give full play to their natural ability, how to polish their character, how to cultivate their mind, and how harmonize their family and govern the state, all of which begin with the mind.... Since the Qin and Han dynasties, people fervently pursued material gain with a burning spirit. Since the spirit of the people was consumed, the heavenly principle would be lost. In this confusion, to look for things that met the requirement of the Three Dynasties, there were only very few cases.... When there was Wang Yangming, the idea of extending the innate conscience prevailed to all under heaven."[49] Zhang also said: "The learning of

[48] Zhang Jizhong, *Portrays of Lecture in Pine Garden* (*Songyuan jiangxue tuku* 松园讲学图库), see: *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao*), vol. 1.

[49] *Ibid.*

> Confucius and Mencius had been interrupted for more than two thousand years. Although Master Zhou and the Master Cheng attempted to revive it, the torch they ignited finally went out. At present, those who study the learning of principle are pedantic Confucian scholars."[50]

Although the Taigu School criticized severely Buddhism and Daoism, it gave some positive appraisal and approved of their contributions. For instance, Zhang Jizhong had said: "Mencius rebuked Yang Zhu (杨朱) and Mozi, then the learning of Yang Zhu and Mozi died away. Confucian scholars (after sages) attacked Buddhism and Laozi, but the latter ones prospered further. What is the reason? It might be that Heaven that makes all it is. Body, mind, nature and destiny, all of what a man is made of.... There are Confucian scholars, who defile the Buddhist and Daoist portraits and statues. This is narrow-minded. How can we say it is right? The Buddhist way of apprehending nature through enlightening the mind is exactly the *Great Learning*'s teaching of extending knowledge.... The purpose of extending knowledge is manifested through the Buddhist way."[51]

In light of this, for the Taigu School, the purpose of studying and annotating the Buddhist and Daoist scriptures was to absorb beneficial intellectual elements and adopt them as their own; in such a way they could supplement what Confucianism lacked. It was absolutely not for superficial reference or for "making magic" as some scholars said.

Of course, we must admit that, in terms of the ultimate goal of syncretizing the three teachings, there was indeed some difference between the Taigu School and *Sanyi jiao*.

(243) When Zhang Jizhong concluded Zhou Taigu's way of conduct and study for his disciples, he pointed out:

> The Master (Zhou Taigu) serves his parent with filial piety, serves Heaven with respect, treats people with rites, and handles matters with sincerity. He works hard every day and studies without satiety. He is very good at teaching and he instructs disciples without weariness. He resumes the learning that has been interrupted for two thousand years, but he never considers it as his own accomplishment. He knows all in the Four Seas and Nine Continents, but he never consider his knowledge to be broad. He grasps the rule of Yin and Yang and has insight into life and death, but he never thinks he has understood the profound mysteries. How

[50] See n. 47, *supra*.
[51] See n. 48, *supra*.

> deep the abyss! How vast is Heaven! How refined is goodness! None of them can I understand and expound![52]

According to above discussions, the Taigu School not only carried forward the Confucian orthodoxy and ideas of the Taizhou School and even extended to Buddhism and Daoism; but also, on the pretext of "resum(ing) the learning that has been interrupted for two thousand years" and "elucidat(ing) what Fuxi, King Wen of Zhou, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius did not say," embraced some things that the orthodox Confucian scholars had "seldom talked about" and some things that did not belong to Confucianism. For example, Zhang Jizhong told his disciples: "The Book of Change says: 'fortune completes the course of All under Heaven.' How to gather people? It answers: 'By fortune.' This is the secret principle of the sage's analysis of the profundity and it cannot be understood by common Confucian scholars."[53] He further said: "I teach disciples with learning, but I gather them with profit. Is this my true intention? In this way, however, followers can have bountiful provisions."[54] Confucius said: "If you do not know what life is, how can you know death?" Nevertheless, the Taizhou School "grasps the rule of Yin and Yang" and "has insight into life and death." Confucius showed respect to the spirits but kept away from them and "the Master never talked about strange things, abnormal force, disorders and ghosts." The Taigu School, however, discussed ghosts and deities and "made magic." It had the so-called "compilation of eccentric arts" (*suyin shu* 素隐述). In view of this, the Taigu School revived the "unspoken mysteries" of Confucius and Mencius; yet it also had other mysteries. Some call this an "undercurrent." What on earth was this "undercurrent?" It was none other than the "learning of force and sincerity" (*qiangcheng zhixue*)." A piece in Volume Ten of *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu*), reads as follows:

> The "learning of force and sincerity" originated from the Divine Farmer (*Shen nong* 神农) and then the Yellow Emperor inherited it. The Sage designated it as the Learning of Zhou (*zhou xue* 周学). (244) Buddhism called it "Attaining Sincerity" (*mu cheng* 目诚) and Daoism named it the Holy Light (*shen guang* 神光). In the Spring and Autumn era, Duanmu

---

[52] See n. 3, *supra*.

[53] See n. 9, *supra*.

[54] *An Instruction of Four Writings for Disciples* (*Shi siji zhuzi shu* 示四记诸子书). Quoted from: Liu Huisun, "A Preliminary Discussion on the Political Ideas of the Taigu School," *The Wen Hui Bao* (Wenhui bao).

> (端木) was well versed in this learning. Lower than Duanmu, there were Shang Qu (商瞿), Gongye (公冶), □□, Nanrong (南容). In the Warring States, there were Huang Shi (黄石) and Gui Gu (鬼谷). Then in the Han Dynasty, Zhang Liang (张良) and Zhou Bo (周勃) mastered it and became the principal assistant to the emperor. In Tang, Qing Wu (青乌) passed it on to Guo Ziyi (郭子仪) and Li Guangbi (李光弼) and by which these two persons suppressed rebellion. In Song, Ji Dian (济癫 [i.e., 济公]) learned it and then he could foretell life and death. In Ming, Iron Cap (*Tie Guan* 铁冠) grasped it, so that he could predict weal and woe. Although it is the learning that sages never taught, it can aid the emperor, suppress rebellion, and divine life, death, weal and woe. Are the merits of this learning few? For the Gentlemen in later generations, please do not readily tell it to evil-minded people.[55]

The signature was: "*Qiupu zhouding* (秋浦周鼎, literally, the tripod of Zhou in the autumn river.), in the spring of the year *xinmao* of Yongle." Here, what is notable was not the author "Qiupu zhouding" but the fact that this teaching outside the regular study of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism had been taught to Zhou Taigu by an "extraordinary man." This "extraordinary man" was of course not this "Zhou Ding" but a person who secretly spread the "learning of Zhou." The well-known figures of the "learning of force and sincerity" listed in this piece of writing were intriguing. Among them, there were: the Divine Farmer and the Yellow Emperor, heroes of myth and the creator and successor of the learning respectively; Duanmu, Shang Qu, Gongye and Nanrong, all of whom were famous for their mastery of the Book of Changes in the pre-imperial era; Huang Shigong and Gui Gu Zi, the renowned strategists; Zhang Liang, Zhou Bo, Guo Ziyi and Li Guangbi, who were celebrated ministers or generals aiding the emperor at a critical time; even Ji Dian and Tie Guan, the legendary figures in Buddhism and Daoism respectively. Except for the Divine Farmer and the Yellow Emperor, orthodox Confucianism venerated none of these. They were either Guan Zhong (管仲) and Yue Yi-like officials who had helped the emperor to achieve hegemony or fantastic figures like Ji Dian and Tie Guan, who were despised by the Confucian scholars. The existence of such figures, however, helps us to explain why the Taigu School laid so much stress on the *Yijing* and was fond of talking about abnormal changes and spirits, performing divination and studying magic formulae. It stated and expanded

[55] See n. 30, *supra*.

the mystic contents in the Book of Changes and combined the eight trigrams in a variety of patterns, by which it developed their particular characteristics. Thus the *Brief Account of the Yellow Cliff Incident* (*Huangya jishi lüe* 黄崖纪事略) said:

> There was a sorcerer, who was named Zhou Xingyuan and had the title Taigu. He was able to not only cultivate the vital breath and abstain from grain but also to make incantations and expel ghosts. He moved in the company of scholars and merchants and had a large number of followers. This person acted ostentatiously.... Zhang Jizhong was Zhou Taigu's outstanding disciple. Zhang apotheosized his master and falsely alleged that the master was still alive in Mount Lu long after his corpse had decomposed. Zhang extended his master's sorcery and he was adept at divination through wind, (245) divination through the songs of flying bird and praying for rain. His divination was rather efficacious, so that many people were beguiled.[56]

In Zhang Jizhong's poems and essays, there were records that his master remained alive after the body decomposed. As his poem showed:

> In the year of *jiawu*, I went to Mount Lu at the ninth day. Amid tears, we said goodbye in the shadow of the Kongtong Mountain, and I was fully confident in finding the traces of our Master.... In the next year of *yiwei*, I arrived at the south slope of Mount Lu. All the trees on the mountain know me, and all stones of the mountain are in sorrow. The south and north cliffs are towering and overlapping, and I was lost in the thick bamboo forest. The cold wind blew for nine days and the bright moon looked on. Who is that weeping tears that fall like a chain of pearls? I have left life and death to the cold ashes. I worry that I will fail the Master's expectations and I feel I am at risk.... In the year before last, we drank along the road to West Lake, and then we went to the Loneliness Hill with tipsy steps. The True Man had no alternative but to descend from the Highest Heaven down to the earth, where celestial trees grow along the Tomb of Little Green. I paced back and forth and woke up suddenly, and I do not know how much hardship I experienced again.[57]

---

[56] *Brief Account of the Yellow Cliff Incident* (Huangya jishi lüe 黄崖纪事略), in *The Gazetteer of Feicheng* (*Feicheng xianzhi* 肥城县志). See: *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao*), vol. 1.

[57] "A Poem for Li Qingfeng Writing in the River on my Way to Jiuhua" (*Jiangwang jiuhua jiangshang ji Li Qingfeng* 将往九华江上寄李晴峰), in *Collected Poems of the White Stone Mountain House* (*Baishi shanfang shichao* 白石山房诗钞). Sources: see n. 30, *supra*.

Zhou Taigu had passed away in the twelfth year—the year of *renchen*—of Daoguang (1832). Two years later, that is, in the year of *jiawu*, and three years later, or in the year of *yiwei*, Zhang Jizhong twice visited Mount Lu after a long and hard journey to find traces of his master. He did not give up, though he found nothing of he expected. It was in "the year before last" when he, in a state of intoxication, met his master at the Tomb of Little Green, which was located in the Loneliness Mountain of the West Lake. This demonstrated that Zhang Jizhong firmly believed in the myth the master "kept alive after the body decomposed." It also shows Zhang's almost superstitious belief in his master's words, and he could not distinguish between delusion and reality.

The Religious Evolution of the Yellow Cliff Teaching and the Taigu School

In the years of Daoguang and Xianfeng, Zhou Taigu and his disciples secretly taught and studied in the area south of the Yangtze River. (246) Although this school exerted a certain influence on Confucian scholars in southeast China, many outsiders thought it too mystic and eccentric and thus it was confined in a very narrow scope and much less known to the public. It was the Yellow Cliff incident in the fifth year of Daoguang that shocked society and aroused the attention of the Qing government. At that time, the academic society that was in the Yellow Cliff Mountain and was led by Zhang Jizhong—one of Zhou Taigu's disciples, was regarded as "heresy" by Yan Jingming, the governor of Shandong. Therefore, the Qing army suppressed it and authorized the massacre in which several thousand people were slaughtered. This incident caused a sensation throughout the country. It was in this incident that Yan Jingming first alleged the Taigu School was a "religion." In his memorial to the throne, Yan said:

> Zhang Jizhong had neither talent nor reputation. In the name of Confucian classics, he falsely spoke about the learning of nature and destiny. Later, he was praised by the local gentry and ignorant residents were deluded by his words. Although his family had no great fortune and he had lived in Shandong just for ten years, his influence extended over a vast area. He also opened shops in the markets, by which, he amassed huge wealth. More than one hundred families followed his teaching. They sold their fortunes, joined the teaching, and then lived together in the mountain. These people donated money (to him) in their lifetime and even died for him. We really could not understand what the sorcery

> of Zhang was. What on earth was his teaching? How could it bewilder the people to such an extent!…We confiscated one copy of his seditious book, in which the content was absurd and fantastic. Recently, there are many rumors about the evil sorceries of the group. Since there is no conclusive evidence thus far, we cannot report in detail. Further investigations show how absurd this group is.[58]

In addition, the "Rebels of Yellow Cliff Teaching" (*Huangya jiaofei* 黄崖教匪), which was composed by Yan Jingming's aides, described it in detail:

> In the sixth year of Xianfeng, the region south of the Yangtze River fell into chaos. Zhang Jizhong moved his family to the south…Then they settled at the Yellow Cliff Mountain sixty *li* northeast of Feicheng County. At the foot of this mountain, there is South Yellow Cliff Village and Middle Yellow Cliff Village. There also is North Yellow Cliff Village one *li* or so north of the South and Middle Villages. This place adjoins Changqing County. Here, the hills encircle on three sides and the north and south peak stand facing each other. In the middle, there is a one-hundred-*mu* piece of flatland. Zhang Jizhong held that the north was going to be unstable and that this place was good for fleeing the chaos. Thus, he built a house on the slope. Since the Nian rebels frequently launched attacks in southern Shandong, people who were forced to flee came here. Furthermore, Zhang taught them with his own learning.… In the first and second year of Tongzhi, the Nian rebels penetrated into east Shandong. Under such circumstance, Zhang Jizhong built two stone strongholds along the two sides and one big stronghold on the top of the mountain. He channeled the river to encircle the mountain foot. He also purchased bows, crossbows and other weapons and established an arsenal in case of unexpected war. (247) This attracted one hundred or so families to come here. Zhang Jizhong told followers: they should give up their greed for money and lust for women; they should bring their fortunes, wives and concubines and should forget their original home. Zhang trained his spirit as a recluse and seldom met people. People who first came here from afar would stay in the scholarly lounge. Zhang's outstanding disciples, such as Wu, Zhao Weitang and Liu Yaodong, would teach and instruct them to study the pamphlet—*Compass*. Every five days, there would be a lecture. For farmers who were unable to read and study, they were free to leave or stay. Followers were required to leave their right arm uncovered. Neighboring houses were not allowed

[58] "Rebels of Yellow Cliff Teaching" (*Huangya jiao*fei 黄崖教匪), in Brief Account of Military Campaign in Shandong (*Shandong junxing jilüe* 山东军兴纪略), see: Part Four, "The Nian Rebellion" (*Nian jun* 捻军), *Primary Sources for Chinese Modern History* (*Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan* 中国近代史资料丛刊) (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she 神州国光社, 1956).

> to visit each other. There were two meals a day and food was abundant. They knew the rites and displayed full courtesy, but kept silent all day.… Zhang Jizhong built the hall for offering sacrifice to deities. The date of sacrifice was fixed in every year and the ritual was always performed late at night. The formalities of ascending and descending were very elaborate. Disciples, holding swords, dressed up and stood along two sides. Pieces of sandalwood and huge candles burned and the flame and fragrance soared into the sky. Even from several dozen *li* away, people could see the light. Ignorant local residents said: "The Sage Zhang is performing night sacrifice." People who were not members would not be allowed to enter and watch.[59]

As is well known, Yan Jingming was a high-ranking local official. The fact that he demolished the Yellow Cliff stronghold and connived to kill innocent residents is abhorrent. We, however, shall not reject his opinion because of this atrocity. For instance, if he alleged that the academic group of Yellow Cliff created by Zhang Jizhong of the Taigu School was "heresy," it is unnecessary for us to try to prove that it was not. Conversely, we shall adopt a down-to-earth attitude and examine whether Yan's allegations were well-founded. According to our investigation, Yan had four reasons.

First, Zhou Taigu taught the so-called Yin-Yang skills, such as "magic drawings, deity incantations, driving ghosts, invisibility" and "secret sorceries of Rongcheng (容成 [i.e., 容成子])," all of which ran counter to Confucianism. As for Zhang Jizhong, he apotheosized his master and diligently practiced his master's skill. Zhang "hid books like *Three Ways Unified and Normalized* (*Cantongqi*), *The Complete Daoist Scriptures* (*Daozang daquan* 道藏大全) and *Precious Slips of Celestial Beings* (*Xianling baoce* 仙灵宝策) in his bedroom," "divined through wind and astronomical phenomena and prayed for rain. Because his divinations are rather efficacious, many people were bewildered."[60] He also required followers to study *Compass*. If this was not "heresy," what else was it?

Second, Zhang Jizhong built stronghold at the Yellow Cliff Mountain and gathered people in crowds. On the face of it, what he did was to spread his learning. Zhang, however, "reclusively practiced his spirit" and considered himself as the patriarch. Furthermore, he built the hall for offering sacrifice to deities and performed night sacrifice on

[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*

a regular basis. People who were not the a member of his sect "would not be allowed to enter and watch."

Third, Zhang Jizhong deluded the people through "heresy" and from which he profited. Yan said in his memorial: "Zhang Jizhong had neither talent nor reputation. In the name of Confucian classics, he falsely talked about the learning of nature and destiny. Later he was praised by the local gentry and ignorant residents were deluded by his words. Although his family had no great fortune and he had lived in Shandong just for ten years, (248) his influence extended over a vast area. He also opened shops in markets. From Xiaolipu of Feicheng, area inside and outside the capital city of Shandong, Huakou of Dong'e, Tiemenguan of Lijin, Zichengkou of Haifeng, to Anqiu and Huai County, he opened shops named 'Taiyun,' "Tongtai," "Laitai" and 'Xiangtaiheng.' Zhang gathered a horde of outlaws. People who followed him would sell their fortunes and bring the money to join him. These people donated money (to him) in their lifetime and even died for him. We really could not understand what on earth his teaching was?"[61]

Last, disciples of Zhang Jizhong blindly followed their master. Armed with incantations performed by Zhang, they would face death unflinchingly. The "Rebels of the Yellow Cliff Teaching" (*Huangya jiaofei*) recorded: "All male and female family members of Zhang Jizhong and Zhang Shaoling (张绍陵)[62] were immolated. They combined their strongholds and fought desperately. None surrendered. Among the more than two hundred male and female disciples and scholars, entire families fought to the death. They were stubborn to such a great extent! There were four hundred women and children left. The women looked calm and they talked and laughed as usual. During the interrogation, the captured disciples, like Han Meitang, expressed plainly that they were following their master and willing to embrace death. Alas! How surprising they were!"[63]

It appears that the above four points had some significance and should not be ignored totally, even if they were exaggerated by Yan Jingming and his aides. Even Qiao Shuzhan (乔树枏), an Imperial

---

[61] "The Falsely-Accused Case of Yellow Cliff Rebellion" (*Huangya wufan an* 黄崖诬反案), in "Lawsuits" (*Yusong lei* 狱讼类), *Collected Anecdotes and Trifles of Qing* (*Qing bailei chao* 清稗类钞), vol. 3.

[62] Zhang Shaoling was the son of Zhang Jizhong.

[63] See n. 58, *supra*.

Inspector at the end of the reign of Guangxu who tried to overturn the decision about the Yellow Cliff Teaching, did not deny that it was a religion. According to the Qing archives: "Whether the learning of Zhang Jizhong was heresy is worthy of further investigation. Even if it was heresy, it was entirely different from rebellious sects."[64] Qiao himself was a pious follower of the Taigu School and he knew the Yellow Cliff Teaching in detail. In the memorial to reverse the decision, he did not stoutly deny the Yellow Cliff Teaching was "heresy." His words may be interpreted as a tacit approval.

Based on the materials we have examined, we hold that the Taigu School—the Yellow Cliff Teaching in particular—was absolutely not a non-religious group as some scholars argued. Quite the reverse. It followed the same track as *Sanyi jiao* and the Teaching of Master Liu. We say this for six reasons.

1) The school worshiped deities and held sacrificial rituals, and elaborate rites. The above discussion mentions a record of "the Sage Zhang performing night sacrifice." Moreover, the *Gazetteer of Feicheng County* (*Feicheng xianzhi*) described in detail the building of the sacrificial hall and the scene of the sacrifice:

> (249) Then on the top of the mountain (he) built a hall, which was used for offering sacrifice. There was a corridor along the two sides of the hall, which was winding and had multiple eaves. There was a high staircase and many doors in the corridor. Below the staircase, there were bridged ponds and dispersed pools. A high platform was built south of the ponds, which was named "Platform for Singing and Returning." There were two gates on the left and right sides respectively. One was the "Heavenly Root," the other was the "Moon's Home." Outside the gates, there was a twisted stone path, called the "Herb-Digging Pathway." A pavilion stood halfway up the hill and was called the "Opposing Pines Pavilion." The ritual of worshiping deities was always held later at night and the rites of ascending and descending were very elaborate.…[65]

Professor Liu Huisun also said: in light of "the 'Miracles of the Yellow Cliff' (*Huangya shengji* 黄崖圣迹), an appendix of *Sequel to Remaining Works of White Stone Mountain House* (*Baishi shanfang yiji xubian* 白石山房遗集续编), its architecture was distinct from the ordinary garden and was characterized by the union of patriarch and master and the

[64] See n. 11, *supra*.
[65] See n. 56, *supra*.

connotation of establishing hierarchy and assuming supremacy."[66] When Zhang Jizhong started the sacrifice, his elegiac address read:

> How great all sages! Your light radiates from the east, and all lords kneel down before you!…There is only our Kongtong Teaching, which originated from Chiyang! From the south, we moved to the east! Since we reached the east, it is the land of happiness! How harmonious the east land! So many talents are there! Our past sages are so brilliant and so sagacious, and they descend and manifest! The miracles are evident, and the land is thriving![67]

There was no difference between this text and the prayer of other religions, though the former was harder to understand. It is evident that the so-called "past sages" referred to Fuxi, King Wen of Zhou, Confucius, Zhou Dunyi and Zhang's master—the Master of Complete Emptiness. In view of this, although it was said that Zhou Taigu "conveniently" offered sacrifice, his status appears higher than that of past sages. Thus, this ritual had a tint of the worship of the founding patriarch.

It should be pointed out that when Zhang Jizhong received the ritual of "nine kowtows" from his disciples, he "sat quietly and kept silent" assuming the airs of patriarch.[68] This practice was very common among sects of Chinese popular religions.

2) As well as the Chan school, the Taigu School followed the succession principle that "the lifeblood shall be handed on by the master;" that is to say, the successor would be designated by the former patriarch, and other disciples were strictly forbidden from opposing the choice. In addition, this school was very strict with the admittance. Any person who wanted to join the group was first investigated thoroughly. It was said: "there was an admirer, who visited (the master) and kept kowtowing until his forehead bled. (250) But Zhang Jizhong stubbornly refused him and said: 'he has no virtuous roots. He can only obtain such root by doing things to benefit the people and the world.' Thus, this person was required to free captive animals and provide free food (for the poor). While he was doing his good deeds, (the school sent people) to observe his faults in secret. Then they reported:

---

[66] See n. 17, *supra*.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] See n. 56, *supra*.

'this person is active in some areas but stingy in others. He fails to show he has been enlightened and will be discarded by Zhou Taigu.' This person was frightened and begged to be admitted. He kowtowed to the master more sincerely but he was still refused. (The master) worried this person that would leave, so he secretly ordered members to threaten and instigate him to bring thousands of cash. (The master) still said 'he has no virtuous roots' and declined (the money)…"[69] Of course, this record is exaggerated, but we can still see this school's strictness in admittance. To be accepted, a person must first be "introduced" by a member, who would write a "recommendation." Then, the school would choose an auspicious date to hold the formal rite of admittance.[70] At the final stage, the master would ask other disciples to leave and secretly tell the new disciple a mantra (*zhen yan* 真言), which the disciple would strictly obey and not forget in his lifetime. It is no that wonder Ma Xulun said in his *The Unexhausted Juice of the Stone House* (*Shiwu xushen*):

> The disciple must be divined before being admitted. Only if the result of divination was confirmed, he could be accepted. After formal admittance, the master would tell him the mantra, which was very secret. The disciple served the master as son did to father. Occasionally the disciple would violate the master's words, and would have to kneel for a long time. One day, when (Mao) Qingfan was showing his master around the West Lake in Hangzhou, he did something to violated the master's words. He promptly knelt down before the master, even though there were many people following them.[71]

Furthermore, although it had the name of an academic association, the Taigu School was open to not only scholars but to all social groups, including women. "In this school, there were prominent officers, nobles and common folk. Any person, no matter what class he was from, could become a member. For instance, at the end of the Qing, there were big officials like Mao Qingfan. More recently, Ni Sichong and Wang Zhanyuan also came from this school."[72]

---

[69] See n. 58, *supra*.

[70] This is based on personal communication with Professor Liu Huisun. Professor Liu had witnessed the admittance of disciple in the Taigu School.

[71] See n. 6, *supra*. At that time, Mao Qingfan (毛庆蕃) was the superintendent of the Jiangnan Arsenal and the Provincial Administration Commissioner of Shaanxi and the Acting Governor-General of Shaanxi and Gansu.

[72] See n. 6, *supra*.

3) The practice of this school was: "Mind and the breath are interdependent and the wisdom is attained through transforming consciousnesses." The purpose of practice was to solve the "problem of life and death." Thus, followers called it the "merit of the sage" and called themselves "disciples of the merit of the sage."

Zhou Taigu held that the cosmos was created through the concentration and dissipation of the bright red vital breath and the jet-black vital breath. The two vital breaths interacted and thus generated the world. The world generated all things and then there were human beings. Human beings inherited the jet-black vital breath inherited from the copulation of his parents, therefore it was called "nature." The bright red vital breath is directly obtained from the air when humans are born. It is called "destiny." (251) The combination of nature and destiny formed human substance, that is, the "body." The pivot of the interaction of nature and destiny was the "mind." The two vital breaths were eternal, thus the nature and destiny of human being are immortal. The substance of human beings, the flesh, is not immortal. This was called "descent to death" (*cu jiang* 殂降). But, through the "merit of the sage"—that is to say, "the greatest and the most unbending vital breath would be nourished" by the "interdependence of mind and breath"—the nature and destiny, or the two vital breaths, would never dissipate. In the school's own words, "with the awareness permanency of the heavenly destiny in my body, I frequently preserve it; with the awareness of the residing of the great harmonious vital breath in the nature, I frequently nourish it."

Such methods of "preserving" and "nourishing" "interdependence of mind and breath" were based on the principles of *Yijing* and was tested by the Confucian, Buddhist and Daoist canons; furthermore, they absorbed theories and practice of herbal medicines and the Inner Elixir. Then it developed into a unique practice of "resuming the primordial status" and "recovering the original simplicity." There were two main methods of this practice, the "sincerity of ear/hearing" and the "sincerity of eye/watching." By these two methods, there would be a mutual sincerity between hearing and watching and then "wisdom is attained through transforming consciousnesses." Thus, the practice would be complete. In *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu*), it is said:

> (The trigram) *Li* (离, Clinging, Fire) is internally bright and externally dark. How can it direct the eyes? The eye accumulates the strength of internal organs and becomes bright, as the sun amasses the heavenly

> lights and becomes brilliant. Thus, we say the "*li*-eye." (The trigram) *Kan* (坎, the Abysmal, Water) is internally strong and externally weak. How can it instruct the ear? The ear inhales the vital breath of internal organs and becomes sharp, as the moon absorbs the earthly virtue and becomes clear. Therefore, we say the "*kan*-ear." Water is the norm of Sharpness and fire is the priority of brightness. When water is over fire, order will be complete.[73]

Through the practice of "nourishing righteousness by virtue of enlightening," disciples endeavored to establish merit, virtue and thought. Then, they could give up ordinary vision, listening, speaking and acting and accomplish "seeing with the awareness of clarity and listening with the awareness of sharpness." Gradually, as The Trigram Ding (鼎, The Caldron) of *Yijing* said "Xun (巽, Penetrating) then the ear and eye become clever," they would reach the highest level, in which disciples could "hear what they see and see what they hear," "the great brightness will remain" and "stop at the supreme goodness." When they practice to such a level, they will grasp the rule of Yin and Yang and have insight into life and death; furthermore, "the way of the highest sincerity can foretell the future." It even boasted that "the person who is to be enlightened can live in this world and need not abstain from meals and sex, he may enjoy the pleasures of life as long as Heaven."[74] In a word, he could be immortal.

The practice in which "the mind and the breath are interdependent and the wisdom is attained through transforming consciousnesses" included many intangible ideas. These included not only elements of belief but secret teachings that never were spread outside of the school. (252) For instance, in his "Letter to the Fellow □" (致□同道), Liu E said:

> Why do so many people who practice the way, yet so few who can be enlightened? It is owing to three difficulties: for those who learn the way but fail to understand the way, they are no different from those who do not learn; for those who understand the way but fail to put it into practice, they are no different from those who do not understand; and for those who practice the way but fail to do it persistently, they are no different from those who do not practice. These difficulties are like threefold mountains of demons who blocked up the blessing from heaven. To

---

[73] "Clear and Coherent Explanation of Man of Virtue" (*Renzhe jiejie* 仁者节解), in *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu*). Quoted from: Liu Delong, *op. cit.*

[74] "Item of The Great Accomplishment Teaching" (*Dacheng jiao* 大成教), in "Lawsuits" (*Yusong lei*), *Collected Anecdotes and Trifles of Qing* (*Qing bailei chao*), vol. 4.

> know the interdependence of mind and breath is the way of learning; to know how the mind and breath are interdependent is the understanding of the way; to know when the mind and breath are interdependent and when they are not interdependent in the twelve two-hour time slots a day is the practice of the way. If one person can keep his mind on goodness for three months without lapse, it must be from the practice of the way. Thus, the Great Way is complete.[75]

4) The theory of the Taigu School was adulterated with Manichean elements. Professor Liu Huisun discussed it in one of his papers. He wrote: "While I was reading the first edition of Mr. Fan Wenlan's *A Simplified General History of China* (*Zhongguo tongshi jianbian*), I found by chance one ballad of the Fang La Rebellion which sang: 'the hierarchy is divided into Upper, Middle and Lower. The three treasures are heaven, earth and man. The Five Phases begat the father and son. The eight trigrams established the monarch and subject.' This was a popular mix of Manichaeism and Confucian and Daoist thought in the society. I recall in my childhood when I was exercising calligraphy, that this ballad was in the copybook that was written by Li Guangxin and distributed to disciples. Therefore, there must have been some connection between them."[76] In addition, the story in the eleventh chapter of *Travels of Lao Can*, in which the supreme god fought with asuras every several years and both were the incarnation the Sage of Force (*shili zunzhe* 势力尊者), might derive from the Manichean idea of the "Three times and Two principles." According to the Qing archives: the four verses of this ballad also were the mantra of the Heavenly Principle Teaching (*Tianli jiao* 天理教, or the Eight-Trigram Teaching, *Bagua jiao* 八卦教), which staged a rebellion in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing (1813).[77]

5) The Taizhou School did "act eccentrically" and "make magic."
As is well known, since the days when Confucius taught his own disciples, Chinese education followed the principles of open teaching, with no designated succession, no secret instruction, no discrimination between students. Nevertheless, at the very beginning of the Taigu

---

[75] Liu Delong, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[76] See n. 30, *supra*. Professor Liu Huisun is the grandson of Liu E, son of Liu Dakun. Both of his father and grandfather were disciples of the Taigu School.

[77] The confession of Zhang Jianmo (张建谟) on the thirtieth day of the ninth month in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing. See: *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*).

School, Zhou Taigu established the principle of "teaching one-to-one by virtue of speaking and mental instruction" and ruled out the possibility of teaching people from outside his school. Many scholars disliked such practice. (253) Deng Zhicheng (邓之诚) had pointed out: "For this school, its way of learning and practicing did not depart from the Confucian tradition. Its method, however, was very secret. And there were rumors that it had magic skills like telekenesis."[78]

In 1933, when Liu Dakun, a disciple of the Taigu School, was printing *The Transcription of Poems of Longchuan* (*Longchuan shichao* 龙川诗钞) and *The Remaining Writings of Li Guangxin* (*Lishi yishu*) in Tianjin, the news shocked old masters of the school, who were living in Suzhou. Liu received a letter signed by a dozen senior masters and was required to tear out *Lishi yishu* from the *Poems* and immediately burn the copies. Then, the ashes should be packed and thrown into the middle of the Yangtze River in Yangzhou. The *Poems* were confiscated and preserved in the Hall of Longchuan in Yangzhou. It was strictly forbidden to circulate them.[79]

There was much in the writings of the Taigu School that is unfathomable. The most marked one was the "compilation of eccentric arts" (suyin shu), which appeared in both Zhang Jizhong and Li Guangxin's remaining works. It talked about the "realm of establishing the innate impartiality" and it is very hard to understand.

As did other popular religious sects, the Yellow Cliff Teaching made prophecies and incantations. Among its masters, Zhang Jizhong was an expert in such activities.

Once, Liu Depei, who was from Zichuan, was arrested because he refused to pay his rent. Then he escaped and hid in the home of Si Kouping, who was from Baoshan and one of Liu's friends. At that time, Zhang Jizhong was in Boshan. He was invited to practice physiognomy for the two people. Zhang told them they had the face of an emperor. After that, Liu Depei plotted a rebellion against the Manchu empire in the name of resuming the Han regime.[80] Before the incident

[78] Deng Zhicheng (邓之诚), *Miscellaneous Notes for Triflings* (*Gudong suoji* 骨董琐记). See: *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao*), vol. 1.

[79] See n. 46, *supra*.

[80] "Story of the Refusal of Paying Rent by Liu Depei from Zichuan" (*Zichuan Liu Depei kangliang shimo* 淄川刘德培抗粮始末), in *Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong* (*Shandong jindaishi ziliao*), vol. 1.

of the Yellow Cliff, Zhang Jizhong had predicted "the Qing regime is coming to end" and shared this prediction with disciples around him.[81]

6) The Taigu School had the aspiration to create a utopian society. The teaching of this school included two aspects, that is, "inherent sagehood and acquired rulership" (*neisheng waiwang* 内圣外王). This school never slighted the way of "acquired rulership," though it laid stress on the practice of "inherent sagehood" and expanded greatly the connotations of traditional Confucianism. For this teaching, the act of pursuing personal deliverance showed the selfishness of Buddhism and Daoism and (254) ran counter to the sage's learning of caring all under heaven. Zhou Taigu said: "There was the *Penetrating the Book of Changes* (*Tongshu*), which was written by The Master Lianxi (Zhou Dunyi) from Daozhou, and the *Western Inscription* (*Xi Ming* 西铭) of Yong [see note]. They appeared in succession and followed the principle of *Yi Zhuan* (*Confucius' Commentaries to Yijing*, 易传). But in less than one hundred years, the number of people who knew these principles had decreased greatly. By the time of *qing-li-qi-zhen* [see note], Heaven would know how many are left!"[82] Besides this, Zhou opposed the exploitation of farmers through high land rent, as he wrote:

> In ancient times, farmers paid one tenth of their harvest and labored in government fields. At present, farmers only need to pay one fortieth or one thirtieth and provide labor. Why then farmers are still impoverished? In the past, farmers obtained land from the state; in the present, the land is from man (landlords). The farmers pay one fortieth or one thirtieth to the state and provide labor; but they have to pay "ten-five" (five tenths) to man and provide labor. How can they not be poor?[83]

---

[81] In "Remembrance of the Yellow Cliff Incident" (*Huangya an de huiyi* 黄崖案的回忆), Wu Linbai (吴吝白) said: "My father told me 'at that time, Zhang Jizhong spoke to us the Qing was coming to end. But we did not know how he divined that.'" See: *Ibid*.

[82] "Expounding on Advancing Learning" (*Jinxue jie* 进学解), in *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu*), vol. 4. Here, "Yong" referred to the ancient Yongzhou in Guanzhong, where Zhang Zai (张载) creating the Learning of Guan (*Guan xue* 关学). "Qing-li-qi-zhen" included the reign of Longqing, Wanli, Tianqi and Chongzhen at the end of Ming.

[83] *The Remaining Writings of Zhou Taigu* (*Zhoushi yishu*), vol. 5. See: Liu Delong, *op. cit*., p. 594.

He further advocated resuming the ancient "well-field system" (*jingtian zhi* 井田制). In other words, Zhou Taigu imagined there would be a combination of "love for all people and all things" (*minbao wuyu* 民胞物与), as characterized by the motto that "the hunger of an ant is my own hunger," and the religious pursuit of resolving the "issues of life and death." Zhang Jizhong inherited his master's social ideals for his experiment in Shandong.

Before he moved to the north, Zhang Jizhong had suggested to the authorities that silted lands created by the change of the course of Yellow River be employed to station garrison troops in the region of Xuzhou. The government ignored this suggestion. In the sixth year of Xianfeng (1856), he moved to Shandong with his whole family and settled down in the Yellow Cliff Mountain of Feicheng County. At that time, the Taiping Rebellion had still not been suppressed; meanwhile, the Nian Rebellion had broken out. The vast area of the Central Plain was war-ridden and bandits or bandit-style soldiers ran rampant in the countryside. The people acutely felt this burden. Under such circumstances, Zhang built a stronghold on the slope of Yellow Cliff Mountain, where it was difficult to access and was scarcely populated. The stronghold was a community-style "utopia," in which community members shared all goods; study and labor were combined; the position of patriarch was united with the master; and scholars, farmers, merchants and soldiers were integrated. The goal of Zhang Jizhong was to create a pure land in the chaotic country. "No person who joined the community was allowed to retain a personal fortune. He must donate half of his belongs as a registration (fee) and this donated property would be controlled by Zhang Jizhong."[84] All members of one family lived together. There was no private farmland. Community members farmed as they studied. Zhang Jizhong considered himself as the head of the stronghold (the Patriarch) and presided over everything. In the stronghold, there were halls for offering sacrifice, houses for study and an arsenal. Zhang channeled the river to encircle the hill and drilled able-bodied men for self-defense. Since there were many scholars who were not experienced farmers, Zhang opened shops in Feicheng, Ji'nan and other cities or towns. (255) These shops were named with the character "tai" (泰, peace) and they would provide

[84] See n. 56, *supra*.

extra money for the stronghold. In addition, Zhang set up a herbal medicine stall for community members. When Shandong was ravaged by war and bandits, many local residents regarded the stronghold of Yellow Cliff as a paradise and called Zhang Jizhong "the Sage." As a result, Zhang's work attracted more than two thousand families to come here and the total number of the population of this burgeoning community grew to more than ten thousand. Under his supervision, these people lived and worked in peace for eight or nine years. Unfortunately, it was swept away by the Qing army in the fifth year of Tongzhi. The creation of this study and work village community was the utopian experiment carried out by Zhang Jizhong. It was nothing new in Chinese history. For instance, there was the Way of Five Pecks of Rice (*Wudoumi dao* 五斗米道) in Hanzhong (汉中).

As well as *Sanyi jiao* of Fujian and the Teaching of Master Liu of Sichuan, the Taigu School-Yellow Cliff Teaching was first an academic group created by scholars who were inclined to the learning of mind of Wang Yangming and the syncretism of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. It then developed into a religious sect. This was the new and noticeable trend in the Chinese social and intellectual history since the Ming and Qing dynasties. After the mid- and late Ming, orthodox Buddhism and Confucianism declined sharply, while the popular religion was rapidly extending to the everyday life of residents in local society. It was in the commoner's daily life that the popularized Buddhist and Daoist faith blended with the traditional Confucian guides, virtues and ethics. Thus, there was a torrent of syncretic popular religion. It not only laid the intellectual foundation for the rise of popular religious sects, it also exerted influence on high culture. That is to say, even some Confucian scholars who aspired to save the people and the country turned to the religious belief, by which they pursued their utopia and planned great causes. Of course, compared with *Sanyi jiao* and the Teaching of Master Liu, the Taigu School-Yellow Cliff Teaching had some unique characteristics, such as strong desire for politics, rejection of the government and separation from traditional thought. In one aspect, there was no doubt that all the three sects experienced the transformation from an academic association to a social and religious group. As "Interviews at the Yellow Cliff Mountain" (*Huangya shan fangwen ji* 黄崖山访问记) stated: "After Zhang Jizhong's death, although most of his disciples died in the incident, a few of them still lived in areas around the mountain

and kept spreading the teachings of the 'Taizhou School.' Later this group lost the principle of teaching and stealthily became a secret society. Not long ago, there were some believers of this sect, who came to the mountain and offered sacrifice."[85] In the Teaching of the Huang Family (*Huang men* 黄门) of Suzhou, the situation was similar.[86]

[85] "Interviews at the Yellow Cliff Mountain" (*Huangya shan fangwen ji* 黄崖山访问记). It was the full record of an interview conducted by Yin Chengyuan (尹成源), who was from the History Association of Ji'an, in the Yellow Cliff Mountain on May 1, 1957.

[86] As for the Teaching of the Huang Family of Suzhou, this name was from the fact that Huang Baonian (黄葆年) and his son superintended the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd and preached the teachings of Zhou Taigu for decades. Thus, residents in Suzhou and Taizhou called the Taizhou School the "Teaching of the Huang Family."

CHAPTER SIX

EXPLORING THE HISTORY OF THE YIHETUAN (路遥, "义和拳教"钩沉)*

Lu Yao

Abstract

The Yihetuan (Society of Righteousness and Harmony, often called the Boxers) was the principal organization in the Yihetuan Movement at the end of the nineteenth century. At that time, official literature reported that it had originated from "the Righteous and Harmonious Fists in the reign of Qianlong and Jiaqing." The reliability of this record confounded students in this field for a very long time, because there was no adequate literature for further exploration. On the basis of much arduous fieldwork and persistent pursuit of relevant clues, this paper reveals the following: "the Righteous and Harmonious Fists" (义和拳) during the Wang Lun (王伦) Uprising, which broke out in the thirty-ninth year of Qianlong, actually was another name for the "Six-Style Fists" (*Liutang quan* 六趟拳), a martial arts style, that belonged to the Li Cui (李翠) branch of the Li Trigram Teaching (*Li gua jiao* 离卦教). This fieldwork further investigates the case of the Yihetuan "heresy" of Yang Sihai (杨四海) in the forty-third year of Qianlong and the Heavenly Principle Teaching (*Tianli jiao* 天理教) Rebellion, which was led by Lin Qing (林清) and Li Wencheng (李文成) in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing. Based on these, it finds both the martial arts style of Plum Blossom Fists (*Meihua quan* 梅花拳) and the martial art grouping of the Li Trigram Teaching—"Hong Quan" (红拳, literally, the Red Fists) were constituents of the Yihetuan. In addition, this paper points out the Plum Blossom Fists groups were the main force in the early stages of the Yihetuan Movement and that the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" of Zhu Hongdeng (朱红灯) was also affiliated with the Li Trigram Teaching. Finally, this writer concludes that at the nucleus of the Yihetuan Movement was the "Teaching of Righteous and Harmonious Fists" (*Yihequan jiao* 义和拳教), which consisted of the Li Trigram Teaching, the Plum Blossom Fists, the Big Sword Society (*Dadao hui* 大刀会) and the Red Fists groupings. Thus, the most confusing problem in the Yihetuan historiography is resolved.

Keywords: Yihetuan; heresy; Yihetuan Movement

---

* This paper was originally in *Modern Chinese History Studies* (*Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究), no. 2 (1991).

Introduction

(256, original page number, similarly hereinafter) The "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" was the most primitive organization of the Yihetuan Movement. Together with the Big Sword Society (*Dadao hui* 大刀会) and the Magic Fists Society (*Shenquan hui* 神拳会), (257) the trio formed the nucleus of the early Yihetuan. An effort to clarify the proto-form of the Yihetuan organization and its evolution will help us to further examine the nature and characteristics of the Yihetuan. The Yihetuan was commonly known as a movement that had strong patriotic feelings and reflected the spirit of the times. It adopted the traditional methods of struggle seen in other historical peasant movements. In this movement, nationalism and the spirit of the times entwined so discordantly that different appraisals of the Yihetuan emerged. The dispute is still not over. One key area of disagreement has come about because we do not understand well the Yihetuan's rituals and organization. Therefore, we have the feeling that the complexity of the Yihetuan Movement is intangible. This is a problem crying out for a solution.

As for the nature and organization of the Yihetuan, there have been the following opinions:[1]

1) According to the literature, the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" first appeared in the early years of the Qianlong reign. This was regarded as the origins of the latter-day secret society of the Yihetuan.

2) The title—"Righteous and Harmonious Fists"—was the name of a specific school of martial art. The "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" discussed here was a product of the incorporation of popular secret societies and martial art groupings. Thus, it was a product of a peasant campaign against the government. Chen Zhanruo (陈湛若), a proponent of this view, forwarded it very early, in the paper "The pre-history of the Yihetuan" (*Yihetuan qianshi* 义和团前史), which still inspires us today.[2] Cheng Xiao (程歗) and myself absorbed these

[1] For details of these opinions see my paper and Cheng Xiao's writing. Later, after further discussion and revision, these writings were published. See: Lu Yao (路遥) and Cheng Xiao (程歗), *Studies on the History of the Yihetuan Movement* (*Yihetuan yundong shi yanjiu* 义和团运动史研究) (Ji'an: Qilu shushe, 1988), pp. 1–32.

[2] Chen Zhanruo (陈湛若), "The Pre-History of the Yihetuan" (*Yihetuan qianshi* 义和团前史), *Literature, History and Philosophy* (*Wenshizhe* 文史哲), no. 3 (1954). See also: The

ideas in our book. The early scholarship, however, failed to point out in detail the organizational succession and common features of the groups in the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" during the reigns of Qianlong and Jiaqing and it did not uncover their evolution. Therefore, this problem remains still perplexing. Since 1986, this writer has carried out fieldwork in many villages in several counties at the juncture of Shandong and Hebei provinces to further investigate the origins of the Yihetuan. Through these efforts, this writer obtained a deep understanding of the organization and activities of the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." Based on clues found in this fieldwork, together with archival records, this paper attempts to verify some facts in the history of the Yihetuan. (258) The basic idea of this paper is: the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" was not only a martial arts style but a cult; thus, it was a rebellious organization, in which there was a combination of martial arts and popular religions. Consequently, it could be called the "Teaching of Righteous and Harmonious Fists" (*yihequan jiao* 义和拳教). All analysis and argumentations will abide by this logic.

The title of the organization, the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" appeared at the earliest stage of the Yihetuan. It could be found in two records. One was in the letter to Office for the Management of Affairs with Various Countries (总理各国事务衙门) by Zhang Rumei (张汝梅), the Governor of Shandong, in the fourth month of the twenty-fourth year of Guangxu. It said:

> The original name of Plum Blossom Fists (*meihua quan* 梅花拳) is "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." Residents in prefectures and counties at the juncture of of Shandong and Zhili are tough and are fond of the martial arts. Many commoners practice the martial arts for self-protection and mutual aid. Since more and more people practice it, this martial art spread to other regions. In Henan, Shanxi and Jiangsu, there also are persons who are practicing and teaching it. These people are collaborating.... In the second month of this year, the Plum Blossom Fists gathered in crowds and the authorities persuaded them to disband. Since then, various groupings of martial arts devotees occasionally meet and exchange skills. They avoid using the title "Righteous and Harmonious

Society of the History of the Yihetuan Study, ed., *Selected Papers on the Yihetuan Movement* (*Yihetuan yundong lunwen xuan* 义和团运动论文选) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984).

> Fists" and call themselves the 'Plum Blossom Fists,' but they secretly preserve the original name.[3]

The other one was a report of *National News* (*Guowen bao* 国闻报) published in the twenty-fifth year of Guangxu, in which it recorded: "In the fourth month of the year *yihai*, Zhu Hongdeng (朱红灯), the rebel leader of Changqing (长清), gathered people in En and Ping counties, where he established a society named 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists.'" Then, on the seventh day of the ninth month in the same year, Zhu Hongdeng and other rebel chieftains "sent invitation cards to one thousand or so Fists rebels saying that they were entrenched in the Gangzili Village of Pingyuan County. These rebels ostentatiously propagated: 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists All Under Heaven is to Support the Qing and Destroy the Foreign'…Thereupon, the phrase 'Support the Qing and Destroy the Foreign' would be embroidered on many banners."[4]

The above two records showed that the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" had emerged in Guan (冠) and Wei (威) counties and other two areas—En (恩) and Ping (平).[5] The Yihetuan in Guan and Wei had changed its name to the Plum Blossom Fists in the second month of the twenty-fifth year of Guangxu and staged rebellion as late as on the eleventh day of the ninth month. The Yihetuan group in En and Ping appeared in the seventh or ninth month of the twenty-fifth year of Guangxu. Although the Yihetuan in these two areas did not belong to the same organization, both of them had a historical connection

---

[3] "The Letter to Office for the Management of Affairs with Various Countries (总理各国事务衙门) by Zhang Rumei (张汝梅), the Governor of Shandong, on the Twenty-Ninth Day of the Fourth Month in the Twenty-Fourth Year of Guangxu." See: *Archives Concerning Church Affairs and Disputes Involving Missionaries and Converts* (*Qingji jiaowu jiaoan dang* 清季教务教案档), vol. 6, pp. 236–239.

[4] See: *Collected Reports* (*Hui bao* 汇报), no. 146, published on the Seventeenth Day of the Twelfth Month in the Twenty-Fifth Year of Guangxu.

[5] In the early struggle of the Yihetuan, there were three centers. The first was the southwest plains of Shandong and the center of activities was in Cao (曹) and Shan (单). The second was the northwest Shandong and activities centered in Renping (茌平). One more, there was the area at the juncture of Shandong and Zhili, where the activity of Yihetuan was active in Guan County of Shandong and Wei County of Zhili. The Big Sword Society (*Dadao hui* 大刀会) prospered in the southwest Shandong. Later, this society changed its name to the "Righteous and Harmonious Group" (*yihe tuan*) but not the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" (*yihe quan*). The northwest Shandong and the area at the juncture of Shandong and Zhili were the turf of the Yihetuan.

and organizational succession from the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" that had developed from the reign of Qianlong. The main task of this paper is to discuss the historical relation between the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" in Qianlong (and Jiaqing) and the Yihetuan Movement.

The Yihetuan Led by Wang Lun (王伦) *and Li Cui* (李翠)

(259) When was the Yihetuan born? The exact date is hard to find. In the official archives of the Qing government, the earliest record of the Yihetuan was in the decree issued on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month in the thirty-ninth year of Qianlong. In this decree, the emperor laid it down that the local authorities should arrest remnants of the Wang Lun Uprising and pointed out: "In the false name of 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists,' these villains, who are from the heterodoxy of White Lotus, instigate ignorant residents and commit illegal things. They are utterly detestable!"[6] In view of this, the Wang Lun Uprising had not only the name of his teaching—the Pristine Water Teaching (*Qingshui jiao* 清水教)—but also the name "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." In the memorial presented to the emperor on the nineteenth day of the tenth month in the same year, Shu Hede (舒赫德) also said: "Residents of Shandong have been accustomed to practicing martial arts for a very long time. Therefore, there are titles like 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists' and 'Red Fists' (*Hong quan* 红拳)."[7] Correspondingly, the date that the name "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" appeared is earlier than that of the Wan Lun Uprising. It was in the sixteenth year of Qianlong (1751), that is, twenty-three years before the uprising, when Wang Lun joined the Pristine Water Teaching. After admittance, he began practicing martial arts, although there is no record of the exact date. In Weijiazhuang Village of Nangong County in Zhili, a villager named Wei Yukai, reported to the local authorities: Li Cunren, a man lived in the same village, Wei Xuezong,

[6] "Memorial to the Throne by Jueluo Bayan (觉罗巴延), the Governor of Hu'nan and the Acting Governor of Shaanxi, on the Twentieth Day of the Tenth Month in the Thirty-Ninth Year of Qianlong," *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang* 军机处录副档).

[7] "Memorial to the Throne by Shu Hede (舒赫德) and others on the nineteenth day of the tenth month in the same year," *ibid.*

Jian Qi, Wang San, Yan Ling and other people, together with Wang Lun from Shandong, formally acknowledged Li Chengzhang, who was from the Gaokou Village of Ningjin County of Zhili, as their master of martial arts.[8] The imperial court issued an edict ordering Liu E, the Governor-General of Zhili, to investigate this matter. Local authorities in Shandong and Zhili rounded up a few people. After interrogation, the authorities found that, except for Jian Qi, all other people had been falsely accused by Wei Yukai. Thus, we should examine first Jian Qi (简七) and Li Chengzhang (李成章). Jian Qi was not a resident of the Weijiazhuang Village and he lived in the Jianchen Village, which was five *li* west of Weijiazhuang.[9] (260) His surname was "Jian 菅" not "Jian 简."[10] Since "Jian 菅" and "Jian 简" shared the same pronunciation, the character "Jian 菅" was mistakenly written as "Jian 简." At first, Jian Qi followed his brother-in-law in practicing the martial arts in the thirty-fourth year of Qianlong (1769). Then, he chose Li Chengzhang as his instructor. According to the confession of Jian's son, what Jian first practiced was the Little Red Fists. When Jian began learning under Li's instruction, he did not know Li had been an important figure of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin (*Shouyuan jiao* 收元教)—the head of the Dui Trigram (兑). In the first month of the forty-seventh year of Qianlong (1782), Jian went to Gaokou and paid a Lunar New Year call to Li. Li Chengzhang told him he was going to die, and that he was the branch head of the Dui Trigram in the Teaching of Attaining the Origin. His two sons—Kezhong and Kede—were not suitable candidates. Therefore, Li took out three wooden seals and one copy of a scripture written on the yellow paper. He handed these to Jian and asked him to spread the teaching. During the fifth month, Li passed away. The inscription

[8] Susan Naquin, an American scholar, said: as soon as Wang Lun joined the teaching, he began practicing the martial art. What was her evidence? See: Susan Naquin, "The Teaching in the Wang Lun Uprising of 1774" (1774年王伦起义的教派), in *Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Peasant War* (*Zhongguo nongmin zhanzheng shi luncong* 中国农民战争史论丛) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1982), vol. 4.

[9] This is from materials we collected in the fieldwork. See also: The Administration Office of Nangong County ed., *The Record of Geographical Names of Nangong* (*Nangong xian dimingzhi* 南宫县地名志), Internal Materials, 1983, p. 130. In the Song and Yuan dynasties, the family of Chen inhabited in this village for generations. Therefore, it was named the Chen Village. In the second year of Yongle of Ming, the Jian (菅) family moved in from Hongtong County of Shandong (*sic*) and the village was renamed to "Jian and Chen." Later, it resumed its original name.

[10] *Ibid*.

of the wooden seals and the content of the yellow-paper scripture demonstrated that Li Chenzhang was a member of the branch of Dui Trigram of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin.[11] If Wang Lun did formally acknowledge Li Chengzhang as the master, it would be very difficult to verify if Wang converted to the branch of Dui Trigram after he began practicing martial arts under Li's instruction. The original faith of Wang Lun—the Pristine Water Teaching—was exactly Liu Xingguo's (刘省过) Pristine Water Teaching, that is, the Teaching of Attaining the Origin. Nevertheless, to which branch of the trigram did Wang Lun belong? There is no record about this. One book said Wang worshiped the True Martial Deity (*Zhenwu shen* 真武神).[12] The "Zhenwu" was "Xuanwu" (玄武, the Dark Martial), who was the god of tortoise and snake, and was located in the north direction. Xuanwu together with Qinglong (青龙, the Blue Dragon), Zhuque (朱雀, the Crimson Bird), Baihu (白虎, the White Tiger), were called the gods of the four directions. It was well known that the vital breath incantations created by Wang Lun included: "One thousand hands are warding and ten thousand hands are covering. The Blue Dragon and the White Tiger are coming to protect"; "The greatest hero in the world is us, since the Blue Dragon, the White Tiger, the Crimson Bird and the Black Tortoise come together and protect us! We pray to Heaven for help and it comes! We worship the Earth and it is efficacious!" In another record, when Wang Lun was attacking the city of Linqing, all rebels "wore black caps, black clothes and shoes, so that they looked like ghosts. Among them, there were actors having brightly colored attire."[13] Based on this description, to a certain extent, it is reasonable to say Wang Lun belonged to the branch of Kan Trigram (坎). In light of this literature, the close followers of Wang Lun usually practiced the Eight-Trigram Fists (*Bagua quan* 八卦拳). This style of martial art was not popular in the area of Nangong and Ningjin. In our fieldwork in the Gaokou Village of Ningjin County, although the villagers could not provide detailed information about Li Chengzhang, all of them

[11] Zhuang Jifa (庄吉发), "The Teaching of Attaining the Origin and its Branches in the Reign of Qianlong Emperor" (*Qingdai Qianlong nianjian de shouyuanjiao jiqi zhipai* 清代乾隆年间的收元教及其支派), *The Continent Magazine* (*Dalu zazhi* 大陆杂志), vol. 63, no. 4 (1981).

[12] See n. 8, *supra*.

[13] Yu Jiao (愈蛟), *A Brief Chronicle of Rebels in Linqing* (*Linqing koulüe* 临清寇略), in *Series of Books of Enlightening Generations* (*Zhaodai congshu* 昭代丛书), "Additional Collections of the Section Xin (辛)."

verified that Gaokou was a renowned martial arts village. (261) There was a doggerel: "We would rather walk along the north and south capital city rather than Gaokou and Xiangting." Villagers tell us the martial arts of the Li family were very famous and that this family handed down the Six Harmonies Fists (*Liuhe quan* 六合拳). In terms of the routine of martial arts, the Six Harmonies Fists that was popular in this area included six routines—Grand Posture (Dajia, 大架), Big Red [Fists] (*Dahong*, 大红), Little Red [Fists] (*Xiaohong*, 小红), Cai Fists (*Caiquan*, 蔡拳), Seventy-Two Holds (*Qishierba qinna*, 七十二把擒拿), and Thirty-Two Styles of Rapid Grappling (*Sanshierba feina*, 三十二把飞拿). The so-called Grand Posture was the "Six-Style Fists," also known as the "Six-Pace Fists" or "Six-Step Posture." In Wei County, it was called the "Six-Move fists" and in the Gaokou Village, it had the name "six-style-and-routine punch."[14] The confession of Jian Cheng, son of Jian Qi, provided some information about Jian Qi's martial arts practice. Therefore, what Li Chengzhang taught would have been the Six-Style Fists, the Big Red Fists and the Little Red Fists. In the meantime, he was the head of the branch of Dui Trigram of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin. At that time, the Plum Blossom Fists was also popular in areas of Pingxiang of Zhili, Gaungzong, Wei County and Nangong. Even though the Plum Blossom Fists were not in the system of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin, it was in the area that the eight-trigram branches of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin flourished and naturally it was affected by the Eight-Trigram Teaching. Thus, some groupings of the Plum Blossom Fists were inspired by the "Dui Trigram." Even so, neither Li Chengzhang's Dui Trigram nor Wang Lun's Kan Trigram was the principle organization of the Yihetuan, as there was no record or legend about the civil or martial field in the two branches, though both of them had begun instructing martial art. It should be pointed out the rise of the Yihetuan could not be separated from the civil field (*wen chang* 文场) and the martial field (*wu chang* 武场) and the two types of "ground" were the backbone of the Yihetuan. Many researchers hold that since the Righteous and Harmonious Fists evolved from the Eight-Trigram Fists and most of Wang Lun's chief aides, such as Wang Jinglong,

[14] *Materials of Fieldwork in the Gaokou Village* (*Gaokou cun diaocha ziliao* 高口村调查资料). The Six Harmonies Fists might belong to one popular religious sect. At present, the so-called Six Harmonies Fists is not the blend of six styles of martial arts, but the name of a specific boxing.

Meng Can and Zhang Bailu, practiced the Eight-Trigram Fists, the martial arts Wang taught in the eastern Yanzhou should be the Eight-Trigram Fists. Wang Lun spread both the martial arts and teaching of Eight-Trigram cult, so that the grouping he led dropped the original name—the Pristine Water Teaching—and falsely assumed the name "Righteous and Harmonious Fists."[15] No wonder there were practitioners of the Eight-Trigram Fists in Wang Lun's civil and martial fields. The opinion that the civil and martial fields resulted from the combination of the Eight-Trigram Fists and the Eight-Trigram Teaching, however, is questionable. Neither literature nor fieldwork can demonstrate that there were civil and martial fields in the Eight-Trigram Fists. By far, we have not found any record or legend concerning the fact that Li Chengzhang or Wang Lun directly molded the Teaching of Attaining the Origin or the Pristine Water Teaching into the Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Thus, we should discuss the fact that the grouping of Wang Lun falsely assumed the name "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" from other perspectives. As for this question, this writer holds the most noticeable detail in Wan Lun's group were Li Cui (李翠), the martial art he taught and his followers.

(262) The original name of Li Cui was Li "Cui 焠."[16] In the official archives of Qing government the character "Cui 焠' was mistakenly written as "Cui 翠." His courtesy name was "Jianguang 建光.' His ancestors had moved from the Big Scholar Tree of Hongtong County in Shanxi Province. Li Cui was in the sixth generation of this family. There were four brothers in his family, of whom he was the eldest. Therefore, villagers called him the Eldest Cui (*Dacui ye* 大翠爷). These brothers did not have many farmlands. By selling cloth, Li Cui made a rather handsome fortune. As a result, he might have donated money to obtain the official title: "Student of the Imperial College."[17]

---

[15] See n. 8, *supra*. See also: Sato Kimihiko (佐藤公彦), "An Investigation on the Origin of the Yihetuan" (*Yihetuan yuanliu kao* 义和团源流考), *Selected Papers on the History of the Yihetuan* (*Yihetuan shi taolun wenji* 义和团史讨论文集) (Ji'nan: qilu shushe, 1982).

[16] Based on the fieldwork in the Ligusi Village, which is located in the east Wucheng County, we find his original name was "Li Cui 李焠" in the genealogy of the family Li. His brothers' name was Quan (烇), Zhao (炤) and Huang (煌) respectively. Since the character "cui 焠" was rarely used, later it was replaced by the character "cui 翠." See: *Materials of Fieldwork in the Ligusi Village* (*Ligusi cun diaocha ziliao* 李谷寺调查资料).

[17] *Ibid*. For his status of "student in the Imperial College," see: "Memorial to the Throne by Guo Tai (国泰), the Provincial Administration Commissioner of Shandong,

The official archives recorded that Li Cui was a sidekick of Wang Lun.[18] Clarifying this point is very important. According to the confession of Chu Wen, one of Li Cui's disciples, he together with Li Cui and thirteen other persons, went to Linqing on the eve of the uprising, that is, on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month.[19] Furthermore, Chu Wen together with Li Haoran and Chen Hebi, another of Wang Lun's disciples, had been to the Zhangsigu Village, where they responded to Wang Lun's work in Shouzhang.[20] It was obvious that the force of Li Cui, mainly through Li Haoran and Chu Wen, had a close connection with Chen Hebi. Chen Hebi was from the Wangjiafang Village of Linqing, and Li Haoran also was from Linqing.[21] The followers of Li Cui were a force to be reckoned with in garnering supporting from the Zhangsigu Village.[22] Therefore, Guo Tai, the Provincial Administration Commissioner of Shandong, rapidly concluded in his memorial to the throne: "Not only are Li Cui and Guo Jingshun the leaders of heresy, but they worked hand in hand. This is a case of serious plotting."[23]

After clarifying the status of Li Cui in the Wang Lun Uprising, we turn to the origins of his sect or martial arts society. There is one important record in the official archives: Li Haoran and Li Cui were from the White Lotus Society. Guo Tai, the Provincial Administration Commissioner of Shandong, said in his memorial: (263) "I captured Zhang Dian in Dezhou. After interrogation, he admits he is a practitioner of the heresy. We further discovered that the criminals, such as Xu Wenming, Kong Jiyan and Li Cui. Li Cui studied under the

on the Fourth Day of the Tenth Month in the Thirty-Ninth Year of Qianlong," in *Secret Palace Memorials* (*Gongzhong dang* 宫中档).

[18] "Memorial to the Throne by Chen Yu (陈预), the Governor of Shandong, on the Fifth Day of the Sixth Month in the Twenty-First Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[19] See n. 17, *supra*.

[20] "Memorial to the Throne by Yang Jingsu (杨景素), the Governor of Shandong, on the Eighteenth Day of the Twelfth Month in the Thirty-Ninth Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[21] *Ibid*. See also: n. 17, *supra*.

[22] Chen Hebi said: he recruited forty or fifty persons. In Chu Wen's confession, there were only fifteen people. The latter might refer to the backbone of this force. See: "Memorial to the Throne by Yang Jingsu (杨景素), the Governor of Shandong, on the Eleventh Day of the Eleventh Month in the Thirty-Ninth Year of Jiaqing" and "Memorial to the Throne by Guo Tai on the Fourth Day of the Tenth Month in the Thirty-Ninth Year of Qianlong," in *Secret Palace Memorials* (*Gongzhong dang*).

[23] See n. 17, *supra*.

instruction of Li Haoran and spread the White Lotus Teaching. Later, he changed the name to the Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Then he, together with Guo Jingshun, who was from the same county, recruited followers and disseminated the teaching. They chanted incantations and practiced martial arts. Since the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth year of Qianlong to present, Kong Chunxin, Pan Er and Chu Wen joined this sect one after another. All of them are followers of the heresy."[24]

This is the only important historical record that clearly states that the White Lotus Teaching changed its name to the Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Fieldwork in En County uncovered that Li Cui was a resident of the East Ligusi Village (at present part of Wucheng County) and his junior brother was from the West Ligusi Village. Li Cui's heroic deeds against the Qing government have circulated among the rural residents for more than two hundred years. Even today, his story is still widely read in the area of Wucheng and Pingyuan.[25] In his hometown, Li Cui is described as a hero, who had the resolution of overthrowing the Manchu Empire, and as a righteous man. His crime as reported to the authorities was that he had so many followers: "From Nanjing to Beijing, there are his soldiers everywhere; [they could] overthrow Emperor Qianlong, and put Li Cui on the throne!" The local people also say: "Previously, he was a member of the White Lotus Society. He had extraordinary abilities, like summoning wind and calling for rain and casting beans and then turning them into soldiers. The official army could not capture him. Then the army issued an order that they were going to plunge the village in a bloodbath. To save the life of innocent residents, Li Cui surrendered. His hamstring was first cut and then he was beheaded. He died in his sixties."[26]

The fact that Li Cui was a follower of the White Lotus Teaching was also recorded in the official archives. The White Lotus Teaching,

---

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] En County currently is under the administrative jurisdiction of Wucheng and Pingyuan counties. The East and West Ligusi villages are in the west part of the old downtown of En County. Now they are administered by the Haowangzhuang Township of Wucheng County.

[26] See: *Materials of Fieldwork in Wucheng County* (*Wucheng diaocha ziliao* 武城调查材料). In his memorial, Guo Tai said: Li Cui "died in prison. He was not executed in public. Thus, I request to issue an edict that the corpse of Li Cui shall be drawn out of the coffin and be chopped and beheaded. Only by this way, can the state law be made clear to all." (See n. 17, *supra.*) In the legend, villagers say the corpse of Li Cui was stolen and was taken back. When he was buried in the village, people made a "gold" or "silver" head and put it on the corpse.

however, was general term for the popular religious sects. Which specific sect did Li Cui affiliate himself with? What martial art did he practice and teach? There is no record for these questions. While we were conducting fieldwork in Ligusi Village, the descendants of Li Cui unanimously said that the martial art Li practiced and taught was the Six-Style Fists. This testimony is similar to the descriptions of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists from other fieldwork conducted. What was Six-Style Fists? Fortunately, the last disciple—who is in the direct line of the master—of Six-Style Fists of Li Cui is still alive.[27] It is said: in terms of martial arts, the Six-Style Fists disseminated by Li Cui had an upper six-style, a middle six-style and a lower six-style. The middle six-style was the principle part, and the upper six-style was only a façade. The lower-style had been lost. In the middle one, (264) there were six martial arts moves—back fists, fan-style fists, beating-tiger punch, cutting-style fists, grabbing-style fists and strike to ears with both fists while squatting. The Six-Style Fists was based on the mastery of practicing the vital breath and its back fist was very effective. Li Cui taught both "martial art' and "civil art" (*wen gong* 文功). Therefore, there were "martial field" and "civil field" in his group. The "martial art" was the Six-Style Fists, which was practiced in the martial field; and the "civil art" included burning incense, asking spirits for descending, chanting incantations, sitting in meditation and practicing the vital breath, all of which were part of the civil field. The practice of sitting in meditation and directing one's vital breath through concentration would last forty-nine days and it could not be interrupted. Villager said: Li Cui burrowed underground for his practice. Li burned three sticks of incense and offered three bowls of "clear tea."[28] The supreme god he worshiped was the Buddha Sakyamuni. Incantations he chanted included "Asking for Spirits," "Protection," and "Stop Bleeding." In his practice, before circulating vital breath, he chanted first the incantation of Asking for Spirits and then he would exhale. In the process of inhaling and circulating the vital breath, his mouth would be closed. The left nostril would inhale and the right one would exhale. Only if a man had both the martial and civil arts was his practice complete, as it was said: "If a man has the civil art but has no

[27] Li Ziyuan is eighty-three-year old. He is the eleventh generation of the family of Li in the Ligusi Village. Li Cui was the sixth generation. (See: the genealogy of the family of Li in the Ligusi Village.)

[28] The "clear tea" referred to clean water and tealeaves.

martial art, he cannot be the tiger at the front; If a man has the martial art but has no civil art, he can only be a half-man." Who was Li Cui's master? The answer will be the principal evidence of the nature of Li Cui's martial arts group. According to the narrative of some disciples of the Six-Style Fists of Li Cui, the sequence of master-disciple succession prior to Li Cui was: Gao (郜)-Chen (陈)-Xiao (肖)-Huang (黄)-Li (李).[29] The disciples have forgotten the full name of these masters. As a matter of fact, the so-called "Gao" was the head of the Li Trigram—"the Lord Gao."[30] Who was the master "Chen"? Thus far, it cannot be clarified. The "Xiao" was Xiao Bingcheng from Guan County and he was written as "the Master Xiao" in incantation.[31] "Huang" might be Huang Youyi from Guan County.[32] As for "Li" in the sequence, there are different understandings. Some people hold it was Li Cui; while others think it should be Li Cui's teacher. Villagers unanimously maintain the master Li from the area of Linqing and Guantao taught Li Cui the martial art, when this master came to the Ligusi Village for worshiping his ancestors and planting pines. Villagers do not remember the full name of this martial art master.[33] In light of the official archives, this "Li" was Li Haoran from Linqing.[34] After clarifying the above succession, we can be sure of the nature of Li Cui's martial arts group. (265) That is to say, Li Cui's Fists should be categorized as a branch of the Li Trigram (离) of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin. The civil and martial arts of Liu Cui was exactly the same as the civil and martial field of the branch of Li Trigram. To shift the martial art to the civil art, there must be a combination of learning

[29] Li Ziyuan, Li Fengchi and other senior villagers provide this information. At first, they would not like to talk about this thing. They finally speak out after much persuasion.

[30] In Guo Tai's memorial (See n. 17.), it said: Li Cui's disciple confessed the grandmasters of Li Cui—the Master Xiao and the Master Ren—had been written on the incantation. That meant both of them had passed away. In Li Cui's time, the Master Gao should be in the forth generation. Thus, the Lord Gao in this sequence should be the first or the second generation master.

[31] See n. 17, *supra*.

[32] Huang Youyi was the martial arts master of Yang Shucai, the father of Yang Sihai of the Du'erzhuang Village in Guan County. See n. 17, *supra*.

[33] Villagers say: as well as the family of Li in the Ligusi Village, the family of Li from Linqing and Guantao moved here from Hongtong County of Shanxi in the early Ming.

[34] See n. 17, *supra*.

martial arts, circulating the vital breath and chanting the incantation.[35] This conforms with the fieldwork in Wei County: the branch of Li Trigram and the Six-Style Fists had both a civil and a martial field. The missionary work of the branches of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin stressed the scripture and the practice of Inner Elixir (*nei dan* 内丹) and its goal was to "remove curses and obtain blessings, but not to learn martial art." It was only later during the Wang Lun Uprising that this teaching began combining the practice of Inner Elixir and martial arts.[36] Nevertheless, the branch of the Li Trigram was different. Its practice of Inner Elixir was earlier and had more magic rituals than other branches; meanwhile, it attached importance to the martial arts. The practice of Inner Elixir was common in branches, because the scripture of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin—*Book of Preaching of Five Women* (*Wunü chuandaoshu* 五女传道书, i.e. *The Preaching of Five Saints* [*Wusheng chuandao* 五圣传道])—was dedicated to the practice of Inner Elixir and vital breath. This was the reason why the Teaching of Attaining the Origin had an enduring popularity for more than two hundred years. Lord Gao, the head of Li Trigram, was venerated as the "True Man of Fathoming Heaven" (*Toutian zhenren* 透天真人).[37] The so-called "True Man of Fathoming Heaven" meant: when that the Lord Gao was sitting in meditation and circulating the vital breath and exhaling the stale and inhaling the fresh, the soul would be shown (in the form of a round light or in the figure of small human being).[38] Supposedly, the practice and teaching of martial arts began with first-generation Master Gao. The relevant literature, however, could only be traced to the second generation.[39]

---

[35] In his memorial on the eighteenth day of the twelfth month in the thirty-ninth year of Qianlong, Yang Jingsu, the Governor of Shandong, said: followers of Li Cui confessed Chu Wen, one of Li Cui's disciples, instructed many of them to "learn fists and practice the vital breath" and to "learn fists and chant incantations." See: *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*), "Supplements,' vol. 2, 14–13.

[36] Ma Xisha (马西沙) and Han Bingfang (韩秉方), *The History of Chinese Popular Religions* (*Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), p. 104.

[37] The Lord Gao also was also called the "True Man of the Supreme Palace" (*Toudian zhenren* 头殿真人). "*Toudian*" may be a mispronunciation of "*toutian*."

[38] For more details, see: Ma Xisha, *The Eight-Trigram Teaching in Qing Dynasty* (*Qingdai bagua jiao* 清代八卦教) (Beijing: Zhongguo renmindaxue chubanshe, 1989), p. 114.

[39] Memorial to the Throne by Bi Yuan (毕沅), the Governor of Henan, on the Twenty-Ninth Day of the Tenth Month in the Fifty-First Year of Qianlong. Quoted from: *ibid*.

The above discussion of the organization and nature of Li Cui's martial arts group shows the Righteous and Harmonious Fists (or the Righteous and Concordant Fists, "*yihe quan* 义合拳") that appeared in the Wang Lun Uprising in the years of Qianlong was centered on the civil and martial fields of the Li Trigram. Of course, the other branches and martial arts styles—like the Eight-Trigram Fists, the Seven-Star Red Fists, the Big Red Fists, the Plum Blossom Fists and "various martial arts groups" also joined the uprising. Among them, the Plum Blossom Fists also had the civil and martial fields. In the official archives, these "various groups" to the south of Linqing city were associated with Wan Lun's martial arts teaching.[40] At first, the cult Wang Lun joined was not the branch of Li Trigram and the martial arts he practiced was not Six-Style Fists. From the lore of popular religious sects, Wang was a man of multiple capabilities. He was versed in both civil and martial arts. His civil art was quite extraordinary: (266) "Abstinence from grain for ten days is small (civil) art, and abstinence for eighty days is great art"; (he) "says that by training the vital breath he can go without food for half a month."[41] In addition, he was able to perform healing and had a good command of Yin-Yang and the eight trigrams. He even knew something about celestial phenomena and could predict the weather. Wang did not maintain a sectarian attitude towards other popular cults and tended to incorporate them. From the perspective of old-style Chinese peasant movements, an important innovation of Wang Lun was to establish civil and martial fields. Such developments were largely from Li Cui's civil and martial field of the branch of Li Trigram. Later, other martial arts groups joined as individual members. It was on such basis that the Yihetuan was formed. In Wang Lun's troop of the Pristine Water Teaching, there were groups that falsely assumed the title "Righteous and Harmonious Fists," which should to a great extent be attributed to Li Cui's work of changing the name of his group to the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." The elements of the Yihetuan, however, consist not only the branch of Li Trigram, but also the Plum Blossom Fists, in which there

[40] "Memorial to the Throne by Qing Pu (庆溥), the Left Censor-in-chief, and other Officials, on the Fourteenth Day of the Tenth Month in the Nineteenth Year of Jiaqing," in *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[41] Qi Xuebiao (戚学标), *Chronicle of the Incident of Wang Lun, the Evil Rebel* (*Ji yaokou Wang Lun shimo* 纪妖寇王伦始末), see: *Collected Prose of Crane Spring* (*Hequan wenchao* 鹤泉文钞), the edition of the fifth year of Jiaqing, Part Two.

also were civil and martial fields. If the participation of the Plum Blossom Fists in the Yihetuan was still ambiguous in the Wang Lun Uprising, it became very evident in the "heterodox" case of the Yihetuan in Guan County and Yuancheng. Since the Yihetuan had both civil and martial fields, we may just call it the "Teaching of Righteous and Harmonious Fists."

The "Heterodox" Case of Yihetuan Yang Sihai (杨四海)

In the twelfth month of the forty-third year of Qianlong, Zhang Jiuxi, a commoner from Huguan County of Shanxi Province, went to the Capital to bring a lawsuit against the local authorities. Money that had been meant for repairs to the damaged banks of the Yellow River was siphoned off. Meanwhile, he also accused Yang Sihai, who was from Wan'erzhuang (Duoerzhuang) Village of Guan County in Shandong. Yang had gathered villagers for learning martial arts and from which he made a profit and founded the Yihetuan "heresy.' The emperor issued an edict and ordered Hu Jitang and Ka Ning A to investigate this case. Besides Guan County of Shandong, this plaint also mentioned Xiaotan Village and Longhua Village (Zhailonghua Village today) of Yuancheng County in Zhili. Therefore, the governors of Shandong and Zhili dispatched officials to investigate. Guo Tai, the Governor of Shandong, sent Yu Yijian, the Provincial Judicial Commissioner, to summon Yang Sihai and other relevant persons for interrogation in Guan County. According to Yang's confession, his original name was Yang Zhiming (杨治明) and he was sixty-four-years old. In the forty-eleventh year of Qianlong, he donated some money in exchange for the official title of "Student of the Imperial College"; in addition, he had three *qing* of farmland and ran a wine shop. Because he was polite and amiable, villagers called him "Sihai" (the Four Seas). He had three sons. The eldest one was Yang Yuzhong, who sold porcelain; the younger one was Yang Yuheng, who farmed at home; and the youngest was Yang Yuchang, who had passed the county military examination in the thirty-fifth year of Qianlong. (267) As for the matter of teaching martial arts, Yang Sihai at first denied it resolutely. He said he had learned some moves from Yang Shucai, his father, but failed to grasp them and his goal was simply to "maintain the vigil to protect his own home." His father had died more than two decades ago. He did not gather people to teach the Righteous and Harmonious Fists for

a profit. In Zhang Jiuxi's plaint, there was Tong Guolin, who was an accomplice of Yang and was a martial arts master of Longhua Village of Yuancheng County in Zhili. Tong also denied he had founded any Yihetuan "heresy" group. After repeated interrogation, the case was finally resolved as false accusation by Zhang Jiuxi.[42] From the government's perspective, this seemed to be a case based upon false charges. This writer's investigation arrived at the same conclusion. Yang Sihai, Zhai Guanyi and other accomplices denied the charges against them resolutely, and since Zhang Jiuxi could not provide any convincing evidence, he had to drop his charge.

What is notable about Zhang Jiuxi's accusation is that he mentioned the title "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" from in the thirty-second year of Qianlong. This was one or two years earlier than the time when Li Cui changed the name of White Lotus Teaching to the Righteous and Harmonious Fists and three or four years earlier than when Wang Lun recruited martial arts practitioners and gathered people for his uprising. That is to say, by the time that Wang Lun's troops of the Pristine Water Teaching falsely assumed the name of the Yihetuan, there had been other groups using this name in Guan County of Shandong and Daming and Yuancheng of Zhili. Yang Sihai asked Yang Yuchang, one of his sons who had won a minor martial arts title at the county level, to go to Longhua Village of Yuancheng County to teach archery and martial arts to the sons and nephews of Zhai Guanyi, the deputy head of the branch of Li Trigram. Through these efforts, the members of the martial arts group in the two places became further connected.

Yang Sihai confessed he learned the Red Fists under his father's instruction. Our fieldwork shows what he learned was the Six-Pace Fists, which was really the Six-Style Fists. Yang Fengshan, one of disciples of the Six-Style Fists in the Duoerzhuang Village, said: "The martial arts Yang Sihai practiced was largely the Six-Style Fists. Whenever he came, he would teach one set of fists. He called all of them the Six-Style Fists. When he took someone on as a disciple, he presented the ritual of offering three bowls of wine or clean water in worship. The area where he did missionary work included the very edge of

[42] See: Guo Tai's memorial on the fifth and twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month in the forty-third year of Qianlong and the memorial by Hu Jitang (胡季堂) and Ka Ning Ah (喀宁阿) on the seventeenth day, in *Secret Palace Memorials*.

Nangong town, Linqing, Yuncheng, Xiao County, Pei County and Anhui." Among the villagers, the story went that: "he could summon wind and call for rain, and he could cast beans and then turn them into soldiers. He could also change wooden benches into horses and make sorghum leaves into big swords." Although he escaped Zhang Jiuxi's charge, he later fled when the authorities searched his house and confiscated his property.[43] There was another person who went to the Capital and leveled a charge against Yang Sihai. (268) On his way to Beijing, this person put up notices, which read: "From Nanjing to Beijing, his soldiers are everywhere; to overthrow the Emperor Qianlong, and put Sihai onto the throne!"[44] The same was said about Li Cui just before he was captured. It is evident that Yang Sihai, as well as Li Cui, was a significant figure of the rebellious martial arts group. In the forty-third year of Qianlong (1778), he had been sixty-three-years old.[45]

Zhang Jiuxi also mentioned Tong Guolin, who was from Longhua Village of Yuancheng County. When local officials were investigating this person, they found a more important figure—Zhai Guanyi (翟贯一). The original name of Zhai was Zhai Zhiyuan (翟治元) and "Guanyi' was his courtesy name. In official archives, his name was mistakenly written as Zhi Zhiyuan (郅智远). Zhang Jiuxi's accusation in the forty-third year of Qianlong involved him, but finally Zhai escaped. In the fifty-first year of Qianlong, he was exposed in the Duan Wenjing revolt in the Prefecture of Daming. By that time, the imperial court discovered that he was a disciple of Duan Er, the head of a Li Trigram branch, of which he was the deputy head.[46] Since Duan Er had been arrested and was sentenced to death by strangulation in Liu Xingguo's Pristine Water Teaching incident in the thirty-seventh year of Qianlong (1772), the time in which Zhai acted as the

[43] The reason of this incident was not stated in the investigation. It might be related with Duan Wenjing's rebellion in Daming in the fifty-first year of Qianlong. In this rebellion, Zhai Guanyi was arrested and executed. Yang Sihai had a close connection with Zhai. Obviously, this rebellion involved Yang.

[44] *Materials of Fieldwork in the Duo'erzhuang Village of Guan County* (*Guanxian duo'erzhuang diaocha ziliao* 冠县垛儿庄调查资料).

[45] See: Memorial by Hu Jitang, Ka Ning Ah, Zhou Yuanli (周元理) and other officials on the fourth day of the first month in the forty fourth year of Qianlong, in *Secret Palace Memorials*.

[46] "Imperial Instruction to the Grand Councilor on the Day of *xinyi* of the Ninth Month in the Fifty-First Year of Qianlong," in *The Veritable Records of the Emperor Gao of Qing* (*Qing gaozong shilu* 清高宗实录), vol. 1264, p. 24.

deputy head should have been earlier than 1772. Duan Wenjing led a revolt in Daming and killed the Circuit Intendant, Xiong Enfu. Zhai was implicated in this revolt and was captured and executed. At that time, Zhai Zhongwu, his son, had passed the imperial military examination. Therefore, Zhai Zhongwu went to Beijing and appealed this injustice to the imperial court. By this effort, the whole family of Zhai avoided being killed. One of Zhai Guanyi's grandsons, Zhai Heling, had composed *The Handwritten Note of the Injustice of the Family of Zhai* (*Zhaishi yuan'an shouji* 翟氏冤案手记) and narrated this incident.[47]

The fact that Zhai Gaunyi was the deputy head of the branch of Li Trigram has been verified. We cannot discover from extant sources which trigram branch Yang Sihai joined. According to our fieldwork, Yang Sihai had formally acknowledged the Lord Gao as his master. Thus, this Lord Gao should be Gao Er (郜二). In view of this, Yang Sihai would have been affiliated with the branch of Li Trigram, and an important figure of this branch.[48] In both Longhua Village of Yuancheng and Duo'erzhuang Village of Guan County, all interviewees unanimously pointed out that (269) judging from the martial arts, the family of Yang instructed the family of Zhai. Yang Sihai's son—Yang Yuchang—had taught archery to sons and nephews of Zhai Guanyi and played an important role in Zhai Zhongwu's accomplishment in the imperial military examination. Yang Sihai enjoyed high prestige in the area of Yuancheng and Guan.[49] Yang and Zhai Guanyi, as well as Li Cui, were experienced and significant figures of the martial arts group. All of them belonged to the branch

[47] *Materials of Fieldwork in the Zhailonghua Village of Daming County* (*Kouxian duoerzhuang diaocha ziliao* 大名县翟龙化寸调查材料). In the Cultural Revolution, *The Handwritten Note of the Injustice of the Family of Zhai* (*Zhaishi yuan'an shouji* 翟氏冤案手记) and the "Family Cloth" (a piece of cloth on which the genealogy was written and it was hanged in the middle of the main room) were burned. The eleventh-generation member of the family of Zhai had read this Note. Here, the discussion is based on this member's memory.

[48] See n. 44, *supra*. The descendants of the family of Yang in the Duo'erzhuang Village say Yang Sihai "divined the Palace Dui (兑) and the Dui Trigram." I hold this occured later. At first, he formally acknowledged the Lord Gao as his master. Then, he made a mistake and the Lord Gao felt very dissatisfied. Therefore, Yang went to Shanxi and begged the Lord Liu to solve this problem. The Lord Liu was the patriarch of the Teaching of Attaining the Origin. What was the mistake that Yang Sihai made? It was unknown.

[49] *Materials of Fieldwork in the Zhailonghua Village of Daming County* (*Daming xian Zhailonghua cun diaocha cailiao*) and *Materials of Fieldwork in the Duoerzhuang Village of Guan County* (*Guanxian duoerzhuang diaocha ziliao*).

of Li Trigram and what they practiced was the Six-Pace Fists or Six-Eight-Pace Fists (the alternative name of Six-Style Fists). As the above discussion shows, the Six-Style Fists was the organization of civil and martial fields of the branch of Li Trigram and it was the backbone of the Yihetuan.

The most surprising thing here was that when the imperial court was handling Zhang Jiuxi's accusation, officials captured Yang Shizeng, who was a martial arts master of the Plum Blossom Fists. It appeared as if he had no relation with this case. Finally, Yang Shizeng, Yang Yuchang, the son of Yang Sihai, and Li Fengde, one of nephews of Yang Sihai, were sentenced to the severe punishment of being bludgeoned with one hundred strokes and exiled to three thousand *li* away.[50]

Who was Yang Shizeng, and why was he implicated in this case? There is no record to explain this. In our fieldwork, we find he was the master that taught Zhai Guanyi Plum Blossom Fists and was from the Dahuaishu Village of Qiu County. (This village was close to Longhua Village of Yuancheng and it was located about seventy *li* from the latter.). Yang was an important figure among the eighth-generation disciples of the Plum Blossom Fists and a leader of this martial art group. Yang was as famous as Zhang Congfu. His master was Li Jiuzhou, who was a resident of the Duke Village of Pingxiang County.[51] Li Jiuzhou had two outstanding disciples: one was Zhang Congfu; the other was Yang Shizeng. Both of them had extraordinary skills in the civil and martial arts and were well known locally. Thus, Zhai Guanyi formally acknowledged Yang as his master and learned the Plum Blossom Fists under Yang's instruction, though he had been the deputy head of the branch of Li Trigram and was versed in the Red Fists and the Six-Eight-Pace Fists. Zhai Zhongwu, one of his sons, also

[50] Hu Jitang and Ka Ning Ah's memorial on the fourth day of the first month in the forty-fourth year of Qianlong; Guo Tai's memorial on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month in the forty-third year of Qianlong.

[51] According to the official archives, Yang Shizeng confessed he learned the fists from "Li Bashi of the Duke Village of this county." This village was in Pingxiang. Yang, however, falsely stated it was in Qiu County. His aim was to cheat the authorities, so that they would not investigate Li Jiuzhou. "*Bashi* 八十" was a mispronunciation of "*bashi* 把势." In Chinese, "*bashi* 把势" refers to a person who has high skills in martial arts. The transcriber of Yang's confession mistakenly spelled "*bashi* 把势" as "*bashi* 八十." For the matter that Yang learned the fists from Li, see: Guo Tai's memorial on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month in the forty-third year of Qianlong, in *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

learned the Plum Blossom Fists after practicing the Red Fists and the Six-Eight-Pace Fists.[52] In view of this, it was obvious that the Plum Blossom Fists had developed into an influential martial arts group at that time.

The Plum Blossom Fists had a long history and it had emerged at the turn of the Ming and Qing. Its chronicle recorded: the founding father was the Patriarch of Attaining the Origin (*Shouyuan laozu* 收元老祖), also known as the Patriarch of Supreme Power (*Fawang laozu* 法王老祖). This was only an abstract title. The second-generation patriarch was Zhang Sanxing, whose courtesy name was Deng. He was from Tongshan County of Jiangsu. (270) The third-generation leader was Zou Hongyi and the fourth was Zou Wenju. In the beginning, this martial arts group spread only in Tongshan of Xuzhou. In the time of Zou Hongyi and his son—Zou Wenju, it extended northward to areas of the Prefecture of Kai, Daming and Guangping. Later, the Zou family settled down in Mazhuangqiao Village of Pingxiang County. In the early years of Qianlong, the Plum Blossom Fists developed rapidly in Pingxiang, Nanhe, Guangzong, Wei County, Quzhou, Nangong and Qiu County and Linqing of Shandong. Yang Bing (杨炳), the fifth-generation leading master of this group, wrote *An Introduction to the Practice of Martial Arts* (*Xiwu xu* 习武序), in which he expounded the theory of the Plum Blossom Fists. Yang was from the Balizhuang Village of Neihuang County in Henan. In the fifty-first year of Kangxi (1712), he ranked the third in the imperial martial examination at the highest level. Thirty years later, he finished the *Introduction*. In this book, he incorporated Confucian ethics into martial arts theory. This martial arts group had its own scripture. Its title and the date when it was produced have yet to be discovered. At present, scriptures that we can read are handwritten copies, which had no original title. Moreover, they are very old. Inside the group, scriptures were collectively called "Scripture of Roots" (*Genyuan jing* 根源经). In one of them, it was divided into two parts. The first part was similar to *The Precious Scroll of August Ultimate* (*Huangji baojuan* 皇极宝卷) and it deleted some content of the twenty-four grades in the original *Precious Scroll*. The second part was designated as *The True Root Scripture of One Character Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo yizi genyuan zhenjing* 佛说一字根源真经) and it had

[52] *Materials of Fieldwork in the Zhailonghua Village of Daming County* (*Daming xian Zhailonghua cun diaocha cailiao*).

twenty grades. Furthermore, the second part contained sermons such as the story of how the Eternal Venerable Mother wrote twelve letters and had them delivered to all sentient beings in the east earth, and how to return to nature and recover original simplicity. This scripture might well be from *The Precious Scroll of the Golden Elixir and Nine Lotus of the August Ultimate on Correcting Belief and Recovering Original Simplicity and Returning to Nature* (*Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan* 皇极金丹九莲正信归真还乡宝卷). This scripture might have belonged to or attached itself to a martial arts group within the secret society.[53] Thus, the Plum Blossom Fists were not only a martial arts group that had its own characteristic but also a society with the nature of a secret popular religion. Although the Qing government strictly forbade such "heresies" and "heretical societies," the Plum Blossom Fists possessed the characteristics of both.

This group had a set of unique martial arts styles, which was dichotomized into the "static/pole move" and the "dynamic move." Originally, it was practiced on poles. Based on the heavenly stems and the earthly branches, the "static/pole move" had five stances: *Da* (大, Big), *Shun* (顺, Sweeping), *Ao* (拗, Twisting), *Xiao* (小, Small) and *Bai* (败, Descending). When given full play, this set of stances looked like a blossoming plum. The "dynamic move" had three techniques: *Bai* (摆, Swaying), *Sa* (撒, Rolling) and *Zha* (扎, Poking). This set of techniques looked like the stem of the plum blossom. The pole-move was static and the dynamic-move was kinetic. When the pole-move and dynamic-move were combined, the movements would be like the stems and branches of the plum blossom linked together. Therefore, this martial art was also called the Plum Blossom Poles of Stems and Branches or the Plum Blossom Fists of Stems and Branches. Later, the practices shifted to the ground, giving it the name "Plum Blossom Fists of Five Postures and Stem and Branches on the Ground." In general, this group was called the Plum Blossom Fists. At its earliest stage, (271) this group was neither against the government nor was it under the control of the authorities. Later it came to participated in the peasant rebellions. Overall, it was a grassroots martial arts society, characterized by its cohesive force and exclusive nature.

[53] Lu Yao, *Exploring the Origin of the Yihetuan Movement* (*Yihe quan yundong qiyuan tansuo* 义和拳运动起源探索) (Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1990), Chapter Six, pp. 84–92.

The most distinctive feature of the Plum Blossom Fists was that it had the civil and martial fields from the very outset. In the *Introduction to the Practice of Martial Arts* (*Xiwu xu*), which was written in the seventh year of Qianlong (1742), Yang Bing explicitly described the characteristics of the civil field.[54] Accordingly, the Plum Blossom Fists had been an influential organization of the martial arts in the early years of Qianlong. In view of this, Zhai Guanyi's motives in acknowledging Yang Shizeng as his master were complex. The above discussion has shown Zhai to have been a significant branch leader of the Li Trigram, while Yang was the important successor of the Plum Blossom Fists. Both of them had political aspirations and both of their organizations had civil and martial fields. Based on these, they combined their group identities under the common name—the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." By adopting this name, they could not only escape the confines of the original groups, but also avoided persecution by the authorities. The significance of the phrase "*yihe* 义和" (righteous and harmonious) or "*yihe* 义合" (righteous and concordant) was: "(they) have the righteousness and concordance."[55] Since the local authorities of Shandong failed to ferret out the origins and structure of the Yihetuan, they had to invoke the provision against the secret practice and instruction of martial arts and sentenced Yang Shizeng, Yang Yuchang and Li Fengde the punishment of "being bludgeoned by one hundred strokes and being exiled to three thousand *li* away."

The Yihetuan in the Years of Jiaqing

In the eighteenth year of Jiaqing (1813), Lin Qing (林清) and Li Wencheng (李文成) staged the Rebellion of Heavenly Principle Teaching (*Tianli jiao* 天理教). It was another case of peasant resistance to feudal rule. The Yihetuan reemerged in this rebellion and became an important force against the Qing regime. In this case, the Yihetuan's activities were centered in area southwest of Shandong, such as Juye, Chengwu and Jinxiang; in addition, the juncture of Zhili and Shandong, which was centered in Dezhou, was another flashpoint. Like the Wang Lun Uprising in the reign of Qianlong, this rebellion had been long in gestation. The official archives revealed that on the seventh

[54] *Ibid*, p. 85.
[55] See n. 45, *supra*.

month of the thirteenth year of Jiaqing, (272) there were the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists," the "Tiger-Tail Maces" (*Huwei bian* 虎尾鞭), the "Sweeping Sword Society" (*Shundao hui* 顺刀会) and other martial arts styles in the Prefecture of Guide of Henan and the Prefecture of Caozhou in Shandong.[56] Gaojialou (literally, the Mansion of the Gao Family), which was located in Shangqiu of the Prefecture of Guide, was the center of the Li Trigram branch. According to Ma Xisha's investigation, the force from the branch of Li Trigram was divided into two groups after the fifty-second year of Qianlong. One moved into Liaocheng County from the north Henan. The other was led by Gao Shengwen, Gao Yu, his son, and Gao Tanzhao, his grandson, and they stayed in their hometown of Henan where they secretly spread their teachings.[57] The Yihetuan groups that reemerged at the juncture of Shandong and Henan came from Gao Shengwen's sect. In the sixteenth year of Jiaqing, the official archives stated clearly that the struggle of the Yihetuan emerged in Juye.[58] By the eighteenth year of the same reign, the Yihetuan of Shandong became an important element of Li Chengwen's revolt. It was very evident that the Yihetuan pertained to the branch of Li Trigram at that time. Sato Kimihiko has discussed this point in detail in his treatise.[59] Here, we add only a few supplementary facts.

In their preparation for the rebellion, Lin Qing and Li Wencheng organized their forces through trigram branches in Henan, Shandong, Zhili and Shanxi. In Shandong, they had four troupes of rebels: "the band in the Prefecture of Dongchang is led by Li Wancheng; Cao County by Xu Anguo; Dezhou by Song Yaolong; and Jinxiang by Cui Shijun. Each group has several hundred members."[60] There was no clear record for the group led by Li Wancheng. Among the remaining

---

[56] "Imperial Edict on the Day of *wuyin* of the Seventh Month in the Thirteenth Year of Jiaqing," in *The Veritable Records of the Emperor Ren of Qing* (*Qing renzong shilu* 清仁宗实录), vol. 198, p. 18.

[57] See n. 38, *supra*.

[58] "Memorial to the Throne by Tong Xing (同兴), the Governor of Shandong, on the Ninth Day of the Third Month in the Seventeenth Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[59] Sato Kimihiko (佐藤公彦), "The Origin of the Yihetuan: The Eight Trigrams Sect and the I-ho-chuan" (義和団(拳)源流: 八卦教と義和拳), *Shigaku zasshi*, 91 (1), 1982.

[60] "Imperial Edict on the Day of *renwu* of the Ninth Month in the Eighteenth Year of Jiaqing," in *The Veritable Records of the Emperor Ren of Qing* (*Qing renzong shilu*), vol. 100, p. 27.

three groups, there were sects that had the Yihetuan name. Cui Shijun's group was the most conspicuous. Under the influence of Xu Anguo, Cui changed his original Li Trigram to the trigram Zhen. This caused conflict inside the rebel force. In Li Wencheng's band of the Heavenly Principle Teaching, the head of Li Trigram was Zhang Jingwen, who was from Yuanjiadian Village of Wucheng County in Shandong.[61] Zhang confessed that his father and grandfather had trained in the Red Fists. In his confession, Zhang Linzhi, nephew of Zhang Jingwen, said: "Zhang Jingwen can circulate the vital breath and practices martial arts. (273) He is indeed the head of the Li Trigram branch." Local officials in Shandong wrote in their memorial to the emperor: Zhang had advocated and set up the "Red Brick Society (*Hongzhuan hui*)."[62] The "*Hongzhuan hui*" was mistakenly written as "*Hongquan hui*" (the Red Fists). In light of the aforementioned records, the Yihetuan emerging from the juncture of Henan and Shandong was in fact the civil and martial fields of the Li Trigram branch. The Red Fists were the martial field, which was popular in Chenwu, Juye and Jinxiang in particular. Therefore, official archives sometimes juxtaposed the two groups: "The people of Cao County are deceitful and tough. There has always been the Yihetuan and the Red Fists…(They are) the most locally harmful groups."[63] The official juxtaposition was due to the confusion over the ambiguous relationship between the Red Fists and the Yihetuan.

The situation in northwest Shandong and the area at the juncture of Zhili and Shandong was different. There, the martial arts styles that integrated with the Yihetuan were largely the Six-Style Fists and the Plum Blossom Fists. For example, there was a case in which Wang Jinzhong accused Ren Si, junior brother of Lin Qing, who was from Guan County. Feng Yan, the disciple of Li Cui, who was from En

[61] In his memorial to the throne on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing, Tong Xing said: Li Wencheng, Lin Qing, Guo Sihu, Cheng Baiyue, Qiu Yu, Hou Guolong, Zhang Jingwen and Zhang Tingju were the head of Trigram Zhen, Kan, Gen, Xun, Kun, Dui, Li and Qian respectively. Someone said Zhang Jingwen was from the Kanjiadian Village of Wucheng County. See: Tong Xing's memorial to the throne on the second day of the twelfth month in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing, in *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[62] Tong Xing's memorial to the throne on the second day of the twelfth month in the eighteenth year of Jiaqing, in *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[63] *Ibid.*

County, together with Cai Gui from Gucheng County of Zhili went to Dezhou. They invited Liu Xiyuan, a transcriber of grain-weights, to set up the Heavenly Principle Teaching and "lure Feng Yi, a captor of this Prefecture, and other people to learn martial arts, to practice the vital breath, and to chant incantations."[64] Among this core group of Yihetuan, Feng Yan and Liu Xiyuan learned the Six-Style Fists, while Cao Gui acknowledged Zhai Yuhu as his teacher and learned the Plum Blossom Fists.[65] In addition, in the Yihetuan group headed by Guo Weizhen (郭为贞),[66] who was from Dezhou and sojourned in Gucheng County, members practiced the Six-Style Fists. Meanwhile, in other Yihetuan groups, people like Dong Wenming and Dong Si'er practiced Plum Blossom Fists.[67] Therefore, in Guan County, Dezhou and Gucheng, regardless of their leadership—whether Ren Si, Guo Weizhen or Song Yaolong—the main part of all these Yihetuan groups consisted of the branch of Li Trigram and the Plum Blossom Fists. Originally, the Li Trigram in this area affiliated themselves with the system of Li Trigram in Qinghe of Zhili, which was led by Liu Gong. In fact, its struggles were directed by Feng Keshan (冯克善), the superintendent of martial arts in the Heavenly Principle Teaching. Due to his dual role in both the branch of Li Trigram and the Plum Blossom Fists, Feng was a significant figure in this martial arts style. Through Song Delong, he put Yihetuan groups in northwest Shandong and the area at the juncture of Zhili and Shandong under his control.

Feng Keshan was the third most prestigious figure in the Heavenly Principle Teaching. He was the superintendent of martial arts and was in charge of the martial field. In the second year of Jiaqing (1797), when he was seventeen-years old, Feng began practicing martial arts under the instruction of Wang Xiang. Wang Xiang was from Ji'ning and played an important role in the Li Trigram. Wang was named as

---

[64] The original name of Ren Si was Ren Wanli. He was the drillmaster of the branch of Li Trigram. See: "Memorial to the Throne by Chen Yu, the Governor of Shandong, on the Tenth Day of the Sixth Month in the Twenty-First Year of Jiaqing," *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[65] "Memorial to the Throne by Chen Yu on the Thirtieth Day of the Tenth Month in the Nineteenth Year of Jiaqing," *Ibid.*

[66] In the official archives of Qing, his name was also written as Guo Weizheng (郭维正) or Guo Weizhen (郭维贞).

[67] See n. 65, *supra*.

the superintendent of martial arts before the sixteenth year of Jiaqing.[68] (274) The sequence of master-disciple succession for Wang Xiang was: Gao Er-Wang Chong-Wang Xiang-Feng Keshan. Thus, Wang's status in the trigram branch and the martial arts he practiced was inherited from Gao Er. It was reasonable for him to be held up as one of the leading figures in the Li Trigram branch. His martial arts originally were the Six-Style Fists or the Red Fists.[69] In the fifth year of Jiaqing (1800), Feng Keshan began practicing the Plum Blossom Fists under the instruction of Tang Hengle, who was from Hua County of Henan and was the seventh-generation successor of this martial art. Since the two Fists had both civil and martial fields, Feng was naturally selected as the superintendent of martial arts after Wang Xiang's death in the sixteenth year of Jiaqing. The appointment of Feng encouraged the further integration of the Plum Blossom Fists with the civil and martial field of the branch of Li Trigram. It was manifested in the blend of the Plum Blossom and Six-Style Fists in the group led by Song Delong, who was affected by Feng Keshan. This situation was different with that in Caozhou and Ji'ning, where the Righteous and Harmonious Fists manifested itself in the Red Fists.

Amongst reliable sources, we find no record that Feng Keshan had practiced the Eight-Trigram Fists. Many works, however, hold Feng to have been the successor of the Eight-Trigram Fists, claiming that it was his superb skills in this Fists that helped him to be elected as the superintendent of martial art. This is a mistake. The main evidence for this view is from a record about Feng Keshan in *The Chronicle of Suppressing the Rebellion* (*Jing ni ji* 靖逆记):

> In the sixth month of the year of *gengwu* (the fifteenth year of Jiaqing [1810]) Niu Liangchen, husband of one of Feng's sisters and a clerk of the government warehouse, observed that there were eight square stances (*bafang bu* 八方步) in Feng's martial arts set. Niu said: your moves

[68] See: "Memorial to the throne by Fu Tang (傅棠), the Chief Supervising Secretary of the Ministry of Civil Offices, on the Ninth Day of the Eleventh Month in the Nineteenth Year of Jiaqing." In which, it reported: Qin Xuezeng confessed, "Wang Xiang, who is from the Prefecture of Ji'ning of Shandong, is the superintendent of martial art." Feng Keshan also confessed: Wang Xiang, his master, used to be the drillmaster of the branch of Li Trigram.

[69] What the family of Gao taught Li Cui was the Six-Style Fists. The other branch of family of Gao lived in the Prefecture of Guide of Henan, the Prefecture of Cao and Ji'ning in Shandong. This branch practiced the Red Fists. There is a research paper, which argues Wang Xiang played the Eight-Trigram Fists. Nevertheless, this point of view cannot be justified because of the absence of proof.

> look like the Eight-Trigram Fists. Feng replied: How could you know this? Feng: I learned it in the branch of Kan Trigram. Feng: My trigram was Li. Niu concluded: You belonged to Li and I belonged to Kan. The two trigrams could meet and interchange (*likan jiaogong* 离坎交宫), so that we could learn skills from each other.

Some researchers maintain that the so-called "two trigrams could meet and interchange (*likan jiaogong* 离坎交宫)" was the hand-to-hand fight of the two trigram branches and the "eight square stances (*bafang bu* 八方步)" was the eight-trigram stance. Based on this, they conclude that Feng Keshan was a famous master of the Eight-Trigram Fists. This was not the case. First, let us look at the Eight-Trigram Fists. In the fieldwork in Guan County, (275) the Eight-Trigram Fists, which emerged in the years of Qianlong, is still popular today. In this county, the style prevails in Xusanli Village, Zhang Village, Xiaoqi Village, Zhangbuguan Village, Bali Village, Shilipu Village, Song Village and Sanxinzhuang Village. According to the successors of this style, the Eight-Trigram Fists has twenty-four sets and sixty-four small sets. It is divided into the upper eight sets, the middle eight sets and the lower eight sets. Usually, the first eight sets are called the "upper eight," and the following eight sets are the "middle eight." The last eight sets are the "lower eight." The first twelve sets play straight and the remaining twelve sets involved a figure of the Chinese character "八" (*ba*, eight). In fighting, the Eight-Trigram Fists maneuver employs both fist and palm and it emphasizes the combination of motion, resting and strikes. When the foot, knee and leg are moving, the palm, waist and shoulder are kept in reserve. The strike comes when moves change. Such a style strives for rest in motion, predominance in rest and steadiness in attack.[70] There is another type. The master of this art says that in the later Eight-Trigram Fists, practice is limited to a tray-shape orbit that is divided in accordance with the eight trigrams, in which the practitioner walks around and each circle has eight moves. The Plum Blossom Fists, however, takes the "eight square moves" as the group moves and divides it into the big, medium and small eight square moves. The small eight-square-move has three points, the medium has five points and the big one has unspecified points. None of them has eight points. The

[70] See: *Materials of Fieldwork in the Xusanli Village of Gaun County* (*Guanxian xusanli zhuang diaocha cailiao* 冠县徐三里庄调查材料).

Eight-Trigram Fists in Guan County also has the eight square moves. It, however, has no differentiation between the big, medium and small moves. Thus, the so-called "eight square moves" is a name specific to the Plum Blossom Fists. In the practice of this style, moves follow the diagram of eight trigrams. Since this diagram sets the position according to the sequence of eight trigrams—Kan-Li, Kun-Gen, Dui-Zhen and Qian-Xun, there will be four pairs of practitioners standing. In a pair exercise, the two practitioners can stand in pair composed of the four combined-positions: Kan-Li, Kun-Gen, Dui-Zhen or Qian-Xun. In view of this, the so-called "*kanli jiaogong* 坎离交宫" means that one pair of practitioners stands in a position opposing each other to practice hand-to-hand exercise. In other words, it does not refer to two separate trigram branches—Li and Kan. In *The Chronicle of Suppression of the Rebellion* (*Jing ni ji*), the record stated that Feng Keshan and Niu Liangchen were sparring, which implies that they stood in the position of Li Trigram and Kan Trigram respectively. From the perspective of the "eight square moves," what they were doing was practicing the move of the Plum Blossom Fists. Thus, the "*kanli jiaogong* 坎离交宫" in this record simply means out the two were performing a pair exercise and not that there was a differentiation in their trigram branch. Furthermore, the literature clearly showed that Feng Keshan had learned the Plum Blossom Fists under the instruction of Tang Hengle, the master of this style. Feng was not only a significant figure in the Li Trigram branch, but also a disciple of the eighth generation of Plum Blossom Fists. Feng, as a man who was endowed with civil and marital virtues, occupied a leading position in the martial arts group. That was why Lin Qing and Li Wencheng could only proclaim themselves to be superintendent of the civil art, and left the title of superintendent of the martial art to Feng Keshan. The appointment of Feng as the superintendent of the martial art demonstrated the important role that the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists," with a foundation based on the civil and martial fields of the Li Trigram and the Plum Blossom Fists, played in this peasant movement.

The above discussion does not mention what the "civil field" of the Plum Blossom Fists was. The so-called "civil field" was to practice the civil art, the circulation of the vital breath in particular. Accordingly, the "martial field' was the martial art, which focused on fist work and weapons. (276) In light of the *Enlightening the Way and Rectifying the Orthodoxy* (*Mingdao zhengzong* 明道正宗), a secret book circulated within

the Plum Blossom Fists, the circulation of the vital breath in the civil art employed the Great Ultimate (*Taiji*), the Five Phases and the Eight Trigrams. Its practice was to preserve the "elixir field" (*dantian*), stabilize the breath through meditation, and exhale the stale and inhale the fresh. By such methods, a man could enter the primeval realm (*yuan jing* 元境), the primeval vital breath (*yuan qi* 元气) or the primeval mind (*yuan shen* 元神). What was the primeval soul (*yuan jing* 元精)? This was the essential soul (*xiantian*, literally prior to Heaven). What was the primeval vital breath? It was the vital breath inside man's body. What was the primeval mind? It was the immortal spirit. Only when the three elements returned to the original oneness could a man ascend to the vast emptiness of heaven and preserve (it) in the body. In that way, a man could live solely on water and needed not to have food. This was the "civil art'; in the secret book, it was also called the "civil practice" (*wen lian* 文炼). It was a common practice among branches of the Eight-Trigram Teaching. For instance, the "civil art" of the branch of Li Trigram was similar to this. The "principle of the civil art" of the Plum Blossom Fists, however, was far more profound than that of other martial arts groups. The "civil practice" of the Li branch emphasized the cultivation of the Inner Elixir, while the "principle of the civil art" of the Plum Blossom Fists blended the Confucian ideal of "preserving the mind and nourishing the nature," the Buddhist "enlightening the mind and realizing the nature" and the Taoist "training the mind and purifying the nature." It pursued the unification of the three principles and the return to the Great Ultimate. This Great Ultimate would be preserved in the human being's body, that is, the "elixir field," or the lower "elixir field" in particular. The civil field of the Plum Blossom Fists was able to divine through burning incense and calculations and to respond to the changes of the epoch in this world. This was the specific feature of its "principle of the civil art." Of course, as did other martial arts groups, this "principle" was rooted in the rural north, which suffered from a poor environment, production and education. As a result, this "principle" unavoidably had some superstitious elements. Its main content, however, was to practice the mind and purify the nature. Therefore, it had some logic and should not be simply cast away as "superstition." The "civil art" and "martial art" of the Plum Blossom Fists could not be separated. For a practitioner, only when his martial art reached the level of "being transformed by the vital breath" (*qi hua* 气化), he could follow a master to learn

the "principle of the civil art."[71] Only after he had completed study of the "principle," he could be regarded as a master of the "civil field." Thus, the master listed on the martial arts chronicles must have been a person who was versed in both the "civil" and "martial" arts; in addition, he must have had a certain education background and been a master of training vital breath. Of course, in the three-hundred-year evolution of the Plum Blossom Fists, there were members who learned only the "principle" and gave up the martial art. This, however, was not the original outlook of this martial art group.

In the Jiaqing period, the civil and martial fields of the Plum Blossom Fists blended with the Yihetuan in some areas. In the area where popular religion was prevalent, the formation of the "Teaching of Righteous and Harmonious Fists" was based on the civil and martial field of the Li Trigram. The Li Trigram was the most popular of the branches of the Eight-Trigram Teaching. The Zhen and Kan Trigrams originally had many followers, but never recovered from the failed uprising in 1813. The Li Trigram maintained its turf, (277) though it suffered losses in areas like Jinxiang and Cao County. The force of each "Yao" (爻, the line of the trigram), which was distributed throughout the north and south of this region, still developed. Accordingly, it was after the twenty-fifth year of Qianlong when the northern and southern Yao emerged. At that time, the Gao family, who headed the Li Trigram, was divided into two groups. The two groups spread this teaching to a vast region. In Henan, Shandong, Zhili and Shanxi, a great number of followers pertained to various teams of Yao. Feng Keshan, the superintendent of martial art in the Heavenly Principle Teaching, belonged to the southern Yao system.[72] After the Rebellion of Heavenly Principle Teaching failed, the power of the southern Yao declined, but the northern Yao remained active. Liu Gong, who was the head of the branch of Li Trigram in Qinghe, affiliated himself with the northern Yao. His sub-branches frequently operated in the name

[71] *The Secret Diagrams of Plum Blossom Fists* (*Meihua quan mipu* 梅花拳秘谱). It is preserved by Yan Zijie (燕子杰).

[72] The northern and southern Yao had emerged when the Rebellion of Heavenly Principle Teaching broke out. In the eighteenth year of Jiaqing, Zhao Buyun confessed that Li Wencheng persuaded him to acknowledged Feng Keshan as his master and joined the southern Yao. In the *Investigation on the Song Jingshi Uprising* (*Song Jingshi diaocha ji* 宋景诗调查记), we recorded that there were the three southern Yao and the three northern Yao.

of the "Teaching of Righteous and Harmonious Fists" or the "Fists and Clubs of the Righteous and Harmonious School" (*yihemen quanbang* 义和门拳棒) in many areas.

The Historical Connection

We have already discussed the role the Yihetuan played in the Wang Lun Uprising of the Pristine Water Teaching and Lin Qing and Li Wencheng's Rebellion of the Heavenly Principle Teaching. In the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of Guangxu, the Yihetuan reemerged, led by Zhao Sanduo (赵三多) and Zhu Hongdeng (朱红灯) in response to imperialist aggression by the "foreign religions' (yangjiao 洋教). Was there any historical connection or organizational succession between the Yihetuan in the Guangxu reign and its counterpart in the reigns of Qianlong and Jiaqing? This important question involves the nature and characteristics of the Yihetuan Movement. Through our fieldwork, we find there was indeed a deep historical connection.

The Yihetuan led by Zhao Sanduo was the earliest organization of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists. As it is shown previously, the origins of this branch of Yihetuan stemmed from the Plum Blossom Fists that was recommissioned under the name "Righteous and Harmonious Fists." According to a *Chronicle* that circulated inside the Plum Blossom Fists, Zhao Sanduo's martial arts came from Yang Shizeng. The sequence of succession in this *Chronicle* is as follows:[73]

(278) Li Jiuzhou (of the seventh generation and from Sheke Village of Pingxiang County)-Yang Shizeng (eighth generation, Dahuaishu Village of Qiu County)-Liu Wuxun (ninth generation, Xiangchenggu Village of Quzhou County)-Yang Daxing (tenth generation, Xingyuan Village of Yao'an Township in the Prefecture of Linqing)-Zhang Lianzhu (eleventh generation, Xingyuan Village of the Prefecture of Linqing)-Zhang Kekuan (twelfth generation, Xingyuan Village of the Prefecture of Linqing)-Zhang Ruchun (thirteenth generation, Xingyuan Village of the Prefecture of Linqing).

[73] This Chronicle is preserved in the group of Plum Blossom Fists in Guangzong County. Yan Zijie provides it for us. This Martial Art group has various chronicles or diagrams in different areas. From the eighth generation, Zhang Congfu developed this martial art and created a new branch—"Little Frame' (*xiao jiao* 小架). Yang Shizeng maintained what the grandmaster Zou taught—"Big Frame" (*da jia* 大架). Both Zhang and Yang were the disciples of Li Jiuzhou.

Zhang Rukuan had six disciples (the fourteenth generation). They were: Guo Yuming (Guojiazhuang Village of Julu County), Miao Minglu (Miaojiazhuang Village of Julu County), Wang Anfen (Guchangxiang Village of Guangzong County), Zhao Sanduo (Shaliu Village of Wei County), Zhang Tiancheng (Xingyuan Village of the Prefecture of Linqing) and Zhang Yuanyi (Qihe County of Shandong).

During the eighth generation, the Plum Blossom Fists split into two groups which spread rapidly in each area. For the important figures in this martial art group, the relevant record from each area varied greatly. Figures in the first eight generations in both sets of records, however, were mostly the same. After the eighth generation, the record usually concentrated on locally known people and paid less attention to other areas. The above chronicles sufficed to verify what Zhang Rumei, the Governor of the Shandong, said in his memorial: "The original name of the Plum Blossom Fists is 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists.' The authorities persuaded them to disband. From then on, they avoided using the title 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists' and called themselves the 'Plum Blossom Fists,' but they secretly preserved the original name."[74] His record was reliable and it convincingly demonstrated that Yang Shizeng had a relationship with the Yihetuan of the mid-Qianlong period.

In the twenty-fourth year of Guangxu, the Yihetuan emerged in Shaliuzhai Village of Wei County. Then, it "extended from Guan County to the Prefecture of Dongchang."[75] At the turn of spring and summer in the twenty-fifth year of Guanxu, "Zhu Hongdeng gathered people in crowds in En and Ping counties, where he established the society named the 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists.'"[76] En County was the birthplace of the Yihetuan, where Li Cui founded this martial art group. Although Li Cui was arrested and decapitated after the failure of the Wang Lun Uprising, the force of the Yihetuan in En was not destroyed. In the early twenty-fifth year of Guangxu, owing to the conflict between rural residents and the Christian church, the Yihetuan

[74] See n. 3, *supra*.

[75] Chai E (柴萼), *Record of Events in the Year of gengxin* (*Gengxin jishi* 庚辛纪事). See: Part One, "The Yihetuan," *Primary Sources for Chinese Modern History* (*Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan* 中国近代史资料丛刊) (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she 神州国光社, 1956), p. 104.

[76] "An On-the-Spot Report of the Disturbance of the Yihetuan" (*Yihetuan naojiao jishi* 义和团闹教纪实), *Collected Reports* (*Hui bao*), no. 146, published on the tenth day of the twelfth month in the twenty-fifth year of Guangxu.

reformed in the area of En and Pingyuan counties. Jiang Kai, the magistrate of Pingyuan County, was just transferred to this county in the early third month of this year. He said: "As soon as I assumed the office on the fourteenth day in the third month, I learned that the Yihetuan prevailed throughout all of En County." In his words, the Yihetuan in En was affected by counterparts in Shiba Village of Guan County, Dongchang and Caozhou. (279) But his reports could not be verified.[77]

Like Li Cui's Yihetuan group, the group led by Zhu Hongdeng belonged to the Li Trigram Teaching. According to the sources, when Zhu Hongdeng went into battle, he wore a bright red cap and red trousers. His army held a red banner and their spears and swords would have red tassels. This was the characteristic of the Li Trigram, which venerated the color of the southern fire. The Monk Dagui, who was one of Zhu Hongdeng's junior brothers and was from En County, was captured in Gucheng and then he confessed the society belonged to the Li Trigram Teaching.[78] Both Li Cui's group and all the Yihetuan groups under the lead of Zhu Hongdeng kowtowed toward the southeast. This ritual symbolized that they kowtowed to the Lord Gao, who was the "True Man of Fathoming the Heaven" (*Toutian zhenren*) of the Li Palace of the South and was from the Prefecture of Guide.[79] Zhu Hongdeng's Yihetuan group had an incantation. It read: "Iron helmet, iron armor and iron dress are placed on my body, and the cutting and chopping by a big sword or ax are like kicking by foot. By reciting the sayings of Amitabha Buddha three times, the magic power

---

[77] Jiang Kai (蒋楷), *Record of Events of the Yihetuan Bandits in Pingyuan County* (*Pingyuan quanfei jishi* 平原拳匪纪事). See: *Ibid*, p. 353.

[78] See: Lin Xuejian (林学瑊), *Preserved Telegrams Concerning the Matter of Suppressing Bandits in the East Zhili* (*Zhidong jiaofei diancun* 直东剿匪电存); "Letter to Hu Shaoqian," in Rong Naixuan (荣乃宣), *Miscellaneous Collections for the Case of the Yihetuan* (*Quanan zacun* 拳案杂存).

[79] It is also said the Yihetuans' kowtowing toward the southeast meant they kowtowed to the Peach Blossom Hill in Feicheng. The evidence was their "spell of protection," in which it read: "The Grand Patriarch orders: the Patriarch of Duke Zhou, the Fairy of Peach Blossom, the Vajra Warriors, the General of Holding Banner, the Black Tiger and the Superintendent of Soul come and protect the heart." The Yihetuans mistakenly read "*taohua xian*" (the Fairy of Peach Blossom) as "*taohua shan*" (the Peach Blossom Hil). This spell originally was from "*jin zhong zhao*" (金钟罩, literally, the golden bell covers the body). In Zhu Hongdeng's Yihetuan group, there was the trace of this spell. Nevertheless, it is hard to know whether there was it in the time of Li Cui. At present, in branches of Li Trigram in Pingyuan, Encheng and Wucheng, there is still this spell. See: *Materials of Fieldwork in Wucheng County* (*Wucheng xian diaocha ziliao* 武城县调查资料).

of iron will protect my body." It was similar to the four-verse incantation in the Yihetuan of the Li Trigram in the years of Qianlong and Jiaqing.[80] Moreover, in his *Record of Events of the Boxing Bandits of Pingyuan County* (*Pingyuan quanfei jishi*), Jiang Kai said that Zhu Hongdeng had the title "Heavenly Dragon." Zhu had spread the words that "the next year is the year of *kalpa*, and the Great Jade Emperor will order all gods to descend to earth." Therefore, the title "heavenly dragon" was not simply a personal appellation; rather, it had the implication that as the epoch turned, a new dynasty should be born. One book has pointed out that the White Lotus uprisings in the area of Guan and Shen counties in the eleventh year of Xianfeng (1861) used the title—"The Heavenly Dragon's Eight-Trigram Teaching" (*Tianlong bagua jiao* 天龙八卦教). Thus, Zhu Hongdeng's "Heavenly Dragon" must have been related to this Eight-Trigram Teaching. This writer agrees with this point of view. If that was the case, this writer further argues that the Yihetuan group led by Zhu Hongdeng was closely related to the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" that were led by Wang Lun, Li Cui and Yang Sihai. As discussed above, the goal of the Wang Lun Uprising was to overthrow the reign of Qianlong, and the stories of Li Cui, Yang Sihai and Zhai Guanyi's struggle against the Qianlong Emperor were widely circulated among the people. The meaning of the character "*qian* 乾' is "*tian* 天' (heaven) and the pronunciation of the character "long 隆" is same as the character "long 龙" (dragon). In view of this, the implication of the title "Heavenly Dragon" was that these rebels sought to the Emperor Qianlong. This writer holds that Zhu Hongdeng's "Heavenly Dragon" was a manifestation of the succession from the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists"-Li Trigram Teaching led by Li Cui, Yang Sihai and other leaders. (280) We, however, still need this point to be verified by oral testimony. Based on the above analysis, the conclusion that Zhu Hongdeng's Yihetuan was part of the system of the Li Trigram Teaching is unquestionable. But, Zhu's Yihetuan group employed seances, while Li Cui's assembly did not. What does this mean? In the third year of Daoguang, Li Fangchun, head of the Li Trigram Teaching, falsely claimed that "Liu Gong [the former patriarch] orders you to take the post of patriarch

[80] For the former verses, see: *Materials of Fieldwork in Wucheng County* (*Wucheng xian diaocha ziliao*). For the latter, see: Liu Diwu's [i.e., Liu Wanquan] confession on the second day of the twelfth month in the nineteenth year of Jiaqing, *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

of the Li Trigram Teaching." And then his movement and expression changed as if he was possessed by deities. Citing *The Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演义), Li said that he was the reincarnation of Ne Zha, Jiang Ziya and Tuxingsun (土行孙).[81] This is similar in form to possession of Zhu Hongdeng's Yihetuan group by deities such as Yang Jian (杨戬), Sun Bin (孙膑), Zhang Fei (张飞) and the Monkey King.[82] Thus, the opinion that Zhu Hongdeng's Yihetuan group was from the Li Cui-Li Fangchun branch of the Li Trigram Teaching is credible.

Since we have argued for a direct organizational succession from the "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" in the years of Qianlong and Jiaqing to the Yihetuan in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of Guangxu, we shall not disregard the comments of Lao Naixuan (劳乃宣) and Yuan Shikai (袁世凯). Lao said: "The so-called Yihetuan is a branch of the White Lotus Teaching and it originates from the sect of Li Trigram of the Eight-Trigram Teaching."[83] Yuan wrote: "The Yihetuan is simply the 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists' in the Li Trigram Teaching. It is identical in nature to the White Lotus Teaching. It has the name of a martial arts group, but it has nothing related with the *xiangtuan* (乡团, the rural militia)."[84] Even *Shanghai News* (*Shen bao* 申报) pointed out: "The Yihetuan emerged in the years of Qianlong. At that time, everyone who joined it claimed to be disciples of the Lord Gao, the "True Man of the Supreme Palace" (*Toudian zhenren*) of the Li Palace of the South." In light of above analysis, these records were reliable. But, since Lao and Yuan did not know the detailed history of the Yihetuan, they had to repeat the generalizations of Na Yancheng (那彦成). Consequently, their opinions are rejected by present researchers. Furthermore, Lao did not know that the main element of the Yihetuan was from the Plum Blossom Fists. Therefore, in his writing about the origin of the Yihetuan, Lao mistakenly identified the Plum Blossom Fists Yihetuan group with that of the Li Trigram

---

[81] "Memorial to the Throne by Jing E Bu (经额布), the Governor of Shandong, on the Seventh Day of the Ninth Month in the Sixteenth Year of Daoguang," *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

[82] See n. 77, *supra*, p. 354.

[83] *The Chronicle of Remaining Writings of Mr. Lao from Tongxiang* (桐乡劳先生遗稿年谱), the block-printed edition by the family of Lu in 1928, p. 13.

[84] Yuan Shikai (袁世凯), "A Replying Memorial According to Facts on the Unfeasibility of Financing Private Armed Forces through the National Treasury" (*Chouyi guanlian situan shi bukexing jushi fuchen zhe* 筹议官练私团事不可行据实复陈折), in *Selected Compilation of Memorials of the Maintaining Longevity Garden* (*Yangshouyuan zouyi Jiyao* 养寿园奏议辑要), vol. 4.

Teaching. Finally, his investigation into the origins of Yihetuan was marred by confusing and insurmountable contradictions.

Clarifying the origins of the "Teaching of Righteous and Harmonious Fists" is not to argue that the Yihetuan organizations in the Yihetuan Movement were confined in the Six-Style Fists of the Li Trigram Teaching, the Red Fists, or the Plum Blossom Fists that originated from or affiliated themselves with one specific popular religion. (281) The name of the Yihetuan had the connotation of "righteousness and concordance." That is to say, it must have embraced members from various martial arts groups. The nucleus of the Yihetuan organization, however, could only be the martial arts groups that had both civil and martial fields. When the movement extended to Ji'ning and Caozhou, its organization included the group, which changed their original name—the Big Sword Society. Even if this was the case, the backbone of the Yihetuan in these areas was still from the Li Trigram Teaching. Yu Xian (毓贤), the Governor of Shandong, pointed out: "In recent years, the Big Sword Society has become more popular. In addition, there is the group that practices martial arts, which is named the Red Fists. Their purpose is self-protection."[85] At the turn of spring and summer in the twenty-sixth year of Guangxu, when the Yihetuan rapidly extended to Zhili, Tianjin and Beijing, the name "Righteous and Harmonious Fists" was used in confusion with the Yihetuan. Groups and organizations that joined the Yihetuan became more and more complex. The Plum Blossom Fists and the Li Trigram Teaching that had played the key role in the early stage of this movement extended to prefectures and counties in Daming, Guangping and Hejian, while the branch of Li Trigram disappeared suddenly. The Qian and Kan Trigrams—Kan in particular—that had never been conspicuous prior to this period rose unexpectedly. Besides the Eight-Trigram Teaching, other secret sects of popular religions were active in plotting and rallying. Among them, Wang Jueyi (王觉一) stands out.[86] As for these questions, they must be discussed elsewhere.

[85] "Memorial to the Throne by Yu Xian (毓贤), the Governor of Shandong, on the Fourth Day of the Eleventh Month in the Twenty-Fifth Year of Guangxu," The Department of Ming and Qing Archives of the Forbidden City (ed.), *Historical Materials in Archives Concerning the Yihetuan* (*Yihe tuan dang'an shiliao* 义和团档案史料) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), Part One, p. 38.

[86] The record of the Way of Penetrating Unity (*Yiguandao* 一贯道) said Wang Jueyi died in the tenth year of Guangxu (1884) in Yangliuqing of Tianjin. In our fieldwork, we find he was still alive in the early Republican period. See: *Materials of Fieldwork in Qingzhou* (*Qingzhou diaocha cailiao* 青州调查材料).

CHAPTER SEVEN

A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE WAY OF PENETRATING UNITY (一贯道) AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE YIHETUAN (周育民, "一贯道前期历史初探——兼论一贯道和义和团的历史")*

Zhou Yumin

Abstract

Based on Qing archives, various sources and records from the Way of Penetrating Unity (*Yiguan dao* 一贯道), this paper discusses the history of the Way of Penetrating Unity from its founding years to the end of Qing. This writer argues the Way of Penetrating Unity was a branch of the Blue Lotus Sect (*Qinglian jiao* 青莲教) and it was founded by Wang Jueyi (王觉一), who was from Yidu of Shangdong Province, at the turn of Tongzhi and Guangxu. Its original name was the Last Effort Teaching (*Mohou yizhu jiao* 末后一著教). In 1883, the Last Effort Teaching mounted an unsuccessful rebellion and was crushed by the Qing government. The following year, Wang Jueyi passed away in Tianjin and his son, Wang Jitai (王继泰), was executed by the imperial court. From then on, one of branches of the Last Effort Teaching in Shandong changed the name to the Way of Penetrating Unity, which was put under the lead of Liu Qingxu (刘清虚). The other branch in Henan was renamed as the Amitabha Teaching (*Mituo jiao* 弥陀教) or the Dragon Flower Society (*Longhua hui* 龙华会) roughly in 1899 and it participated in Yihetuan activities. The Essential Eternal Teaching (*Xiantian wusheng jiao* 先天无生教), a popular religion in Sichuan, also might be a branch of the Last Effort Teaching.

Keywords: the Way of Penetrating Unity; the Yihetuan; the Blue Lotus Sect

(282, original page number, similarly hereinafter) Chen Jie (陈捷), an early scholar of the history of the Yihetuan, wrote: "The 'Righteous and Harmonious Fists' was a martial arts group. When its followers became numerous, it changed its name to Yihetuan. Whenever it

* This paper was originally published in *Modern Chinese History Studies* (*Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究), no. 3 (1991).

taught martial arts, practitioners would be divided into *tuan* (groups) and each *tuan* had twenty-five persons. Each group had a head who was in charge of assembling and dismissing the group members. It was said the chief leaders of the Yihetuan were Li Laizhong (李来中) from Shaanxi or Wang Jueyi (王觉一), who lived in Sichuan. (283) Residents in Tianjin said the Grand Patriarch (Wang Jueyi) was living in Emei Mountain and was more than two hundred years old. Some people held he was in fact the man from Shifokou (石佛口) and his surname was Wang."[1] Some have concluded that the Yihetuan was a loose popular organization that had no centralized leadership. In certain areas or times, however, a leader could rise to control several or even dozens of Yihetuan groups. Wang Jueyi, who will be discussed in this paper, was the founder of the Way of Penetrating Unity. These historical linkages raise the problem of the succession between the Way of Penetrating Unity and the Yihetuan. Some students in the field of the history of Chinese popular religion hold that Wang was one of leaders of the Yihetuan.[2]

The study of the early history of the Way of Penetrating Unity has made little headway, even though this popular religious sect exerted enormous influence on Chinese society. Based on accessible materials, this writer attempts to investigate further the early history of the Way of Penetrating Unity and to clarify the problem of succession between this sect and the Yihetuan.

Part One

Wang Jueyi was a important figure in popular religion during the Tongzhi and Guangxu periods. It was in the ninth year of Guangxu (1883) when he first appeared in the official literature. In the ninth month of this year, Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠), Governor-General of Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi, Qing Yu (庆裕), Superintendent of Grain Transport, and Wei Rong (卫荣), Governor of Jiangsu, wrote jointly a memorial to the throne, in which they said: "Recently, a so-called chief patriarch, Wang Jueyi (i.e. Wang Yanghao [王养浩], a.k.a Wang

[1] Chen Jie (陈捷), *The History of the Yihetuan* (*Yihe tuan yundong shi* 义和团运动史) (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1996), p. 18.

[2] Yu Songqing (喻松青), *A Study on the White Lotus Teaching in Ming and Qing Dynasties* (*Mingqing bailian jiao yanjiu* 明清白莲教研究) (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1987), p. 54.

Gufo [王古佛], who is from Shandong), falsely claims to be the reincarnation of the 'Ancient Buddha' and to have palm lines that look like the words '古佛' (the Ancient Buddha). This person goes among villages in Haizhou, Shuyang, Andong and Taoyuan and preaches his heresy, which is named the Last Effort Teaching (*Mohou yizhu* 末后一著). He also prints heterodox texts and recruits followers. Right now, Wang Gufo is bound for Jinling, Hankou and Jingzhou, where he invites his followers and plots to stage a rebellion on the eighth day of the third month."[3] This rebellion shocked the imperial court. The official literature concerning this case of heresy are the primary materials for this paper's discussion on the early history of the Way of Penetrating Unity.

As for the family background and native place of Wang Jueyi, the confession of Wang Jitai (王继泰, i.e., 王际泰), Wang Jueyi's son, stated: "Wang Jueyi is Wang Ximeng (王希孟), also known as Wang Yanghao. He makes a living by divination at home. In his forties, (284) because he discovered that his palm patterns resembled the character 'gu 古' (ancient), he claimed to be the incarnation of the Ancient Buddha. Furthermore, he says the Bodhisattva authorizes him in a dream to preach, and by this he named his teaching."[4] Because Wang Jitai was born in Yidu of Shandong, we can infer that Wang Juesyi should be from the same place, in which the government of the Prefecture of Qingzhou was located. The idea that Wang Jueyi was a descendent of the Wang family of Shifokou in Luan Prefecture is not supported by any of the known sources.

---

[3] "Memorial Concerning the Matter of Ordering the Authorities to Capture and Interrogate Rebels of the Heresy" (*Nahuo jiaofei xunban chishu soubu zhe* 拿获教匪讯办饬属搜捕折), in "Memorials," *The Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang, the Lord of Learning and Virtue* (*Zuo wenxiang gong quanji* 左文襄公全集), vol. 16.

[4] Zeng Guoquan (曾国荃), "The Itemized Statement Concerning the Matter that Successively-Captured Rebels should be Applied to Appropriate Punishment" (*Xuhuo feifan zhengfa shu* 续获匪犯正法疏), *Memorials of Zeng Guoquan, the Lord of Loyalty and Virtue* (*Zeng zhongxiang gong zouyi* 曾忠襄公奏议), vol. 22. In his *Exploring the Origin of the Way of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan tanyuan* 一贯探原), Wang Jueyi said: "When I was twenty-seven-year old, the Master Liu from Wanchun of Erdong introduced me to the Master Yao in Hetian of Shanxi. I obtained instructions from the Master Yao. Then, I practice sitting in meditation and nourishing the origin. Finally, I attained the great enlightenment through tranquility resulted from the unification of mind and concentration." The story that he created the teaching at his forty sounds rather similar to that of Luo Qing (罗清), who was enlightened after thirteen-year practice. In view of this, Wang Jueyi founded his sect roughly at the turn of Tongzhi and Guangxu.

Concerning the sect's name and founding date, according to Wang Jitai's confession, the religious sect created by Wang Jueyi was "originally called the Essential Eternal Teaching (*Xiantian wusheng jiao* 先天无生教). It was then changed to the Last Effort Teaching." This cult was founded by Wang Jueyi when he was forty. There was no record of the exact founding date. In light of the fact that Zhang Daofu, one of Wang's disciples, preached this teaching in the first year of Guangxu (1875) in Jiangsu, the founding date was approximately at the end of Tongzhi. There were two reasons why Wang created this sect. One was his great progress in religious enlightenment; the other was that he "discovered that his palm patterns resembled the character '*gu* 古' (ancient)" and was the incarnation of the Ancient Buddha. In *The Precious Scripture of Dragon Flower Verified by the Ancient Buddha as It Originally Is* (*Gufo tianzhen kaozheng longhua baojing* 古佛天真考证龙华宝经), it said: "Since the beginning of time, there is neither heaven nor earth, sun nor moon, mankind nor objects. From the supreme emptiness, there is the Eternal Ancient Buddha as It Originally Is." "After the emergence of the Ancient Buddha, the heaven and the earth are established; after the rise of the Eternal Venerable Mother, the Former Heaven is established."[5] Accordingly, this "Ancient Buddha" was the Bodhisattva who created the world and its status was similar to the Eternal Venerable Mother. Therefore, as a diviner that was well-versed in popular beliefs, Wang Jueyi must have obtained a kind of religious enlightenment from his palm patterns.

Concerning the sect's organization and scriptures. The hierarchy of the Last Effort Teaching had nine ranks: "the lowest is all sentient beings (*zhongsheng* 众生); the second, the Celestially Blessed (*tian'en* 天恩); the third, the Approvingly Blessed (*zhengen* 正恩); the fourth, the Extensively Blessed (*yin'en* 引恩); the fifth, the Reciprocally Blessed (*bao'en* 报恩); the sixth, the Highest Actor (*dingxing* 顶行); the seventh, the Ten Fruits (*shiguo* 十果); the eighth, the Ten Earths (*shidi* 十地); the highest one is the Lotus Throne (liantai 莲台)." (This information was in Wang Jitai's confession.) The printed scriptures included: *Exploring the Origin of the Way of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan tanyuan* 一贯探原); *Exploring the Origin of the Three Canons of Yijing* (i.e., *Lianshan* 连山, *Guizang* 归

[5] Huang Yupian (黄育楩), *A Detailed Refutation of Heterodoxies* (*Poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩), vol. 1.

藏 and *Zhouyi* 周易) (*Sanyi tanyuan* 三易探原);[6] *The Sage's Interpretation of Studying the Gold Mean* (*Xueyong shengjie* 学庸圣解);[7] and *The Norms of Complete Enlightenment* (*Yuanming fange* 圆明范格).[8] Additionally, there were diagrams such as "The Scroll of the Three Masters" (*Sanshi tiao* 三师条), "The Diagram of Three Ultimates (i.e., the Infinity 无极, Supreme Ultimate 太极 and August Ultimate 皇极)" (*Sanji tu* 三极图) and "The Diagram of Penetrating Unity" (*Yiguan tu* 一贯图).

Concerning the sect's activities, only persons of a certain rank would be permitted to perform missionary work. In the winter of the seventh year of Guangxu (1881), Wang Jueyi appointed Zhu Xingpu from Taoyuan of Jiangsu, who had been a member for three years, as the "Celestially Blessed" and ordered him to "spread the teaching and collect money." (285) Based on this record, we may conclude if a person had the rank of "Celestially Blessed," he would be qualified to do missionary work. The missionary would ask followers to donate several hundred or thousand copper cash in exchange for a piece of paper on which the palm pattern of Wang Shouyi was printed, which could be used as both the admittance certificate and a talisman. Meanwhile, followers would be taught incantations of various Buddhas and patriarchs. Except for the money preserved for the expenditure of religious heads at all levels, all funds should be "sent to Wang Jueyi and be handled by him." After joining the sect, followers must permanently abstain from meat and worship the "The Diagram of Three Ultimates and "The Diagram of Penetrating Unity," but they "did not worship gods."[9] Some active disciples even donated more money for the printing of scriptures. In addition, there were activities such as spirit writing and divination. For instance, in the tenth month of the eighth year of Guangxu (1882), Zhang Daofu happened to meet Yan Rudong,

[6] Wang Jitai related the first two scriptures in his confession.

[7] Zeng Guoquan (曾国荃), "The Draft of Itemized Statement Concerning the Matter that the Successively-Captured Rebels of Heterodoxy should be Appropriately Categorized" (*Xuhuo jiaofei fenbie ni shu* 续获剿匪分别议拟疏), *Memorials of Zeng Guoquan, the Lord of Loyalty and Virtue* (*Zeng zhongxiang gong zouyi*), vol. 24.

[8] "Memorial Concerning the Matter that the Captured Rebels of Heresy should be Discriminatively Punished" (*Nahuo jiaofei fenbie chengban zhe* 拿获教匪分别惩办折), in "Memorials," *The Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang, the Lord of Learnedness and Virtue* (*Zuo wenxiang gong quanji*), vol. 61.

[9] Bian Baodi (卞宝弟), "Memorial for Executing on the Spot Successively-Captured Rebels as Soon as the Case is Appropriately Heard" (*Zou wei xuhuo feifan shenming jiudizhengfa zhe* 奏为续获匪犯审明就地正法折), in *Memorials of Bian Zhijun* [i.e., Baodi] (*Bie Zhijun zouyi* 卞制军奏议), vol. 4.

a follower. Zhang said to Yan: "You have been admitted for a long time. You transcribed one writing written in the year of *gengchen* (that is, the sixth year of Guangxu, 1880) from the altar of spirit writing, with which you should secretly consult. Zhang also said: Wang Jueyi had divined that there would be a big event if we could meet a person whose palm lines looked like the character '日' (*ri*, sun) and '月' (*yue*, moon). This would conform to the words in this piece of writing."[10]

Concerning the case itself. The Last Effort Teaching boldly stated that it was "the most prevalent teaching under Heaven." It extended to Zhili, Shanxi, Henan, Anhui, Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Hubei and its followers were increasing. Under such circumstances, Wang Jueyi plotted to stage a rebellion. He declared that his son had the red birthmark that signified nobility. In addition, he was searching for "a person whose palm lines looked like the characters '日' (*ri*, sun) and '月' (*yue*, moon)." These indicated that the structure of belief characterized by the complex of the Maitreya Buddha and Niu Ba (牛八) did exist in the Last Effort Teaching. It was evident that the "writing of the year of *gengchen*" was an important document for instigating the rebellion, though its content is now impossible to know.[11] The following year, Su Tianjue, Su Fengyi and Zhang Huaisong, who were followers in Henan, planned to launch the rebellion by instigating people to attack Christian Churches. Wang Jueyi thought it was too early to act. These persons ignored Wang's warnings and staged an uprising. It is understandable that they failed. This incident, however, did not expose the sect's secret activities. In the ninth year of Guangxu, Wang decided to start the revolt on the eighth day of the third month simultaneously in Haizhou of Jiangsu, Shuyang, Andong, Taoyuan, Nanjing

[10] See n. 8, *supra*.

[11] After this paper was published, Wang Chien-ch'uan (王见川) gave Lin Liren (林立仁) a set of *Complete Works of the Old Man of North Sea, the Fifteenth-Generation Patriarch* (*Shiwuzu beihai laoren quanshu* 十五祖北海老人全书). In this set of books, there is *The Principle of Yijing over Years* (*Linian yili* 历年易理), in which "the piece of writing of the year of *gengchen*" (*Gengchen nian shutie* 庚辰年书帖) was attached. It read as follows: "The Eternal Venerable Emperor decrees the Jade Emperor to choose the orthodoxy and let me bear. Later there will be a man who has the 'bright and dark' hand and his fate is similar. The Ancient Buddha's seal and the Sun and Moon's sign fuse as the Bright Emperor and the White King. I come first and he comes latter and the master and the disciple are gathering." Here, the "Ancient Buddha's seal" referred to the palm patterns of Wang Jueyi and the "bright and dark hand" was the feature of the palm lines of the person, who had the heavenly mandate. That is to say, he was the person whose palm lines looked like the character "日" (sun) and "月" (moon).

and Hankou and Jingzhou of Hubei. Unfortunately, in the second month, their plans were revealed, and the Qing army raided the sect in Haizhou, Shuyang, Andong and Taoyuan. Many group heads, such as Yan Rudong, Cui Hua, Hua Jingyi and Li Baozhong, were captured. The uprising in Jiangsu was crushed before it could begin. Wang Jueyi and his son fled to Hankou. They discussed the matter with Liu Zhigang and decided to begin their attack late at night on the twenty-eighth day of the third month simultaneously in Wuchang and Hankou.[12] Unexpectedly, the authorities in Wuchang had also known of this plan in advance and they captured and executed Wan Daqi and other thirty or so persons on the twenty-eighth day.[13] Zhang Dianyuan, who was waiting to respond in Hankou, was arrested. In his confession, Zhang said: "Liu Zhigang, Wang Jitai, Deng Yuting and Zhou Lang have fled to Shandong, Henan, Sichuan and Haizhou respectively. But the exact place is unknown. And it is said that Wang Jueyi fled to Sichuan."[14] Wang Jitai, Zhu Xingpu, Ju Zhaoming and Qian Zhenyuan were captured the following year. From then on, Wang Jueyi, Liu Zhigang and Zhang Daofu completely disappeared from the official literature.

Part Two

Although the Way of Penetrating Unity was founded by Wang Jueyi, it was not an exclusive religious sect and strove to embrace connections with earlier religions. This writer holds that the origin of this sect was not the richly historied Eight-Trigram Teaching, though the latter did affect the former. We should rather explore its origin through the sect's own narration. The Way of Penetrating Unity said that there were Eighteen Patriarchs in the East Land: from the founding patriarch Bodhidharma to the sixth-generation patriarch Hui Neng; then, the seventh-generation patriarch, "Bai and Ma' (*sic*); the eighth,

[12] Bian Baodi, "Memorial to the Throne for Decree of Approving Prompt Execution of Unrepentant Rebels" (*Zou feifan hueyiquan qingzhi jixing zhengfa zhe* 奏匪犯怙恶一悛请旨即行正法折), in *Memorials of Bian Zhijun* (*Bie Zhijun zouyi*), vol. 4.

[13] "Memorial to the throne by Heng Xiang (亨祥) and other people, who are members of the royal family, on the twenty-sixth day of the fourth month in the ninth year of Guangxu," *Memorials with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor in Secret Palace Archives* (*Gongzhong dang zhupi* 宫中档朱批).

[14] See n. 9, *supra*.

Luo Weiqun (罗蔚群); the ninth, Huang Dehui (黄德辉); the tenth, Wu Zixiang (吴紫祥, i.e., 吴子祥); the eleventh, He Ruo (何若); the twelfth, Yuan Zhiqian (袁志谦); the thirteenth, Xu [Jilan] (徐继兰); the fourteenth, Yao Hetian (姚鹤天); the fifteenth, Wang Juexi; the sixteenth, Liu Qingxu (刘清虚); the seventeenth, Lu Zhongyi (路中一); the eighteenth, Zhang Guangbi (张光壁). The first six patriarchs were the great masters of Chinese Chan Buddhism, ranging from the Southern and Northern Dynasties to the Tang. The seventh patriarch—"Bai and Ma"—could not be identified. David Jordan and the Canadian scholar Daniel Overmyer (287) argue that the "Bai and Ma" referred to Bai Yuchan (白玉蟾) and Ma Duanyang (马端阳, or Ma Danyang 马丹阳), who were Taoist priests in Song and Jin Dynasty respectively.[15] The sequence from the founding Bodhidharma to the seventh-generation Taoist priests, however, was nothing but a showcase of the sect's Buddhist and Taoist elements. It could not be taken as the origin of this teaching. In fact, the true fountainhead of the Way of Penetrating Unity was the Luo Sect created by Luo Qing (罗清). Luo Weiqun, the patriarch in the eighth generation of the Way of Penetrating Unity, was a descendant of Luo Qing.

It was in the confession of Long Haiyan, one of grand disciples of the eleventh-generation patriarch He Ruo, that Luo Weiqun first appeared in the official literature. It said: "It was always said this decree of protection (a writing fabricated by the Luo Sect) was issued by authorities in the years of Kangxi. At that time, Luo Weixing (罗维行) from Zhili passed it to He Ruo (何弱), who was from Jiangxi. Then He Ruo went to Guizhou and handed it to Wang Daolin." Long Haiyan was Wang Daolin's disciple.[16] In this confession, Luo Weixing (罗维行) was "Luo Weiqun (罗蔚群)" and He Ruo (何弱) was "He Ruo 何若." Thus, Luo Weixing had another successor, who was Huang Dehui (黄德辉)—the ninth-generation patriarch in *The Succession of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai* 历代祖师源流道脉). Huang came from Poyang County of Jiangxi, but his own deeds are unclear. The only thing we know about him was that he printed the *Precious Scroll of the Golden Elixir and Nine Lotus of the August*

[15] David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 291.

[16] "Memorial to the Throne by the Board of Punishments on the Eighteenth Day of the Second Month in the Twenty-Fifth Year of Jiaqing," in *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang* 军机处录副档).

Ultimate on Correcting Belief and Recovering Original Simplicity and Returning to Nature (*Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan* 皇极金丹九莲正信归真还乡宝卷).[17]

Since the introduction of the Luo Sect by Luo Weiqun, the Mahayanan teaching of Luo Sect prevailed in Jiangxi. In the years of Yongzheng, Ling Tao (凌焘), the Provincial Judicial Commissioner in Jiangxi, said: "The ignorant residents in Jiangxi are bewildered by heterodoxies. They follow the Mahayanan Luo Sect and all other evil doctrines and heresies, to which they abandon themselves. This situation has prevailed for a long time."[18] Later came Huang Senguan's (黄森官) Grand Teaching of Perfect and Sudden Enlightenment (*Yuandun dajiao* 圆敦大教) and Zhang Baotai's (张保太) The Most Superior Teaching (*Zuishang yicheng jiao* 最上一乘教, also known as the Great Vehicle Teaching 大乘教).[19] In the time of Wu Zixiang (吴子祥), the tenth-generation patriarch, various sects of popular religion in Jiangxi finally incorporated into the distinctive teaching characterized by abstention from meat, that is, the Great Vehicle Teaching (*Dacheng jiao* 大乘教). Qin Chengen (秦承恩), the Governor of Jiangxi in the years of Jiaqing, wrote in his memorial to the throne: "Heterodox rebels are rampant in Jiangxi. This situation originates from Wu Zixiang, who was a fraudulent person and fabricated scriptures of Mahayana and the 'Great Precepts' (*dajie* 大戒). He went to Guixi, Anren, Linchuan, Guangfeng and Yiyang, where he deluded the ignorant residents." After his case was resolved, the authorities found that "there were no rebellious words in the scriptures fabricated by Wu Zixiang. In the forty-eighth year of Qianlong, Wu was released through by amnesty of the Emperor. Soon after, he passed away."[20] (288) He Ruo, disciple of

[17] In his *The Comprehensive Delineation of Precious Scrolls* (*Baojuan zonglu* 宝卷综录), Li Shiyu (李世瑜) maintains this scripture was the block-printed edition of Ming Dynasty. Yu Songqing holds it was Huang Dehui's writing. See: Yu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[18] Ling Tao (凌焘), "A Detailed Description of Persuading Followers to Surrender the Luo Scriptures" (*Shepai quanjiao luojing xiang* 设牌劝缴罗经详), see: *Records of Inspection Trip to Jiangxi* (*Jiangxi shigao jishi* 江西视臬纪事).

[19] Ling Tao, "Forbidding again the Heterodoxy Characterized by Abstention from Meat and its Act of Bewildering the People" (*Zaijin zhaijiao huozhong* 再禁斋教惑众), see: *ibid*.

[20] "Memorial to the Throne by Qin Chengen (秦承恩), the Governor of Jiangxi, which was Endorsed on the Eighth Day of the Twelfth Month in the Eighth Year of Jiaqing," in *Transcripts of Archives Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu dang*).

Wu Zixiang, was "punished by exile" and sent to Longli of Guizhou,[21] where he resumed his missionary work. He became the eleventh-generation patriarch. Both the aforementioned Wang Daolin (王道林) and Yuan Zhiqian (袁志谦), the twelfth-generation patriarch, were disciples of He Ruo. In 1827, Yuan Zhiqian, who was from Longli, went to Sichuan and took Yang Shouyi, Xu Jilan and others as disciples. They established the Society of Repaying Kindness (*Bao'en* hui 报恩会). In the following year, the society was crushed and Xu and Yang were executed. The remaining members of this society fled to Hankou in 1844, but the Qing government quickly captured them. Besides the Society of Repaying Kindness, there was another branch of successors of Yuan Zhiqian: the Way of the Golden Elixir (*Jindan dao* 金丹道). The two branches had split even while Yuan Zhiqian was alive, though both of them assumed the same name—the Blue Lotus Sect (*Qinglian jiao* 青莲教). In 1844, the remaining members of the Society of Repaying Kindness attempted to reestablish their organization, in which Zhou Weilun (周位抡), the Patriarch of Plucking Light in the Way of the Golden Elixir, failed to obtain the position of patriarch. Therefore, Zhou began preaching independently. The two branches thus formally separated.[22]

The dissemination and split of the Blue Lotus Sect were events of great significance in the history of Chinese secret societies. Wang Jueyi's Last Effort Teaching was one of numerous small sectarian groups that emerged from the Blue Lotus Sect. The Yihetuan movements in Sichuan, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria had more or less direct relationships with the Blue Lotus Sect.

When the Yihetuan operated in Sichuan, there was an active popular religious organization: the Lamp Sect (*Denghua jiao* 灯花教), or, the Red Lantern Sect (*Hongdeng jiao* 红灯教). The predecessor of this organization was the Way of the Golden Elixir. The Grand Patriarch Liu, or Liu Yishun (刘仪顺) originally was the "Man Obedient to

---

[21] "Memorial to the Throne by Qin Chengen, the Governor of Jiangxi, which was Endorsed on the Sixteenth Day of the Fourth Month in the Ninth Year of Jiaqing," in *Memorials with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor in Secret Palace Archives* (*Gongzhong dang zhupi*).

[22] Zhuang Jifa (庄吉发), "The Development of Blue Lotus Sect in Qing Dynasty" (*Qingdai qinglianjiao de fazhan* 清代青莲教的发展), *The Continent Magazine* (*Dalu zazhi* 大陆杂志), vol. 71, no. 5. This writer did a further study on this topic in an unpublished paper—"The Origin of Blue Lotus Sect and its Relationship with the Heaven and Earth Society" (青莲教的源流及其与天地会的关系).

Origin" (*yiyuanzi* 依元子) in the cult. Later, because he supported Zhou Weilun, founder of the Way of the Golden Elixir, to become the patriarch of the Blue Lotus Sect, he withdrew from the sect. The blend of the Way of the Golden Elixir and "Guolu" (咽噜 [Trans: a criminal gang]) played an important role in the formation of the Elder Brother Society (*Gelao hui* 哥老会).[23] In the time of the Yihetuan Movement, the Red Lantern Sect and the Elder Brother Society collaborated and fought shoulder to shoulder. This might stem from their history of close interaction. It was said that the Way of the Golden Elixir in Rehe (热河) was also "introduced by an old Taoist priest from the region south of the Yangtze River."[24] In 1891, the Way of the Golden Elixir launched a large-scale anti-Christian movement. In the Yihetuan in Manchuria, we also can find the activities of this cult.[25] Based on the above discussion, this writer holds there were two centers vis-à-vis the Yihetuan movement and the popular religious sects as a whole: (289) one was the Eight-Trigram Teaching and the other was the Blue Lotus Sect. The former depended on stable local society in which peasants had lived for generations; while the latter relied upon immigrants and vagabonds. That topic, however, is beyond the scope of present work.

The *Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*), which held that the Way of Penetrating Unity originated from the Blue Lotus Sect, can be further verified. First, there is the record concerning the thirteen patriarchs inside the Blue Lotus Sect. For example, Zhou Weilun, the leading patriarch of the Way of the Golden Elixir, had confessed: "(It) venerated Bodhidharma as the founding patriarch and Yuan (Zhiqian) as the twelfth patriarch. After the Patriarch Yuan, (it) diverged from what Li Yiyuan preached."[26] Since Li Yiyuan originally

---

[23] Cai Shaoqing (蔡少卿), "Problems Concerning the Origin of the Elder Brother Society" (*Guanyu gelaohui de yuanliu wenti* 关于哥老会的源流问题), in *Studies on History of Secret Society in Modern China* (*Zhongguo jindai huidang shi yanjiu* 中国近代会党史研究) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987).

[24] "Li Hongzhang's (李鸿章) memorial concerning the matter that Yang Fengchun, who is the head of rebels causing troubles in Rehe, has been appropriately heard and shall be punished," in *Compilations of Historical Materials in Qing Archives* (*Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* 清代档案史料丛编) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), vol. 2, p. 346.

[25] Lu Yao (路遥) and Cheng Xiao (程歊), *Studies on the History of the Yihetuan Movement* (*Yihetuan yundong shi yanjiu* 义和团运动史研究) (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1988), pp. 184–185.

[26] "Memorial to the Throne by Li Xinghuan (李星浣), the Governor of Shaanxi, on the Nineteenth Day of the Third Month in the Twenty-Fifth Year of Daoguang,"

was a member of the Society of Repaying Kindness, he venerated Xu Jilan (徐继兰) and Yang Shouyi (杨守一) as the thirteenth patriarch. This shows that it was as early as the reign of Daoguang that the succession of patriarchs was employed to expound upon the origin of the sect. Once the sect split, there would also be dispute over the "succession of patriarchs" among groups that shared the same origin. For instance, the thirteenth patriarch in the record of the Way of the Golden Elixir was not the same as that of the Blue Lotus Sect. In the *Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*) of the Way of Penetrating Unity, the thirteenth patriarchs were Xu and Yang. This record demonstrates that the Way of Penetrating Unity derived from this branch. Second, the name, birthplace and the birth and death dates of figures recorded in *The Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*) can be verified. The record that He Ruo was from Guixi of Jiangxi, Yuan Zhiqin from Longli of Guizhou and Yang Shouyi from Xindu of Sichuan is attested to by other literature. The official record from the eighth year of Daoguang stated the age of Yuan Zhiqian as sixty-eight.[27] The year of Yuan's birth in the *Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*) was the twenty-fifth year of Qianlong (1760). Thus, the latter was perfectly accurate. The account that Xu and Yang were executed in the eighth year of Daoguang (1832) was also correct. It was recorded that the Patriarch Yuan died in the fourteenth year of Daoguang (1834). Although this date is itself not verified, it was recorded in 1844 that Li Yiyuan and others "called down the spirit of Patriarch Yuan" to ask his will when they were reviving the Blue Lotus Sect and building the Crape Myrtle Hall (*Ziwei tang* 紫薇堂). This demonstrates Yuan had already died by this point. The *Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*) becomes much more accurate after the twelfth patriarch. For example, the record of the five old masters—Chen, Song, An, Peng and Lin— in the revival work of the "Lords of Innate Five Phases in the Former Heaven" (*Xiantian nei wuxing* 先天内五行) in the twenty-fourth year of Daoguang tallies with other sources. Among the twenty-one persons that were captured and executed by the Qing government, as many as nine people can be verified in other

Memorials with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor in Secret Palace Archives (*Gongzhong dang zhupi*).

[27] Xu Xin (徐炘), *Memorials of the Chanting Fragrance Study* (*Yinxiang shushi zoushu* 吟香书室奏疏), vol. 6.

literature. Thus, there are no grounds to doubt the Way of Penetrating Unity's own record of its origin, even if the relationship of Yao Hetian, the fourteenth patriarch, and the rehabilitation of the Blue Lotus Sect cannot be verified elsewhere. Finally, the Blue Lotus Sect changed the title of the "Eternal Venerable Mother" to the "Gold Mother of Fairy Lake" (*Yaochi jinmu* 瑤池金母) and the Way of Penetrating Unity followed suit. (290) In *Questions and Answers of the Way of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan dao yiwen wenda*), it said: "When the fifteenth-generation patriarch—Wang Jueyi—passed away, the Gold Mother of Fairy Lake handed down the decree: the East Land Hall (*Dongzhen tang* 东震堂) shall be renamed Penetrating Unity and (the teaching shall be) called the Way of Penetrating Unity."[28] Were there no relationship between the origin of the Way of Penetrating Unity and the Blue Lotus Sect, it would not be possible for the "Gold Mother of Fairy Lake," a specific title for the Eternal Venerable Mother, to appear in the Last Effort Teaching of Wang Jueyi. Moreover, the organizational structure and hierarchy of the Way of Penetrating Unity had points that resembled the Blue Lotus Sect.

Unlike the Ming and early Qing, when clerical power was monopolized by single families and the unity between sects could be maintained for a long time, contention for power inside modern Chinese popular religious sects was very fierce. Thus, it brought about the new phenomenon of sects constantly dividing and producing a constant flow of new groups. In light of this, the Way of Penetrating Unity was nothing more than a small offshoot of the Blue Lotus Sect.

The *Questions and Answers of the Principle of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan daoli wenda* 一贯道理问答) states: "The Old Man of North Sea (a courtesy title of Wang Jueyi) was a disciple of the West Heaven. When the patriarch of the West Heaven Hall (*Xiqian tang* 西乾堂) passed away, (disciples) burned incense and asked advice of Heaven. The decree of the Gold Mother of Fairy Lake obtained in séance declared: The Hall would be renamed as the East Land Hall and it should be under the supervision of Patriarch Wang. Many masters resented this, though they dared not act against the will of Heaven. Thus, they established their own sects later and named their own halls accordingly. (Their followers) first recited scriptures and scrolls, and then they abstained

[28] *Question & Answer of the Way of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan dao yiwen jieda* 一贯道疑问解答), Part One, p. 7.

from sex. Afterwards, they drew lots before the god. Finally, they would be taught principles." The West Heaven Hall was established by the Lord of Metal (*Jin gong* 金公)—Lin Yimi (林依秘), one of the five lords of "Innate Five Phases in the Former Heaven" in the work of rehabilitating the Blue Lotus Sect. *The Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*) said Wang Jueyi was the disciple of the Patriarch Yao of the West Heaven Hall. Therefore, the fourteenth patriarch—Yao Hetian—might be one of successors of Lin Yimi. Lin passed away on the tenth day of the fourth month in the twelfth year of Tongzhi (1873). Then, Yao Hetian was named superintendent of the Hall. Yao was in charge of the Hall only for little more than a year before he too passed away. As late as the first year of Guangxu, Wang Jueyi began spreading the teaching independently. *The Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai*) depicted this vividly: "After the thirteenth patriarch, the Heavenly Mandate secretly shifted to the fourteenth patriarch Yao. At that time, because demons were contending for Heaven, the teaching was in chaos. The shift of the Heavenly Mandate to the Patriarch Wang Jueyi was carried out in secret. Therefore, the orthodox teaching became even more unclear." Here, mythic scenarios, like "secret shift of the Heavenly Mandate" and "demons contending for Heaven," reveal the ferocity of the internal struggle for clerical power within the Blue Lotus Sect.

At the turn of the reigns of Tongzhi and Guangxu, Wang Jueyi flaunted the banner of "the most prevalent teaching under Heaven." He established the East Land Hall and printed scriptures, scrolls and diagrams. In this way, he founded the Last Effort Teaching, which had distinctive doctrines. He himself became the Founding Patriarch and assumed the place of the "Ancient Buddha." His goal was to consolidate his status as orthodox patriarch, by which he could incorporate other sects into his own school. After the Qing government's fatal blow in the ninth and tenth years of Guangxu, the Last Effort Teaching could not recover. Finally, Wang Jueyi was driven to his death in the third month of the tenth year of Guangxu in Yangliuqing of Tianjin.[29] His son—Wang Jitai—was executed by the authorities in the fall of that year.

[29] *The Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation* (*Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai* 历代祖师源流考), vol. 3.

As for the year of Wang Jueyi's death, there was another story. Mr. Li Shiyu (李世瑜) discovered the manuscript of *Laying Bare the Way of Penetrating Unity's Secrecy of Bewildering the People* (*Jiepo Yiguandao xiejiao huoren mimi* 揭破一贯道邪教惑人秘密), in which the original author cited *Humankind* (*Renzhong* 人种) written by Zeng Guoquan (曾国荃). *Humankind* stated that: Wang Jueyi "was finally captured and was beheaded in public."[30] This record is unreliable. First, Zeng Guoquan did not mention the capture of Wang Jueyi at all in his memorial to the throne, although he did take part in the procedure of hearing this case. Besides, he never wrote any book called *Humankind*. Second, Wang Jueyi was a person convicted of a grave crime. If he had been captured, the imperial court would lavishly propagate the news. It is impossible that the government would not record this in its own official literature or archives. To say the least, even if Zeng Guoquan did compose this so-called *Humankind* and his record was correct, Wang Jueyi should have died before 1890, because that is the year Zeng himself passed away. As such, Wang would not have been the "chief leader" of the Yihetuan in 1899–1900 as stated at the beginning of this paper. Overall, it is out of the question that the Way of Penetrating Unity would have fabricated the year of the death of its founding patriarch.

Part Three

After Wang Jueyi passed away in the tenth year of Guangxu (1884), the Last Effort Teaching also split. The 1883 case of Wang Jueyi, shows two other persons whose place in the sect was very special. One was Zhang Daofu (张道符) and the other was Liu Zhigang (刘至刚). Zhang Daofu, also known as Zhang Xiangru (张相如), headed clerical affairs in Haizhou, Shuyang, Andong and Taoyuan. He began missionary work in Jiangsu as early as in the first year of Guangxu and participated in spirit writing that produced the "the writing of the year *gengchen*" (*Gengchen nian shutie*). He knew all about the sect. After the rebellion failed in the ninth year of Guangxu, he disappears from the record.

[30] Li Shiyu (李世瑜), *Secret Popular Religions in Modern North China* (*Xiandai huabei mimi zongjiao* 现代华北秘密宗教) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1990), p. 36.

Liu Zhigang was the head of the teaching in Hankou. Wang Jitai's confession stated that "In the early second month of the ninth year (of Guangxu), Wang Jitai and Wang Jueyi went to Hankou in succession. They met Liu Zhigang, Zhao Yunshan and Xiong Dingguo and were told that there had been a great number of followers in Wuhan and Jingzhou. (292) Therefore, Liu Zhigang, Wang Jueyi and Wang Jitai came to the understanding that they should call on the followers in the name of Wang Jueyi and his son, and simultaneously launch their rebellion in Wuhan. Witnessing the solidarity of these followers, the two Wangs promptly ordered Liu Zhigang to assemble followers and prepare weapons. Soon the authorities became aware of this and raided the organization. The fugitives scattered in all directions. It was said that Wang Jueyi went to Sichuan and became a monk, and Wang Jitai fled to regions south of the Yangtze River. At that time, Liu Zhigang, Zhang Daofu, and other devoted followers were spreading rumors in Haizhou and Shuyang. They plotted to create a disturbance, in order to loot and plunder, and moreover colluded with Xu Jinhong to revolt in Changzhou." This source confirms that Liu Zhigang was one of the leaders of the rebellion of the Last Effort Teaching in the ninth year of Guangxu, and that he fled to Shandong after the failure. This person may be the sixteenth patriarch—Liu Qingxu (刘清虚).[31]

[31] Mr. Ma Xisha put forward this point of view. This writer agrees with it. "*Qingxu*" (清虚) was a title, but not the true name. It was the highest appellation in the practice of popular religion. According to the confession of Zhang Qikun, who was a member of "Three Vehicles Cult" (*Sancheng jiao* 三乘教), one of branches of the Great Vehicle Teaching, there were ten levels of practice: "The first level is 'little vehicle' (*xiaocheng* 小乘) and it refers only to abstention from meat. The second is 'great vehicle' (*dacheng*, 大乘) and it includes the meditation. The third is 'man of preaching' (*chuanshi* 传士) and it is named along the line of character pu 普. This practice includes teaching scriptures. The fourth is 'little director' (*xiaoyin* 小引), who can supervise the ritual of burning incense and can be in charge of certain clerical affairs. The fifth is 'great director' (*dayin* 大引). The sixth is named 'four verses' (*siju* 四句), which refers to 'emptying body,' 'emptying mind,' 'emptying nature' and 'emptying dharma.'…The seventh is "carrying on the torch" (*chuandeng* 传灯). The eighth is 'commanding and decreeing' (*haochi* 号敕). The ninth is 'four-verse edict' (*sijuchi* 四句敕) and it also is named 'enlightening edict' (*mingchi* 明敕). The tenth is 'cleanness and emptiness' (*qingxu* 清虚), also known as '*laxu*' (腊虚)." See: Memorial by Xian Fu (先福), the Governor of Jiangxi, on the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month in the nineteenth year of Jiaqing, in *Memorials with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor in Secret Palace Archives* (*Gongzhong dang zhupi*). Besides, there was the "twelve-level" practice: except for the above ten levels, "three vehicles" (*sancheng* 三乘) and "general edict" (*zongchi* 总敕) were added and the "cleanness and emptiness" (*qingxu*) ranked the eleventh.

The *Questions and Answers of the Principle of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan daoli wenda*) recorded that: "When the Patriarch Wang was preparing to die, he asked instructions from Heaven. The edict from the altar said that (the teaching) should be renamed the Three Ultimates and Penetrating Unity. Moreover, (the teaching) should be led by Patriarch Liu, whose religious title was the Old Man of Cleanness and Emptiness (*qingxu laoren* 清虚老人)." Liu's sphere of activity was in the region south of Beihai of Shandong, that is, the area of Wang Jueyi's hometown. In view of this, we know that Liu was from the same place as Wang and was one of the earliest followers of the Last Effort Teaching. The territory in which Liu was active was so narrow that it was impossible for him to consolidate Wang's widely scattered disciples, and unify the whole sect. After Liu Qingxu had assumed control of the sect, it was renamed to the Way of Penetrating Unity. This name, however, was not Liu's own creation. The so-called "Three Ultimates and Penetrating Unity" (*sanji yiguan* 三极一贯) had already existed in the Last Effort Teaching. For example, there were names such as "The Diagram of Three Ultimates" (*Sanji tu*), "The Diagram of Penetrating Unity" (*Yiguan tu*) and *Exploring the Origin of the Way of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan tanyuan*). Therefore, the name—"Way of Penetrating Unity"—might have been circulated when Wang Jueyi was alive. What Liu Qingxu simply took it as the official name of the sect. Lu Zhongyi (路中一), who was venerated as the seventeenth patriarch, formally acknowledged Liu as his master in 1883. Only three years later, Lu succeeded Liu as the patriarch.[32] In spite of their efforts, this sect could not reach the scale of Wang Jueyi's time. This situation did not change until Zhang Guangbi (张光壁) became the leader in the early 1930s. In Zhang's hands, the Way of Penetrating Unity rapidly developed into a nationwide popular religious sect and its form of organization and appearance changed drastically.

(293) After the Last Effort Teaching was destroyed, in addition to the one led by Liu Qingxu, there were other groups of followers. The organization in Henan was still very active in the early twentieth century, though it had suffered a great loss as early as the seventh year of

[32] See: David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 215. According the two scholars, Lu Zhongyi participated in an uprising in 1883, which might be the rebellion of the Last Effort Teaching in the ninth year of Guangxu.

Guangxu (1881). This group collaborated with the Yihetuan. As for its activities, we can consult the materials concerning the case of Zhang Miaosong's Amitabha Teaching (*Mituo jiao* 弥陀教), which broke out in the area at the juncture of Jiangsu, Anhui, Shandong and Henan.

Xia Shicheng, from Taoyuan County, confessed: "(I) first joined the Universal Salvation Sect (*Pudu jiao* 普度教). Later I went to Shangcai County of Henan, where I studied and taught in the home of Zhang Miaosong (张妙松, i.e., Zhang Busong 张步松), who was an escaped convict. We spoke very congenially and then I knew that Zhang's master was the deceased Chen Xueyu, who was a disciple of the rebel leader—Wang Jueyi. Zhang changed the sect's name and preached the Amitabha Cult. He had learned spirit writing and pretended to be possessed and taught by the Eternal Venerable Mother. He even had the power to ride the clouds and mist. Since Zhang's skill was superb, my younger brother Xia Shiqi and I joined the Amitabha Teaching." In the ninth month of the twenty-seventh year of Guangxu, when Zhang Miaosong found that Chen Yongqing, a follower, had a wooden seal on which there were words—"True Transmission of Penetrating Unity" (*yiguan zhenchuan* 一贯真传), he immediately discovered that it was one of "traces of the teaching."[33] This demonstrates that the Amitabha Cult was a branch of the Last Effort Teaching.

The Amitabha Cult was established as late as in the twenty-fifth year of Guangxu (1899). Its hierarchy was divided into five sections and with names such as "Celestially Blessed" (*tian en* 天恩), "Top Sailing" (*dinghang* 顶航 [*sic*]) and that sort of thing. Except for the wooden seal—"Receiving the Mandate of Heaven and Accepting its Revolution and the Genuine Impartment of Penetrating Unity" (*Fengtian chengyun yiguan zhenchuan* 奉天承运一贯真传), there were more than forty such seals in various sizes. The title of its banner was "Reaching the Origin and Dragon Flower and Attaining Completion of the Amitabha" (*Huiyuan longhua mituo shouyuan* 会元龙华弥陀收圆). The slogan of this cult was "Reaching the Origin and Dragon Flower." Therefore it was called the Dragon Flower Society (*Longhua hui* 龙华会). Followers worshiped the Eternal Venerable Mother and painted the "True Circle of Infinity" (the White Circle) on the door of their

[33] Liu Kunyi (刘坤一), "Memorial Concerning the Matter that the Captured Rebels of Heresy should be Discriminatively Punished" (*Nahuo jiaofei fenbie chenban zhe* 拿获教匪分别惩办折), *Remaining Works of Liu Kunyi* (*Liu Kunyi yiji* 刘坤一遗集) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 3, p. 1317.

households. It had scriptures like *The Genuine Impartment of Penetrating Unity* (*Yiguan zhenchuan* 一贯真传), in which there were "many rebellious words." In addition, there was the paper "palm-print," which had been one of characteristics of Wang Jueyi's missionary work. It was uncertain whether this "palm-print" was Wang's.

After its establishment, the Amitabha Cult colluded with the Big Sword Society and the Eight-Trigram Teaching in Shandong and plotted to stage a big-scale rebellion. Because of this, there were many members of the Big Sword Society and the Eight-Trigram Teaching in the cult. For instance, Han Mingyi (韩明义), who was from Wucheng County of Shandong, "practiced the art of wielding the big sword and *jinzhongzhao* (literally, like a gold bell covering the body) and he formally acknowledged Liu Shirui, who had already been executed, as his master. In the twenty-second year of Guangxu (1896), he followed Liu and burned the Christian churches in Dang and Feng. In the first month of previous year (the twenty-seventh year of Guangxu, 1901), he happened to meet Zhang Guanyi (i.e., Zhang Miaosong), who taught him the doctrine of the Amitabha Cult of the Attaining Completion School. Later Han became Zhang's disciple and received the Certificate of Celestially Blessed and various items such as prints, palm-prints and Dragon Flower slogans. He traveled back and forth in Shandong and Henan, recruiting followers and distributing leaflets." Li Wenyu also was a master of the Big Sword Society and "recruited followers and taught martial art from place to place. Later he joined the Amitabha Cult and received the Certificate of Celestially Blessed."[34]

In the early twenty-seventh year Guangxu (1901), "there were many churches that extorted money from residents. Therefore, many people resented them." Zhang Miaosong decided to "put followers together in the name of struggling against churches and instigate them to revolt. The date of uprising was the second day in the third month." Soon the date was changed to "the nine-nine day of wood dragon" (that is, the second day in the fourth month). Later the date was postponed again. In the ninth month, there were flood in many places and the mind of the people was unsettled. In addition, Zhang found the wooden seal of "Genuine Impartment of Penetrating Unity." Thus, he thought "this is

[34] Xi Liang (锡良), "Memorial that Han Mingyi and other Captured Rebels of Society should be Punished" (*Nahuo huifei Han Mingyi deng chengban zhe* 拿获会匪韩明义等惩办折), *Remaining Works of Xiliang* (*Xi Liang yigao* 锡良遗稿) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 1, p. 221.

the right time and the right place. In addition, there would be sufficient people. It was an opportunity that could not be missed." He finally decided to revolt in Suqian on the seventh day of the tenth month and invited the Big Sword Society and the Eight-Trigram Teaching in Shandong to join the uprising. Unfortunately, this rebellion was crushed by the Qing army on the same day. After it, Liu Kunyi (刘坤一) said with a lingering fear: "If it had not been promptly crushed, I could not say for sure there would not have been the disaster like the Yihetuan in the north."[35]

Since the rebellion failed, Zhang Miaosong fled to parts unknown. The activity of the Amitabha Cult, however, did not stop. In the thirty-third year of Guangxu (1907), the administration of Shangcai County of Henan captured Jiang Benyang, who was a Top Sail (*dinghang*) of the cult, and Jiao Shaozhou, a follower. Jiang joined the cult in the twenty-fifth year of Guangxu (1899). At that time, Zhang Miaosong gave Jiang a piece of bleached blue-flower palm-print paper, on which there were written the sealed words— "Receive the Heavenly Mandate and Establishing the Supreme Sovereignty" (*jitian liji* 继天立极) and "Moralize the People on Behalf of the Heaven" (*daitian xuanhua* 代天宣化). And Zhang granted him the title "The Hall of Penetrating Unity" (*Guanyi tang* 贯一堂). Jiang had participated in person in the incident of Suqian and fled when the uprising failed. "Later he thought the hunt had settled down and secretly returned." "He seduced women into the cult in the name of performing healing. And Jia Shaozhou worked as his aide." Because of this, they were discovered and captured by the Qing government.[36]

The Dragon Flower Society of Deng Daozhen (邓道真), who was from Shangcheng of Henan, was another branch of the Amitabha Cult and was established in the thirty-second year of Guangxu (1906). This society "set up altars and performed spirit writing. It also misled the people and collected money from them by burning incense and charts." The subsequent year, on the pretext of these altar writings, which said that the *kalpa* would to come on the twenty-third

[35] See n. 33, *supra*.

[36] "Portions of memorial by Lin Shaonian (林绍年), the Governor of Henan, which was concerning the matter that the administration of Shangcai County captured the head of the Amitabha Cult," *Historical Materials in Archives Concerning Popular Revolts in Ten Years Prior to the 1911 Revolution* (*Xinhai geming qian shinian jian minbian dang'an shiliao* 辛亥革命前十年间民变档案史料) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), Part One, p. 223.

day of the tenth month, Ye Qisheng, one of Deng's disciples, began his revolt. The Qing government suppressed it.[37] In the third month, Chen Yongqing (陈永清), a man who was from Taoyuan County of Jiangsu and had taken part in the Suqian incident, fled to Jingangtai Mountain, where he met Deng Daozhen. (295) There may have been a difference concerning the division of clerical power between Chen and Deng. As a result, Chen "went to recruit followers on his own, and deliberately acted to embarrass Deng Daozhen." In the fifth month, Chen led more than thirty followers to go to the region north of the Yangtze River. Chen was intercepted by the Qing navy at the Zhengyang Pass, where he was executed.[38]

In addition, it appeared that there were groups consisting of remaining members of the Last Effort Teaching in Sichuan. In the thirty-fourth year of Guangxu (1908), Su Zilin (苏子林), who called himself the King of Phoenix Tree Flower (*Wuhua wang* 梧花王), drew together several hundred people and conspired to attack the capital city of Sichuan, in which they would loot the arsenal, burn the government offices and destroy the Christian churches. Then, Su was captured and confessed: "(He) had practiced the Eternity Teaching (Wusheng men 无生门) for years and strived to free captive animals and abstain from meat. His master was taught by the son of Wang Zuyi (王足一). Wang Zuyi came here from Hubei and his son changed his original name to 'junior boss Li' (*Li er laoban* 李二老板)."[39] Here, the so-called "Wang Zuyi" might be Wang Jueyi. It was said Wang Jueyi had two sons. One, the "elder boss"—Wang Jitai—had been executed in the tenth year of Guangxu (1884); the other remained unaccounted for. The "junior boss Li" in this record might be the second son of Wang Jueyi. All materials concerning the case of Wang Jueyi in the ninth year of Guangxu (1883) said Wang that fled to Sichuan from Wuhan. They at least demonstrate that the Last Effort Teaching did have followers in Sichuan. The original name of this teaching was the Essential Eternal Teaching (*Xiantian wusheng jiao* 先天无生教), which was similar to Su Zilin's the Eternity Teaching. Su, however, took "Heavenly Virtue"

[37] "Portions of Lin Shaonian's memorial concerning the revolt of the Dragon Flower Society in Shangcheng," *ibid.*, pp. 219–220.

[38] "Portions of memorial by En Ming (恩铭), the Governor of Anhui, which was concerning the matter that the administration of the Zhengyang Pass captured Chen Yongqing (陈永清), the head of rebels," *ibid.*, p. 257.

[39] "Confessions of Su Zilin (苏子林), the head of the Eternity Teaching, and other rebels," *ibid.*, Part Two, p. 781.

(*tiande* 天德) as his slogan, which gave this teaching the color of a secret society. Furthermore, Su himself never taught disciples. In terms of its religious activities, so far we cannot clarify the relationship of this teaching and the Last Effort Teaching.

If there was a relation between Wang Jueyi and the Yihetuan, it should be the fact that after Wang's death, the remaining members collaborated with the Eight-Trigram Teaching and the Big Sword Society and joined with the armed force the effort of "overthrowing the Qing and destroying the foreign" in the final stages of the Yihetuan Movement. The proposition that Wang Jueyi was one of leaders of the Yihetuan cannot be accepted.

Overall, the Way of Penetrating Unity was a popular religious sect with a long history. In the mid-Daoguang years, the Blue Lotus Sect splintered apart. From the fragments of the Blue Lotus Sect, Wang Jueyi created the Last Effort Teaching at the turn of Tongzhi and Guangxu, which was the beginning of the Way of Penetrating Unity as an independent popular religion. After failing twice in its anti-Christian and anti-Qing struggle, the Last Effort Teaching collapsed. One of its branches—the Amitabha Cult—participated in the struggle to "overthrow the Qing and destroy the foreigners" in the later Yihetuan, and finally was suppressed by the Qing government. The other branch, or the original wing of the Way of Penetrating Unity, left the political trail and increasingly transformed into a superstitious group, one that devoted itself to missionary work and profit-making. It was precisely for this reason that this branch escaped the Qing regime's suppression.

CHAPTER EIGHT

WOMEN IN THE SECRET POPULAR RELIGIONS OF THE MING AND QING DYNASTIES (喻松青, "明清时期民间秘密宗教中的女性")*

Yu Songqing

Abstract

This paper consists of four parts: gender in the scriptures of popular religion; female deities; female patriarchs and followers; and their impingement on the feudal ethical code. It examines the theological discourse about women in popular religion and the status of female patriarchs and followers in popular religious sects. Furthermore, it argues that those naive but distinctive ideas of the two sexes undermined fundamental social norms, and realities of the times.

Keywords: local society; secret folk religions; women

Views of Gender in Scriptures

(315, original page number, similarly hereinafter) Among the scriptures of secret folk religions in Ming and Qing dynasties, there are only two known texts that directly discuss a view of gender. One was *The Precious Scroll the Medicine King of Loyalty, Filial Piety and Deliverance* (*Jiuku zhongxiao yaowang baojuan* 救苦忠孝药王宝卷), which said: "There is man. There is woman. Originally, they had no difference. Both relied on the Eternal Venerable Mother (*wusheng laomu* 无生老母) and were

* This paper was originally published in *The Nankai Journal* (*Nankai xuebao* 南开学报), no. 5 (1985), "Special Collection of Treatises on Ming and Qing History in Honor of Professor Zheng Tianting" (*Jinian Zheng Tianting jiaoshou mingqing shi xueshu lunwen tekan* 纪念郑天挺教授明清史学术论文特刊).

born from the vital breath of Former Heaven."[1] The other was the "Building the Dharma Ship" section (*paizao fachuan pin* 排造船法品) of *The Precious Dragon-Flower Scripture Verified by the Ancient Buddha as It Originally Is* (*Gufo tianzhen kaozheng longhua baojing* 古佛天真考证龙华宝经. Hereinafter called the *Dragon Flower Scripture*). It wrote: "It is required that all male and female members gather with neither difference nor discrimination." The former scripture signified that all men and women were equally the children of the Eternal Venerable Mother. (316) That is to say, men and women were originally (lit. in Former Heaven) equal. The latter sentence stressed the relationship between man and woman, in which there should be neither grudge nor misunderstanding, because both sexes derived from the Mother. From Former to Latter heaven (i.e., mythical past to the present), scriptures of the secret folk religions of the Ming and Qing claimed an ambiguous equality of the two sexes. Such an egalitarian view was not similar to the modern idea of equality between men and women; rather, it was a simple but distinctive idea of the two sexes, which emerged in feudal China.

This simple idea of sexual equality originated from the traditional Chinese view of *yin-yang*. The interaction of *yin* and *yang* formed all things and were indispensable to each other. The "Heaven and Earth of the Ancient Buddha" (*gufo qiankun pin* 古佛乾坤品) section of the *Dragon Flower Scripture* said: "The Eternal Venerable Mother conceives from herself and begets yin and yang"; "The yin is the daughter and yang is the son. Their names are Fuxi (伏羲) and Nüwa (女娲) respectively." Here, yin and yang are equal. Above them, there was the Eternal Venerable Mother, who was the supreme deity. This supreme deity was "female." This hierarchy ran counter to orthodox Confucianism, in which yang was dominant to and higher than yin. Yin, however, was regarded as the symbol of subordination and inferiority. In fact, the secret folk religions of the Ming and Qing did not further discuss the relationship and reciprocal status of yin and yang, men and women. These plain and simple scriptures were not exempt from the dominant convention that "yang is superior to yin." Even so, there

[1] Huang Yupian (黄育楩), *A Detailed Refutation of Heterodoxies* (*Poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩). If there is no specific annotation, all cited scriptures or scrolls in this paper are from this book.

were certain narrations or sermons that constantly showed respect, trust, solicitude and sympathy for women.

There was story that prevailed in the creation tale of various secret folk religions. The Eternal Venerable Mother sent her ninety-six hundred million sons and daughters—the "children of heavenly origin" (*huangtai ernü* 皇胎儿女), the "primordial human beings" (*yuanren* 原人), the "original human beings" (*yuanren* 元人), the "original offspring of Buddha" (*yuanfozi* 原佛子) or the "virtuous" (*xianliang* 贤良)—down to the earth. Having forgotten their nature in the mundane affairs, they needed to be delivered and be sent back to their heavenly home—the "home of original simplicity and emptiness" (*zhenkong jiaxiang* 真空家乡). In *The Precious Scroll of New Enlightenment of Relief of All Sentient Beings* (*Pudu xinsheng jiuku baojuan* 普度新声救苦宝卷), it is stated: "The Great Vehicle Teaching establishes the gate of dharma and sends down sons and daughters." The *Dragon Flower Scripture* said: "The Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment (*Dunwu jiao* 顿悟教) establishes the gate of dharma and sends down sons and daughters." In "Section Four: The Tathagata of the Venerable King of Dragon" (*longzunwang rulai fen disi* 龙尊王如来分第四) of the *Precious Scroll of Complete Enlightenment through Non-Action of the Tathagata of Universal Light* (*Puming rulai wuwei liaoyi baojuan* 普明如来无为了义宝卷), it is stated: "The dharma of eternity spreads all over the heaven and all men and women can practice it."[2] Here, these secret folk religions—the Great Vehicle Teaching, the Teaching of Sudden Enlightenment and the Heaven Sect (Huangtian dao 黄天道)—shared the same goal of delivering men and women. They treated the two sexes equally. The practices of other popular religious sects were similar to them.

(317) During the reign of Daoguang, Chen Zhongxi (陈众喜), a follower of the Longevity Sect (*Changsheng jiao* 长生教) from Quzhou of Zhejiang, wrote *The Precious Scroll of the Happiness of All Sentient Beings* (*Zhongxi baojuan* 众喜宝卷), which was centered on the sect's doctrine. This scroll, however, contained stories of the author's life experiences, such as his marriage, love and suffering in the missionary work. Besides, it also discussed his sincere friendship with female followers. Unlike his

[2] *The Precious Scroll of Complete Enlightenment through None-Action of the Tathagata of Universal Light* (*Puming rulai wuwei liaoyi baojuan* 普明如来无为了义宝卷), the photolithographed edition (Moscow, 1977).

contemporaries who disparaged women as being endowed with "long hair, [and] short wit," Chen in this book extended his heartfelt respect to the piety and wisdom of female followers. This reflected a true trend in popular religious sects at that time.

Such solicitude and sympathy to women also could be found in other scrolls, such as the *Precious Scroll Explaining the Chastity and Virtue of Mengjiang nü* (*Xiaoshi mengjiang zhenlie zhenjie xianliang baojuan* 销释孟姜贞烈贤良宝卷), *The Precious Scroll of the Observance of Scripture by Lady Huang as the Buddha Speaks* (*Foshuo huangshinü kanjing baojuan* 佛说黄氏女看经宝卷), *The Precious Scroll of the Mother of Mount Li as the Buddha Speaks* (*Foshuo lishan laomu baojuan* 佛说离山老母宝卷) and *The Precious Scroll of Kshitigarbha's Superintendence of Hell* (*Dizangpusa zhizhang youming baojuan* 地藏菩萨执掌幽冥宝卷). Even if they contained many stale and conventional ideas, these writings paid attention to the issues of marriage and the families of women and showed an earnest concern about freeing women from their pain. *The Precious Repentance of Blood Lake of Red Sun of the Primordial Origin* (*Hunyuan hongyang xuehu baochan* 混元红阳血湖宝忏), a scripture of the Red Sun Sect (*Hongyang jiao* 弘阳教), said: When the women in this world give birth to a child, the filthy and dirty waters flow out of their body; these waters ran together and formed the Lake of Blood. After a woman's death, her deliverance would depend on whether she had drunk the waters of blood. This faith in the Lake of Blood had a relationship with Daoism and Buddhism. For instance, the "Section of Discerning the Truth" (*Dongzhen bu* 洞真部) of the *Daoist Scriptures* (*Daozang* 道藏) contains the *True Scripture of the Celestial Venerable of Primordial Beginning's Deliverance of the Lake of Blood* (*Yuanshitianzun jidu xuehu zhenjing* 元始天尊济度血湖真经). In Buddhism, there was *The Sutra of Blood Basin in Tripikita as the Buddha Speaks* (*Foshuo dazing zhengjiao xuepen jing* 佛说大藏正教血盆经). In addition, *The True Scripture of Deliverance of Blood Lake of the Primordial Origin and Numinous Treasure* (*Taiyi lingbao jidu xuehu zhenjing* 太一灵宝济度血湖真经) and *The Scripture of Blood Basin and Repaying Obligation to Mother* (*Baomu xuepen jing* 报母血盆) contain similar content. The popular sects held that if the people recited these scriptures for a deceased woman, the woman would be exempted from drinking the water of blood and be freed from suffering. Behind those backward, superstitious and even absurd words, we detect a concern for the physical suffering of women and a sincere effort to redeem the "sins" of women. As for the respect and trust for women, they were manifested in the theological ideas and structures of the secret folk religions. In other

words, these ideas referred to the worship and deep conviction of the Eternal Venerable Mother and other goddesses.

Female Deities

The secret folk religions of the Ming and Qing were polytheistic. In the various deities of popular religious sects, the supreme deity, which originally was the Buddha Maitreya, gradually was turned into the Eternal Venerable Mother. Of course, there was no explicit or strict definition of the highest deity in the secret folk religions; rather, the names and positions of gods were constantly changed. (318) For example, in the Red Sun Sect, the supreme god was sometimes the Patriarch of the Primordial Origin (*hunyuan laozu* 混元老祖), and sometimes the Infinity Patriarch (*wuji laozu* 无极老祖). In the Sect of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment (*Yuandun jiao* 圆顿教), this position was held by the Ancient Buddha of Infinity (*wuji gufo* 无极古佛) and also by the Ancient Buddha As It Originally Is (*tinzhen gufo* 天真古佛). In both the Red Sun Sect and the Sect of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment, however, the Eternal Venerable Mother's status as supreme deity was not denied. This Mother was even said to have married the Patriarch of the Primordial Origin or the Ancient Buddha As It Originally Is. In some scriptures, the Patriarch of the Primordial Origin or the Ancient Buddha As It Originally Is was the supreme god in name only. The Eternal Venerable Mother had the real authority. As time went on, the position of the Eternal Venerable Mother became increasingly dominant. In the Sect of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment, which emerged a little later than the Red Sun Sect, she enjoyed a more prestigious place than she had in the Red Sun Sect. In the time of Qing, the Eternal Venerable Mother overrode all other deities and ascended to the throne of supremacy in the major sects of the White Lotus Teaching. It was the time in human history that a female deity was the supreme figure in a large religion.

The Eternal Venerable Mother was the creator of the world and of humankind. *The Dragon Flower Scripture* said: "After the emergence of the Ancient Buddha, heaven and the earth were established; after the rise of the Eternal Venerable Mother, Former Heaven was established." It also said: "The Eternal Venerable Mother begets *yin* and *yang*. The *yin* is the daughter and the *yang* is the son. Their names are Fuxi and Nüwa respectively." The Eternal Venerable Mother not only

created the world and human beings but also took responsibility to deliver all sentient beings from the sea of torment. She was the messiah and savior of humankind. "The Eternal Venerable Mother delivers all sentient beings and leads them to the land of peace and ultimate happiness. They return home and will not fall into hell."[3] "The Eternal Venerable Mother delivers all sentient beings and leads them to the Heavenly Palace."[4] Occasionally she was reincarnated as Patriarch Lü (吕, i.e., Lü Dongbin).[5] She ordered the Amitabha Buddha, the Grand Ideal Buddha (*Dayi fo* 大意佛), the Supreme Venerable Sovereign (*Taishang laojun* 太上老君, a deification of Laozi) and other deities to descend and save all the heavenly sons and daughters, who were lost in the mundane world, lift them out of the sea of pain and return them to the Heavenly Palace.[6] In *The Precious Scroll of the Western Queen of the Immortals, the State Protector of August Spirit* (*Huguo weiling xiwangmu baojuan* 护国威灵西王母宝卷), she became the Queen Mother of the Immortals and "inspected the sages of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism." Here, she was the most authoritative figure, and preeminent above all deities and sages of other religions and schools. The secret folk religions of the Qing not only worshiped the Eternal Venerable Mother as the supreme deity and took "*zhen kong jia xiang wu sheng lao mu*" (真空家乡 无生老母, the homeland of original simplicity and emptiness and the Eternal Venerable Mother) as its eight-character mantra; they also venerated the Mother as the protector of their sect and its followers, and the guardian of victory when they staged a rebellion. For instance, in the Wang Lun Uprising, which broke out in the thirty-ninth year of Qianlong (1774), Wang Lun consecrated the Eternal Venerable Mother and declared "the sacred mother descends upon us and we are invulnerable."[7] (319) At that time, she acted as both the creator of the world, the redeemer of human beings and the

[3] *The Precious Scroll of Explanation that the Prediction of Buddhahood is Devoid of Marks* (*Xiaoshi shouji wuxiang baojuan* 销释授记无相宝卷).

[4] *The Precious Scroll of Essential Rules of Non-Action Golden Elixir Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo wuwei jindan jianyao keyi baojuan* 佛说无为金丹拣要科仪宝卷).

[5] *The Precious Scroll of the Golden Elixir and Nine Lotus of the August Ultimate on Correcting Belief, Recovering Original Simplicity and Returning to Nature* (*Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan* 皇极金丹九莲正信归真还乡宝卷).

[6] *The Precious Scroll of Descent to Caoxi Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo sanhui jiuzhuan xiasheng caoxi baojuan* 佛说三回九转下生漕溪宝卷).

[7] Pan Xiang (潘相), "Admonition against Heterodoxy" (*Xiejiao jie* 邪教戒), see: *Writing Collections of the Study of Erwen* (*Erwen shuwu jilüe* 二文书屋集略).

protector of peasant rebels. Thus, this goddess possessed a rebellious nature against the feudal ruling class.

In the scriptures of secret folk religion, the Eternal Venerable Mother was an austere goddess, who was insurmountable and had supreme power. But most other writings projected the image of a tender and caring mother. Generally, she did not deliver profound sermons, nor severe admonitions. She was anxious about her sons and daughters wandering on the Eastern Land and wept for their sufferings. She painstakingly endeavored to help them overcome all kinds of difficulties, with the hope that all of her children could return home and be reunited as soon as possible. The "Bodhisattva of the Great Vehicle" (*dacheng pusa pin* 大乘菩萨品) section of *The Precious Scroll of Explaining the Great Vehicle* (*Xiaoshi dacheng baojuan* 销释大乘宝卷) depicts the happy scene when the Eternal Venerable Mother is reunited with her sons and daughters. It said: "After practicing the wonderful dharma with an enlightened mind and manifested nature, they return home in complete pleasure. They act with great ease and reach the completion of practice. All children are redeemed and reunited. They have returned home and completed their practice and they will resume a long life. They see the Mother sitting on the Lotus Throne, surrounded by golden light. They are received and led to their original place. When children and mother meet, both are smiling. The Mother feels happy. It is the great day of reunion. All people walk on the road of Bodhi (enlightenment) and join in the Dragon Flower Assembly, where the children throw themselves into the Mother's arms. The Mother sits aloft on the nine-level lotus seat and looks happy and at ease. Light illuminates everything and all of them enjoy ultimate joy. When the children see their Mother, they smile with heartfelt delight." Here, the completion of practice and return home were combined together and the god and the mother became one. It was a picture of the happiness of family union, in which we can detect an old mother's care about her children and the children's love for their mother. When the suffering followers, who shouldered the heavy burden of life, recited this piece of writing, they would be momentarily relieved from the cruelties of life. Hope was generated from the love of the Eternal Venerable Mother.

Faith in the Eternal Venerable Mother was extremely popular in the Qing and there were temples dedicated to her in some places. In his *A Detailed Refutation of Heterodoxies* (*Poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩), Huang Yupian (黄育楩) cited the confession of Wang Fazhong, who was the

patriarch of the Red Sun Sect in the period of Daoguang. According to Wang, the Mother had been reincarnated in Guogongying of Qingyuan County (Hebei) during the reign of Kangxi. She had been married and given birth to a child. Then her husband abandoned her. Later, her son was struck down by lighting. After these, she began practicing and teaching disciples in a big temple of Guogongying. Here, we see how destitute, humble, miserable and painful the reincarnated life of the Mother was. It was such a woman who was consecrated as a deity. Just as Marx said in his "Introduction: A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right": "For a man, if he attempts to find things a superman in the fantastic reality of heaven, he will obtain only a reflection of himself." (320, tr. Note: this is a slight paraphrase of Marx's original.) The so-called Eternal Venerable Mother was no more than an ordinary, lowly woman suffering from a host of misfortunes. This precisely reflected the characteristic of the secret folk religion, which consisted mainly of destitute peasants, small craftsmen and other outcasts.

Besides the Eternal Venerable Mother, there were many other female deities in the secret folk religions of Ming and Qing dynasties. Some of them were "borrowed" from Buddhism, such as the Bodhisattva; some came from Chinese myths, such as the Auntie Queen Mother (*wangmu niangniang* 王母娘娘), the Venerable Mother of Mount Li (*lishan laomu*, 离山老母) and the Seventh Immortal Woman (qixiangu 七仙姑); and some were separated off from the Eternal Venerable Mother, such as the Sacred Mother, the Mother of Buddha and the Grand Mother. *The Precious Scroll of Attaining the Origin of the August Ultimate Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo huangji shouyuan baojuan* 佛说皇极宝卷) expounded the "ten-step practice" (*shibu xiuxing* 十步修行): "In the ten-step practice, the first is the Seven Mountains, which is guarded by the Patriarch of Heavenly Origin (*Tianyuan zu* 天元祖) and the Earth Flower Mother (*Dihua mu* 地花母); from the six passes of the second step to the six passes of the sixth, each is guarded by the Grand Mother…" The Grand Mother (*zumu* 祖母) was the superintendent at each stage of the practice and was in charge of the local organization of the religious sect. In the early years of Qianlong, the deities worshipped by "A Branch of Flowers"—or the Madam Cai (蔡), a female head of White Lotus Sect in Henan—included "the Grand Mothers of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism (*Sanjiao zumu* 三教祖母), the twelve Old Mothers

and the Sacred Mothers of Nine Dragons (*Jiulong shengmu* 九龙圣母)."[8] In the twenty-sixth year of Guangxu (1900), a "heterodoxy"—the Way of Sages and Virtues (*Shengxian dao* 圣贤道)—was unearthed in Wanping County. This cult preached: "I kneel down before the Lord of the Former Heaven and earnestly request the Lord to lead me, your son, to the Palace of Taihuan (太缳) in the Heaven of Zhu (诸), where I kowtow to the Sacred Mother of the First Level; I earnestly request the Sacred Mother of the First Level to lead me to the Palace of Duzi (都子) in the Heaven of Ming (明) and Namosa (南无萨), where I kowtow to the Sacred Mother of the Second Level; I earnestly request the Sacred Mother of the Second Level to lead me to the Palace of Douniu (斗牛) in the Heaven of Sheng (圣); I earnestly request the Sacred Mother of the Third Level to lead to the Palace of Qingying (清英) in the Anyangyuan (安洋院); I earnestly request the Sacred Mother of the Fourth Level to lead to the Palace of Danqiu (单求) of the Building of Wushui (无水) in the Heaven of Yunpan (云盘), where I kowtow to the Eternal Venerable Mother."[9] The emergence of these various Grand Mothers, Old Mothers and Sacred Mothers demonstrated that the power of the Eternal Venerable Mother was expanding. In the secret folk religions of the Ming and Qing, the supreme deity—the Eternal Venerable Mother—was feminine. Furthermore, there existed a great number of goddesses that were named as "Mother" in the faith of the Eternal Venerable Mother. These more or less powerful goddesses dominated all mythic departments and they, together with the insurmountable Eternal Venerable Mother, formed a heavenly kingdom of mothers.

Why was the masculine supreme god—the Maitreya Buddha, which was worshiped in the secret folk religion prior to the mid-Ming

---

[8] "Primary Sources Concerning the Rural and Urban People's Struggle in the Period of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong" (*Kangyongqian shiqi chengxiang renmin fankang douzheng ziliao* 康雍乾时期城乡人民反抗斗争资料), see: The People's University, ed., *The Uprising of White Lotus Sect in the Area of Yinyang of Henan in the Fourth and Fifth Year of Qianlong* (*Qianlong si wu nian Henan Yiyang dengdi bailianjiao qiyi* 乾隆四、五年河南伊阳等地白莲教起义), 1980.

[9] "Documents concerning the interrogation of Liu Fushun (刘福顺) of the Cult of Sages and Virtues (Shengxian dao 圣贤道) by Zai Xun (载勋) and other officials," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe* 军机处录副奏折) in the First Historical Archives of China in the Forbidden City, "Section of Peasant Movement," no. 2307.

Dynasty— replaced by the feminine Eternal Venerable Mother in the late Ming and particularly during the Qing Dynasty? Why were there, beneath the supreme Eternal Venerable Mother, various goddesses, who were given the title "Mother" in secret folk religions? (321) Was this a reflection of the vestiges of matriarchy in feudal China? Was it an omen of the liberation of women at the end of Chinese feudal society? Were the two elements combined? In the Qing Dynasty, the backward Manchus ruled the Middle Kingdom. This history made the fusion of matriarchal vestiges and the feudal society much more conspicuous. Complaints concerning the unfair treatment of women and cries for elevation of their status had been heard in the middle and late Ming. Opinions analogous to the modern idea of the women's liberation did exist during the Manchu regime, though they were far less active than in Ming because of the rigid ideological control. Such type progressive ideas could be combined with the vestiges of backward matrilineal society. This is because in every aspect of society, there is often "the last radiance of the setting sun"; that is to say, some backward traces could rally before their imminent death. These might be reactionary and counter to social progress; but at the same time, a vital part of them might be attractive to the disadvantaged within in the more advanced society. As for the issue of liberating oppressed women, with no progressive ideology that could be used as a guide, it was reasonable for them to draw on the experience of woman's status within the matriarchal society. Of course, the emergence of the supreme goddess—the Eternal Venerable Mother—bore a relationship to the status of laboring woman in family, from which it extended to the secret folk religions. Thus, there were great numbers of female followers, standing side by side with the male faithful. Among these female members, the outstanding ones became religious heads. At home, they were caring mothers; in the religious sects, they were extraordinary leaders. It was from these women that the image of the Eternal Venerable Mother was generated. The Eternal Venerable Mother further blended celestial maternal love with the terrestrial one and disseminated it to all sentient beings. In this way, she affected countless followers. Especially for the desperate, they were easily awed by the Eternal Venerable Mother and felt she was much more attractive than the masculine Maitreya Buddha.

Female Leaders and Followers

Among the secret folk religions of the Ming and Qing, there were many influential sects founded or led by women. For instance, the West Great Vehicle Sect (*Xi dacheng jiao* 西大乘教) of the Huang Village in Beijing, which stood as an equal to the East Great Vehicle Sect (*Dong dacheng jiao* 东大乘教) created by Wang Sen (王森) from Shifokou (石佛口) of Luanzhou in Hebei, was established by Bodhisattva Lü (吕菩萨) in the reign of the Ming emperor Zhengtong. Bodhisattva Lü was a nun, whose name was Lü Niu (吕牛, also written as 吕妞). (322) It was said that she was the incarnation the Patriarch Lü (吕祖). "She was originally a man but falsely claimed to be a woman." This sectarian matriarch was a true historical figure. In "The Lady Lü Stops the Imperial Vehicle" (*Lüshi jujia* 吕氏沮驾) of *Miscellaneous Collections in the Date Grove* (*Zaolin zazhu* 枣林杂俎), written by Tan Qian (谈迁) in the Ming, there was a story about Lü Niu. The story said that in the fourteenth year of Zhengtong (1449), the Emperor Ying personally led an expedition to the north. A nun from Shaanxi, whose surname was Lü, stopped the Emperor at the Zijing Gate 紫荆关. She told the Emperor that his expedition would not be successful and urged him to turn back. The Emperor was very angry and scolded her severely. Then, this nun disappeared. After the Emperor Ying reclaimed his throne, he conferred upon this nun the title of Imperial Sister. Therefore, a nun surnamed Lü built the Temple of Protecting the Ming, or the Temple of Emperor's Sister as it was popularly called, in Huang Village. In *The Precious Scroll of New Enlightenment and Salvation of All Sentient Beings* (*Pudu xinsheng jiuku baojuan*), this story was further elaborated to say that the nun disguised herself as an insane woman who urged the Emperor not to fight. Then, after the Ming army was crushed at the Tumu Campaign, this nun offered food to the Emperor and dug a spring for him. When the Emperor was planning to return the capital, she warned the Emperor not to speak about what had happened. After the restoration of the Emperor's rule, this nun often visited the imperial court and later built the Temple of Protecting the Ming. This temple was the birthplace of the West Great Vehicle Sect. The *Dragon Flower Scripture* said: "The West Great Vehicle Sect was established to deliver all sons and daughters. Bodhisattva Lü leads the children and they meet together in the Dragon Flower Assembly." Bodhisattva Lü

was Lü Niu.[10] Among the nuns at the Temple of Protecting the Ming, there was another learned member, who enjoyed a good reputation in the secret folk religions. She was Zhang Guiyuan (张归圆) from the reign of Jiajing. Zhang completed a new set of scriptures—"Five Sections and Six Volumes" (*wubu liuce* 五部六册), which was modeled on the "Five Sections and Six Volumes" of Luo Qing (罗清), the founding patriarch of the Luo Sect (*Luo jiao* 罗教). It included: *The Precious Scroll of Explaining the Great Vehicle* (*Xiaoshi dacheng baojuan* 销释大乘宝卷), *The Precious Scroll of Explaining the Perfect Penetration* (*Xiaoshi yuantong baojuan* 销释圆通宝卷), *The Precious Scroll of Explaining the Manifestation of the Nature* (*Xiaoshi xianxing baojuan* 销释显性宝卷), *The Precious Scroll of Explaining the Perfect Enlightenment* (*Xiaoshi yuanjue baojuan* 销释圆觉宝卷), and two volumes of *The Precious Scroll of Explaining the Attainment of the Origin and the Wisdom of Enlightenment* (*Xiaoshi shouyuan xingjue baojuan* 销释收圆行觉宝卷). Zhang Guiyuan became a nun when she was twelve years old. After reading scriptures written by Luo Qing, this girl became determined to create sacred texts as Luo Qing did. This writer holds that Zhang was the initiator of the separation of West Great Vehicle Sect from orthodox Buddhism and its transformation into a "heresy," even though she was not the founder of this sect. What she learned was not the canonical writings of the Luo Sect. She had the courage to imitate those writings and thereby she preached and extended this teaching. In the Temple of Protecting the Ming, a Buddhist monastery established by imperial ordinance and bearing an aristocratic imprint, Zhang's acts were very significant. That is to say, even within an imperial temple, there were "heretical" ideologies. Zhang's writings were much less creative, because they were just an imitation of scriptures of the Luo Sect. Even so, we should not ignore or deny her contribution to the expansion of folk religion in the late Ming.

[10] At the beginning, the West Great Vehicle should not be considered to have been a secret folk religion. It was a reflection of the Emperor Ying's excessive Buddhist piety and completely unrelated to popular religion. There was a process before this Temple of Protecting the Ming-based sect was denounced as "heterodoxy." It was approximately in the sixth year of Jiajing (1527) when "the Temple of the Emperor's Sister was demolished and disbanded and all its members were checked again." See: "The Ninth Day of the Sixth Month in the Six Year of Jiajing," in *The Veritable Record of the Emperor Shi of Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shizong shilu* 明世宗实录).

(323) The founder of the Sect of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment was Gong Chang (弓长). In the process of creating this religious sect, Gong was aided by a woman—sister Zhang Cui (张翠). Gong was originally a head of small group in the Smelling Incense Teaching (*Wenxiang jiao* 闻香教). He was introduced by sister Zhang Cui to the Patriarch Wang. In "Lineage of the Lotus Patriarchs" (*Zuxu lianzong pin* 祖续莲宗品) section of the *Dragon Flower Scripture*, Zhang was called "Sister Zhang Cuihua (张翠花) of the Central Sacred Land." She ruled a land—the most important piece of land. Beneath her, there were Ten Guardians of Virtue. The place of this woman in the sect could be measured by these "facts." She recommended Gong Chang to the Patriarch Wang, one of descendants of Wang Sen, in Shifokou of Luanzhou. Wang gave Gong confidential instructions in person and his directions would be helpful for Gong's later work of creating his own sect. The Smelling Incense Teaching was suppressed after an unsuccessful revolt. The sect leaders were either killed or fled. Later, the successors of this sect continued the work of preaching the doctrine of the Smelling Incense Teaching in the name of the Pure Tea Teaching (*Qingchamen jiao* 清茶门教) or the Sect of Complete and Sudden Enlightenment. These sects were active in north China and the Yangtze valley. In light of this, Zhang Cuihua served as an important transitional figure.

The Dragon Gate Sect (*Longmen jiao* 龙门教) was founded by Granny Mi (米奶奶). According to the Volume Forty-One of *The Collected Memorials of Na Yancheng* (那彦成), *the Lord of Learnedness and Fortitude* (*Na wenyi gong zouyi* 那文毅公奏议), Granny Mi lived in the period of Wangli and she was married to a man surnamed Liu. This woman had been conferred the title of "Mother Superintendent of the Teaching and Attaining the Origin" (*Zhangdao shouyuan laomu* 掌道收圆老母) by the emperor and she was the founding figure of the Dragon's Gate Sect. Madam Liu-Gong (刘龚氏) and her son, who were discovered spreading this sect in the years of Jiaqing, were the twelfth-generation descendants of Granny Mi. The Dragon Gate Sect prevailed in northern Hebei. In Haocheng of Hebei, there was a temple dedicated to Granny Mi, where the Granny's tomb was located and her clay sculpture was worshipped. In addition, the *Stele of Dragon Gate Sect* was erected inside the temple. The confiscated scripture—*The Scroll of Nine-Level Attainment of the Origin* (*Jiupin shouyuan juan* 九品收元卷), contained the words: "The family Liu [Tr: the original text was written as '*mao*

jin dao 卯金刀,' which together make up the character for the surname 'Liu 刘.'] knows that the throne of the Family Zhu [Tr: Written as '*niu ba* 牛八,' which combine to form the character 'Zhu 朱,' the surname of the Ming royal family] has been unstable. Liu is chasing a pig [Tr: pig '*zhu* 猪' is homophonous with '*zhu* 朱.'], while the head of the eighteen sects comes out and kills people. In the year of *jiazi*, the sage descends. At the time of *wu* on the third day of the third month, the family Li [Tr: '*mu zi* 木子,' which combine to form the surname Li 李] rises up. In the year of three *jia* (甲), the dragon and snake appears and the region of Youyan (幽燕, i.e., the location of Beijing) shall be punished by disasters." It was said "the third day of the third month" was the birthdate of the Granny Mi. The surname of her husband was "Liu 刘"; thus, "Liu is chasing a pig (Zhu, 朱)." "(T)he head of eighteen sects comes out and kills people" might mean her husband who, together with eighteen sects, staged a rebellion. "(T)he family Li rises up" means that they joined the forces of Li Zicheng (李自成, a rebel who briefly overthrew the Ming before being crushed by the Manchu Qing.). To sum up, in terms of this portion of the scripture, the Dragon Gate Sect undoubtedly participated in the struggle against the Ming regime. Hence, this sect was a group with a glorious history amongst secret folk religions. It was also a religious group, which was created by a woman and had a strong rebellious spirit.

In addition, one Madam Wei-Wang (魏王氏), also known as the Vegetarian Granny Wei (Weizhaipo 魏斋婆), was hunted down in the case of Zhang Baotai (张保太), leader of the Great Vehicle Sect. This incident happened in the southeastern provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang during the reign of Qianlong. Wei was an important figure and was conferred the title of "Superintendent of the Right Central Palace and Charge of the Left Central Palace" and she was then promoted to "Primordial Buddha of the Administration-General Palace." Volume Twenty-Two of *The Imperially Approved Account of Suppressing Heterodox Bandits* (*Qinding pingding jiaofei jilüe* 钦定平定教匪纪略) wrote: "in Shanguosi Street outside the Xuanwu Gate of the Capital there was a Madam Gao-Zhang (高张氏), who claimed to be the Granny Deity and spread her teaching with her daughter, Madam Li-Gao (李高氏). (324) The two women disseminated heretical teachings under the emperor's very nose." When *The Precious Scroll of the Happiness of All Sentient Beings* (*Zhongxi baojuan*) introduced the Dark Blue Sun Sect (*Xuanyang jiao* 玄阳教), it mentioned a Madam Jin (金) from Zhucheng

of Shandong, who created the Sect of Supporting the Sun (*Tuoyang jiao* 托阳教) in the period of Daoguang. The section "The Seventh Month of the Twenty-First Year of Qianlong" in *The Veritable Record of the Emperor Gao of Qing Dynasty* (*Qing Gaozong shilu* 清高宗实录) recorded that authorities in Wanping County had investigated and captured Madam Liu and Madam Zhao-Wang, who co-administered the Red Sun Sect. In the account "The Third Month of the Twenty-Sixth Year of Jiajing" in *Events Heard and Seen in the Two Reigns of Jiajing and Longqing of the Great Ming* (*Huangming jialong liangchao wenjian ji* 皇明嘉[靖]隆[庆]两朝闻见录), it is stated: "Tian Bin (田斌) from the region north of the River Wen and his wife gathered up several thousand people." In the process of creating a religious sect and recruiting its followers, there were cases in which women acted as the right hand of her husband, son or fellow member.

When the secret folk religions became involved with peasant revolts, many outstanding female leaders emerged. Tang Sai'er (唐赛儿), a self-entitled Buddha Mother from the reign of Yongle, and Wang Cong'er (王聪儿), leader of the White Lotus Uprising in Sichuan and Hubei in the reign of Jiaqing, were well-known figures that were trusted by tens of thousands of followers. They had a dauntless spirit and were heroic and skillful in battle. The spearhead of their attack was aimed directly at the imperial court. When her uprising failed, Tang Sai'er fled. The Ming government could not find her, even though "tens of thousands of ordained women were arrested in Shandong, Hebei, Beijing and other regions."[11] The failure of the government's intensive manhunt showed that Tang had both the solid support of the masses and extraordinary wisdom. The troops of Wang Cong'er were pursued and wiped out by the Qing army. Finally, she led a dozen female soldiers to jump off the cliff to a heroic death. Besides Wang, there were other female leaders recorded in the historical sources, such as Madam Wang-Liu, Madam Zhou-Teng and Madam Yang-Jia, all women of valor. Among them, Wang-Liu Jingong (王刘金工) herself claimed to be the Eternal Venerable Mother.[12] Madam Zhang (张) was another woman hero. She was the wife of Li Tiancheng (李天

[11] "The Biography of the Nun Duan" (*Duan ni zhuan* 段尼传), in the official *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming shi* 明史), vol. 158.

[12] *The Imperially Approved Account of Quelling Heterodox Bandits* (*Qinding pingding jiaofei jilüe* 钦定平定教匪纪略), vol. 28.

成), the leader of the Heavenly Principle Teaching in the period of Jiaqing. After Li died in battle, Madam Zhang became the leader of the insurgent force. She guided the army and defended the city. When government troops broke through the defenses, her subordinates urged her to disguise herself as a refugee and escape the besieged city. Zhang refused and said she would choose to die rather than run away. Then, Zhang hanged herself.[13] Moreover, in the years of Wanli, Liu Tianxu (刘天绪) called himself the Patriarch of Non-Action and the reincarnation of the August Ultimate Buddha of Sunshine and staged a revolt. Among his followers, Madam Yue, a widow, declared herself to be Bodhisattva Guanyin.[14] Wang Lun (王伦) from Shandong claimed to be the Patriarch of Original Chaos and staged rebellion with the "Ten-Finger Mother," his wife.[15] In the fourth year of Qianlong (1739), (325) "A Branch of Flowers" (*Yi zhi hua*, 一枝花), the female head of the White Lotus Sect, was captured in Funiu Mountain in Henan. Her surname was Cai (蔡). She claimed have been sent by the founding patriarch. Therefore, she was worshiped by followers and was called the female general superintendent. Cai and Liang Chaofeng (梁朝凤), who was from Yiyang County of Henan, became sworn sisters. In Cai's religious group, the majority of members were women. Among them, a woman surnamed Hao (郝) called herself the Mother of Lily Magnolia (*Yulan laomu* 玉兰老母). Deities worshiped by this sect were largely female, such as the Mother of Three Teachings (*Sanjiao zumu* 三教祖母), the Twelve Mothers (*Shi'er zumu* 十二祖母) and the Nine-Dragon Mother (*Jiulong zumu* 九龙祖母). A ballad from the time sang: "A Branch of Flowers, is just seventeen or eighteen years old but she can resist tens of thousands of mounted soldiers!"[16] In view of this, Cai might have been more than just a religious leader, but a valiant and experienced soldier. This woman, "A Branch of Flowers of Funiu Mountain," organized an insurgency that was women-centered and

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] "The Itemized Statement Appealing for Execution of Captured Rebels of Heterodoxy" (*Qinhuo yaofan qizheng dianxing shu* 擒获妖犯乞正典刑疏), in *The Posthumous Collection of Ding Bin, the Lord of Cleanness and Beneficence* (*Ding qinghui gong yiji* 丁清惠公遗集), vol. 1.

[15] "Sealed Memorials to the Throne by Wang Congyi, the Governor of Shandong, that Transcribed from the Military Board," (*Bingke chaochu Shandong xunfu Wang Congyi tiben* 兵科抄出山东巡抚王从义题本), *Historical Materials of Ming and Qing Dynasties* (*Mingqing shiliao* 明清史料), Part Two, vol. 9.

[16] See n. 8, *supra*.

religious. This fact was so unexpected that is worthy of further study, but unfortunately, there are no further sources. In the thirty-ninth year of Qianlong (1774), the uprising of the Pristine Water Teaching (*Qingshui jiao* 清水教), which was led by Wang Lun, broke out in Shandong. In this rebellion, Madam Yu (a.k.a the Five-Sage Mother), who was the sister-in-law of Wang Lun and more than sixty-years old, fought horseback wielding two big swords. Wu Sanniang, another brave female general, played an important role in the rebel army.[17] In the twentieth year of Jiaqing (1815), there was the revolt led by the Completion Cult (*Yuan jiao* 圆教) in the region south of the Yangtze River. A female rebel leader—Li Yulian (李玉莲)—said that she was the Mother of Creation and the Pregnant Maitreya. Li preached "The true heaven-mandated Lord of the August Ultimate is reincarnated in the Stone Bodhisattva." This Stone Bodhisattva was none other than Li Yulian.[18] From the aforementioned female leaders, we see women with valiant and heroic bearing, the exact opposite of the traditional image of weak women in feudal China. Furthermore, we notice that, in the mind of some female leaders, there was a hidden intention of surpassing men. The reason why they—to say nothing of "A Branch of Flowers"—worshiped the Mother of Three Teachings was that no matter how high their standing was, all sages of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism were brought into the world by a mother. In eyes of naïve followers, this biological explanation was fairly convincing, even if very simplistic. Li Yulian, who said that she was the Pregnant Maitreya, had a sense of pride and dignity resulting from the fact that humans are given life by mothers, and held all gods and Buddhas and even Maitreya, the lord of the future world, were the children of mothers. She herself, however, was the mother of Maitreya. Thus, her position would be higher than the Buddha. This contentious mentality of transcending men was an expression of repressed emotion generated by the subordination of women to men for thousands of years. (326) In reality, women did not have enough power to surpass men in all aspects of life; but in the meantime, they would not reconcile

[17] "A Brief Account of Rebellion in Linqing" (*Lingqing koulüe* 临清寇略), see: Yu Jiao (俞蛟), *Miscellaneous Writings in the Booth of Dream* (*Mengchang zazhu* 梦厂杂著), vol. 6.

[18] Yang Jin (杨缙), "A Brief Account of Quelling Heterodoxy, which was written by Bai Juxi " (*Juxi jiexiang chuxie jilüe* 菊溪节相除邪纪略). Quoted from "The History of the Completion Cult and its Scriptures" (*Yuanjiao shimo jiqi jingjuan* 圆教始末及其经卷), in *Humanities Monthly* (*Renwen yuekan* 人文月刊), Issue 8, vol. 5.

themselves to the inferior status imposed upon them. On one hand, they rose up and struggled against the *status quo*; on the other hand, they looked for or created ideas that could justify their efforts, in which they held themselves in a higher position than gods and Buddhas. In spite of the naivete of these attempts, they were nevertheless a spark of the idea of women's independence and equality under feudal despotic rule.

As for the ordinary members of these secret folk religions, they formed an active force that was indispensable for both the missionary work in normal times and the intensifying class struggle. Among the popular religious sects, the Red Sun Sect had the largest number of female followers. When Na Yancheng investigated the Red Sun Sect in Shulu County of Hebei, he found that all the people who joined this sect were female.[19] Many of the female faithful of the Red Sun Sect studied herbal medicine and performed healing; meanwhile, they spread their sect. The majority of them were widows and they constantly traveled through streets and lanes. Of course, there were some women in this group who did illegal or disreputable things. In the early years of Daoguang, Ma Jinzhong (马进忠) headed the Teaching of Trigram Qian (Qiangua jiao 乾卦教) in the Prefecture of Linqing. "All members that joined this sect changed their surname to Li (李). And, in this sect, there was a mixture of two sexes in equal portions."[20] *The Gazetteer of Wucheng County* (*Wucheng xianzhi* 乌程县志), which was published in the eleventh year of Chongzhen (1638), recorded the Buddhist "Words for Exhorting the Age" that prevailed in villages of the county and residents, who were mostly women, gathered together and recited rhythmically these words. This practice was called "chanting scrolls" (*xuan juan* 宣卷). Since the mid-Ming, "chanting scrolls" became very popular in family and the countryside. Most of "chanters" were nuns and the audience consisted mostly of women and children. What they learned was centered on the fruits of karma, Hell, the prior existence and the next life, abstention from killing living being, and doing good, amongst others. In addition, there were stories about the separation of loved ones in life or death, torments human being

[19] *Memorials to the Throne by Na Yancheng* (那彦成), *the Lord of Learnedness and Fortitude* (*Na wenyi gong zouyi* 那文毅公奏议), vol. 42.

[20] "The Imperial Edict Issued in the Fourth Month of the Fourth Year of Daoguang," in *The Veritable Record of the Emperor Xuan of Qing Dynasty* (*Qing Xuanzong shilu* 清宣宗实录).

suffered and the ultimate reunion and happiness. In most cases, the practice of "chanting scrolls" in the late Ming did not attempt to challenge the equilibrium of feudal rule, even if it was not uncommon for heterodox elements to be incorporated into this activity in villages and towns. Such type of improvisation was possible, depending on the mood of the chanter and her audience. At any rate, the practice of "chanting scrolls" was largely peaceful. On the other hand, there were many cases, in which female followers practiced martial arts. This practice started from the Club and Hammer Society (*Bangchui hui* 棒锤会) established by Yu Hongzhi (于弘志), a member of the Smelling Incense Teaching, and by the Qing had developed into a longstanding tradition. In the Eight-Trigram Teaching, the Pristine Water Teaching, the Heavenly Principle Teaching and the rebellion led by the White Lotus Sect in Sichuan and Hubei, many women practiced martial arts or even directly joined in the battle.

The large number of female members in the secret folk religions should be attributed to the oppression of women and their miserable predicament. Originally, poverty was the main reason why poor commoners joined religious sects or groups. Peasants, small craftsmen and other outcasts groaned beneath the cruel economic exploitation and political oppression of the feudal ruling class. (327) Laboring women in particular were at the bottom, and their suffering was unspeakable. They earnestly longed for a change in the *status quo*, but they failed to find a way out. Consequently, women had to appeal for protection from the gods and placed their hope in supernatural powers. Spiritual deliverance might have offset the agony of real life and provided some comfort for these miserable creatures. In addition, they could enjoy solicitude and friendship, and possibly even some material assistance from within the religious group.

Impingement on the Feudal Ethical Code

Secret popular religious sects attracted both men and women. They gathered and practiced together. Under such circumstances, the traditional disparity between the two sexes and discrimination against women was relaxed. Moreover, there even was a simple idea of equality between men and women. For example, in the cases of Wang Cui'er and other female leaders, when their husbands died, they had the right to inherit his position and resume his work. In addition, female

leaders, as well as their husbands, enjoyed the support of other leading figures and followers in the sect. Under no circumstances would such ideas and practices appear in ordinary society, which was dominated by orthodox feudal ideology. Among the power-holders' vehement attacks on "heterodoxy," the co-mingling of men and women, or "reversing the original hierarchy of *yin* and *yang*" was singled out for condemnation.

In his *A Detailed Refutation of Heterodoxies* (*Poxie xiangbian*), Huang Yupian said: "The mingling of men and women and excessive indulgence in sex was the most vicious misdeed of heterodoxy." As a guardian of the feudal ethical code, he paid great attention to the words concerning the relationship of the two sexes in his refutation of the folk religion's scriptures. For instance, concerning the idea that the Eternal Venerable Mother was the creator of the world and the supreme deity in *The Precious Dragon-Flower Scripture Verified by the Ancient Buddha as It Originally Is* (*Gufo tianzhen kaozheng longhua baojing*), Huang wrote: "Alas! The supreme celestial deity is the Jade Emperor. Nevertheless, the heretics proclaim there is an Eternal Venerable Mother who takes precedence over the Jade Emperor. In retrospect, when a woman claims imperial power, it inevitably leads to disaster. If the Eternal Venerable Mother would dominate the celestial court, it would produce the rise of *yin* and the decline of *yang*. Then, how could the work of cultivating people be successful?" Huang had an ulterior motive in his claim that disorder and disaster in history resulted from the exercise of power by women. In the religious peasant revolts, however, even when there was a female leader, such as Wang Cong'er, who was venerated as the Mother of Buddha and chief instructor, there was no record that could show the male subordinates and followers feared "the rise of *yin* and decline of *yang*." In his critique to one section of the *Dragon Flower Scripture*—"It is required that all male and female members gather together with no difference or discrimination," (328) Huang said: "The proper place for man is to labor outside; the proper place for women is to work inside the home"; "Males and females shall not allow their hands to touch while giving and receiving"; "External affairs shall not be spoken of inside the threshold and internal affairs shall not be spoken of outside the threshold." Although these principles were heavily stereotyped, in the long history of Chinese feudal society, they defined the position and relationship of men and women. Secret folk religions attacked these oppressive principles and guides. In contrast, other groups and figures that had some progressive viewpoints, were far less

attractive than the secret popular religious sects in the White Lotus system.

It was inevitable that Huang's objection to "the mingling of men and women" would finally come down to the problem of "excessive indulgence in sex." In feudal China, although many members of the ruling class engaged in debaucheries of their own, they diverted the charge of "lust" to commoners. They pinned this sin on females in particular and could in this way destroy the life of a woman. Thus, Huang wickedly said that the emergence and development of heterodoxy was an outcome of men's lust for women. He quoted the words of Zhao Shuang, a follower of the Subsidized-Student Sect (*Linsheng jiao* 廪生教), which read as follows: "I joined the heterodoxy not because I believed in its teachings but I could meet young ladies and chose one of them (for sex)." Huang employed this quote as evidence of the heterodoxy's licentious nature. As for Zhao Shuang's confession, it might have been sincere, but it might have been an excuse, by which Zhao covered his true political intention and hoped to receive a milder punishment. Among members of the secret popular religious sects, there indeed were some from the landlord class, who lived comfortable lives and joined the sect with such motives. As for the laboring masses who joined the religious groups, their purpose was to change their fate and social status through religious activities and to seek spiritual comfort and material assistance. It was the reason why secret religions were more popular when society was unstable and life became difficult. In fact, there was no purely religious group. The nature and significance of a religious sect could be judged only from its innate character, main composition and the general intention of its followers. The so-called "excessive indulgence in sex" was by no means the essential dimension of the important and influential secret popular religious sects with a large number of followers.[21] (329) "Lust" could only be corrosive for

[21] Among important and influential sects, very few cases could be put on the tag of "excessive indulgence in sex." The Stealth Society (*Qiaoqiao hui* 悄悄会), which prevailed in Shaanxi and Gansu in the years of Jiaqing of Qing, was one. In the sect, there were halls named such as "Disseminating Elixir" (*chuandan* 传丹), "Tossing Elixir" (*gundan* 滚丹), "Receiving Elixir" (*dedan* 得丹) and the like. See: "Related Memorial to the throne by Fang Weidian (方维甸) and other officials, which was concerning the matter of hearing the case of Wang Huazhou (王化周), the head of the Stealth Society (*Qiaoqiao hui* 悄悄会), Shi Ci (石慈) and other followers," *Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council* (*Junjichu lu fu zouzhe*) in the First

a mass organization. It could neither maintain the longevity of a religious sect nor endow it with a powerful and tenacious purpose that it would need to spread. Within a sect, men and women assembled together and there would be open contacts between them. As time went on, there might be the case, that male and female followers became friends, fell in love and finally were united. There is nothing to be said against that. The assertion that they were "lecherous" was groundless. Even if there were something that should be criticized in their relationship, compared with what the covert activities of the landlord class, their love was open. The difference is that one was candid while the other was hypocritical. Needless to say, there were sects dedicated to making magic pills and "arts of the bedchamber" (*fangzhou shu* 房中术). *The Precious Scroll of the Happiness of All Sentient Beings* (*Zhongxi baojuan*), which was compiled by Chen Zhongxi in the reign of Daoguang, listed seventy secret religious sects. Among them, some, such as the Heavenly Sun Sect (*Qianyang jiao* 乾阳教) in Xinyang of Henan, the Pristine Obscurity Sect (*Qingxuan jiao* 清玄教) in Hangzhou, and the Sect of the Kan-Li Trigram (*Kan Li jiao* 坎离教) created by Huaqingong (华钦公) in Beijing worked enthusiastically on the art of sexual nutrition (absorbing *yin* and replenishing *yang*) and circulation of the vital breath. These were non-mainstream Daoist sects, and originally served the ruling class. There was no popular support for them. Furthermore, such religious practices involved a series of ideas of medicine, alchemy, child-giving and sorcery and could not be simply denounced as "lechery."

Huang Yupian's views were typical. Yan Yuan (颜元), a progressive materialist thinker in Qing, shared the same opinions. In his *Writings on Conservation of Humankind* (*Cunren bian* 存人编), Yan said: "In your sect, men and women mingle. You call this 'the two ways' (*er dao* 二道). Your people walk straight into the house, enter the inner chamber and sit on the bed. You are ignorant of the sage's propriety: men shall never step inside the middle door, and women shall never walks outside the middle door. A man and his sister-in-law shall never visit each other. When a married daughter returns home, her father and brothers will meet her with the rite of hosting guest, even though they are the closest relatives. By this way, they avoid arousing suspicion. Is

---

Historical Archives of China in the Forbidden City, "Section of Peasant Movement," no. 2297.

there any rule that a woman can visit a stranger's home for no reason? Is there any rule that allows a strange man to walk into the inner chamber? This practice corrupts the morals and undermines social custom. How can you be so shameless?" In view of this, Yan Yuan was a model of the Confucian teaching of "denying the self and returning to propriety," though he was a progressive materialist thinker. He was a steadfast guardian of the feudal principle of human relationships and social order, and he advocated scrupulously abiding by the feudal code of ethics. Yan bitterly detested "heterodoxy." Unlike Huang Yupian, who vehemently attacked those evil doctrines, however, Yan taught the village men and women with care and perseverance and persuaded them not to believe in "heresy." Huang's refutation and Yan's persuasion shared one thing; that is to say, their efforts demonstrated how popular the secret religion was in society at the grassroots level. The idea of the two sexes preached by these religious sects undermined the idea—"husband guides wife"—in the three cardinal guides. This bold challenge caused anxiety for the landlord class and its intellectuals.

The "three cardinal guides and five constant values" (*sangang wuchang* 三纲五常) was the theoretical base of feudal rule and it was the intellectual weapon that was employed to consolidate the dictatorship of landlord class and to rule and suppress the peasants. (350) In the three cardinal guides, the item "husband guides wife" was designed to oppress women. In the feudal society, in addition to be ruled by the political, religious and clan authority, women were also dominated by the authority of their husbands. The "three obediences and four virtues" (*sancong side* 三从四德) was the embodiment of the maxim that "husband guides wife." Thus, any behavior that opposed the "three obediences and four virtues" would be tantamount to the violation of this basic guide. The "three cardinal guides" and the "five constant virtues" were interdependent. If one of the "three cardinal guides" were violated, the whole theoretical basis of centralized feudal rule would be in danger. That was why the struggle for the liberation of women, freedom of marriage and denial of the big family in the feudal clan system became the precursor to the bourgeoisie's emergence and their anti-feudal crusade. As for ambiguous and spontaneous ideas of equality between men and women, even if they to a certain extent went against the feudal authority of husband, it was impossible for them to bring about the scientific and rational egalitarianism between the two sexes and the conscious demand for the emancipation of women. These ideas were just the reflection of the social reality that

the laboring women in society, those who participated in productive labor and shared the heavy burden of family and from which they won a certain status and the relative independence, were distinct from those "parasitic" women in the landlord's home. This difference in mentality resulted from the cleavage of labor and "parasitism" but not the ideological confrontation between the new class and an old class caused by a new mode of production. In any case, they should be regarded as an essence of democracy. Perhaps because of this, the decadent feudal landlord class could never tolerate them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Documents

Anhui tongzhi gao 安徽通志稿 [The Draft of Comprehensive Gazetteer of Anhui Province].

Bao Shichen 包世臣. *Anwu sizhong* 安吴四种 [Four Writings of Anwu].

Bian Baodi 卞宝弟. *Bian Zhijun zouyi* 卞制军奏议 [Memorials of Bian Zhijun].

Chen Bangzhan 陈邦瞻. *Songshi jishi benmo* 宋史纪事本末 [The Separate and Full Account of Events in the Song Dynasty].

Chen Zhida 陈智达. *Sanjiao chuxue zhinan* 三教初学指南 [Beginner's Guide to the Teaching of Three Doctrines].

Chen Zhongyu 陈衷瑜. *Chenzi huigui* 陈子会规 [Rules Proposed by the Master Chen].

Damingxian zhailonghua cun diaocha ziliao 大名县翟龙化寸调查材料 [Collected Fieldwork Materials from Zhailonghua Village of Daming County].

Da yu ji 大狱记 [Great Inquisitions].

Ding Bin 丁宾. *Ding qinghui gong yiji* 丁清惠公遗集 [The Posthumous Collection of Ding Bin, the Lord of Cleanness and Beneficence].

Dong Shi 董史. *Dongshan jicao* 东山集草 [Writing Collections of the Notables].

Donghua lu 东华录 [The Donghua Annals].

Du You 杜佑. *Tong dian* 通典 [Encyclopedia for Institutions].

Foshuo sanhui jiuzhuan xiasheng caoxi baojuan 佛说三回九转下生漕溪宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Descent to Caoxi Spoken by the Buddha].

Foshuo wuwei jindan jianyao keyi baojuan 佛说无为金丹拣要科仪宝卷[The Precious Scroll of Essential Rules of Non-Action Golden Elixir Spoken by the Buddha].

Gao Ju 高举 et al. *Da Ming lü jijie* 大明律集解 [Collected Commentaries on The Great Ming Code].

Gaokou cun diaocha ziliao 高口村调查资料 [Fieldwork Materials Collected in Gaokou Village].

Guanxian duo'erzhuang diaocha ziliao 冠县垛儿庄调查资料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Duoerzhuang Village of Guan County].

Guanxian xusanli zhuang diaocha cailiao 冠县徐三里庄调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Xusanli Village of Gaun County].

Guo Jianling 郭钱龄. *JiYu shanfang shiji* 吉雨山房诗集 [Poem Collection of the Auspicious-Rain House in the Mountain].

He Qiaoyuan 何乔远. *Min shu* 闽书 [The Fujian Gazetteer]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1994.

——. *Mingshan zang* 名山藏 [The Valuables of the Immortal Bookstore].

Hong Mai 洪迈. *Yi jian zhi* 夷坚志 [The Record of the Listener].

Huang Baonin 黄葆年. *Guiqun caotang shiji* 归群草堂诗集 [Collected Poems of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd].

Huang Yupian 黄育楩. *Poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩 [A Detailed Refutation of Heterodoxies].

Huang Zhen 黄震. *Huangshi richao* 黄氏日钞 [Personal Daily Notes].

Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲. *Nanlei wenan* 南雷文案 [Writing Collections of Mr. Nanlei].

——. *Mingru xuean* 明儒学案 [The Scholarly History of Ming Confucianism].

Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan 皇极金丹九莲正信归真还乡宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of the Golden Elixir and Nine Lotus of the August Ultimate on Correcting Belief and Recovering Original Simplicity and Returning to Nature].

Hui bao 汇报 [Collected Reports].
Jiangsu haiyun quanan 江苏海运全书 [The Complete Book of Sea Transportation of Jiangsu].
Jindaishi ziliao congkan: xinhai geming 近代史资料丛刊 · 辛亥革命 [Series of Primary Sources for Modern Chinese History: The 1911 Revolution]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957.
Jinshu zongmu 禁书总目 [The Catalogue of Banned Books].
Jiu wudai shi 旧五代史 [The Five Dynasties History].
Junjichu lu fu zouzhe 军机处录副奏折 [Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council].
Kugong wudao juan 苦功悟道卷 [The Scroll of Apprehending the Way through Hard Work].
Kumarajiva 鸠摩罗什 trans. *Foshuo mile xiasheng chengfo jing yishu* 佛说弥勒下生成佛经义疏 [Commentary to Sutra on the Descent of Maitreya and Sutra of Maitreya's Attaining Buddhahood]. Beijing: National Library of China, n.d.
Li Guangxin 李光炘. *Longchuan shichao* 龙川诗钞 [The Transcription of Poems of Longchuan].
Lianghuai yanfa zhi 两淮盐法志 [The Chronicle of Salt Administration in Lianghuai].
Lidai zushu yuanliu daomai 历代祖师源流考 [The Origin of Patriarchs in Each Generation].
Ligusi cun diaocha ziliao 李谷寺调查资料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in Ligusi Village].
Lin Run 林润. *Yuan zhi tang ji* 愿治堂集 [Writing Collections of the Hall of Aspiration of Universal Order].
Lin Xiangzhe 林向哲. *Oulizi ji* 瓯离子集 [The Writings of Oulizi].
Lin Zhizhi 林至致. *Zhuowu shiyi* 卓午实义 [Reflections at Noon].
Lin zi benti jing shilüe 林子本体经释略 [Brief Interpretation of the Original Scripture of the Master Lin].
Lin zi benxing shilu 林子本行实录 [The Chronicle of the Practice of Master Lin].
Lin zi menxian shilu 林子门贤实录 [The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of Master Lin].
Lin zi nianpu 林子年谱 [The Chronicle of Master Lin].
Lin zi quanji 林子全集 [The Complete Works of Master Lin].
Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun 林子三教正宗统论 [Introduction to the Orthodoxy of Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching].
Ling Tao 凌焘. *Jiangxi shigao jishi* 江西视臬纪事 [Records of an Inspection Trip to Jiangxi].
Linzi sanjiao zhengzong yizhi lu 林子三教正宗易知录 [Orthodox Reader for the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching].
Liu Delong 刘德隆. *Liu E ji laocan youji ziliao* 刘鹗及老残游记资料 [Primary Sources for Liu E and his Travels of Lao Can]. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1985.
Liu Hainian 刘海年 and Yang Yifan 杨一凡 eds. *Zhongguo zhenxi falü dianji jicheng* 中国珍稀法律典籍集成 [The Collection of Rarely-Seen Chinese Juristic Writings]. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994.
Liu Kunyi 刘坤一. *Liu Kunyi yiji* 刘坤一遗集 [Remaining Works of Liu Kunyi]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Lu You 陆游. *Laoxue an biji* 老学庵笔记 [Jottings from the Life-Long Learning Hut]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.
——. *Lu Fangwong quanji* 陆放翁全集 [The Complete Works of Lu You]. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986.
Mi zang 密藏 [Scriptures of True Words].
Ming shi 明史 [The History of Ming Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
Ming shizong shilu 明世宗实录 [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Shi of Ming Dynasty].

Mingjiang jinshan zhi 闽江金山志 [Gazetteer of Minjiang Jinshan].
Mingqing shiliao 明清史料 [Historical Materials of the Ming and Qing Dynasties].
Mingqing yilai beijing gongshang huiguan beike xuanbian 明清以来北京工商会馆碑刻选编 [Selected Stele Inscriptions from Guild Halls of Commerce and Industry since Ming and Qing Dynasties] Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980.
Na Yancheng 那彦成. *Na wenyi gong zouyi* 那文毅公奏议 [Memorials to the Throne by Na Yancheng, the Lord of Learnedness and Fortitude].
Neike xingnang 内科行囊 [The Traveling Bag for Internal Medicine].
Pan Xiang 潘相. *Erwen shuwu jilüe* 二文书屋集略 [Written Collections of the Study of Erwen].
People's University ed. *Qianlong si wu nian Henan Yiyang dengdi bailianjiao qiyi* 乾隆四、五年河南伊阳等地白莲教起义 [The Uprising of White Lotus Sect in the Area of Yinyang of Henan in the Fourth and Fifth Year of Qianlong]. Beijing: 1980.
Puming rulai wuwei liaoyi baojuan 普明如来无为了义宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Complete Enlightenment through Non-Action of the Tathagata of Universal Light]. Moscow: 1977.
Putian shihua 莆田史话 [Narrated History of Putian].
Qi Xuebiao 戚学标. *Hequan wenchao* 鹤泉文钞 [Collected Prose of the Crane Spring].
Qinding pingding jiaofei jilüe 钦定平定教匪纪略 [The Imperially Approved Account of the Suppression of Heterodox Bandits].
Qing Gaozong shilu 清高宗实录 [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Gao of the Qing Dynasty].
Qing gaozong shilu 清高宗实录 [The Veritable Records of the Emperor Gao of Qing].
Qing renzong shilu 清仁宗实录 [The Veritable Records of the Emperor Ren of Qing].
Qing Xuanzong shilu 清宣宗实录 [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Xuan of Qing].
Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian 清代档案史料丛编 [Compilations of Historical Materials in Qing Archives]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978.
Qingji jiaowu jiao an dang 清季教务教案档 [Archives Concerning Church Affairs and Disputes Involving Missionaries and Converts].
Qingshi liezhuan 清史列传 [Selected Biographies of Notables in the History of Qing Dynasties].
Qingzhou diaocha cailiao 青州调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in Qingzhou].
Quan Heng 权衡. *Genshen waishi* 庚申外史 [Unofficial History for the Years of Gengshen].
Rong Naixuan 荣乃宣. *Quanan zacun* 拳案杂存 [Miscellaneous Collections for the Case of the Yihetuan].
Ru dao shi xia baojing 儒道释夏宝经 [The Precious Scripture of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and the Great Teaching].
San'an quanji 三庵全集 [Complete Works of Three Huts].
Shandong jindaishi ziliao 山东近代史资料 [Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong]. Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1961.
Shandong tongzhi 山东通志 [The Complete Records of Shandong].
Shen Baozhen 沈葆桢. *Shen wensu gong zhengshu* 沈文肃公政书 [Discussions on Politics by Shen Baozhen, the Lord of Learnedness and Solemnity].
Shen Yue 沈越. *Huangming jialong liangchao wenjian ji* 皇明嘉隆两朝闻见录 [Events Told and Witnessed in the Two Reigns of Jiajing and Longqing of the Great Ming].
Shiliao xunkan 史料旬刊 [Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials]. Beijing: Jinghua yinshuju, 1930.
Siku cunmu congshu 四库存目丛书 [Existing Titles of Complete Library of the Four Treasuries]. Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996.
Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四库全书总目提要 [Synopsis of the Catalogue of The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries].
Song huiyao jigao 宋会要辑稿 [The Compilation of State Regulations of the Song Dynasty].

Song Jingshi diaocha ji 宋景诗调查记 [Investigation on the Song Jingshi Uprising].
Sui shu 隋书 [History of Sui].
Tan Qian 谈迁. *Zaolin zazhu* 枣林杂俎 [Miscellaneous Collections in the Date Grove].
Tongxiang lao xiansheng yigao nianpu 桐乡劳先生遗稿年谱 [The Chronicle of Remaining Writings of Mr. Lao from Tongxiang].
Wan Xinzhai nianpu 王心斋年谱 [The Chronicle of Wang Xinzhai].
Wang Dianjia 王殿甲. *Caoyun huikan* 漕运汇刊 [Written Collections for Grain Transport by Water].
Wang Dingan 王定安. *Qiuque zhai zidiji* 求阙斋子弟集 [Written Collections of Juniors of the House of Qiuque].
Wang Qinruo 王钦若 et al. *Cefu yuangui* 册府元龟 [The Imperial Records Office's Compilation of Political Events for Reference].
Wei shu 魏书 [History of Wei].
Wucheng diaocha ziliao 武城调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in Wucheng County].
Xi Liang 锡良. *Xi Liang yigao* 锡良遗稿 [Remaining Works of Xiliang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Xiaoshi shouji wuxiang baojuan 销释授记无相宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Explanation that the Prediction of Buddhahood is Devoid of Marks].
Xiawu zhenjing 夏午真经 [The True Scripture of Xiawu].
Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛. *Wuza zu* 五杂俎 [Miscellaneous Written Collections].
Xinhai geming qian shinian jian minbian dang'an shiliao 辛亥革命前十年间民变档案史料 [Historical Materials in Archives Concerning Popular Revolts in the Ten Years Prior to the 1911 Revolution]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
Xinzhai Yulu 心斋语录 [Quotations of Wang Xinzhai].
Xu Hong 徐鋐. *Ji shen lu* 稽神录 [Accounts of Inspecting Spirits]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.
Xu Ke 徐珂. *Qing bailei chao* 清稗类钞 [Collected Anecdotes and Trifles of Qing].
Xu Xin 徐炘. *Yinxiang shushi zoushu* 吟香书室奏疏 [Memorials of the Chanting Fragrance Study].
Xue Yunsheng 薛允升. *Tang ming lü hebian* 唐明律合编 [Combined Compilation of Tang and Ming Codes]. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1937.
Yan Yuan 颜元. *Cunren bian* 存人编 [Conservation of Mankind].
Yang Ne 杨讷 et al. *Yuanmo nongmin zhanzheng shiliao huibian* 元末农民战争史料汇编 [Compilation of Historical Records for the Peasant Wars of the late Yuan]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.
Yang Xiba 杨锡跋. *Caoyun zeli zuan* 漕运则例纂 [Compilation of Rules of Grain transport by Water].
Yangshouyuan zouyi Jiyao 养寿园奏议辑要 [Selected Compilation of Memorials of the Maintaining Longevity Garden].
Ye Ziqi 叶子奇. *Caomu zi* 草木子 [The Natural Course of Man].
Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, *Zhanran jushi ji* 湛然居士集 [Works of a Retired Scholar at Ease].
Yiguan dao yiwen jieda 一贯道疑问解答 [Question & Answer of the Way of Penetrating Unity].
Yihe tuan dang'an shiliao 义和团档案史料 [Historical Materials in Archives Concerning the Yihetuan]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Ying Jia 应槚. *Da Ming lü shiyi* 大明律释义 [Explanations on The Great Ming Code].
Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian 雍正朝汉文朱批奏折汇编 [Compilation of Memorials in Chinese with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor Yongzheng].
Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi 雍正朱批谕旨 [Vermilion Endorsements and Edicts of the Emperor Yongzheng].
Yu Jiao 俞蛟. *Mengchang zazhu* 梦厂杂著 [Miscellaneous Writings in the Booth of Dreams].

Yuan shi 元史 [The History of Yuan].
Zan Ning 赞宁. *Da song seng shi lüe* 大宋僧史略 [The compendium of Monastic History of the Great Song Dynasty].
Zeng zhongxiang gong zouyi 曾忠襄公奏议 [Memorials of Zeng Guoquan, the Lord of Loyalty and Virtue].
Zhang Qin 张琴. *Putian xianzhi* 莆田县志 [Gazetteer of Putian County].
Zhaodai congshu 昭代丛书 [Series of Books of Enlightening Generations].
Zhejiang haiyun quan'an zhongbian 浙江海运全案重编 [The Complete Recompilation of Sea Transportation in Zhejiang].
Zheng Wangchen 郑王臣 ed. *Pufeng qinglai ji* 莆风清籁集 [Writings in the Breeze of Putian and Tinkling Sounds].
Zhenjia bao buyi 镇家宝补遗 [Addendum to the Treasures of Maintaining Family].
Zhenjia bao zhengji 镇家宝正集 [Treasures for Maintaining the Family].
Zhi Pan 志磐. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖统记 [Annals of the Patriarchs of Buddhism].
Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan 中国近代史资料丛刊 [Primary Sources for Chinese Modern History]. Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she 神州国光社, 1956.
Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠. *Zuo wenxiang gong quanji* 左文襄公全集 [The Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang, the Lord of Learnedness and Virtue].

Secondary Materials

Asmussen, J. P. "Xuāstvānīft.' *Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965.
Boyce, Mary. *A Word-List of Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Leiden: 1977.
Cai Hongsheng 蔡鸿生. "*Tangsong shidai Moni jiao zai binhai diyu de bianyi*" 唐宋时代摩尼教在滨海地域的变异 [The Variance of Manichaeism in the Coastal Regions in Tang and Song Dynasties]. *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大学学报 [The Journal of Sun Yat-sen University] no. 6 (2004): 114–117.
——. *Xue jing* 学境 [The Scholarly Realm]. Hong Kong: Boshi yuan chubanshe, 2001.
Cai Shaoqing 蔡少卿. *Zhongguo jindai huidang shi yanjiu* 中国近代会党史研究 [Studies on the History of Secret Societies in Modern China]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
Chavannes, Ed, and Pelliot, P. "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine" (Deuxième partie, suite et fin). *Journal Asiatique* I, sér. 11 (Mars–Avril 1913): 99–199, 261–392.
Chen Gaohua 陈高华. *Chen Gaohua wenji* 陈高华文集 [Anthology of Chen Gaohua]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005.
Chen Jie 陈捷. *Yihe tuan yundong shi* 义和团运动史 [The History of the Yihetuan]. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1996.
Chen Yinque 陈寅恪. *Dushi zhaji sanbian* 读史札记三集 [Three Books of Reading Notes for History]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001.
Chen Yuan 陈垣. *Chen Yuan shixue lunzhu xuan* 陈垣史学论著选 [Selected Works of Historical Studies by Chen Yuan]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981.
Chen Zhanruo 陈湛若. "*Yihetuan qianshi*" 义和团前史 [The Pre-History of the Yihetuan]. *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 [Literature, History and Philosophy] no. 3 (1954): 17–25.
Chen Zhichao 陈智超 ed. *Chen Yuan laiwang shuxin ji* 陈垣来往书信集 [Collection of Chen Yuan's Letters]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990.
Ci Yi 慈怡. *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辞典 [Fo Guang Buddhist Dictionary]. Kaohsiung: Buddha's Light Publishing, 1988.
Diaz, Emmanuel 阳玛诺 ed. *Jingjiao beisong zhengquan* 景教碑颂正诠 [Corrected Annotations for Nestorian Tablet Inscriptions]. Shanghai: Cimu tang 慈母堂, 1878.
Fang Hao 方豪. *Fanghao liushi ziding ji* 方豪六十自定集 [Personal Anthology at the Age of Sixty]. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969.
Feng Chengjun 冯承钧. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong jiu bian* 西域南海史地考证译丛九编 [The Ninth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical

Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.

——. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong ba bian* 西域南海史地考证译丛八编 [The Eighth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.

Forte, Antonino. "Deux etudes sur le Manichéisme chinois." *T'oung Pao* LIX, no. 1–5 (1973): 220–253.

Franke, Wolfgang. "Some Remarks on the 'Three-in-One Doctrine' and its Manifestations in Singapore and Malaysia." *Oriens Extremus* vol. 19 (1972): 121–130.

Haloun, G, and Henning, W. B. "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light." *Asia Major* III (1952): 184–212.

Henning, W. B. "The Book of Giants." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* vol. XI, Part 1 (1943): 52–74.

Jordan, David K, and Overmyer, Daniel L. *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Karlgren, Bernhard. *Grammata Serca Recensa*. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1972.

Lemerle, Paul Emile. "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure." *Travaux et Mémoires* no. 4 (1970): 1–227.

Lenin, V. I. "*Heige'er zhexue jiangyan lu*" 黑格尔哲学讲演录 [Conspectus of Hegel's Lecture on the History of Philosophy]. In *Zhexue biji* 哲学笔记 [Philosophical Notebooks]. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1956.

Li Shiyu 李世瑜. "*Qingbang zaoqi zuzhi kaolüe*" 青帮早期组织考略 [A Brief Examination on its Early Organization of the Green Gang]. In *Jindai zhongguo banghui neimu* 近代中国帮会内幕 [The Inside Story of Secret Societies in Modern China]. Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1992.

——. *Xiandai huabei mimi zongjiao* 现代华北秘密宗教 [Secret Popular Religions in Modern North China]. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1990.

Li Shuhuan 李叔还. *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典 [The Dictionary of Taoism] Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987.

Lian Lichang 连立昌. "*Mingjiao Xingzhi chuyi*" 明教性质刍议 [My Humble Opinion about the Nature of the Teaching of Light]. *Fujian luntan* 福建论坛[Fujian Forum] no. 3 (1988): 39–43.

——. *Fujian mimi huishe* 福建秘密会社 [Secret Societies in Fujian]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1989.

Liang Shuming 梁漱溟. "*Du Wang Yangming xiansheng yongliangzhi shi*" 读王阳明先生咏良知诗 [After Reading Wang Yangming's Ode to Innate Conscience]. *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线 [The Front of Social Sciences] no. 2 (1988).

Lin Guoping 林国平. *Lin Zhaoen yu sanyi jiao* 林兆恩与三一教 [Lin Zhaoen and the Three-in-One Teaching]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1992.

——. "*Fujian Sanyi jiao xianzhuang de tiaocha yanjiu*" 福建三一教现状的调查研究 [Research on the state of the Three-in-One Teaching in Fujian]. *Monthly Journal of Chinese Affairs* (Japan) vol. 47, no. 3 (March 1993).

Lin Meicun 林梅村, Chen Ling 陈凌, and Wang Haicheng 王海城. "*Jiuxing huihu kehan bei yanjiu*" 九姓回鹘可汗碑研究 [A Study of the Stele of Khans of the Nine Tribes of Ouigour]. In Yu Taishan 余太山 ed. *Ouya yanjiu* 欧亚研究 [Eurasian Studies]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999.

Lin Meicun 林梅村. *Gudao xifeng—kaogu xinfaxian suojian zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 古道西风——考古新发现所见中西文化交流 [Forgotten Trails in the Fall Wind: Findings of Cultural Communication between China and the West in Recent Archeological Discoveries]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2000.

Lin Wushu 林悟殊. *Monijiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其东渐 [Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983; Taipei: Shuxin chubanshe, 1997.

——. "*Chicai shimo yu moni jiao*" 吃菜事魔与摩尼教 ['Abstaining from meat and worshiping demons' and Manichaeism]. *Wen Shi* 文史 [History & Literature] no. 26 (1985): 149–155.

——. "*Dunhuang ben Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe de chansheng*" 敦煌本摩尼光佛教法仪略的产生 [The Emergence of the Dunhuang Manuscript of The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religion] no.3 (1983): 71–76.

——. "*Dunhuang yishu Daqin jingjiao xuanyuan benjing kaoshi*" 敦煌遗书大秦景教宣元本经考释 [An Investigation and Interpretation to the Dunhuang Manuscript of The Scripture of Preaching the Essentials of the Teaching of Daqin]. *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州学林 [Chinese Culture Quarterly] VI, no. 4 (Special Number for Dunhuang Studies, 2003): 23–40.

——. "*Fujian shiliu zi ji kaoshi*" 福建明教十六字偈考释 [Textual Criticism and Explanation of the Lapidarian Sixteen-Character Verse of Manichaeism in Fujian]. *Wen Shi* 文史 [History & Literature] no.1 (2004): 230–246.

——. "*Laozi huahu jing yu Moni jiao*" 老子化胡经与摩尼教 [*The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi* and Manichaeism]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religion] no.4 (1984): 116–122.

——. "*Moni de erzong sanji lun jiqi qiyuan chutan*" 摩尼的二宗三际论及其起源初探 [A Preliminary Study of the Two Principles and Three Times of Mani and its Origin]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religion*] no.3 (1982): 45–56.

——. "*Quanzhou moni jiao yuanyuan kao*" 泉州摩尼教渊源考 [A Study of the Origins of Manichaeism in Quanzhou]. In Lin Zhongze 林中泽 ed. *Huaxia wenming yu xifang shijie* 华夏文明与西方世界 [Chinese Civilization and the Western World]. Hong Kong: Boshi yuan chubanshe, 2003.

——. "*Songyuan binhai diyu mingjiao fei hailu shuru bian*" 宋元滨海地域明教非海路输入辨 [A Rebuttal of the Idea that the Teaching of Light in Song and Yuan Dynasties was Introduced by Sea]. *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大学学报 [The Journal of Sun Yat-sen University] no. 3 (2005): 67–71.

——. "*Songyuan wenzhou xuanzhen si moni jiao shuxing zai bianxi*" 宋元温州选真寺摩尼教属性再辨析 [Re-Examination of the Manichean Attributes of the Temple of Being Perfection in Wenzhou in Song and Yuan Dynasties]. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 [Treatise on Chinese History and Literature] vol. 84, no. 4 (2006): 265–288.

——. "*Tangdai moni jiao yu zhongya jiaotuan*" 唐代摩尼教与中亚教团 [Chinese Manichaeism in the Tang Dynasty and Central Asian Manichean Groups]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religion*] no. 23 (1984): 85–93.

——. "*Yuan zhuxi lou ji moni jiao xinxi bianxi*" 元竹西楼记摩尼教信息辨析 [A Critical Examination of the Account of Manichaeism in 'Memorial to Zhuxi Tower' of Yuan Dynasty]. In Zeng Xiantong 曾宪通. *Hua xue* 华学 [Sinology]. Guangzhou: The Sun Yat-sen University Press, 2004.

——. *Bosi baihuojiao yu gudai zhongguo* 波斯拜火教与古代中国 [Persian Zoroastrianism and Ancient China]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1995.

——. Lin Wushu, "*Moni jiao ruhua niandai zhiyi*" 摩尼教入华年代质疑 [The Question of when Manichaeism was Introduced into China]. *Wen Shi* 文史 [History & Literature] no. 18 (1983): 69–81.

——. *Tangdai jingjiao zai yanjiu* 唐代景教再研究 [Reinvestigation of Nestorianism in the Tang Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003.

——. *Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng* 中古三夷教辩证 [A Critical Study of the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in Medieval China]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005.

——."*Yuandai quanzhou moni jiao ouxiang chongpai tanyuan*" 元代泉州摩尼教偶像崇拜研究 [Origins of the Manichean Idolatry in Quanzhou in the Yuan Dynasty]. *Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究 [Maritime History Studies] no. 1 (2003).

Lin Ying 林英. "*Fulin seng—guanyu tangdai jingjiao zhiwai jidujiao paibie ruhua de yige caice*" 拂菻僧——关于唐代景教之外基督教派别入华的一个猜测 [Priests from the Byzantine Empire: A Speculation on the Introduction of other Christian Churches to China besides Nestorianism] *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religion] no. 2 (2006): 103–112.

Liu Huisun 刘蕙孙. "*Taigu xuepai zhengzhi sixiang tanlue*" 太古学派政治思想探略 [A Preliminary Discussion of the Political Ideas of the Taigu School]. *The Wenhui bao* 文汇报 October 11, 1962.

——. "*Qing Daoguang Xianfeng jian minjian sixiang de anliu: Zhou Taigu and Taigu xuepai*" 清道光咸丰间民间思想的暗流——周太古和太古学派 [The Undercurrent of Popular Ideas in the Years of Daoguang and Xianfeng in Qing: Zhou Taigu and the School of Taigu].

——. "*Taigu xuepai de yishu*" 太古学派的遗书 [Remaining Works of the School of Taigu]. *Fujian shifan xueyuan xuebao* 福建师范学院学报 [Journal of Fujian Normal College] no. 2 (1957).

Liu Ts'un-jen 柳存仁. Lin Wushu 林悟殊 trans. "Tang qian huoxianjiao he monijiao zai zhongguo zhi yiji" 唐前火祆教和摩尼教在中国之遗迹 [Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Activities in Pre-T'ang China]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religion*] no.3 (1981): 36–61.

Liu Yi 刘屹. "*Tang kaiyuan nianjian Moni jiao mingyun de zhuanzhe—yi dunhuang ben Laozi xisheng huahu jing he Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe wei zhongxin*" 唐开元年间摩尼教命运的转折——以敦煌本老子西升化胡经和摩尼光佛教法仪略为中心 [The Turning-Point of the Fate of Manichaeism in the Years of Kaiyuan: Centered on the Dunhuang Manuscript of The Scripture of Laozi's Ascension to the West and Conversion of the Barbarians and The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light]. *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 [Dunhuang and Turpan Studies] vol. 9: 85–109. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006.

Liu Zhi 刘枝. "*Mingmo putian zhi wohuo*" 明末莆田之倭祸 [The Disaster caused by Japanese Pirates at the end of Ming]. *Xin fujian* 新福建 [The New Fujian] vol. 1, no. 6.

Lu Yao 路遥 and Cheng Xiao 程歊. *Yihetuan yundong shi yanjiu* 义和团运动史研究 [Studies on the History of the Yihetuan]. Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1988.

Lu Yao, *Yihe quan yundong qiyuan tansuo* 义和拳运动起源探索 [Exploring the Origin of the Yihetuan]. Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1990.

Luo Xianglin 罗香林. *Tang yuan erdai zhi jingjiao* 唐元二代之景教 [Nestorianism in the Tang and Yuan Dynasties]. Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe 中国学社, 1966.

Luo Zhenyu 罗振玉. *Xuetang jiaokan qunshu xulu* 雪堂校刊群书叙录 [Collected Prefaces and Colophons in Books Compiled by the Snow Hall].

Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤. "*Moni guang fo kao*" 摩尼光佛考 [A Study of Mani the Buddha of Light]. *Shi lin* 史林 [The Historical Review] no. 1 (1999): 11–15, 82.

——. "*Roufo gufo xuefo yu yishuxuerou kao—jidujiao shengcan yu monijiao de guanxi*" 肉佛、骨佛、血佛与夷数血肉考——基督教圣餐与摩尼教的关系 [A Study of the 'Flesh Buddha, Bone Buddha and Blood Buddha': The Relationship of Eucharist and Manichaeism]. *Shi lin* 史林 [The Historical Review] no. 3 (2000): 40–47.

Ma Xisha 马西沙. "*Jiangnan zhaijiao yanjiu*" 江南斋教研究 [Study of the Teaching of Abstention in the Region South of Lower Yangtze River]. In *Qingshi yanjiu ji* 清史研究集 [Collection of Studies on Qing History]. Beijing: Guangmingribao chubanshe, 1990.

——. "*Jinchuang jiao shishi bianzheng*" 金幢教史实辩证 [An Investigation on the Historical Facts of the Golden Banner Teaching]. In Chiang Tsan-t'eng 江灿腾 and Wang Chien-ch'uan 王见川 eds. *Taiwan zhaijiao de lishi guancha Yu zhanwang* 台湾斋教的历史观察与展望 [Historical Investigation of the Teaching of Abstention in Taiwan and their Prospects]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1994.

——. *Minjian zongjiao zhi* 民间宗教志 [Annals of Chinese Popular Religion]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992.

——. *Qingdai bagua jiao* 清代八卦教 [The Eight-Trigram Teaching in the Qing Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhongguo renmindaxue chubanshe, 1989.
Ma Xisha 马西沙 and Cheng Xiao 程獻. "*Cong luojiao dao qingbang*" 从罗教到青帮 [From Luo Sect to Green Gang]. *Nankai shixue* 南开史学 [History Studies in Nankai University] no.1 (1984).
Ma Xisha 马西沙 and Han Binfang 韩秉方. *Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史 [The History of Chinese Popular Religion]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992.
Ma Xulun 马叙伦. *Shiwu xushen* 石屋续渖 [The Unexhausted Juice of the Stone House].
Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫. "On the Uighur cxcaptay and the Spreading of Manichaeism into South China." In R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, and P. Zieme eds. *Studia Manichica* IV (1997): 430–440.
Muramatsu, S. "Eine nestorianische Grabinschrift in türkischer Sprache aus Zaiton." *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XXIV (1964): 394–396.
Mu Runsun 牟润孙. *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究辑 [Collections of Studies on the History of the Song Dynasty]. Taipei: 国立编译馆中华丛书编审委员会 [Compilation and Review Committee for Chinese Academic Series of The National Institute for Compilation and Translation], 1958.
——. *Zhushi zhai conggao* 注史斋丛稿 [Series of The Studio of Annotating History]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
Nian Liangtu 粘良图. "*Moni jiao xinyang zai jinjiang*" 摩尼教信仰在晋江 [Manichean Belief in Jinjiang]. *Fujian zongjiao* 福建宗教 [Religion in Fujian] no. 6 (2004).
Pelliot, Paul. "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien." *T'oung Pao* XXII (1923): pp. 193–208.
Samuel, N. C. Lieu, "Nestorians and Manicheans on the South China Coast," *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 34 (1980).
——. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.
——. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey*. Manchester; Dover, N.H., USA: Manchester University Press, 1985.
——. *Polemics against Manichaeism as a Subversive Cult in Sung China, A. D. c.960–c.1200*. Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1979.
Sato Chisui 佐藤智水. "Inscriptions on Buddhist Statues in the Period of the Northern Dynasties," *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌, 86, 3 (1977): 1421–1467, 1561–1562.
Sato Kimihiko 佐藤公彦. "義和団(拳)源流：八卦教と義和拳" [The Origin of the Boxers: The Eight Trigrams Sect and the I-ho-chuan]. *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 91 (1), 1982.
Sun Peiliang 孙培良. "*Moni he Moni jiao*" 摩尼和摩尼教 [Mani and Manichaeism]. *Xinan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 西南师范学院学报 [Journal of Southwest Normal College], no. 2 (1982).
Tang Changru 唐长孺 ed. *Weijin nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晋南北朝史论拾遗 [Supplementary Amplifications of Essays on the History of Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.
Wang Guowei 王国维. *Guantang jilin* 观堂集林 [The Collected Writings of Guantang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Wang Chien-ch'uan 王见川. *Cong moni jiao dao ming jiao* 从摩尼教到明教 [From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1992.
Wang Xuejun 王学钧. "*Liu E 'ti yuyuan yaji tu fuben hou bing xu' kaobian*" 刘鹗《题愚园雅集图抚本后并序》考辩 [An Investigation of Liu E's *Notes and Preface to the Fuzhou-Printed Portrait of Decent Meeting at the Yuyuan Garden*]. *Wenxian* 文献 [*Literature*] no. 3 (1990): 109–119.
Wu Han 吴晗. *Dushi zhaji* 读史札记 [Reading Notes of History]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
Xia Jingguan 夏敬观. *Yaotiao shijia shi suibi* 窈窕释迦室随笔 [Essays of the House of Gentle and Graceful Sakyamuni].

Xu Dishan 许地山. "*Moniz hi erzong sanji lun*"摩尼之二宗三际论 [On the Two Principles and Three Times of Manichaeism] *The Yanjing xuebao* 燕京学报 [Yenching Journal] vol. 3 (1928): 383–402.

Xu Wenkan 徐文堪 and Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤. "*Moni jiao dashenzhou yanjiu—patiya wenshu M 1202 zai kaoshi*" 摩尼教大神咒研究——帕提亚文书 M1202 再研究 [A Study on the Manichean Great Spiritual Mantra: Reexamining the Parthian Manuscript M1202], *Shi lin* 史林 [The Historical Review] no. 6 (2004): 96–107.

Yang Benyi 杨本义. "*Xinjiu Taizhou xuepai de jidian jingren xiangsi*" 新旧泰州学派的几点惊人相似 [Several Startling Similarities of the Old and New Taizhou School]. In *Taizhou wenshi ziliao* 泰州文史资料 [Historical and Cultural Materials of Taizhou].

Yihetuan shi taolun wenji 义和团史讨论文集 [Selected Papers on the History of the Yihetuan]. Ji'nan: qilu shushe, 1982.

Yin Xiaoping 殷小平. "*Cong daxingguo si kan yuandai jiangnan jingjiao de xingqi*" 从大兴国寺看元代江南景教的兴起 [The Rise of Nestorianism in the Lower Yangtze River Region in the Yuan Dynasty with Regard to the Grand Temple of Prospering the State]. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 [Treatise on Chinese History and Literature] vol. 84, no. 4 (2006): 290–313.

Yu Songqing 喻松青. *Mingqing bailian jiao yanjiu* 明清白莲教研究 [A Study of the White Lotus Teaching in Ming and Qing Dynasties]. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1987.

Yu Wanli 虞万里. "*Dunhuang Moni jiao xiabu zan xieben niandai xintan*" 敦煌摩尼教下部赞写本年代新探 [A New Investigation of the Date of the Dunhuang Hand-Copied Manuscript of the Manichean Hymn of the Lower Section], *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 [Dunhuang and Turpan Studies] vol. 1 (1995): 37–46.

Zheng Zhiming (郑志明), "*Taiwan xiajiao de zongjiao tixi*" 台湾夏教的宗教体系 [The Religious System of *Sanyi jiao* in Taiwan]. *Taibei wenxian* 台北文献 [The Taipei Literature] Issue Zhi (直), no. 76.

Zhongguo nongmin zhanzheng shi luncong 中国农民战争史论丛 [Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Peasant War]. Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1982.

Zhongwen da cidian 中文大辞典 [Comprehensive Dictionary of the Chinese Language]. Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 中国文化研究所 Institute for Chinese Culture, 1956.

Zhuang Jifa 庄吉发. "*Qingdai Qianlong nianjian de shouyuanjiao jiqi zhipai*" 清代乾隆年间的收元教及其支派 [The Teaching of Attaining the Origin and its Branches in the Reign of Qianlong Emperor]. *Dalu zazhi* 大陆杂志 [The Continent Magazine] vol. 63, no. 4 (1981).

——. Zhuang Jifa (庄吉发), "*Qingdai qinglianjiao de fazhan*" 清代青莲教的发展 [The Development of Blue Lotus Sect in Qing Dynasty], *The Continent Magazine* (*Dalu zazhi* 大陆杂志), vol. 71, no. 5.

PART II

SHAMANISM

Translated by

Anne Henochowicz
Yun C. Lee
Li Hui
Cheryl Cornwell
Timothy Thurston
Yang Qiong
Zhou Hao
Levi Gibbs
Hao-hsiang Liao
Rongbin Zheng

INTRODUCTION

Mark Bender and Kun Shi

Serious study of shamanism is a young discipline in China, but documentary evidence of it dates back more than 2,000 year ago (Waley 1955). The classical study of shamanism in northeast China in English was written by the Russian scholar S. M. Shirokogoroff (1935), and the first extensive study of Tungus shamanism conducted by a Chinese was by ethnologist Chunsheng Ling (1934). Due to wars and later political upheavals, the study of shamanism in China paused for several decades until the end of the 1970s. Then, along with the "open" policy in China, increasing number of publications and audio-visual materials have emerged (Shi 2007), including several Ph.D. dissertations and M.A. theses.

Since the early 1980s the subject of shamanism and other local belief systems has caught the attention of social scientists in China. A revived appreciation of traditional beliefs and culture since the implementation of the economic reforms has resulted in a groundswell of publications, exhibitions, and museums that has increased in the last decade. New theories have mixed with older, 19th century ideas about so-called "primitive religion" in fresh approaches to traditions that due to decades of development and social change are now endangered. In many cases exhibits and museums presenting local shaman cultures have been developed to revive and preserve traditions with few living practitioners. These efforts are often connected to local development projects and the ethnic tourist industry. On display are assemblages of items of material culture such as costumes and headdresses, musical instruments (especially drums), carved effigies of spirits, herbal medicines, mock-ups of ritual grounds and traditional dwellings. Aspects of performed culture include folk narratives and songs, music, and in some cases, ritual enactments. A consequence of these efforts in some communities is a newly constructed sense of ethnic identity in which shamanism is seen a positive, though not necessarily active, component. This is particularly true in areas of northeast China, where shamanism once played an important role in cultures such as the Manchu, Mongol, Sibe, Daur, Oroqen, Evenki, and Hezhen. In fact, two museums

specifically for shamanic cultures have been established, one inside Changchun University in Jilin, and the other in Morin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner of Inner Mongolia.

The present translations were made in connection with a graduate student seminar on the translation of scholarship concerning Chinese folk culture. The course was offered in the fall of 2008 by Prof. Mark Bender (Chinese literature and folklore) of the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures at The Ohio State University. A frequent guest speaker in the class was Kun Shi, a folklorist and language program coordinator at Ohio State whose many interests include shamanism in China. Under the guidance of Bender and Shi, the class divided into three working groups, each assigned to translate an article on local belief cultures in China. The result was three translations of contemporary scholarly articles. Two of these articles concern shamanism in northeast China and the authors (Meng Huiying and Guo Shuyun) are leading scholars in the field. A third article by Song Zhaolin deals with a highly localized script tradition associated with divination rites in a local culture in southwest China. The editors want to thank all translators, particularly Anne Henochowicz and Levi Gibbs, for their good work.

In each case the translators and editors strove to remain close to the original text, with the goal of presenting several informative "state of the art" snapshots of scholarship on shamanism by prominent Chinese scholars. No attempt was made to edit the articles into conformity with prevailing currents in Western discourse on local religion and shamanism. Occasional revisions, however, have been made to lessen redundancies and to clarify the meaning of certain passages. Where possible, the translators and editors have inserted original language terms in Mongolian and other languages, most of which were given only in Chinese in the original articles. The translators and editors have added notes wherever necessary to facilitate better understanding of the articles.*

---

* Ling Chunsheng 1934. *Songhuajiang Xiayou de Hezhe Zu* [The Hezhens on the lower reaches of the Songhua river]. Nanjing: Academia Sinica.

Shi, Kun 2007. "Shamanistic Studies in China: A Preliminary Survey of the Last Decade." *Shaman: An International Journal for Shamanistic Research*, Second edition, pp.149–62 (originally in 1993: 47–57).

Shirokogoroff, S. M. 1935. *Psychomental Complex of the Tunguz.* London: Kegan Paul.

Waley, Arthur 1955. *The Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China.* London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

CHAPTER NINE

MONGOL SHAMAN[1] INITIATION RITES: CASE STUDIES IN EASTERN INNER MONGOLIA

Guo Shuyun[2]
Translated by Anne Henochowicz, Yun C. Lee, and Li Hui[3]

Shaman initiation rites, also called the rituals of becoming the shaman, are something most new shamans go through, and also constitute the first act in the career of a shaman. The shaman initiation rites mark the birth of a new shaman and the transmission of an ancestral, supernatural inheritance, thus offering a degree of protection to the fortunes of the clan. For the shaman, passing the initiation rites firmly establishes his or her status, giving him/her complete recognition and the qualification to independently organize and carry out spiritual activities. This gives the rites a straightforward meaning to both the shaman himself or herself, as well as to the community to which she or he belongs.

The shamans of China's northern ethnic groups have their own traditional practices. The Mongolian shaman initiation rites, commonly known as the 过关仪式 *guo guan yishi*, the "rite of crossing barriers," certifies new shamans by having them pass through magical tests. On August 8, 2000 (the seventh day of the seventh month on the Chinese lunar calendar), October 6, 2000 (ninth of the ninth month), and October 13, 2005 (eleventh of the ninth month), I observed the 双关仪式 *shuang guan yishi*, the "double rites of passage," conducted by the shaman Serenchin (色仁钦) for his disciples in Chagaanhüa

[1] In Mongolian, a male shaman is a *bö* and female shaman an *udgan*.

[2] 郭淑云 Guo Shuyun is the director of the Institute for Shamanic Studies at Changchun Teachers College. Her publications include: 中国北方民族萨满出神现象研究 / Zhongguo bei fang min zu sa man chu shen xian xiang yan jiu (Beijing: Min zu chu ban she, 2007) (*Shamanic Ecstasy and Possession of the Ethnic Groups in Northern China*), and 原始活态文化—萨满教透视 / Yuan shi huo tai wen hua—sa man jiao tou shi (Shanghai ren min chu ban she, 2001) (*Archaic Living Culture: Examining Shamanism*).

[3] Special thanks to Hürelbaatar Ujeed for the transliteration of Mongolian terms. (Translators)

Township, Ümün Gorlos Mongolian Autonomous County, Jilin Province (吉林省前郭尔罗斯蒙古族自治县查干花乡), and Nanta Brigade of Yalonmod Township, Horchin Left Wing Middle Banner,[4] Tongliao Municipality (formerly Jirim League),[5] Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (内蒙古哲里木盟科尔沁左翼中旗腰林毛都乡南塔大队). I also did on-the-spot and follow-up surveys of the participants.[6] This article, based on ethnographic fieldwork, sifts through the questions surrounding Mongol shaman rites of passage and the generation and succession of contemporary Mongol shamans.

1. *The Initiation Rite: Mongolian Shaman Initiation Rites*

According to Mongolian shamanic tradition, every new shaman must go through the initiation rite. I did encounter some exceptional individuals who had not gone through it and still conducted shamanic activities, but this situation is rare. The initiation rite, *isun dabaa* in Mongolian, means "passing the nine checkpoints" (过九道关卡 *guo jiu dao guanka*). Formerly, one had to pass all nine barriers without mistake in order to become a true shaman. The initiation rite is usually officiated by a well-known senior shaman. Leading initiation rites greatly increases the prestige and status of the senior shaman. At the appointed time, the senior shaman leads his disciples to the location where the ceremony will take place. Every initiation rite includes many shaman candidates and continues for several days. The initiation rite is not only a test of the skills of the disciples, but also a test of their master's grasp of the magic arts. Only when the magical skills of his disciples have reached a certain level may the master lead them in the *dabaa*. While his disciples go through the rites, the master shaman drums and chants by their side, guiding them past several barriers and giving them advice. During the entire ceremony, the fates of master and disciples are intimately bound together. If a disciple stops halfway through the rite

[4] Banners were a Manchu military district system used to organize Mongol locales, and today is the equivalent of the county level. The Horchin (Khorchin) are a Mongol subgroup, originally ruled over by Chinggis Khan's brother Hasar. (Translators)

[5] Beginning in the 1990s, most of the leagues in Inner Mongolia have been changed into municipalities. Leagues are comprised of banners. Tongliao Municipality is the new name official name for Jirim League. (Translators)

[6] Sadly, Serenchin passed away in February 2007. I sincerely dedicate this article to the commemoration of his efforts to pass on shamanic culture.

out of fear, his master will ensure that he continues. In fact, the master is the fundamental element in the rite; if his abilities are superior, his disciples will fear nothing. This master-disciple relationship plays an important role in handing down shamanic inheritance.

There are different levels of shamanic rite. Among them, crossing the nine barriers is the highest ritual test for a shaman candidate. Some of the barriers are more difficult than others; it usually takes several rituals for a candidate to pass all nine barriers. After successfully completing the rites, one gains the qualifications to engage independently in shamanic activities. The nine barriers ritual, usually held on the ninth day of the ninth month on the lunar calendar, is very grand. At that time, twelve master shamans who have already passed the test must participate in the ritual. Only with the blessing of the spirits of twelve shamans can the initiation rite go smoothly. Before the initiation rite is held at the sacrificial location, various sorts of ritual objects must be prepared, such as a pan for heating oil (油锅 *you guo*) and a knife-ladder (刀梯 *dao ti*). The ceremony requires nine sacrificial animals: a cow, horse, goat, sheep, pig, chicken, donkey, mule, and camel. In addition, gifts should be presented to the master shaman. The total expense is enormous. The candidates share responsibility for the entire payment.

The term "nine barriers" points to the nine types of magic arts for which shaman candidates are tested. However, the specific contents of the nine barriers are not the same from place to place, nor are the contents of the ritual the same in each performance. The nine types of magic arts for which candidates are tested may differ. As Serenchin introduced them to me, the nine barriers which Horchin (科尔沁 *Ke'erqin*)[7] Mongol shamans must pass are:

(1) *Tosun* (淘孙), the barrier of scooping objects from a frying pan. After the pan is made boiling hot, the candidate pulls from it nine large coins (大钱) or other metal objects.
(2) *Gal* (嘎勒), the barrier of running through fire. Nine fires are lit. The barrier-crossers must jump nine times in each fire with their bare feet.
(3) *Ilür* (依路日), the barrier of the branding iron. The candidate must either bite or lick the iron nine times.

[7] See Note 4.

(4) *Hushuu* (呼硕), the barrier of stepping on plowshares. The candidate must step back and forth over nine iron plowshares three times.
(5) *Tümür shubtulna* (特木勒沙波特勒讷), or the barrier of rubbing the hot chain. After an iron chain is made red-hot, the candidate runs his hand back and forth on it.
(6) *Shüreg* (舒日格), or the barrier of rolling on needles. Eighty-one needles are put into a felt rug, pointing upward. The barrier-crosser rolls on the rug eighty-one times.
(7) *Hutug shingen* (霍特格辛戈讷), or the barrier of swallowing knives. A pair of chopsticks is placed vertically on the stomach, and a fodder knife is lain down horizontally. The knife is struck nine times with an iron hammer weighing over five kilograms.
(8) *Yisun dabaa geshegne* (伊森达巴戈舍戈讷), the barrier of ascending the knife ladder. The ladder has nine steps, bound with fodder knives. The shaman must jump nine times on each step as he or she ascends.
(9) *Jad shingen* (佳特辛戈讷), or the barrier of swallowing swords. A sword is placed onto the stomach, and a hammer is used to strike it.

In Jalaid Banner (扎赉特旗), Inner Mongolia, the initiation rite of "crossing the nine barriers" includes nine of the following tests: the test of scooping objects from a frying pan, the test of running through fire, the test of rubbing the chain, the test of stepping on plowshares, the test of locking the pole (锁杆 *suo gan*), also called wringing the pole (拧杆 *ning gan*), the test of stepping on knives, the test of stepping on needles, the test of going through a circle of knives (钻刀圈 *zuandao quan*), the test of stepping on fodder knives, the test of running through fire, the test of cutting the stomach with a knife, and the test of cutting the tongue with a knife. According to Mongolist B. Shobu (波·少布), the nine barriers include the fodder knife test, the sword test, the red tasselled lance test, the awl test, the sliding on iron test, the branding iron test, the tiger tooth test, the whip test, and the chopsticks test. There are also scholars who believe that the nine barriers include the chopsticks test, the whip test, the fodder knife test, the *jad* or spear test, the *üild* or sword test, the *hutgan* or dagger test, the awl test, the *hushuu* plowshare or test, and the flatiron test.[8]

[8] 色音 / Seyin, 东北亚的萨满教 / Dong bei ya de sa man jiao (Beijing: Zhongguo she hui ke xue chu ban she, 1998), 66. (*Northeast Asian Shamanism*)

2. *Master Shamans in the Initiation Ritual*

In the two rites of passages which I witnessed, Serenchin was the master shaman who conducted the ceremonies, guiding and eagerly anticipating the success of his candidates, while his disciple 胡天亮 Hu Tianliang served as his assistant. Serenchin was born in 1925. His birthplace is Hüre Banner (库伦旗) in southeast Inner Mongolia. He moved with his parents to the Horchin East Wing Middle Banner. He lived in Nanta Brigade of Yalonmod, Horchin Left Wing Middle Banner, Tongliao Municipality. He conducted shamanic activities in Tongliao, nearby Fuxin Mongolian Autonomous County in Liaoning Province (辽宁省阜新蒙古族自治县), Ümün Gorlos Mongolian Autonomous County in Jilin Province, all banners in Shilingol League (锡林郭勒盟), Jalaid Banner, and Hinggan League (兴安盟). Nanta Brigade, where Serenchin lived, depends on subsistence agriculture. Corn is the staple crop. Serenchin has six sons and five daughters. His two oldest sons left the area to work, while his other sons are all farmers. His daughters also live nearby. Serenchin's wife passed away in 1997 at the age of seventy-one. He lived with his youngest son in a household of five, including a grandson and a granddaughter.

Serenchin, the seventh generation of a shaman family, is endowed with spiritual insight and innate ability. His paternal grandfather, Harnasa (哈日那撒), and paternal great-grandfather, Shidbaatar (希地巴特尔), were both shamans. Harnasa was ill as a child. His parents called a shaman in to examine him, who found the cause of his illness was a family shaman spirit possessing him. He then apprenticed himself to master shaman Tasha (塔沙) in Hüre Banner. At eighteen Harnasa was independently performing shamanic rituals. Serenchin's great grandfather is therefore honored by his descendants as an "ancestor".

Serenchin had a natural, sincere love of shamanic culture. Since childhood he had been a loner. He rarely played with other children, instead endearing himself to a wooden idol and singing shamanic tunes. One could say he was self-taught. However, he became a shaman because of illness. He fell ill at eleven: he lost all the strength in his body, twitched incessantly, and could neither finish meals nor leave the 炕 *kang*.[9] This went on for two years. Every day, he had to

[9] A *kang* is a brick bed with a stove beneath. Common in Northern China, families use the *kang* for sleep, meals, and other household activities. (Translators)

be carried on someone's back to come to meals or use the toilet. At thirteen, his family invited the shamaness 良月 Liangyue to examine him. Liangyue said that the cause of Serenchin's illness was his grandfather's spirit possessing him (the aforementioned shaman Harnasa), and that the only way to properly appease the spirit was for Serenchin to become a shaman and follow Liangyue as his master. The shamaness Liangyue was from Jamenhudag (扎门霍德嘎), Fuxin County, Liaoning Province, and moved to her husband's hometown of Baolongshan *Sum* (宝龙山苏木)[10] when she married. Between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, Serenchin studied the shamanic arts in the house of his master in Baolongshan. Liangyue had many disciples; after Serenchin began to follow his master, Liangyue's other disciples gradually left to practice healing. Serenchin was Liangyue's youngest and the last disciple, so he received strict instruction and discipline from his master, often facing corporal punishment. In five years, Serenchin went home only twice; ordinarily his parents came to his master's house to see him. During those five years, Serenchin focused his study on shamanic history, chants and songs (唱词 *changci*), dance, trance dance (跳傅 *tiao fu*), and treating illnesses. At the same time, he followed his master on her errands on the Horchin grasslands, learning through hands-on experience. At that time, Serenchin was often asked to help other people, and so could only stay at his master's home for two or three months a year. The seventh and eighth months of the lunar calendar were the busiest. Serenchin later became his master's helper (帮傅 *bang fu*). When his master visited the sick, she earned the money; he lived free of charge in his master's home. At eighteen, Serenchin participated in a ritual to pass nine barriers in his master's village. Over fifty people participated in the ritual with him. More than ten master shamans brought their disciples to the ritual. Payment of the ritual expenses was distributed evenly among the participants. At the time when I did fieldwork, Serenchin was the only shaman in the Horchin region to have passed the nine barriers.

According to Serenchin, he had two guardian spirits (守护神 *shouhushen*), his grandfather the shaman Harnasa and his master Liangyue. Although his grandfather had passed away before he was born, the

[10] A *sum* is the basic level of rural administration in Inner Mongolia and Mongolia. See Christopher Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2004). (Translators)

spirit which led him to become a shaman was in fact that of his grandfather. In 1950, Liangyue moved to Jasat Village (扎斯吐村) in Ümün Gorlos County, Jilin Province. Since then, Serenchin lost contact with her. Liangyue, who passed away in 1961, never had children. About four or five years after her death, Liangyue's soul began to possess Serenchin and became his guardian spirit, guiding him in his dreams. Both of his guardian spirits communicated with him by sending messages in his dreams. Typically, if there was nothing for them to do, the guardian spirits did not come; only when there was an urgent situation did they visit Serenchin. In the past few years, it was his master who came to him most frequently. Recently, Serenchin conducted several rites of passage. Before each rite, his master visited him in his dreams and told him what to do and what not to do. His grandfather kept an eye on Serenchin's physical health. For instance, when Serenchin developed pulmonary emphysema, his grandfather came to him in a dream and warned him to avoid spicy foods.

As Serenchin approached the venerable age of eighty, he did not stop treating illnesses and conducting other shamanic activities, and was especially good at curing mental disorders. As an important carrier of the shaman culture tradition, Serenchin is renowned both within and outside of China. He has been interviewed by scholars from the United States, Japan, South Korea, and Germany, as well as from China. He also participated in the production of folklore documentary films. He has made a vital contribution to rescuing the legacy of shamanic culture.

Hu Tianliang, born in 1954, is from Budmod (布都毛都), Horchin Left Middle Banner, Inner Mongolia. At seventeen she dreamed that an old man wearing a long robe and riding a peacock descended into her yard. He made her ride with him; just as she had gotten on, she woke up. In the dream the old man told her not to tell anyone about this. However, she did not believe the dream, and told it to friends in her village; she therefore began to fall ill, and had seizures three or four times in a year. At twenty-three Hu Tianliang married and moved to her husband's home in Yalonmod, Horchin Left Middle Banner. After her marriage, she did not have any more seizures, but she did have many dreams. In the dreams, an old man told her that she must follow him and become a shaman; otherwise all of her family would die. After she married, her family was unable to raise its horses, cattle, and pigs, and they all died. Still, Hu Tianliang did not see anyone about

her problem, and her husband's family did not know she was ill. On the fifteenth day of the first month of her thirty-third year, she caught a serious illness. That night her family was eating meat pies; her three older children were dancing on the floor while she nursed her infant. She asked one of her older children to get her some water from the kitchen. As he was bringing his mother the water, the filling from two pies fell in. When she drank the water, she had visions of the Monkey King in 西游记 *Xiyouji* (Journey to the West) when he stole the fan made from banana leaves and crossed the Flame Mountain. Without looking into the water, she drank it, filling and all, and immediately felt the space around her open up. Her whole body became light and powerless, and her head felt as if it were floating.

At the age thirty-four, the spirits sent Hu Tianliang another message through a dream: if she did not become a shaman, she would be tortured. Less than a month after the dream, her second daughter was crippled in a car accident and became incontinent. Hu Tianliang believes the spirits created this accident to put blinders on her, to focus her attention on the spirit world. Between the ages of thirty-three and forty-one, her family's misfortunes continued and her illness worsened. At times she fainted in the street. With no other choice, Hu Tianliang looked for treatment from doctors, shamans, and lamas.[11] Then a junior shaman from her childhood home, Burenbaita (布仁白塔), examined her and told her that she must become a shaman. At that time she still did not know Serenchin's name; his name came to her through a vision. Afterward, she asked everywhere for him; she finally found his address from the seventh person she asked. In 1996, when Hu Tianliang was forty-one, Serenchin healed her illness. In 1997, Serenchin held a double initiation rite for Hu Tianliang and a group of candidates from the Horchin Right Middle Banner. From that point, Hu Tianliang acknowledged Serenchin as her master and followed him on visits to patients.

According to Hu Tianliang, when she visits the sick, she often begins her treatment by checking the patient's pulse. Whatever the patient suffers from, the spirits will tell her based on his or her pulse. In fact, her guardian spirits came to her in a dream and told her that the two pie fillings she drank on the fifteenth of the first month at thirty-three

[11] Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) became dominant among the Mongols in the sixteenth century, and shamanism began to fade away in western and central part of Inner Mongolia. Shamanic and Buddhist beliefs and practices co-exist today. (Translators)

were two magic spells. Her supernatural power is related to this experience. She excels at performing traditional abortions and treating uterine bleeding, infertility, uterine tumors, and other gynecological problems. During my interviews with Hu Tianliang between 1997 and October 2000, she successfully performed over ten traditional abortions and cured five women with infertility. Her family now strongly supports her. On the one hand, she has a certain measure of local influence due to her successful healing practices; on the other hand, ever since she followed the shaman spirit, her family has been relatively peaceful and stable.

Hu Tianliang is female shaman from the Horchin grasslands who has come to be rather influential in recent years. After Serenchin healed her illness in 1996, she has accompanied him to treat others and participated in all sorts of shamanic activities, and so has become Serenchin's powerful assistant. At the Jirim League Museum in Tongliao (August 1998), Chagaanhüa (August 4–9, 2000), and Nanta, Yalonmod (October 6, 2000), I witnessed three shamanic rites. Hu Tianliang served as Serenchin's assistant in all three, taking on important functions during the ceremonies.

3. *New Shamans Who Have Crossed the Double Barriers*

In recent years, some of those healed by Serenchin and others, who were told that their illness was due to the spirits of late shamans possessing them, aspired to become Serenchin's disciples. They crossed the double barriers in rites hosted by Serenchin. Thus there emerged a group of new Mongolian shamans in the eastern Mongolian region. I have interviewed just a few of them. The following six new shamans attended the initiation rite held in Darhan Village (达尔汉屯), Chaganhua Township, Ümün Gorlos Mongolian Autonomous County, Jilin Province. Zhang Meirong and Baojie attended the rite for the second time.

(1) 张美荣 Zhang Meirong was born in 1974 and lives in Darhan. As a farmer, she lived in Sunjia Village (孙家村) of Chagaanhüa Township before she married. According to some elders, she was sick and near death at the age of three. Her family was about to get rid of her when a passer-by told them not to. Her life was saved. When she reached middle age, she fell ill and could not recover despite many treatments. She tried many therapies, but none worked. In despair,

she decided to go to a Tongliao monastery to pray for her health. On her way to Tongliao, she heard stories about Serenchin treating patients. She then paid a visit to Serenchin's home and asked him for help. Zhang attended the initiation rite at Serenchin's home on the ninth of the ninth month, 1999. On the seventh month in 2000, she invited Shaman Serenchin to her home and paid for the double barriers ritual.

(2) 包成 Bao Cheng was born in 1958 and lives in Lanhua Village (兰花村), Chagaanhüa Township. As a farmer, he used to be a jack of all trades, good at growing crops, butchering pigs and lambs, and doing small business. But later he suffered great losses. In 1999, he lost a whole brood of fifteen baby pigs when the sow ate them all. His twelve-year-old child was sitting in a horse-pulled cart loaded with corn when the horse lost its temper. The child fell from the cart and his leg became swollen from the fall. After Bao consented to become a shaman, he simply patted the child and his leg healed immediately. Since 1989, Bao Cheng and his wife have been susceptible to illness. Bao contracted pneumonia and his wife had gynecological problems. They spent a large amount of money seeking treatment in the hospital, but without much effect. Then, after Bao pledged to become a shaman and to follow Serenchin, the family's illnesses disappeared on their own, and everything began to go right. Bao asked for an initiation rite. He hoped to become a real shaman and help other ill people recover, not to make money from them. Bao Cheng and his wife have accepted their shaman ancestors and Bao's new profession.

(3) 白福月 Bai Fuyue was born in 1970 and lives in Gelan Village (格兰村), Ümün Gorlos County. She married 孙秀义 Sun Xiuyi of Sunjia Village when she was twenty-one years old. She has had poor health since she was young. When she attended Chagaanhüa Primary School, she was often sent home by her teachers because she became sick at school, and she dropped out after seven years. She continued to have health problems. She had a stomach ulcer before her marriage, and was often ill afterwards. Her school work was good though, as she was a smart student. She could clearly remember the content of her textbooks and did well on tests, as if she already had the answers. Bai was sensitive by nature, and had a strong power of clairvoyance. One fall evening when she was fourteen, her mother asked her to bring back the pig that was set free during the day. She forgot to do so and was scolded by her mother. She then closed her eyes and visualized the pig stuck in a mud puddle. She rushed to the puddle, and indeed it

was there. Her predictions were most accurate when she was fourteen to eighteen. Once, while everyone was working in the field, she envisioned a vehicle four or five 里 *li*[12] away. Bai's sister guessed that it was a moving van, while Bai herself said it was carrying a casket. They bet on it, and Bai was right. There are many other stories like this.

Bai's protecting spirit is female. It was said that an *udgan* (shamaness) selected Bai. Among the Mongol shamans, there are relatively few people who are protected by female spirits. Before the *udgan*, Bai was protected by a fox spirit and a weasel spirit, who were later driven away by the shaman spirit. By this time Bai was already capable of healing patients on her own. In spring 2000, 倪小亮 Ni Xiaoliang, from Bai's village, ran away from home. When he returned, he suddenly became ill with acute pneumonia and needed intravenous medication. His sister-in-law asked Bai to treat him. Bai simply drank some liquor and looked into her patient's eyes. A few minutes later, Ni recovered completely. People were convinced it was a miracle.

(4) 胡淑英 Hu Shuying was born in 1950 and lives in 黑坨子 Heituozi, Xiaomiao Township (小庙乡), Ümün Gorlos County. She was married at the age of twenty and moved to her husband's home in Darhan. Her husband, 高清瑞 Gao Qingrui, died of liver cancer in 1998. Among Gao's ancestors, there was a shaman nine generations before her. Hu's family had a memorial tablet at home for worshiping him. Hu became ill at the age of twenty-five, suffering from severe headaches and hemorrhages. Her mother-in-law, who was protected by a fox spirit, treated her hemorrhages by blowing on a magical drawing, a technique called 吹符 *chui fu*.[13] Later Hu had a relapse of her headaches. She felt pain all over her body, and lost weight quickly. Under treatment from her mother-in-law and lamas from the temple, she improved but did not fully recover. Finally she went to Horchin Left Middle Banner and sought treatment from Serenchin. Serenchin found that she was ill because she had been selected by a shaman. Serenchin treated her by means of a trance dance. He had her wear ritual clothes; then he beat the drum and Hu danced. As she began dancing, she felt pain in her head, and later lost consciousness. When the spirit came, she yawned, then felt pain all over her body. When the spirit left, she rushed to the door, spit out

[12] A *li* is a unit of distance, equivalent to a half-kilometer. (Translators)
[13] A *fu* is a symbolic drawing for invoking or expelling spirits. (Translators)

white saliva, and lay on the ground for a while. When she woke up, she had fully recovered. Due to lack of funds, Hu did not attend the group initiation rite held in Serenchin's home in 1999.

When Zhang Meirong and others returned from Tongliao, Hu Shuyin sprained her ankle. She was healed after Zhang Meirong treated her and she herself sprinkled alcohol on her sprained ankle. She wanted to attend the initiation rite in 2000. Although she had never seen the rite before, she had no fear of it.

(5) 包杰 Bao Jie was born in 1955 and lives in 三家子 Sanjiazi Township, Ümün Gorlos County. She married in 1975 and moved to her husband's home in Bayanhüa Village (白音花村) in Chagaanhüa. She lost her father at the age of eight and was adopted by her uncle, who lived in western Inner Mongolia. When she was young she often saw unusual things. At the age of thirteen, she saw Buddha as she closed her eyes at night. One year, after cooking dumplings on the eve of the new year, she saw a little person dressed in blue on the stove. She and her husband did not have an arranged marriage. No one in her family approved of it, but she and her husband were deeply in love with each other. Since she became ill in 1984, the couple began to have problems and their relationship became increasingly worse. She often yelled and cried, and people thought that she was possessed by a spirit. But her husband did not know this and often beat her, sometimes so hard that she lost consciousness. In the spring of 1999, she again lost control, and her husband cursed her and called her "shameless". In a fury, she swallowed over fifty pills of painkiller, but afterwards felt no effects. Then she drank a great deal of cold water, and waited for the drug to take her life. Strangely, she did not die, but her husband kept vomiting a yellow and red substance with a trace of blood. He suffered so much he could not bear it any longer. He pleaded with his wife to get some liquor and pray for him. Bao Jie did not do this, and instead cursed him. He suffered even more. Finally she prayed for him, and he stopped vomiting.

After he recovered, Bao Jie's husband visited Zhang Meirong's sister-in-law, who lived in the same village, and asked her to see his wife. Zhang Meirong said that Bao Jie's sickness was caused by spirit possession, but Zhang's spirit was unable to guide her to cure Bao. She asked Bao to find a master shaman around seventy-five to eighty-five years old. Bao went to Tongliao Grand Monastery and met an elder

Mongol who worked with the Federation of Literary and Art Circles (文联 *Wenlian*), from whom she obtained Serenchin's address. Bao and the elder went to look for Serenchin. During that period, people also introduced some other shamans to them, but they firmly believed that only Shaman Serenchin could cure Bao. They went directly to Nanta Brigade in Yalonmod, where Serenchin lived. Once Bao entered Serenchin's home, she saw the old man and immediately kowtowed to him in tears as if he were her own family elder. The following spring, Bao invited Serenchin to her home to treat her illness, and she recovered afterwards. She attended the initiation rite held in the ninth month in 1999 at Serenchin's home. This was her second time going through the ritual.

(6) 孙龙梅 Sun Longmei was born in 1958 and lives in Sunjia Village of Chagaanhüa Township. She married at the age of twenty-three, and has one son and one daughter. Her husband died in 1999. Around 1995, Sun had an ectopic pregnancy; afterwards she often had colds and felt pain all over her body. She was ill on and off, unable to fully recover despite repeated treatments. Her two children were frightened when she became sick. She became particularly angry at her elder child and said some nasty things to him. In 1999, Zhang Meirong saw her and said that her illness was due to possession by a late shaman. On the thirteenth of the first month in 2000, Sun went to Tongliao to see Serenchin, and her symptoms have not recurred since. Sun said that she did not believe in shamanism before that experience. Now whenever the drum is beaten, her protecting spirit comes down to her, but will not speak. According to some elders, there have been shamans in Sun's parents' families, her husband's family, and her uncle's family. However, it is not clear which shaman possesses her. In April 2000, Sun invited Serenchin to her home to heal her for about one month. Her health improved greatly.

On October 6 (the ninth of the ninth month), 2000, a total of seventeen shaman candidates went through the initiation rite held in Nanta of Yalonmod. The following twelve candidates passed the ritual tests for the first time:

(1) Munohai (毛纳海) was born in 1955, and lives in Ogustai mod (奥古斯台毛都), Horchin Left Rear Banner, Jirim League, Inner Mongolia. Munohai used to be a worker at the commune grain depot, but is currently unemployed. His father, a farmer, passed away

when Munohai was three. Before the ritual, Munohai suffered from headache, irregular heartbeat, and pain in his legs. Now he is fine. Munohai can call spirits to himself with his own power. He feels that when a spirit comes it is like a warm breath of wind, and he feels numb all over his body, but clear in his mind. Normally the spirits stay about ten minutes to half an hour. The spirits do not come uninvited. When a spirit from a previous generation comes, Munohai's whole body shakes and trembles, and he can hardly control himself while the drum is beaten. He greatly values the initiation rite, considering it a rare opportunity in his life, an opportunity offered by his ancestor, and an unforgettable experience.

Munohai is a hereditary shaman, and is the fifth generation of shamans in his family: previous shamans in his family were:

A. Great-great grandfather: passed away in his sixties. His spirit turned into a lama after he died.

B. Great-grandfather: Ochir (奥其尔), a shaman with great power. Legend has it that he held a rite for suppressing demons at Gandamusun (干达木曾), Yih tal (伊胡塔), Horchin Left Rear Banner. A person who died wrongfully turned into a demon and kept bothering his family. Munohai's great grandfather used a wok and recited spells to trap the demon and send him to the underworld.

C. Grandfather: 赫西格杜冷 Hexigeduleng, also called Har Lama *bö* (哈日喇嘛博). His grandfather was his guardian spirit. When the spirit came down, he began reading Lamaist scripture. He mainly treated mental disorders and some physical illnesses. His main method was trance dancing, without the use of medicine. He also treated patients by making grass figures. He put clothes on the grass figures, and they could move, jump, and walk. He had very strong clairvoyant power. No matter from which direction somebody was approaching, he knew it in advance. For example, when someone was coming from the northwest, he knew it well before that person arrived.

(2) 白晓光 Bai Xiaoguang: The daughter of Munohai, has a primary school education, and now is doing small business. She became a shaman by family heritage. She fell ill around 1997: she felt cold in her stomach and had pain in both her stomach and legs. She has the same guardian spirit as her father. She communicates with the spirit mainly through dreams and trance. The spirit often enters her body, sometimes uninvited. When it comes, she feels light, but not uncomfortable. Sometimes she meets a white eagle or white dragon spirit in her dreams.

(3) Ülji (乌力吉) is a farmer and lives in Haisgai *Sum* Dart Brigade (海斯改苏木大日图大队) of Horchin Left Rear Banner. His great grandfather was a shaman. Ülji contracted a parasitic disease in 1985 and suffered for fifteen years. He was unable to recover despite long treatment. One week before the initiation rite, he sought treatment from Serenchin, who did four or five trance dances for him at home. This treatment was effective.

(4) 包水晶 Bao Shuijing: born in 1960, she lives in Yangjia Village (Yangjia cun 杨家村), Od Township (敖都乡), Ümün Gorlos County and is a farmer. Beginning in 1983, she suffered dizziness and pain in her waist. She was diagnosed with a gynecological ailment. Serenchin treated her by having her drink blessed water. Her grandfather was a shaman, and there was an earth god temple (土地庙 *tudimiao*) near her home. Now she worships the spirit in the temple to protect her family. Although she shivered from fright before the initiation rite, she felt comfortable when stepping on the knives, showing no sign of fear during the ritual.

(5) 桂兰 Guilan was born in 1958, and resides in Yalonmod, Horchin Left Middle Banner. She is a farmer and has two children. She became ill around 1990, with pain all over her body. She was unable to work. She sought treatment in the hospitals in Tongliao, but did not improve. After she was seen by a shaman, she began to make offerings to Buddhist deities in July 2000. Gradually she began to recover. As she did not have a shaman among her ancestors, she mainly worships Buddhist and Mongolian Lamaist deities.

(6) Badma (巴德玛): born in 1958, resides in Hatuhal Village (哈图哈拉村), Ganjig Township (甘其卡镇), Horchin Left Rear Banner. She is a farmer with four children. Her family is comfortable financially. She suffered from cramps for many years, and was diagnosed at Tongliao Hospital with cysticercosis.[14] She invited Serenchin to her home for trance dance, after which she fully recovered. Now she is enjoying good heath and a glowing complexion. Her father-in-law was a shaman, Tügüsbarina (吐克斯白日纳), who passed away in 1993. He was famous for treating mental illness and paranoia, and was good at acupuncture. He would tell his patients whether their illness was caused by spirits.

(7) 陈葵花 Chen Kuihua was born in 1965, and resides in Bayan Mangh *Sum*, Bayan Mangh *Gachaa* (白音莽哈苏木白音莽哈嘎查) of Jalaid Banner. She was ill for many years and had pain all over her

[14] Cysticercosis is an infection by the pork tapeworm *Taenia solium*. (Translators)

body. She was unable to recover despite long treatment. In the autumn of 1999, she had Serenchin treat her and began to feel better.

(8) Aminurt (阿敏乌力塔): born in 1956, he lives in Heer Village (和力村), Eles Township (额勒顺镇), Hüre Banner. He is a farmer and herdsman. He keeps many cows and horses, and owns a vehicle. He has three children, and overall lives well. However, on the sixteenth of the fourth lunar month in 1999, his father's tomb was struck by lightening, leaving a big hole at its southeast corner. A hole also appeared in the southeast corner of Aminurt's house. After that, his whole family fell ill with headaches and numbness. They spent more than ¥8,000 (about $1,000 at the time) on treatment, but no one got better. Once they found a person by the name of Pongsog (朋斯格) in Hüre Banner to treat them, but his cure did not work. After Serenchin's treatment, they began to improve.

Aminurt became a shaman by heritage; shamans go back in his family for six generations:

A. Great-grandfather: Known by the name Shir Hundun *bö* (希黎幻顿博), he was the first shaman in the family, and worshipped as an ancestor by following generations. He had great power. If it was raining when he needed to go outside, he could stop the rain. He was also good at treating diseases.

B. Grandmother: She was the daughter-in-law of Aminurt's great grandfather, Saranshimeg (沙仁齐木格).

C. Grandfather: He accepted Saranshimeg's spirit. He moved to Hinggan League in northeast Inner Mongolia and later died in an epidemic. His son Sereb (斯力布) died soon after him.

D. Eldest uncle: Pongsog, died in an epidemic. His younger brother Sereb died at age twelve.

E. Father: Sereb, died in 1982 at the age of seventy-three. A farmer and veterinarian, he was eager to help others. He only charged for medicine when treating animals. Sereb had great supernatural power. He could drink liquor that was lit on fire, and could open a lock just by patting it. He often performed the magic art of swallowing scissors, and was good at fortune telling and treating illness. He used to own a double-edged sword with seven stars, but this was confiscated during the Land Reform Movement (土地改革 *Tudi gaige*) in the 1950s. Now he has four *onggon* (翁衮)[15] and bronze mirrors. The *onggon* came

[15] *Onggun* are small idols representing the ancestors which are worshipped by Mongols. (Translators)

by themselves; he discovered them one day while the family was eating fried rice. Although Sereb subsisted on farming, he treated many patients and helped them recover. He enjoyed a good reputation in the region. Because of this success, he was interrogated during the Cultural Revolution.

F. Aminurt herself.

(9) Saranhuar (沙仁花) was born in 1971 and lives in Sainbuur Village (沙音布尔村), Lahad Commune (拉哈达公社),[16] Jalaid Banner. She has two children. She used to suffer pain in her head and belly, and was unable to recover despite extensive treatment. She was seen by a shaman, who said that her illness was the call for her to become a shaman. She then attended the rite of passage.

(10) Tümenbagan (图门巴根), whose Chinese name is 车六斤 Che Liujin, was born in 1960 and is a member of the armed police in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. He got severely sick around the late 1980s: his legs ulcerated, to the exent that his bones were visible. He had not been able to work for four years. He went to the Number 350 Hospital (affiliated to the army) in Huhhot, the Hospital Affiliated to the Medical College of Inner Mongolia, the Hospital of Inner Mongolia, and some other prestigious hospitals in other regions of the country, and was diagnosed with bone cancer. Through the recommendation of 包玉林 Bao Yulin, an ethnologist from Huhhot, he went to Horchin Left Middle Banner in 1991 to seek help from Serenchin. Serenchin conducted a ritual to invite spirits, followed by a special therapy of spraying alcohol. A week later, Tümenbagan was cured. When Tümenbagan attended the initiation rite in 2000, he had basically recovered. He did not attend the rite in 2005. According to Serenchin, Tümenbagan has retired and his health is generally good.

(11) 永林 Yong Lin: Born in 1973, he is a junior high school graduate living in Daritu Village, Haisgai, Horchin Left Rear Banner. He is married and has a family of three. Initially he was healthy and able to do farmwork easily. However, in 2000, he started to have headaches and eye pain, and vomited so frequently that he even threw up his medicine. He could hardly sit, walk, or open his eyes. In September 2000, he went to the shamaness Hu Tianliang, and then received some therapy from Serenchin. A week later, the therapy took effect and he was able to walk and open his eyes again.

[16] "Commune" is the old administrative term used before 1978. It is the equivalent of a township today. (Translators)

(12) Tang Hürel (唐胡日勒): born in 1955, he now lives in Beiyao Village, Yalonmod, Horchin Left Middle Banner (科左中旗腰林毛都北腰村). He became sick in 1995, and has since suffered from five diseases: hypertension, brain thrombus (which made it difficult for him to walk alone), coronary heart disease, stress-induced headaches, and bone spurs.[17] Previously, he saw several doctors but was not cured. Since he is related to Serenchin, he turned to consult him. When Serenchin took Tang Hürel's pulse, he realized that the symptoms were caused by being selected by a deceased shaman in the family. Serenchin invited Tang Hürel's guardian spirit to come down and possess Tang Hürel. After Serenchin's therapy, Tang Hürel recovered without taking any medicine. His mother's uncle is a certain kind of shaman called a 赖青 *laiqing* who lived in Horchin Left Rear Banner.

At the initiation rites held on October 13, 2005, there were as many as forty-six shaman candidates attending the ritual. Among them were Munohai and Tang Hürel, who had crossed the double barriers before. Because Serenchin was not well, they substituted for him in leading some of the activities.

4. *Procedure for the Rite of Passage*

In recent years, new shamans have emerged continuously on the Mongolian grassland. Every year, Serenchin held initiation rites for some of his disciples. As old shamans gradually pass away and the expenses for the ritual are considerable, it has become almost impossible to have the full nine-barrier ritual. Recent rituals Serenchin held for his disciples were all "double-barrier." According to B. Shobu's survey, Serenchin led nine of his disciples to cross the nine barriers on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in 1999. On August 8, 2000 (seventh of the seventh month) and October 6, 2000 (ninth of the ninth month), in Chagaanhüa and Nanta of Yalonmod, respectively, I attended the multiple-barrier rituals Serenchin held for his disciples. These rituals all included the hay cutter barrier, the iron plow barrier, and the branding iron barrier. The main procedure of the ceremony was as follows:

(1) *Preparation*

On the first day of the ritual, Serenchin wiped the rust off the knives and plow. That morning, Serenchin and his disciple Hu Tianliang

[17] A bone spur is a bony growth that forms near joints. (Translators)

cut some white paper flags into different shapes. These special flags, particular to such rituals, represent the guardian spirits. Before being used, the flags needed to go through a blood ritual. The shaman cut his tongue with a knife, and then dyed the flags with the blood from his tongue to give them magical power.

The ritual took place in the yard. There were three long holes dug in advance in which a hay cutter was set. The edge of the hay cutter was exposed and facing upward. To make the device auspicious, a *hada* (ritual scarf) was tied to the handle. To the left of the hay cutter, Serenchin and Hu Tianliang set up four tree trunks and hung two paper flags from each of them. The two flags were connected with another piece of white paper. Each pair of tree trunks was connected with a paper flag tied with string. The white flags, 76 mm long and 56 mm wide, formed a rectangle, which symbolized a wall to block the demons from entering. The offerings were placed inside the wall, facing west. On a table were a sword, some bronze spirit idols, and three *hada* under a wine cup. The shamans lit a candle in the wine cup.

The paper flags have special religious meaning. The rectangle formed by the flags is like a screen, a man-made sacred space. According to Mongolian shamanism, there are a large number of spirits in the world. The Mongol people even have a phrase for "thousands of spirits," which shows their belief in the ubiquitous existence of spirits. They also believe there are numerous demons in the world. As only the spirits related to the initiation rites are invited to attend—that is, the guardian spirits of the shamans—the sacred space formed by the flags blocks uninvited spirits and demons who have not received offerings for a long time and want to come down to earth when they hear the drumbeat or smell the food. Wandering spirits might also want to stop by the ritual. However, the initiation rites are not entertainment, as are some other rituals. This screening process is therefore very important.

One hay cutter for the ritual was set in the ground, a fire was lit, and the iron plow and branding iron were put into it. Thus, the preparations for the ritual were finished.

(2) *Dabaa süs ürgen* (达巴苏斯乌日格讷) *Ceremony*

This is a ceremony in which sheep are sacrificed to the spirits. Some special hats and containers are arranged for worship. In front of a table are two *hada*, with which Mongols show their highest respect for a person or a spirit. Each of the shamans-to-be offers a sheep. On the

seventh day of the seventh month in 2004, four people took the initiation rite, so they contributed four sheep altogether.

On the table were three cups of wine, one incense pot, and one bronze oil lamp. Clan members helped carry the sheep indoors. The lead shaman and the candidates stood beside the sheep. They grabbed and lifted the sheep's legs, one after another, and swung them up and down, three times each toward and away from the ancestral hall (神堂 *shentang*). These actions are made to invite the spirits to accept the offering. The shamans then sprayed some wine on the sheep. The lead shaman, wearing a special necklace, beat a drum and stepped on the sheep until they stopped moving. If some sheep continue to move, it means there is a flaw in the procedure and the spirits have not accepted the offering. If this happens, the shaman has to keep beating the drum until the spirits accept the offering.

(3) *Süser* (苏四乐)*: The Ceremony to Worship the Spirits with Offerings of Sheep Hearts and Blood*

Worshipping spirit idols is a remarkable practice in Mongolian shamanism. Before Lamaism was introduced to Mongolia, the idols were made from wood, leather, felt, and metal. In the modern era, the idols have been made of bronze and shaped into the human form. Before Serenchin's ritual started, every shaman's idols had to be presented and worshipped indoors. The idols were placed in front of a big bowl filled with food provisions, with grain alcohol (白酒 *baijiu*) placed in front of this. Prayers were offered to the sheep as well. After the prayers, the shamans cut the sheep's heart arteries, and placed the spirit idols inside the chest so that the spirits could enjoy the fresh blood. After a while, the shamans took out the sheep hearts and drained the blood, placed them in a pot, and put a bronze *onggon* into the pot to soak. Then they moved the pot to the worship table and let the idol shine, which symbolizes the resurrection of the deity.

The whole sheep is used as a sacrifice to the spirits. First the ritualists cut the sheep into six pieces—four legs, head, and chest—and arrange these parts on the table to make them resemble the original shape, with the head facing forward. After being cooked, the internal organs are put back into the body. To the right of the sheep is a pot that contains some sheep excrement; to the left was a piece of sheep skin, symbolizing that every part of the sheep is used in the sacrifice to the spirits. The disciples and candidates move to the front of the table to

present their offerings (*hada*, grain alcohol, and roosters) and incense, worshipping on bent knees and kowtowing to the spirits. During the process, the shaman who faces toward the ancestral hall sing shamanic songs to ask the spirits for a successful ritual. Then the lead shaman passes his drum to his assistant, and receives a *hada* and a wine glass from a candidate. The shaman kneels down and worships the four directions. The whole process which I witnessed took about half an hour.

Later, the lead shaman and his assistants went outdoors and beat their drums within the space surrounded by the white flags. They jumped back and forth, sang shamanic songs, and danced together, circling around faster and faster. In the end, two shamans went forward to worship the drums (拜鼓 *bai gu*).

(4) *"Daba" or Passing the Test Ceremony*

This is the initiation rite. A sacrificial altar is set up on the ceremonial grounds. Incense, alcohol, and oil lamps are brought out and placed on a table, and an idol is placed in front of these. Incense, sacrificial wine, and holy lamps are kindled. First comes the fodder knife barrier. The shaman sprinkles wine, then walks barefoot and upright across the blades. The initiates then follow. After this they walk across sideways. When walking upright someone must support the initiate, but no help is needed when walking sideways. Next is the plow-stepping barrier: a hole is dug in the ground, and a red-hot iron plowshare placed in the hole. The shaman dips his heels into oil, then steps on the plowshare. As soon as he sets his foot down, smoke and fire belch out. After this, each initiate must walk back and forth across the plowshare twice. Finally there is the branding-iron barrier. Holding a branding iron in between their teeth, the shaman and each disciple must walk around the perimeter of the ceremonial grounds.

(5) *Sending off the Spirits*

At dark that evening, the shamans sent the spirits away. First, they lit the candles in the three wine cups on the table. When the tongues of flame turned blue, the shamans used the fire to heat the drums. Then they turned to face the ancestral hall, the four directions, and then the hall again, all while singing. They made three half-turns to the right, then moved back to the original position facing the hall, and then faced away from it again. Two shamans made three turns facing each other, sang, and then made three more turns. They beat the drums

lightly as they sang; they beat the drums heavily when they turned. Lastly, the assistants also made a clockwise turn. When they turned with great speed, their long cloth and vestments flew into the air.

(6) *New Shamans Invite the Spirits to Descend*

The spirits are invited by the novice shamans who have just passed through the initiation. They then report the birth of a new shaman and ask for blessings and protection. The new shamans must be possessed by the invited spirits so that the two can become one.

When two of the shamans I observed were possessed by the spirits, they started to behave very differently from before. For instance, Sun Longmei has a mild temper; but after she had been possessed, she became wild and excited. The other, a male shaman, began to act in a rough manner. The elder Shaman Serenchin asked each of them in a hoarse voice, "Which spirit are you? Where are you from?" But neither answered. According to shamanic belief, only after the possessed shaman can identify the main spirit and provide other information about the spirit can she or he formally become a shaman.

The initiation rite is an important part of Mongol shamanism. Through this ritual, the new shaman's magic power is examined and his or her change of status from an ordinary person to a shaman is confirmed. From this point on, he or she may conduct shamanic activities independently. The ritual is a means by which the shamanic culture can be passed down from one generation to the next.

CHAPTER TEN

CHARACTERISTICS OF SHAMANISM OF THE TUNGUSIC SPEAKING PEOPLE

Meng Huiying[1]
Translated by Cheryl Cornwell, Anne Henochowicz, Timothy Thurston, Yang Qiong, and Zhou Hao

Abstract

China's Tungusic speaking people include the Manchu (满族), Oroqen (鄂伦春), Ewenki (鄂温克), Hezhen (赫哲), and Xibe (锡伯). These groups share traditional forms of shamanism. Not only has shamanism served as the foundation for the Tungusic peoples, but also continues to shape their cultures. The shamanism of China's Tungus people has provided a unique vantage point from which to view the entirety of shamanistic phenomena.

In order to demonstrate the ancient nature of shamanism among China's Tungusic speaking peoples, this article looks at the hunter-gatherer way of life and its relationship to shamanism and the clan structure. By examining the concepts of shamanism in its various manifestations and social functions, such as shaman illness, medical treatment, and shaman paraphernalia, this essay demonstrates the nature of shamanism among China's Tungusic peoples. This essay also discusses the shamanistic tradition as it existed within the patriarchal structure of religion among the Tungus, the demise of the clan system which has followed the institutionalization of the position of shaman, and changes in shamanism following the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Thus, this discussion elucidates the richness of shamanism among China's Tungusic peoples.

The author puts forth the idea that the shamanism of the Tungusic peoples became a means of self-cultivation in terms of specific behavioral conventions and cultural ways of thinking. It has interacted with other experiential

[1] Dr. Meng Huiying (孟慧英) is a research fellow at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology and a member of the China Democratic League. Her publications include 中国北方民族萨满教 / *Zhongguo bei fang min zu sa man jiao* (Beijing: She ke wen xian chu ban she, 2000) (*Shamanism among China's Nothern Ethnic Groups*), 活态神话：中国少数民族神话研究 / *Huo tai shen hua: Zhongguo shao shu min zu shen hua yan jiu* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1992) (*Living Myth: Research on the Mythology of Chinese Ethnic Minorities*), other books, and over ninety articles. Translators.

practices and adapted to ever-changing cultural conditions in history, thus maintaining its usefulness in social life.

Throughout its development, shamanism has been subject to continuous internal adjustment. Over different historical periods, its original function and scope, arrangement, and style have changed according to larger societal changes.

The Tungus peoples originated and continue to live in the Baikal (贝加尔) Mountains, the Greater Hinggan (Khingan) Mountains (大兴安岭), the 黑龙江 Heilongjiang River Basin, the Hulun Buir (呼伦贝尔) grasslands, and the 滨海 Binhai Mountains. Shamanistic culture has spread throughout this vast region. The Tungusic speaking ethnic groups of China include the Manchu, Oroqen, Ewenki, Hezhen, and Xibe. In Russia live the 乌耳奇 Ulchis, 奥罗克 Oroks, 奥罗奇 Orochis, 乌德盖 Udegeians, 埃文尼 Evenis, and 涅基达尔 Niejida'er peoples. The ethnic groups which make up China's Tungusic speaking peoples live today at different stages of social development. However, the ancestors of all these ethnic groups share the same basic cultural elements. Shamanism not only laid the cultural foundation for the Tungusic speaking peoples, but also provided resources to further develop the cultures of these groups.

Years of research conducted by Chinese scholars has revealed that the spiritual beliefs and religious activities of the Tungus people still preserve some pan-language group characteristics. At the same time, each ethnic group has a unique tradition. In researching the shamanism of China's Tungusic peoples, whether looking at it as a whole or in terms of specific features, one is provided with a unique vantage point from which to view the entirety of shamanistic phenomena.

I. *The Ancient Nature of China's Tungusic Peoples' Shamanism*

A. *Hunter-Gatherer Economic Life and Shamanism*

As social history has developed and changed, the original form of shamanism in hunter-gatherer societies has all but vanished. However, the Tungusic people of China have preserved their hunter-gatherer culture. Until the Ming-Qing period (1398–1911), most Tungusic people still lived in and to the north of the Greater and Lesser Hinggan ranges. The uniqueness of this geographical environment and its climatic conditions ensured that farming would prove sustainable in only a handful of areas, and thus hunting, fishing, and gathering still made up major sources of the population's economic livelihood.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Tungusic peoples of China's northeastern region (the Oroqen, Ewenki, and Hezhen, among others) were still at a hunter-gatherer stage of social development. These peoples did not, however, share a

singular economy. For example, the nomadic Ewenki relied on hunting, gathering, and herding reindeer. The Hezhen relied more on fishing. The Oroqen were primarily hunter-gatherers. On the other hand, the Manchu and Xibe relied primarily on farming as a means of livelihood. In fact, their economic production attained a level comparative to that of the Han Chinese.

Shamanism became the main form of spiritual belief in hunter-gatherer societies. It governed every aspect of spiritual and social life. The lack of security and stability characteristic of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle created a situation in which people had no means of assuring their own fate. Often because of a decrease in prey, they had to rely on illusory forms of "witchcraft" to try and change the situation and achieve peace of mind. Among the types of religious ceremonies conducted by the Tungus, one ritual allowed animal spirits to reincarnate. In this way they could increase the number of prey and decrease their mental burden. Animal signifiers that could be brought to life again included animal bones, feather down, and animal eyes. During ritual activities practitioners would carefully collect and handle these items, making sure they did not reincarnate at the wrong time lest the power of the spirits harm other people. According to Tungus sacrificial rituals, after animals such as bears, reindeer, pigs, sheep, and chickens were eaten, all of their bones were collected together and either given a wind burial where they were exposed to the elements, or were buried in the ground. The Tungus believed that the peaceful burial of animal bones and the bounty of wild animals were intricately linked. They believed that whether the bones were intact or not would directly impact the condition of living animals. Therefore the requirements for the peaceful burial of animals were especially strict. Over the course of the development of animal worship, the bones, hair, and skin, which denoted an animal's reincarnated spirit, were infused with energy. Shamans would often preserve animal bones and skins and use them to represent deities or spirits. Some shamans hung bird bones, animal bones, animal skins, and bird feathers from their ceremonial garb to symbolize the number of animal spirits he/she could deploy to protect and assist people. Since bones were seen as the source of rebirth, the act of "returning the soul to the bone" (归魂于骨) became one of the main objectives of shamans. It was common in some ethnic groups to give their shamans a wind burial. After the flesh decomposed, the bones were collected and placed in a small birch basket. The bones were then seen as the shaman's spirit.

Many scholars believe animal worship is one of the most ancient parts of shamanic practice. The "beast master," who holds dominion over the spirits of the wild animals, both dominates and is leader of all of the animals and the forests. Within the forests he is the supreme spirit. China's Tungus people still preserve a typical form of animal worship found in hunter-gatherer societies. They often use mountain spirits, water spirits, and sea spirits to symbolize hunting spirits. The Oroqen, Ewenki, and other ethnic groups worship the mountain spirit 白那恰 Bainaqia. Each and every mountain range, precipice, and cave is inhabited by the mountain spirit. People who pass through the spirit's domain are not allowed to disturb it for fear of upsetting the mountain spirit, which would lead to unsuccessful hunting. Often, hunters from distant places perform sacrifices to the mountain spirit. The people believe that all you have to do is listen to what the mountain spirit says and he will be happy to protect you. In other words, if you offend the mountain spirit, he will ensure that you catch nothing. Bainaqia sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as an animal.

These groups have also taken the pattern of hunting activities according to the changing seasons as the basis for their sacrificial rituals. Each year as the ice begins to melt and the birds return (roughly the third month of the Chinese lunar calendar), the Oroqen hold spring sacrifices. The people, using the shaman as intermediary, pay homage and present gifts to the spirits. In this way they pray that peace and luck befall them in the New Year. The springtime sacrifices have a direct bearing on the success of the year's hunting and the stability of the human and livestock populations. The people also ask the spirits to drive out evil ghosts. They ask the horse spirit to make sure that their horses stay fat and strong, and ask the road spirit to bless and protect the animals to ensure bountiful hunting of both beast and fowl.

After the springtime sacrifices people scatter to all directions to begin the hunt. Among the Manchu there is a clan called the Chakela Jurchen (恰克拉女真人) of the East China Sea. For generations they have lived in the Sikhote-Alin Mountains (锡霍特) relying on fishing and hunting for their livelihood. In the summertime they take to the seas to capture fish. In the wintertime they live in the mountains and hunt. They stay in the mountains straight through until spring. In the spring when the first of the geese fly back, the chief manages the sacrificial offerings to the heavens. The main reason for doing this is to entreat the spirits to bless and protect the prosperity of the animals

hunted on the mountains and fish fished in the sea; the hope is that their attempts at hunting and fishing are uneventful and successful.

Each season before the Hezhen go out on a hunt or return from a hunt, they hold a family sacrifice to thank the spirits. One's ancestors are among the many spirits for which sacrifices are held. During these sacrifices participants place the ancestor figurines on the western 炕 *kang*, a heated brick bed, light incense, and offer libations. The male members of the household, from the elders to the junior members, successively kneel in a line on the floor. They ask the shaman or 佛日朗 *forilang* to pray for blessings from the spirits, beat drums, and sing ritual songs.

Every year, among some of the Manchu clans that originally belonged to the 窝集 Woji tribe of the East China Sea area, two sacrifices to the stars are still held. After the first snow they offer sacrifices to the stars in order to avert misfortune. They pray and offer sacrifices so that during the winter season prey will remain plentiful. During the first month of the lunar year they also make sacrifices to the stars to get rid of evil spirits and drive out disease. In some of these ceremonies a possessed shaman asks the spirits to come, while some are carried out by families or individuals who use conventional means of sacrificing to the spirits. Besides having to hold supplication rituals to the mountain spirit and the water spirit before the seasonal fishing and hunting begin, hunting groups and individual hunters often hold small-scale sacrifices and perform magical rites. During these rituals the shaman often foretells the direction in which one should travel and also the prospects of future gains. Some rituals often include the shooting of animal effigies through sympathetic magic. Take the Ewenki for example. If they have gone a relatively long time without making a kill they entreat the clan shaman to hold a ritual in order to pray for them. First they weave willow branches together in the form of a red deer and hang it from a tree. They then assemble all of the hunters from the clan and use guns without bullets to shoot at the willow-deer form. All of the participants yell, "Hit it!" After the hunters have finished shooting, they then pretend to skin the animal and take out the internal organs. The next day they erect a canopy and place the effigy animal parts inside. They believe that doing this will enable them to make a successful kill. After a successful hunt, hunter-gatherer clans still hold a repayment sacrifice in order to express their gratitude to the spirits and to pray that in the coming year the spirits look after them. When carrying out the distribution of a kill among clans or families, they often have to sacrifice first and distribute what is left later.

Tungus shamanism and the hunter-gatherer economy are inextricably bound together. Shamanism forms the basis of everyday existence. According to the environment in which they live and the specific problems they face, people use these types of instruments, to communicate with spirits and supernatural powers. They supplicate or use these spirits to deal with life's problems. Moreover, people still don't have the ability to use their own skills and societal means to solve these problems.

B. *Shamanism and Clan Society*

Through our investigation and research we have discovered that one of the most important aspects of Tungus shamanism is the close link between its belief structure and clan structure. Over the course of a relatively long period of time the clan structure, an ancient social form, has not disappeared. Shamanism tenaciously upholds blood-ties.

Each ethnic minority within the Tungus groups generally has 哈拉 *hala*, surname, and 穆昆 *mukun*, clan organizations. After a population increased to a certain size, those clans with the same surname adopted a specific pattern in which to re-divide the clan. In this way, people of the same *hala* have different *mukun*. *Hala* then became the "origin" or roots of the clan. *Hala* membership points to a common origin from one or a few male ancestors. Those people linked within this group have the same name, blood-ties and linkages. Each *hala* is composed of several *mukun*. Members of a given *mukun* work and live together. The *mukun* manages individual behavior to a greater degree than the *hala*. Under the limitations of a hunting and fishing economy, the scale of production is rather small and those community members in charge of economic life are rather few. However, different *mukun* occasionally cooperate in production. There are certain rules governing marriage outside of the clan. In these are other aspects, the *mukun* is fully integrated into the *hala* system. Within the organized systems of *hala-mukun* there are a 哈拉达 *halada*, surname leader, and 穆昆达 *mukunda*, clan leaders. These leaders are elected during clan-wide meetings. They are responsible for managing the clan's internal production, property distribution, marriages and funerals, external contacts, etc. Within the *hala-mukun* system there are many traditional customs and laws: mutual assistance in production, common use of production materials, equal distribution of the harvest, respect and care for the young and elderly, punishing criminals, inheritance of property, etc. In addition, each *hala*

and *mukun* have their own special ancestral spirits. Some also have routine religious activities and shamanic practices that are handed down from generation to generation.

Belief in ancestral spirits is one of the most outstanding characteristics of clan religion. It is common for the Oroqen to make sacrificial offerings to the spirits of their clan ancestors. In the Oroqen language the ancestral spirits are called 阿娇儒博日坎 *ajiaoruborikan*. 阿娇儒 *ajiaoru* means "roots." The 阿娇儒博如坎 *ajiaoruborukan* is the main spirit of the clan shaman. It is also the ancestral spirit which all families worship. After people hunt an animal they must worship the *ajiaoruborukan*. The shaman prays to the spirit, entreating it to protect the prosperity of the family and to bring them peace and happiness. Among the Ewenki, the ancestral clan spirits are also seen as the most important of the spirits. In *The Study of Northern Minorities' Primitive Societal Forms* (《北方民族原始社会形态研究》), Lü Guangtian describes the formation of patriarchal clan societies based on ancestor worship. Each Ewenki clan has a protective clan or ancestor spirit. Manchu shamans believe that all the spirits they sacrifice to are the original clan spirits. Outsiders are not allowed to contaminate the ancestor rituals. Manchu sacrifices were standardized in the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736–1796) in *Manchu Sacrificial Rituals to the Spirits and Heaven* (《满洲祭神祭天典礼》). Among the Manchu, people with the same surname have the same spirits. This indicates the assault on and reformation of the clan within the context of social development. However, on the level of display and form, the Manchu still preserve the shell of clan shamanism. For example, the basis of the Manchu's familial sacrifice to the spirits is still passed down from generation to generation within the clan.

The ability of a Tungusic clan shaman is transmitted to him from his clan or family ancestors' patron and helping spirits. For example, the Oroqen shaman, 孟金福 Meng Jinfu, born in 1927, was eighteen when he suddenly fell ill. His family conducted ceremonies to lead the spirits to him (领神). The shaman 孟长国 Meng Changguo invited the spirits to him. However, he was unsuccessful on his first and second try. The third time he invited the right spirit; when it arrived the earth trembled. The spirit that came was none other than the Meng family's ancestral spirit. After Meng Jinfu recovered, he too became a clan shaman. Within the different clans of the Oroqen, each has its own set of spirits. The people believe that each *mukun* or clan shaman has his own 穆昆色翁 *mukun seweng*, or spirit. *Seweng* can only be passed down

within the family. Both men and women can inherit spirits. In fact, there are no gender restrictions on who may lead the spirits. Among all Tungus peoples, after a female clan shaman is married, her birth family's clan must wait until after her death before a new shaman will appear. This is because once a female shaman has died, her spirit returns to the clan of her parents' home.

Up until recently the shaman's ancestral spirit would find a new shaman to lead the spirits among his own clan and family group. For example, before the birth of the first shaman of the Manchu 石 Shi clan, his name was already well-known and he was endowed with extraordinary supernatural powers. He was injured in a magical battle with a shaman of the 敖 Ao clan. Records say that the Shi clan shaman became a black carp in order to cross a river. The Ao clan shaman sat on his spirit drum and crossed the river. As a result, one turned over his drum and the other was stabbed by a golden fork. Before the Shi shaman died he told his wife to put his corpse on the bank of the 松花 Songhua River, and claimed that after forty-nine days he would be resurrected. His wife's parent's home was among the Ao family and she passed along this information to them. Instead, the Ao family set his corpse aflame, thus destroying his magic. At that time, the vulture spirit, eagle spirit, and the Shi shaman all came to try to extinguish the fire. After three days and nights the large fire had inflicted serious burns on the wings and tails of the vultures and eagles. One after the other, each spirit returned to 长白 Changbai Mountain to recuperate. After the Shi shaman underwent the test of the burning flames, he became invincible. He then became a ray of golden light and he too ascended Changbai Mountain. After twenty years of ascetic practice, he returned to his clan in order to choose the next shaman.

In general, it is believed that the sons and grandsons of shamans are more likely to become shamans than other people. Once potential shamans become ill, it is very easy to interpret it as "shaman sickness," and an older shaman is summoned to cure the illness. Within a clan system that stresses blood-ties, the Tungus people primarily explain the problem of shaman sickness as marking the return of the clan's ancestral spirits. Therefore, anyone who has experienced individual spirit-induced hallucinations and wants to become clan shaman needs to make the hallucinations public and have them verified.

The worshiping of clan ancestors and the activities of shamans leading the spirits have, over a long period of history, become united. The social need for clan spirits has ensured that shaman spirit-leading has

become an important social event. Shaman illness and communication with ancestral spirits naturally gives the clan spiritual powers. Formal clan society created a pattern of shaman sickness being passed down from one generation to another through a system of sacred powers, which the ancestors would bestow on future generations. The integration of the shaman experience and the clan system has thus melded religious ritual and clan organization.

Ordinarily, the shaman was the clan doctor, prophet, and conflict manager. The shaman also drove away spirits that sought to menace the lives of individuals and the community. The shaman would indicate the location of good hunting ground. When the available game animals proved scarce it was up to the shaman to find out why. When the clan was faced with a crisis, the shaman would perform ceremonies on behalf of the people. In this way he would provide the people with sacred objects to mitigate the people's apprehensions.

Throughout the history of the Tungus peoples, there are many instances in which the positions of clan leader and shaman were united. Among the Ewenki during the eighteenth century had the leader 根特木耳 Gentemu'er. The Oroqen had 魏加格达汗 Weijiagedahan and 毛考待汗 Maokaodaihan. Among the modern Ewenki is 伊那肯气 Yinakenqi. Among the 绰尔河 Chuo'erhe Oroqen is Batu'er. The shaman can also be both the tribe and clan leader.

The Oroqen have preserved sacrificial clan activities, including widespread sacrifices to the *ajiaoruborikan*. Originally, people called the mother's family's ancestors *ajiaoru*; later the father's family's ancestors were also termed *ajiaoru*. The *ajiaoru* shaman is also the *mukun* shaman, as a clan has only one shaman. The *ajiaoru* shaman is a tribe's[2] greatest shaman, the *ajiaoru* spirit is the greatest spirit. This spirit is responsible for protecting the entire tribe.

It is usually during the third month of the lunar calendar that the shaman's trance-dance (跳神) is performed. The *ajiaoru* shaman invites the clan spirits one by one to enjoy the sacrifices given to them. The following is an example of a fixed sacrificial ceremony performed by the clan.

In the past, every three years the Oroqen would convene a clan meeting. Before beginning they first have a sacrificial ceremony to the ancestors. During the sacrifice all of the members of the clan attend

[2] Tribe (部落) is used here to indicate a social network larger than *mukun*. Translators

and ask each shaman to perform a trance-dance. In the Oroqen language this type of ceremony is called 乌门那特恩 *wumennate'en*. This ceremony needs to be conducted personally by the *mukunda*. Members of each clan need to bring copious amounts of alcohol, food, and other sacrificial items. They place the items on the sacrificial altar and then light incense, burn paper, and kowtow. These types of sacrificial rites are held for several days with the shortest being three to five days and the longest held for ten or more days. According to investigations among people with Manchu surnames, it has been found that sacrifices were held for those who had fallen ill due to communicable diseases, animals that suffered from epidemic diseases, fish and wild game had been injured, or because members of the clan were killed in disputes. In these instances, clan fire sacrifices were held in order to pray for tranquility and blessings. At the site of the sacrifice, each individual clan within the *hala* decides on the place where participants will be stationed according to the direction in which wild pheasants fly when released. Branches are fashioned into curtains to make rooms, a spirit tree is set up, and an entrance made of pine branches is erected. After lighting the fire and sacrificing an animal to the spirits, the fire sacrifices are held, often on low hills. The head of the clan addresses all of the spirits and explains the reason for the sacrifice. The shaman then recites songs to the spirits. Fire sacrifices can continue for either three days and nights or seven days and nights. They are great occasions as long as the supplies are plentiful and varied. Through various activities, such as opening the fire lights, drilling a ring of fire, picking up live coals, and fire walking, the participants beseech the spirits for help and protection in order to avoid disaster, and increase prosperity and luck.

Among the basic beliefs of shamanism is the universal fear of death. People were unwilling to face the fact that life is finite. This was especially true when an important member of the clan died. During this time, the normal life led by a social community was turned upside down. It was precisely at this time that a clan's funeral ceremony could mitigate individual spiritual crises. Simultaneously, the funeral relayed the concepts of the spirit's everlasting life, reincarnation, and the idea that the spirits of important figures go on to become protective ancestral spirits for the clan. These concepts could be used to give everyone some type of superhuman strength of belief and confidence. This could then alleviate individual suffering and social unease. The prevalence of the clan burial ceremony, especially that of the clan shaman,

thus became an important type of clan religious ceremony among the ethnic groups of the Tungus.

One example is the Ewenki 尚德 *shangde* ceremony. Among the Ewenki, a shaman's death and that of a common person are not the same. When a shaman dies, another shaman must be invited to do a trance-dance to lead the way for the spirit. The corpse cannot be placed in a supine position, but must be placed in a sitting position. One must also use 刚嘎 *gangga* grass boiled in water to cleanse the body. The shaman's corpse must also be lifted out of a hole cut in the western side of a yurt. Often a pile of rocks are used as a grave marker on top of which a willow branch canopy is erected. This is often covered by white cloth or felt. The corpse is then placed inside. According to his will, the shaman's instruments such as drums, drumsticks, ceremonial garments, etc. are hung from a designated pine tree for three days. On the ninth day after the shaman's death, a make-up sacrifice (追祭) is held. During this sacrifice his sons and younger brothers sew a piece of white cloth onto their hats or clothing as a symbol of mourning. The period of mourning usually lasted ninety days. His wife wears mourning dress for three years.[3] The burial ritual for the Manchu shaman was extremely important. It was often held as a public ceremonious funeral. A year after the death of an important shaman, a clan-wide sacrifice is held to ensure that the shaman's spirit continues to protect the clan.

Public ceremonies, such as marriage, are under the control of the spirits. Among the ancient traditions of the Manchu, when a man of a tribe would marry a woman of another tribe, the two would have to perform ritual kneeling (拜堂子), and perform sacrifices to the ancestors and heaven. The opposite of other Tungus practice, in Oroqen wedding ceremonies it is the groom who first goes to live at his wife's family's home and only after holding a banquet can the groom bring his new wife to his own home. After returning home the new bride and groom stand side by side facing the sun, kneel down, and kowtow (拜) three times. Next they worship the ancestors, various spirits, and the parents and elders of both the bride's and groom's families. This ritual is performed for three weeks. After this period of time, they hold an open air wedding banquet. When the banquet ends, the bride

[3] 吕光天 / Lü Guangtian, 鄂温克族 / *E wen ke zu* (Beijing: Min zu chu ban she, 1983), 66. (*The Ewenki*)

and groom begin sleeping together in a new bark 斜仁柱 *xierenzhu*, a wigwam-like house.

Tungus shamanism protected the clan system and coordinated social life. Over the course of a long period of history, blood-ties among the Tungus formed the foundation of clan organizations. These clan organizations became inextricably linked to shamanism. As a result, the clan system is shamanism's external expression and its earliest social foundation.

II. *Typical Tungusic Shamanism*

Many scholars believe that northeast Asia is the nucleus of shamanism. The word "shaman" first appears in Chinese historical records: it is seen in the Song dynasty *Three Dynasties Northern Alliance* (《三朝北盟会编》), which states, "The 兀室 *wushi* were treacherous and capable. The people called them 珊蛮 *shanman*. Shanman is 巫妪 *wuyu* in the Jurchen language. They communicated with and changed into spirits."[4] Of course, research into the origin of the term "shaman" does not inevitably lead to conclusions about the origin of the shaman. Shamanism (萨满教) has already become a commonly used term in academia. It collectively refers to the religious and cultural systems of many ethnic groups. Every ethnic group has its own style of shamanism, and each ethnic group has different names for it. The Mongols call male shamans *bö* (勃额), and female shamans *udgan* (奥德根). The Yakut people call shamans 奥云 *aoyun*. The Daur call shamans 雅德根 *yadegen*. The Tatars and Kazakhs call shamans both 喀木 *kamu, aoyun*, and 巴克西 *bakexi*. But for scholars, the word "shaman" triggers many associations concerning the origins and distribution of shamanism. With the support of a great amount of early ethnographic materials on Siberian shamanism, some scholars believe that Tungusic shamanism had an important influence on other ethnic groups, and that the origins and development of the Tungus people should be studied in combination with the origins and evolution of their shamanism. Although this view is still contested, the notion that the shamanism of the Tungusic ethnic groups is archetypal is generally accepted.

[4] 徐梦莘 / Xu Mengxin, 三朝北盟汇编 / *San chao bei meng hui bian* (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1987). (*Collected Works of the Three Dynasties Northern Alliance*)

Shamanism possesses a few especially prominent components and a concrete structure that is formed by them. These have been summarized by scholars as the "features" of shamanism. These features include: the shaman's trance activities, the shaman's system of protector and ancillary spirits, spirit-leading hallucinations, spirit travels to other worlds, and conception of the cosmos, etc. The specific connotations and structures can be used to differentiate the basic content and cultural systems of the shamanism of different ethnic groups. Raising the question of the "features" of shamanism reveals both the typical features of shamanism at certain historical stages, and how shamanism serves as a socio-cultural phenomenon. This is beneficial to promoting a standardization of research on shamanism, to establishing a theory for understanding shamanism, and is a very convenient comparative tool.

A. *The Idea of the Shaman*

The concept of the spirit is the basis of the Shamanist belief system. International scholars generally acknowledge that the establishment of Shamanism among the northern hunting ethnic groups is based on the theory that every creature has a spirit. Simultaneously, the ability of souls to fly and of the shaman to travel to other worlds also causes scholars to believe that this bi-partite theory of the spirits is the basic concept of shamanism. The Tungus universally worship independently existing spirits. This means that spirits can leave the body and function independently. This includes the spiritual activity of living and dead people. The Tungus also believe in a body-soul (体魂). The body-soul is a soul that is connected to the body or interconnected with an organ. The Tungus people think that the spirits are controlled by some parts of the body, like the bones, hair, skin, and nails. They possess the power to give life. The body-soul is often hidden deep in the bones of the living being. After a person dies, their soul cannot die along with their body. It continues to exist in the dead person's remains, hidden in the bones and even the teeth and hair. As for these types of spirits, shamans call on them for all kinds of reasons. The idea that blood is both the spirit and life force is also an important component of shamanistic spirit worship. "Using blood to raise spirits, using blood to teach the spirits, using blood to invite the spirits," is an important tenet of the Tungus. The symbols of blood in the magical activities of shamanism are plentiful. For instance, the act of a shaman drinking blood is still a component of the trance-dance among the modern Tungus ethnic groups.

Many academics find that the concept of a multi-layered universe to be an important feature of shamanism. As a phenomenon, it is seemingly more universal and more popular than any other shamanist concept. International academic circles acknowledge that, although theories of the shamanist cosmology differ greatly by ethnic group, and although Buddhism has had a prominent influence on some ethnic groups, nevertheless a few common structural characteristics still exist. For example, there is the multi-layered universe which includes an upper earth, a middle earth inhabited by humans, and a lower level, with each of these further divided into three, seven, or nine levels. The different levels of the world are connected by either a river whose headwaters flow from heaven through earth to the lower world, or by a hole in the center of the universe. Another universal belief is that the universe is like a yurt with a pole in the center to support it. Other symbols that are similar to the pole motif are the cosmic mountain and the cosmic tree. The cosmic tree also serves as the shaman tree; and shamans can use it to travel to each level of the worlds.[5]

Each of China's Tungus speaking ethnic groups has a version of the three-world order. One example is in the myth of the three goddesses in the Manchu narrative, "War in Heaven" (天宫大战). The myth states that before the earliest times, the sky was without form. Afterwards, the water bore forth the sky goddess 阿布卡赫赫 Abukahehe. A crack in her lower body bore the earth goddess 巴那姆赫赫 Banamuhehe; a crack in her upper body bore the brightness goddess 卧勒多赫赫 Woleduohehe. Woleduhehe used Abukahehe's eyes to make the sun, moon, and seven stars. In Ewenki myth, the ancestral spirit 敖教勒 Aojiaole was killed by thunder. The upper half of the ancestor's body ascended into the sky and became the gray protective spirit Boorolgoohorharuul (保勒索合鲁勒). The middle of his body stayed on the earth and became the protective spirit Shokoodaaral (谢考达热勒), his lower body became nine *dolbuul* (道尔保如), nine pillars. One can see that he is a spirit that traverses the three realms. An idol of this spirit is placed on blue cloth and is hung on the main pillar of each family's bark wigwam; additionally a sun, moon, and other celestial bodies, and nine small people (five golden females and four silver males) are placed on top of a log pillar. The Hezhen worship

[5] Anna-Leena Siikala and Mihaly Hoppal, "Siberian and Inner Asian Shamanism, Studies on Shamanism," in *Studies on Shamanism*, ed. Anna-Leena Siikala and Mihaly Hoppal (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 7.

the Goddess of the Four Seas (四海娘娘), the Root-Giving Goddess (根给娘娘), and the Goddess Suyan (苏言娘娘), who control the three worlds. The common characteristic of this sort of worship is that it takes the three-tiered worlds of the cosmos as having a single common origin. This common origin is either a natural spirit or an ancestral spirit, and they represent a complete world system.

On the one hand, this completeness is a symbol of the power and prestige of these sorts of shaman spirits. On the other hand, it also possesses the symbolic value of the complete, inclusive meaning that a shaman seeks to experience. Shamanic rituals therefore communicates that the three worlds are connected. For example, the Hezhen believe that the Goddess of the Four Seas controls matters of the water, and her flag is blue or purple; the Root-Giving Goddess—also known as the Goddess of Brightness (光明娘娘)—controls matters of the heavenly realm, and her flag is cyan; the Goddess Suyan—also known as the Goddess Huang (黄娘娘)—tends to earthly matters, and her flag is yellow. Ewenki shamans of the clans in Hulun Buir herding region (牧区) hang four 托若 *tuoruo*, birch trees, inside and outside of the yurt. Some also dig an 阿楞 *aleng*, a narrow path, from inside the shaman's dwelling, across the doorway and leading outdoors that is just wide enough to accommodate a single person. In sacrifices, the shamans enter into the room through this path. After the ceremony, the shaman buries the left-over bones of the ritual meat offerings (beef or mutton, eaten by the participants) in the path. The *tuoruo* and the *aleng* are symbols linking the upper and lower realms.

The spirits of the Tungus are usually ancient. In the earliest times the shaman's ancestors were selected by the spirits. Therefore, the creator of the earliest shaman is maintained as a special class among the shaman's ancestral spirits. This type of creator could be an animal or a goddess. Some are combined together with the clan totems. In the later process of professionalization of the shamans, some were separated as individuals and became occupational magical ancestors. As Lü Guangtian points out, "The snake, though linked with the ancestors of the Ewenki people and their highest spirit, was also a high spirit of the shamans."[6] In the traditions of some ethnic groups, the ones that select shamans are the shaman's partners. The "husband and wife

[6] 吕光天 / Lü Guangtian, 北方民族原始社会形态研究 / *Bei fang min zu yuan shi she hui xing tai yan jiu* (Ningxia: Ningxia ren min chu ban she, 1981). (*On the Form of the Primitive Societies of Northern Ethnic Groups*)

relationship" between the shaman and the spirit that he leads is a topic often discussed by many scholars. Among the Hezhen, the 爱米 Aimi spirit is the chief spirit. Stories of the husband-and-wife relationship between the shaman and his Aimi spirit, have long been preserved in Hezhen narrative folk poems called *imakan*.

B. *Shamans*

The definition of "shaman" in the international academic community can be summarized with two points: the first refers to the spiritual function of the shaman, and the second is related to the social function of the shaman. The shaman serves as a person who is thought by society to be able to go to the spirit world, and because of this has the ability to heal sickness and do divinations. The shaman often works by going into a trance. The shaman's trance technique is a unique religious experience. In the field of psychology this state is alternately described as possession, ecstasy, fugue state, vision, dream, hysteria, hallucination, catalepsy, epilepsy, hypnosis, somnambulism, etc. These are changes in the body and mind that can be objectively examined by researchers.

The shamanic ecstasy is mainly demonstrated in spiritual activities. Shamans accomplish their tasks by going into trance and direct communication with the spirits. Hungarian researcher Vilmos Dioszegi believes that a shaman's trance takes two forms: one is possession ecstasy, or spiritual possession, during which a shaman's body becomes inhabited by a spirit; the second is wandering ecstasy or an outer-body experience, in which the shaman's spirit leaves his body to go to the spirit world. In possession ecstasy, the one possessed enters into a strong spiritual state and exhibits a superhuman strength and knowledge. The shaman fights, rages, struggles, and finally falls into a trance-like sleep. In wandering ecstasy, the shaman's vital function decrease to the lowest levels, and he enters into a trance-like sleep. People believe that the shaman's spirit leaves his body at this time and travels to heaven. After he awakes, the shaman tells of his experiences in heaven, and with whom he spoke. There is also a situation in which the two types of trances are combined into one: after the spirit enters the shaman's body, it leads the shaman's spirit to the supernatural world.

Possession is central to Tungusic shamanism. For the Ewenki, when the shamans invoke the spirits, they imitate the steps and gestures of birds. By changing into the form of birds, they contact the spirits

or announce the descent of the spirits. Among the Manchu, animal spirits must be invoked one by one because they are so numerous. When possessed, the shamans either imitate an incredibly powerful bear; or a brave eagle, using a drum as wings, spreading his arms like wings and flying; or a tigress, playing kindly with a child dressed as its cub. When a shaman is possessed by a heroic spirit, he either dances with a spear and wields a club, as if sending soldiers into battle, or he leads the young shamans to run through a pool of fire. He leads the participants to drill a ring of fire to attack the pool of fire. If a nature spirit descends, the shaman's dance is extremely beautiful, as the snow spirit sprinkles white snow on the people, wishing auspicious things for them. In 关晓云 Guan Xiaoyun and 王宏刚 Wang Honggang's *Survey of Oroqen Shamanism* (《鄂伦春族萨满教调查》), shamans and their relatives talk about the underworld. They say that when the moon ceremony reaches its climax, the shaman says, "I am going to call back the spirits." He then lies unmoving on the ground, not drinking, sleeping, or defecating. The shaman's relatives strike his head and extremities with a rock three times a day; at this the shaman will stir slightly. His kinfolk pray for him to quickly find the spirits and return safely. After passing a few days in this manner, the shaman's body begins to shake slowly, and the shaman's spirit bells and bronze mirror also ring. His kinsfolk then lift him up, and after the shaman dances a trance dance, the underworld rite comes to a close.[7]

C. *Shamans and the Shaman Sickness*

Sickness and shaman spirit-leading (萨满领神) also have an unbreakable bond. If the sickness does not signal the arrival of a spirit, then it is connected with the loss of a spirit. "Shaman sickness" only refers to a specific kind of traditional illness. Illnesses that are thought to be caused by shaman spirit-leading, are distinguished by the type or seriousness of the disease. The typical shaman sickness is spirit sickness; this is common among all the Tungus groups. A potential shaman can be recognized through his or her abnormal activities, especially a disquieted spiritual condition. Psychiatric disorders, hysteria, stages of

[7] 关小云、王宏刚 / Guan Xiaoyun and Wang Honggang, 鄂伦春族萨满教调查 / *E lun chun zu sa man jiao diao cha* (Shenyang: Liaoning ren min chu ban she, 1998). (*Survey of Oroqen Shamanism*)

loneliness, abnormal auditory and visual capacities, and severe pains are all associated with becoming a shaman. If these conditions persist to a certain degree, then the family of the afflicted will want to find a shaman to divine the cause of the illness. Once it has been discovered which spirit possesses him, they must hold a ritual to receive the spirit. After this, the new shaman often invites this spirit for healing, practice, and worship at appropriate times. The spirit cannot be neglected; otherwise, the spirit will punish the new shaman. Guan Xiaoyun and Wang Honggang introduce the experience of a group of contemporary shamans' spirit-leading, as well as shaman autobiographies.

D. *Shaman's Markers*

The most important markers of the shaman are his/her outfit and the implements of the trance-dance. The shaman's clothing—the specific marker of the shaman's status on ritual occasions—are signs of his/her change of identity. He/she is identified as one who is neither human nor spirit, but a transitional figure who can shift between humans and spirits. The Tungus shaman's outfit, which weighs dozens of pounds, is a mosaic of images of birds and animals, as well as their bones and feathers. It is believed that the shamans rely on these animal spirits to fly to the heavens, enter the earth, and travel to any region of the supernatural world to realize their ritual goals. The shaman's headdress is also an important component of the markers. Among the Hezhen, Ewenki, Oroqen and other ethnic groups reindeer antlers are generally used. The tall and branched antlers are considered to be storage place for the shaman's shield. Among some ethnic groups, the branches of the reindeer antlers symbolize the shaman's rank. The points represent unequal numbers: three, five, seven, twelve (five on one side and seven on the other), or fifteen. The greater the number of branches, the greater the shaman's ability. Some Manchu shamans also wear reindeer antlers, but more often they are decorated with birds, also in unequal numbers: three, seven, nine, thirteen, seventeen, or twenty-five. The front of every shaman headdress has many threads that hang in front the shaman's face. In folktales, these threads represent the shaman's hidden powers, and they protect him in his travels to other worlds. Furthermore, movement of the threads in front of the face aid in falling into a trance. All Tungus people place bronze mirrors on the shaman's vest. When shamanism was popular the meanings

of the mirrors attached to the costumes are very particular[8]. The largest symbolizes the sun, and is often hung in front, while its opposite, which hangs on the shaman's back, is small and represents the moon. In some cases, two mirrors hang from his shoulders, and they are called left sun and right moon. In other cases, two mirrors are hung in front of and behind the shaman's waist, and represent the middle phases of the sun and moon. As the number of mirrors on the shaman's body increases, he has control over more spirits of greater strength.

Over the past few decades, especially in the years since the reforms of the 1980's, many Chinese scholars have done fieldwork on shamanism and related beliefs and lifeways among the Tungus ethnic groups, and have written field reports and academic articles. These works have already attracted the attention of international scholars of shamanism.

III. *The Many Historical Types of Tungusic Shamanism*

The shamanism of each Tungusic group has existed in various historical contexts. In the development of shamanism, its activities and social institutions echo over a long historical period.

The social structures on which shamanism depends for its existence, along with shamanist phenomena, have undergone basic changes. In conjunction with the gradual decline of clan social function, the inter-regional social contact has become more important. Although the most conservative elements of the clan society—the clan spirits, the clan shamans, and clan sacrifices—maintain some of their local forms, they also exhibit changes due to regionalism and professionalism. Individual shamanist healing practice is very popular. The shaman's activities depend on the culture that supports it, and not a specialized part of a clan or a family.

A. *The Tendency towards Professional Shamanism during the Decline of the Clan System*

Let us first examine the Hezhen: with the decline of the clan system, Hezhen shamanism has gradually become professionalized, and has

[8] 富育光 / Fu Yuguang 萨满教与神话 / *San man jiao yu shen hua* (Shenyang: Liaoning da xue chu ban she, 2000). (*Shamanism and Myth*)

developed a few characteristics which constitute the basic outlook of their religious life. The most obvious of these are:

1) The lack of clan-ties to training new shaman. The shaman's spirits are ancestral, but the people who teach new shamans cannot be shamans from the same family, and must accept teachings from outside shamans. The shaman's method of study is on-site observation. When the master shaman performs a healing dance, the new shaman watches and learns.

2) The separation between the shaman's spirits and the spirits of the common people in their rituals. Even if they are the same kinds of spirits, different names for them have arisen. For example, the spirit Aimi is invoked when the shaman communicates with the spirits. The common people refer to it as a *seweng*.

3) The development of different shaman schools and ranks. Generally, new shamans are allowed to wear the three- or five-point reindeer-antler headdress after three years of practice. As noted before, there are five levels of branches on the reindeer's antlers: three, five, seven, twelve and fifteen. As the number of branches increases, so does the shaman's ability. The various shamanist schools can also be differentiated by headdresses representing River (江) Spirits, Stream (河) Spirits, and the Ceratops.

4) Professionalization of shamans' activities. Different shamans have different functions, lead different spirits, and perform different rituals. The types of shamans are divided as follows: (1) *Saman*. They communicate with spirits and ghosts, and can invoke spirits for people, perform exorcisms, cure ailments, and request good fortune. The shamans are selected by the spirits. When possessed, they have certain ailments, especially mental illness. The shaman is also professionally trained. After the ritual inviting of the spirit, the shaman must study shamanist techniques, including rituals, songs, and dances. (2) 阿哈 *aha* or 阿哈玛发 *aha mafa*. The people who lead the goddesses (娘娘神). *Aha* means "slave", as they are the servants of the female spirits. Like the shamans, they have been selected by the spirits and perform the spirit-leading ritual. They are generally trained to heal smallpox, rashes, chickenpox, communicable diseases, and epidemics. They can fight all types of spirits and ghosts, but their ability to communicate with the spirits is not as great as that of a shaman. The shaman can do the *aha*'s work, but not vice-versa. (3) 弗力兰 *fulilan*. This sort of practitioner cannot do trance dances to cure sickness, but can only

recite prayers during the rituals that invoke the spirits, and pray for a spirit's protection or make requests of the spirits. (4) Spirit guides (送魂萨满). They do not cure diseases, but only recite the prayers in the ritual for sending off the soul after a person dies. It is said that they can see everything the deceased does, and can personally see the spirit to the nether world. In the ritual, they can answer all sorts of questions about good and bad fortune. (5) 巴令冷 *balingleng* are shamans who cure all small diseases and assist in divinations. (6) 甲立 *jiali* are the shaman's helpers. As the shaman leads the spirits, cures diseases, and exorcises ghosts in rituals, they assist the sick person and guess which entity is causing the trouble.

The 奥米南 Aomi'nan sacrifice, also called 奥米那楞 Aomi'naleng, is the major shamanist ritual activity for the Ewenki people who live in the Hulun Buir Ewenki Autonomous Banner, Bazhen Tuohai Town (呼伦贝尔盟鄂温克族自治旗巴彦托海镇), Honghua Erji Town (红花尔基镇), Aoluguya Ewenki Ethnic Village in E'erguna Left Banner (额尔古纳左旗敖鲁古雅鄂温克民族乡), and other places in Inner Mongolia. There are also very similar sacrificial activities among each of the neighboring ethnic groups: the Oroqen, Daur, and 陈巴尔虎 Chen Barhu Mongols.

Young Ewenki shamans hold an Aomi'nan sacrifice once every few years. Because it is a ritual in which older shamans teach the younger ones, an older shaman is invited to lead the Aomi'nan sacrifice. This ritual must have two shamans doing the trance dance, one being a shaman from the host *mukun*, the other is a shaman from another *mukun* who has been invited to serve as the teacher. Those Ewenki shamans in Aoluguya who have recently begun their studies call the invited older master shamans "mother" shamans. The mother shamans call these disciples "son" shamans. Some also call the shamans who direct and lead worship *bagsh* (teacher) shamans. What the new shaman receives is the spirit of the previous generation's clan shaman. In the shaman's singing, he has to clearly explain the spirit's history, "re-tracing the ancestral history, and relating the spirit's origins" (追溯历代祖辈，追述神灵远远). During Aomi'nan the shaman also requests spiritual protection for the clan. In this ritual, the shaman's songs are in large part prayers for protection.

During the Aomi'nan sacrifice, a sacrificial tree is often erected within or nearby the shaman's dwelling. For example, the Aoluguya Ewenki place two white birches and two larch trees, known as *tuoruo*, outside

of the shaman's bark wigwam. Within the dwelling, the shaman pulls out a fine leather strap (斯提木). After going around the dwelling the participants tie the strap to the *tuoruo* tree, slice the sacrificial meat, and hang it on the strap. The head of the sacrificial animal is boiled in a pot. The smoke and steam rising upward is called 苏布杰冷 *subujieleng*, "sacrifice to the spirits." The shaman places the sacrificial hides hair-side up on the ground, and places nine birch bark bowls on each side of them, symbolizing the nine female and nine male spirits. The bowls are filled with the blood of sacrificial animals, which is offered to the nine female and nine male spirits. The blood that is offered in the eighteen bowls is called *aominan* by the Ewenki.

Before Hulun Buir Ewenki shamans hold the ritual sacrifice, the people of the *mukun* go to the Hinggan forests and bring back four birch trees, first creating a 撮罗子 *cuoluozi* beside the shaman's yurt. Next, they take the four birch trees and put one in the yurt, two in the *cuoluozi*, and one in a place twelve or thirteen steps away from the *cuoluozi*. Some also have a dug path (*aleng*) leading from within the door of the shaman's dwelling to the outside. The shaman who is worshipping the spirit walks through this door into the yurt. When the ceremony is completed, he buries gnawed ox or lamb bones in the path.

In the Ewenki Aomi'nan ceremonies, some shamans also place nine wooden bars (索日那儿 *suorina'er*, "festival steps") on the two *tuoruo* trees. Some hang a wooden model of a moon to the west of the shaman's *cuoluozi*, and a sun to the east. Some also have two wooden wild geese and two cuckoos, and hang one of each on either side.

The Aomi'nan sacrifice is grand and boisterous, with the young and old shamans dancing at least three days. Two shamans will come and go between the *tuoruo*, singing and dancing. Except for the prayers and praises they sing, they also have conversations on healing illnesses, possession, and answers to all sorts of questions. Some older shamans also pronounce the mistakes made by the new shaman, like mistaking a ghost for a spirit on such and such a date. Sometimes, they mutually point out past mistakes.

In the April festival of the Alun River area, the clan shamans study the flying birds and interact with the invited shamans. The shaman masters and the other shamans must all drink animal blood, and, when drinking, have to drink like birds. After drinking they must spit out the blood. This way, the clan's sick will get better. They also request peace and prosperity for the entire clan. A rope is placed on the *tuoruo* as a

path for the spirits to come and go. Participants hope that the spirits can smoothly walk along the rope. Grabbing for the red, green and blue pieces of cloth tied along the rope is called "stealing *wumai*" (偷乌麦). Those who grab the red ones will have girls. Boys will come to those who have the other two colors. When the rite ends, the participants use the leather rope to encircle the people in the clan, and the shaman goes around the ring beating a drum to heal the people and pray for prosperity and health for a year. The longer the leather rope, the better; this way the people will flourish. If the rope is shorter, it won't surround the group, and they believe that sickness will arise and the population will decrease.

When the Ewenki perform the Aomi'nan, in addition to people within the clan, everyone who has invited the shaman to heal him/her will attend. The gifts for the shaman include cloth, lambs, bricks of tea, clothing, and other items. The funding of the festival is up to the young shaman's clan. The event may take three, four, or five days. Sometimes they also dance for eight or nine days.

Ewenki shamans must perform at least four Aomi'nan festivals in their lives. Every time they hold the Aomi'nan ritual, the number of antler points on the shaman's headdress increases by two. For instance, shamaness 扭拉 Niula of Aoluguya has performed the Aomi'nan ritual four times, and the antlers on her hat have increased from three to nine. The Ewenki shamans of the 莫尔格 Mo'erge River area who have held the Aominaleng once have six-point headdresses. Those who have performed twice have eight points, three times ten points, and four times twelve points. The number of points on the shaman's antlered-headdress is also an important sign of the how qualified the shaman is.

The importance of this kind of ritual lies in: 1) demonstrating the new shaman's qualifications and rank; 2) the teaching experience and transmission of techniques; 3) praying for the benefit of the clan. The previous two items already have the characteristics of professionalization, while the latter indicates that the kind of ritual still maintains its clan origins.

The Xibe shamans on the other hand, have not entirely left daily life, and dedicate themselves wholly to magical and worship-related activities. (The Xibe are spread across Liaoning, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia, and the Yili region of Xinjiang. The Xibe in Xinjiang primarily live in Chabucha'er Xibe Autonomous County in the Yili Kazhak Autonomous Prefecture [伊犁哈萨克自治州察布查尔锡伯族

自治县]. This autonomous county has eight 牛录 *niulu*, homesteads.) This situation has developed a professionalized regional shamanism. Of course, in this kind of development, the internal constraints of heredity continue to play a role in several respects. The most evident of these is the hereditary nature of the shaman's spirits.

The shaman's training has become an institution among the Xibe. According to an old shaman, shamans who have received the spirit generally study three years, during which he may not see patients alone. The master must teach the initiate the movements of the trance-dance, the incantations, the shaman songs, arcane knowledge, and magical skills. Novice shamans often hold sacrificial rituals on the fifteenth day of the eighth month to pray to the spirits and ensure that their studies are successful. The most important professional ritual of the Xibe shamans is the knife-ladder ritual (上刀梯). The Xibe ethnic group calls the ritual 察库兰 *chakulan*. This a formidable examination, in which the disciple shamans climb up a ladder of knife blades. Only after passing this test can the shaman communicate with the spirits in the upper worlds, and attain public status as a shaman.

Apprenticeship is given great attention in the shamanic tradition of the Xibe. To be trained by a famous master shaman is an honor. When the master shaman passes away, the young shaman must carry on his master's unfinished tasks and train future shamans. This tradition becomes so professional that it is well recognized by the people. When the shaman's knife-ladder ritual is successful, the next day the master takes the new shaman to the local residents to show his status and receive the people's congratulations. They walk the streets to meet the townspeople, and sing hymns to each family. To thank him for his blessing and protection, people give money, foodstuffs, cloth, etc. The new shaman sells these gifts and orders shaman's clothing for himself. A great shaman gives his hometown fame and glory. When people speak of him, they often say he is the shaman of a certain *niulu*, rather than of a certain clan.

The Xibe shamans emphasize the master's transmission. The students of the masters feel proud and honored to study under him. After the master dies, his disciples take care of whatever he has not completed. The disciples not only carry out the funeral, but must also continue along the shaman's road and instruct disciples. Otherwise, they cannot send their master's soul to the shaman's shrine. It is this kind of professional tradition that strengthens the orthodoxy and authority of shamanism.

The close relationship between the master and the disciple once constituted an attack on the stability of the clan spiritual structure. The master shamans of other clans and their spirits may become the disciple's spirits, which would have a place in his icon map (神像图). The spiritual structure's most basic change was in the professionalism of the shaman's magical ancestry (巫祖). Mother 伊散珠 Yisanzhu is a shared magical ancestor of Xibe shamans. She lives in shamanism's holy land—the shaman's yard (萨满场院). Among the spirits, she is the highest, and is the key to everything. Each clan's ancestral spirit, each kind of shaman spirit is subordinate to Mother Yisanzhu and fears her power. In the shamanist pantheon, Mother Yisanzhu stands tall on the end of the blade ladder, surrounded by a host of spirits. Each family ancestral spirit and each kind of shaman spirit is arranged on either side according to rank. The song "Eighteen *kalun*" (十八卡伦), says that only by passing through eighteen difficult obstacles can the earthly shaman meet her, experience her mercy, be formally registered, attain the full qualifications of a shaman, and obtain the trance-dance method.

Xibe shamans have regional professional festivals; the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the lunar calendar serves as a shaman festival. Around this date, the shamans are incredibly busy, presiding over different rituals at the invitation of each clan and *niulu*. Shamans often perform the ritual of receiving disciples at this time. The apprentice shamans also sacrifice and pray to the spirits to ensure the successful completion of their studies.[9]

In the tendency towards professional shamanism, the shaman's professional standards, ranking standards, and technical abilities are emphasized, the relationship between the shaman master and his disciple forms, the shaman's influence exceeds that of the clan, and regional shamanist customs become popular.

B. *Changes in the Shamanism of Northern Ethnic Groups during National Construction*

In China's history, many northern ethnic groups have established their own powerful nation-states. For instance, the Jin and Qing Dynasties were feudal dynasties built by Manchu-Tungusic people. In the early

[9] Meng, *Zhongguo bei fang min zu sa man jiao*.

period of these nation-states, shamanism evolved from indigenous clan-tribe belief systems. At that time, the old shamanistic beliefs were continuously transformed, and religious consciousness and activities changed in step with the social characteristics of the emerging nation-states.

1. *Changes in Shamans*

After frequent inter-tribal warfare, most of the northern nation-states were united. In this process, many clans went from the stage of primitive society into class society, and aristocratic nobles and military leaders differentiated themselves. Shamans increasingly had more personal aims. In order to join the upper class and secure the benefits they acquired, shamans catered to the rulers' needs. As the voices of gods and spirits, shamans had a unique role in the political world. Records in *The History of the Jin, Basic Annal Number One* (《金史·本纪第一》) attest to this situation: "阿骨达 Aguda…used 尼堪 Nikan, 古坤 Gukun and 乌舍 Wushe to serve the ruler.… Wushe was talented. He created Jurchen laws and letters, making the establishment of the nation-state possible, so the people gave him the title of shaman."

According to historical records, many shamans became guests of the ruling class and acquired worldly glory by serving royalty and aristocrats. According to the "Biography of Wuguchu" in *The History of the Jin* (《金史·乌古出传》), "At first, the 昭祖 Zhaozu Emperor did not have children. There was a shaman said to be efficacious and who could communicate with the spirits, so he was invited to pray for the Zhaozu Emperor. After a long time, the shaman said: "A male's soul has come. This son is the source of happiness and morality. His offspring will be prosperous. Worship and accept him. When he is born, name him 乌古迺 Wugunai." This was the 景祖 Jingzu Emperor. Again, after a long time, the shaman said: "A female's soul has come. You can name her 五鸦忍 Wuyaren." After another long time, he said: "Again I see an omen for a female. She can be named 斡都拔 Woduba." And again, after a long time later, he said: "Again I see an omen for a male, but he is not a tractable one. If he grows up, he will become cruel. He will not appreciate the grace of his elders, and will do evil. You cannot accept him." Considering that no heir had been established, the Zhaozu Emperor said: "Even if he is not good, I wish to accept him." The shaman then said: "You should name him 乌古出 Wuguchu." Later, the Zhaozu Emperor had two sons and two daughters; the order of their births was just as the shaman predicted. So they were named as the shaman said."

According to historical records, when the northern ethnic groups were forming their nations, shamans could represent the spirits and speak as oracles, claiming that a certain monarch had been selected as emperor by Heaven. They also could explain signs and abnormal phenomena according to the will of the ruling class. Shamans were also powerful in the military life of the ethnic groups. Before going out for battle, shamans were requested to perform divinations. They held shamanistic rituals, and afterwards, the army would head out for the battlefield. Shamans also held rituals to motivate the soldiers.

In shamanic tradition, only shamans serve the gods and spirits, and have access to their will. Rulers of different nations used to appear to be shamans themselves in their nation-building periods. In addition to their military and political power, they subdued and controlled local people by their "ability" to read oracles of the gods of Heaven. Historical documents show that most political leaders were once shamans who conveyed oracles, and explained astronomical phenomena and dreams, or were persons with shamanistic abilities. Leaders communicated with the gods and spirits; in other words, rulers such as the Khans were shamans—this is one of the obvious characteristics of the belief systems of the early nations.

The sixty-fifth chapter of *The History of the Jin*, "Biography of Xielihu" (《金史·谢里忽传》) says, "The nation has a custom that when a person is killed, a shaman must be invited to curse the killer. A blade is tied to the top of the shaman's wand. The shaman goes to the killer's home with other people and curses him/her in song. Then the shaman draws on the ground with the blade. When leaving they take away all the family's livestock and money. Once a family is cursed, it will fall. When the 乌萨扎 Wusazha Tribe of the 来流水 Lailiushui area had defeated the 完颜 Wanyan Tribe, the Zhaozu Emperor went to Wusazha Tribe and governed there with customs of the nation, and gained a lot." Judging from this section, during the reign of the Zhaozu Emperor these shamanistic customs already existed among the ungoverned Jurchen (生女真). Thus we can suppose they had existed for a long time. The Zhaozu Emperor was the leader of the Jurchen Wanyan tribe and a shaman at the same time, so he had both military and religious status. The *History of the Jin*'s "Biography of the Taizu Emperor" (《金史·太祖纪》) notes, "Before the Tai Emperor crusaded against the 温敦 Wendun tribe, he said: 'Last evening there were red clouds. This is a good omen. We can surely beat the enemy this time.'" In the battle of 出河店 Chuhedian, "when the Taizu Emperor had just laid down to sleep, several times

he seemed to touch his head. Then he awoke, got up and said: 'The gods are warning me.'" In the records of the battle of 达鲁古 Dalugu, it is said that "In the 庚子 Gengzi year, [the Taizu Emperor's] army set out. There was a round fireball falling from the sky. The emperor said: 'This is a good omen. Heaven is helping us.' He poured water on the ground as a sacrifice, and bade farewell to their territory. All of the soldiers were happy." We can see from such passages that Jurchen leaders customarily used shamanism in military affairs.

The relationship between political leaders and shamans changed greatly with the consolidation of the leaders' political status and the perfection of their forms of national government. At first, headmen, monarchs and aristocrats made use of the shamans' power for political purposes, collaborating with them to gain divine support for their political activities. Shamans thus had the capital to compete for political power, because of the unique characteristics of their profession. Sometimes they went as far as to seek personal gain through the use of their own divine power. As their rulers' power increased, they were no longer tolerant of the shamans who shared power with them, and they acted like oracles for the gods themselves. Since the rulers could communicate with the gods directly, they no longer required the shaman's power. During this period, shamans lost the status they had once had. Nations established by northern ethnic groups always adopted absolute monarchy, seizing the absolute power of ruling without ties to any divine right. The emperor is the son of Heaven, and is a representative of Heaven, thus his status is supreme. The monarch is the paramount leader of the regime, higher than any holy men. The emperor respects and prays only to Heaven, and not to any shamans or holy men. He needs no religious professional to coronate him, and spiritual power cannot interfere in imperial power.

In order to maintain the centralized feudal system, ethnic rulers had to limit or even prohibit shamanistic activities. This is because the shaman's oracles were based on unrealistic assumptions that confused and poisoned people's minds. Both the Mongolian and Manchu rulers made specific provisions, prohibiting shamanistic sorcery. This indicates that shamanism was considered a destabilizing social element. On the one hand, the rulers wanted to preserve indigenous traditions; on the other hand, they hoped to avoid the negative effects of shamanism. So they remolded shamanism, and made the shamans into professional practitioners who served the governing class, and prohibited shamanic activities including trances, trance-dancing, telling fortunes,

and the like. Thus, the main shamanist activities changed from rites of divination to conducting ritual sacrifices. The Manchu regime's female shamanic sacrifices, under the societal condition that men's power was pre-eminent, were a limitation of the old shamanic system in which shamans shared power with the rulers. Because shamans were the emperor's female relatives and moreover were prohibited from using trances, the male-dominated social structure discouraged men from dreaming about becoming shamans. In this way, the potential dangers of traditional shamanism were avoided.

2. *Changes in the Concept of Faith*

The ideological changes that accompany the shift from a primitive democratic society to a class society, in which the power lies with an individual, are revolutionary. The phenomenon of borrowing ancient myths to create the origin or mythical experience of a certain clan or authority figure arose in this period. Almost all northern ethnic groups adopted this method of utilizing and changing shamanist perceptions, and "sanctified" their founding emperor or the clan to which he belonged. One of the most common phenomena is creating various legends of leaders and clan ancestors, and making use of shamanistic beliefs in spirits or animals. *The Veritable Records of the Taizu Wu Reign* (《清太祖武皇帝实录》) describes the legend of the ancestors of Nurhaci's Aisin Gioro Clan: "It is said that there were three fairies from heaven. The eldest was 恩古伦 Engulun, the middle was 正古伦 Zhenggulun, and the youngest was 佛古伦 Fogulun. One day, they were bathing in a pond. After they finished bathing, a divine magpie put a red fruit in its mouth and then put it upon the youngest sister's clothes. She loved the fruit, and did not have the heart to put it on the ground, so she placed it in her mouth. When she put on her clothes, the fruit entered her stomach, and she became pregnant… Not long after that, Fogulun gave birth to a boy of unusual appearance who could speak when he was born. After he grew up, his mother gave him the surname Aisin Gioro, and the given name 布库里雍顺 Bukuliyongshun, since he was born because of a red fruit". These old myths also had popular forms, so they were easily accepted and spread by the people, and thus became politicized in ways that are both traditional and beneficial to the rulers.

At that time, the various forms of the divine right of kings were the basis of national ideology, which functioned to consolidate the reign and maintain social order.

The Qing Dynasty arose between the late 16th and the early 17th centuries. *The Old Records in Manchu Language, the Taizu Reign* (《满文老档·太祖朝》) and the *Veritable Record of the Taizong Reign* (《清太宗实录》) record that from the beginning of the regime, Nurhaci used the words "spirit of Heaven" (天灵), "omen from Heaven" (天兆), "will of Heaven" (天意), "rules of Heaven" (天理), "help from Heaven" (天助), "blessing from Heaven" (天佑), "fate of Heaven" (天命), etc. in relation to all of his acts, such as solving issues, selecting officials, and resorting to arms. In the winter of 1612, when sacrificing to Heaven, Nurhaci said: "We, the Aisin Gioro, were born by Heaven. In every deed we deferred to Heaven and followed the rules of Heaven. For many generations, we have been admired and respected by our neighbors, and were never plundered by others." Nurhaci united the tribes of the Jurchen, establishing the Great Jin Empire, commonly known as the Later Jin. When he became emperor, he took the reign name Will of Heaven. Once when Nurhaci was discussing official business with a group of his subordinates, he said: "Heaven appoints the Khan (汗), and the Khan appoints administrators." He attributed his unbeaten record to the fact that, "I am favored by Heaven." Every time he overcame others, Nurhaci deified his victory with phrases such as the "gods from Heaven gave us shelter," "gods from Heaven protected us," "gods from Heaven helped us to kill," etc. On the Renshen day of the first lunar month of 1616, Nurhaci held a meeting among his 贝勒 *beile* and ministers, announcing that, "Our nation was in poverty because we did not have a Khan. In order to allow people to live in peace and contentment, Heaven sent the Khan to us. We should give a *zunhao* 尊号, a respected name,[10] to the Khan, who was born because heaven wished it so, and who kindly supports the poor people of the whole nation, and fosters talented and wise men." The original Manchu meaning of the respected name is "wise Khan appointed by Heaven and raises all nations." The Manchu rulers advocated "the divine right of kings," and believed that "relying on the blessing of Heaven, the nation will surely become prosperous."

If we say that in clan society, people's belief in gods and spirits from Heaven was dominated by the nature of Heaven, then all the ethnic rulers of the northern regimes did was to attach social content to the

[10] *Zunhao* is the honorific name for living emperors and empress dowagers. It is used in foreign affairs, rituals and sacrifices. Translators

natural powers of Heaven, and make the belief in Heaven a spiritual tool to protect the interest of the rulers.

One point we know from the *Veritable Records of Taizu Gao Reign* (《太祖高皇帝实录》) is that Nurhaci believed: "Since an emperor is appointed by Heaven's will, if he cannot do good deeds and strive to create great undertakings, complying both with the will of Heaven and of the people, then he will lose his ambition and become dissipated. Heaven will blame him, and his undertakings will be subject to failure." In the eleventh lunar month of the sixth year of Tianming (1621), Nurhaci said to his subordinates: "The 万历 Wanli Emperor of the Ming Dynasty was unwise in politics… He did not attend to internal affairs… So Heaven condemned him, and bestowed the Ming Emperor's land on the eastern side of the Yellow River upon me… Since Heaven favored me and endowed land to me, I was afraid that if I did not govern the nation according to Heaven's will, I would be punished." Nurhaci once explained that Heaven established all nations, so no matter big or small, all nations should exist. However, the Ming ill-treated the small Jurchen State and did not want it to survive. It violated Heaven's rules. Heaven always discriminates bright from dark, so the Ming was disliked and abandoned. Thus, Nurhaci's expedition against the Ming was an action of Heaven. Furthermore, Nurhaci stated: "Evildoers are disliked by Heaven, and their nations are subject to decline. Those who do good deeds are blessed by Heaven and their nations will be prosperous." In all, Heaven made the decisions. Several times, Nurhaci upbraided the Wanli Emperor of the Ming with words such as "acting against Heaven's will" and "considered evil by Heaven." In a letter, which Nurhaci wrote to the king of Korea, he asserted:

> Heaven takes right as right, and wrong as wrong… Heaven takes me as right, and the 尼堪 Nikan, the Han Chinese people, as wrong. The Nikan emperor of the big kingdom also lives under the unchanging word of Heaven. However, the Nikan emperor violated Heaven's rules, going against Heaven, and making other nations suffer for it. Since the Nikan emperor has made too many mistakes, Heaven takes him as wrong. The wise Khan of the Jusen (诸申 Zhushen, Jurchen) has done many good deeds, so the nation is blessed by both Heaven and Earth.

At the Si hour of the Yin day (巳刻寅日), the thirteenth day of the fourth lunar month of the third year of the Tianming reign period (1618), Nurhaci held a ceremony to declare war against the Ming Dynasty. In this ceremony, the famous *Report to Heaven* document (《告天文书》) was announced. Among the prayers were:

> Heaven finds the 叶赫 Yehe to be in the wrong.
>
> The Nikan acted against Heaven.
>
> [The Nikan] helped the Yehe who were considered evil by Heaven.
>
> Heaven sent the 哈达 Hada tribe to me, but after that, the Nikan emperor still helped the Hada, and threatened us.
>
> Those considered by Heaven to be evil will surely lose and die, and the ones considered right will surely live in success.

At the same time the rulers of the northern regimes were promoting the idea that the kingship was decided by Heaven, they further put forward the notion that Heaven was the overseer of the kingship, and believed that Heaven had the power to punish evil and praise virtue. Heaven is wise and just, with the ability to discriminate good and evil and right and wrong, and has the power to arbitrate the morality of the emperor in the human world. Heaven not only appoints an emperor, but also maintains or changes the appointment according to whether the emperor's deeds accord with the moral standards of Heaven. This is the notion that "The Heavenly Emperor has no favorites; only morality is the standard." Thus, Heaven's essence is Heavenly morality (天德) and the will of Heaven (天命). The mandate of Heaven is only given to those with high moral standards. The will of Heaven is founded upon and changes with the ruler's morality.

Given that a regime can be blessed by Heaven out of benevolence and morality (仁德) and punished because of inferior morality, powerful rulers cannot do whatever they like. Instead, they must monitor themselves. If they cannot govern their nations well, Heavenly morality will not be maintained, Heaven will send famines as punishment, and the people will suffer. The Jin Dynasty consistently used the theory of cosmological correspondences to review itself. When there was abnormal weather or natural disasters, rulers of the Jin Dynasty often connected these phenomena with the ruler's actions, and adopted measures to amend the method of governing in order to please Heaven and eventually eliminate adversity. Heaven exists everywhere, and watches people everywhere. If a person is honest and acts morally, he/she will surely be protected by Heaven. Nurhaci also believed that by caring for the people, as consigned by Heaven, the emperor will be praised; at the same time, when using the power given by Heaven, an emperor should be cautious and modest. He advocated that those people blessed by Heaven should not be proud. Heaven and human

beings respond to each other. Heaven not only knows everything, but also has the ability to kill those guilty of perfidy. According to the *Old Records in Manchu*, on the thirteenth day of the first lunar month of the sixth year of Tianming (1624), Nurhaci, and the lords 代善 Daishan, 阿敏 Amin, 莽古尔泰 Manggu'ertai, 德格类 Degelei, 济尔哈朗 Ji'erhalang, 阿济格 Ajige and 岳托 Yuetuo all burned incense and worshiped gods. They prayed:

> Thanks to the protection of the Heavenly Father and Earth Mother (天父地母)… We hereby pray to all the gods in the world, that if there were evil ones among our offspring, Heaven will eliminate them, and not give them the chance to kill people. If there were cruel ones who came up with evil ideas before Heaven punished them, let them be dealt with.

Here, Nurhaci brought both political order and worldly human relationships into the idea of Tianming, which emphasizes Heaven's functions of monitoring and meting out punishments. All people who act against the will of Heaven are warned against its majesty. If they desire to commit evil deeds, or usurp the throne, Heaven is bound to punish them, and they will finally fail and be killed.

Although the above development towards ethical beliefs did not exceed the rulers' personal and political life, it was an advance of rational thought. Here, Heaven has become a comparatively rational phenomenon, regulating the world through rational morals, and thus allowing religious ethics and mundane life to unite as one. At the same time, it emphasizes the controlling power of people themselves, noticing the correspondence between people's deeds and Heaven's will, and developing the idea of morality from it. Theistic beliefs developed to this level, from which we can see a breakthrough in shamanist thinking in a move towards rationalism.

3. *Changes in the Shamanism Sacrifice System*

In the process of founding the northern nation-states, the ancient shamanist beliefs have been constantly modified by the respective societies, along with adaptations in religious thoughts and activities.

Shamanism went through two developmental phases in the early period of the Manchu empire. The first phase involved inter-tribal war. Shamanism shifted from serving the important life cycle events of the tribe in peacetime, to serving military and political needs in wartime. The second phase occurred when the most powerful tribe defeated the other groups, making particular shamanist beliefs compulsory for the

whole ethnic group. Of course, these phases are related. The latter is the inevitable result of the former.

Due to fierce fighting between different tribes during the late Ming dynasty, Jurchen society was in a period of drastic change. While warfare continued, there appeared to be several equally powerful tribes, which could possibly be united, as had earlier tribes in history. Nurhaci of the Jianzhou Federation followed this tendency, implementing many successful military and political policies to empower his tribe to become most the powerful one, and then achieved unification. He not only unified the Jurchens into a single new ethnic group on the stage of history, but also achieved ethnic and social progress by destroying the shortcomings of the clan and tribal systems and pulling his ethnic group into a new stage of history.

Shamanism exists as an autonomous, self-forming system in every clan—the basic unit of shamanic belief. Although the shamanistic practitioners of different clans influence and affect each other, the particular belief systems stay quite independent. The historic rise of the Manchu state was a serious blow to the root of shamanism—the clan society. Because a shaman is the spiritual sustenance of the whole clan and the representative of the clan's political life, shamans of the conquered clans were the first to be killed. Some headmen might be spared, but never the shaman. If a clan's shaman stays alive, the conquered clansmen could not be pacified. Only by the shaman's death could the situation be stabilized. This situation is frequently described in Manchu folktales.

Each tribe offered sacrifices at a special hall (堂子) that represented the tribal spirit. In the hunting season, every family put their idol, image, holy booklet, or relic into a holy box made of birch bark and other materials. They brought the box along with them, and offered sacrifices to its contents from time to time. After the middle period of the Ming dynasty, the Jurchen tribes settled the holy place in the city of 霍通 Huotong, where they offered sacrifices to ancestors and guardian spirits, was also called the hall, alternately rendered 堂涩 *tangse*, 唐舍 *tangshe*, and 挡色 *dangse*. This is also the predecessor of the "hall" in the Qing palace that historians frequently mentioned. The hall is always located southeast of the tribal stronghold, with a holy pole (神杆) standing nearby to represent the place where the sun rises. Some tribes had a Headquarters Hall (总堂涩), and many Branch Halls (分堂涩). The Hall of the Nurhaci, also of the Aisin Gioro tribe, was first established during the Jurchen period of tribal warfare and was fairly

crude. According to 李民央 Li Minyang's *Voyage in Jianzhou* (《建州闻见录》) , "Five *li* away, there stands a hall, surrounded by walls, which is for sacrifices." This location is five *li* from where Nurhaci lived with his army in the old city of 赫图阿拉 Hetu Ala. After Nurhaci led his army to Shenyang in Liaoning, the hall was moved south along with his army. In the sixth year of Tianming (1621), Nurhaci moved his capital to Liaoyang, the "Eastern Capital." There he erected a new hall for sacrifices. In the tenth year of Tianming, Nurhaci moved to the new capital in Shenyang, and also erected the hall, which was also known as the Tangzi miao 堂子庙, Tangzi Temple. It was originally located to the south of 大东边门里 Dadongbianmenli Road, but has now disappeared. It was surrounded by red walls, had a Sacrificial Hall (飨殿) at the rear, and a spirit hall (神殿) to the southwest. In 1644, the Qing army stormed 山海关 Shanhai Guan, the Shanhai Pass, and erected the hall in Beijing in September, during the first year of the Shunzhi reign period. The new hall for sacrifices to Heaven (祭天堂子) can be traced back to the original in Shenyang based on architectural characteristics, decorations, and layouts of the palaces. The hall of the Qing dynasty reached its peak of development in Beijing.

In the historic records of the Jianzhou Federation, we can see that they always offered sacrifices before large wars. In the first volume of the *True Record of Manchuria* (《满洲实录》), it is written: "In the twenty-first year of Wanli, the nine tribes of the Yehe fought with the Jianzhou. Before the war, Nurhaci 'led the beile and ministers to offer sacrifices in the hall', and he prayed for 'the surrender of the enemy, the promotion of our morale, for everyone armed with weapons, and for every horse to run well. I can only pray for your silent blessing, to help us win this war' ". Also, the *True Record of the Qing Taizu Gao Emperor* (《清太祖高皇帝实录》) says: "in the year second year of Tianming, before conquering Fushun, Nurhaci "led the *beile* and the generals to play the drums and pray in the hall." The volume on the "Investigation of Suburban Temples" in *The Investigation of Qing Documents* (《清文献通考 · 郊社考》) notes, "In establishing the nation, the Taiguo Gao Emperor used the ritual etiquette of offering sacrifices. Every New Year's Day or solar eclipse, and at important moments in national affairs, he would pray and offer sacrifices."

A hall is not only the spiritual support for the whole tribe, but also of the conquered people. When Nurhaci conquered the 哈达 Hada, 朱舍里 Zhusheli, 长白山 Changbaishan, 挥发 Huifa, 叶赫 Yehe, 董鄂 Dong'e, and 乌拉 Wula, he first destroyed the halls of these

tribes, "carrying relics and horses in front of the *beile*." The relics and the scriptures of the conquered tribes would be destroyed or modified, in order to cut off the connection between the conquered people and their spiritual worlds.

Many Jurchen tribes were very powerful at particular periods, and all had the potential to be victorious over other tribes. At certain historical moments, certain tribes were far more powerful than Nurhaci's Jianzhou tribe. Despite finally being conquered by Nurhaci, they accepted certain similar religious practices. However, Nurhaci's religious methods and policies were finalized by his successors such as Huang Taiji, Kangxi, Qianlong, and so on. During the Huang Taiji period, the emperor ruled that sacrifices, whether conducted by officials or common people, should be terminated. This regulation ended the history of Manchurians not surnamed Aisin Gioro having the ability to establish their own halls, only allowing them to offer sacrifices to the gods via the holy box kept in their homes. As people and gods lived together, sacrifices and prayers were offered every spring and autumn; sacrifices prospered in the home, and they became a major characteristic of Manchu shamanism.

In wartime, tribal leaders gradually legitimized their personal authority and aristocratic power through military and political victories. They forced tribes to submit not only through military and political means, some leaders of big tribes would require other smaller tribes to make offerings in their sacrificial war rites. Those who did not participate were considered defiant and were destroyed. The leaders of big tribes, who were already famous for their power, would conquer such tribes first and obtain control over their rites by military means. All others yielded in obedience.

The religious ritualist, long a special representative of political power, was already established during the period of inter-tribal warfare. Upon entering state society, the upper level aristocrats strenuously promoted religion to maintain their privileged status. They turned to religious rituals to deify their authority: on one hand they combined shamanic rituals with the ritual of the nation and society, forming ritual led by the emperor. On the other hand, the national sacrificial rituals were codified into a hierarchical order, and thus integrated into the religious system.

In countries founded by northerners, the sacrifices and rituals led by the king became the official ceremonies of the national religion, and its major characteristic. The king as the main ritualist was a product of

these national politics, and clearly expressed the king's monopolization of religion. The king's specialized ritual ceremonies deified the ruler in terms of both religious thought and ceremony.

In the first year of Yuande, Huang Taiji ruled that New Year sacrifices were to be offered in the Round Hall of the Sacrificial Hall. He thus determined the status of the hall sacrifice as the national sacrifice ritual with the pronouncement that: "Every New Year's Day, the emperor will lead people from princes to vice 都统 *dutong*s and kings from other kingdoms to offer sacrifices and incense, make obeisance, and kowtow". The Hall was primarily the place where the emperor carried out shamanist rituals with Manchurian aristocrats and foreign kings following along to participate in the ceremony, making the hall sacrifice the national shamanic ritual. The princes were mostly surnamed Aisin Gioro, and could participate in every aspect of the ritual. However, most of the officials from princes to vice-*dutong*s were Manchurians of different surnames, so they could have no hall among their own tribes due to the drastic changes made under the emperor's governance. Thus their participation in the ritual was not perfectly justified. The other kings (mostly Mongolian aristocrats who had marriage connections with the Manchus) participated in the ritual to represent their political solidarity.

The hall ritual was also the imperial family's ritual. The ritual reflected the hierarchic nature of the imperial family, making it the epitome of the state system. The rituals of the emperor and other aristocrats could not take place on the same day. Therefore the times of other sacrifices were arranged according to their rankings. The regulation in the first year of Chongde said, "In the ritual of spring and autumn, the princes, the county kings, and the *beile*, can use three poles per family; the *beizi*s, the Zhenguo dukes, and the Fuguo dukes, can use two poles per family; the Zhenguo, Fuguo, and Fengguo generals can use one pole. The number of poles indicated how many times the particular leaders could offer sacrifices in the hall and at home every month. It also signified the ranking of power. When ritual schedules of the emperor and his ministers conflicted, the ministers had to postpone their ritual in order to defer to the emperor. Due to the lingering influence of democracy in primitive clan-based societies, the middle level princes and county kings, etc. still had the privilege of offering sacrifices alone in the hall. A regulation in the sixth year of Chongde said: "The aristocrats from the level of prince to *beile* have to send guards to hang a piece of paper in the hall, aristocrats lower

than *beizi* cannot (at present, only those with ranks from county king to *beile* can do this). It demonstrated that the rank of those who could sacrifice in the hall rose with the development of imperial power.

In the fourteenth year of Qianlong, the Gaozong[11] emperor examined the high-level national ceremonies appointing generals (命将) and of triumphant returning (凯旋), and required the ministers and princes to discuss and determine the details in these ceremonies. He wrote down the regulations into the national Ceremonial Code (会典) himself, saying:

> The ceremony in the hall is the general ceremony of our tribe's ancestors. The god to whom we sacrifice is the god in Heaven. Our ancestors would go to the outlying areas to light a campfire and implement the ceremony at a certain time. The hall will follow this old tradition, to offer sacrifices and pray when an emergency happens, in the first ten days of the first months of spring and autumn, and on New Year's Day. Since the regulation was established, we have never disobeyed it, and we never change the names of this ceremony out of respect for the old tradition. While examining the old texts, we found out that there are different ways to offer sacrifices for the harvest or for the year. Of course we have to offer sacrifices in the hall before we start a military action of any kind; we will array many items in a sacrifice for luck. When our ancestors were on their way in the army, they could not return to the hall. So they offered sacrifices in the hall. This was the best and most respectful way they could find. If I, the emperor, send out a conquering army, I will offer sacrifices when I triumphantly return. Since all the gods in the Heaven and Earth to which are offered sacrifices and respect are listed in our holy book, and have been studied by scholars, if our ritual specialists make mistakes in the hall or during the ceremonies, what will happen? This concerns the rituals and ceremonies so it is very important, it should be well prepared. The details of the rituals conducted by the ministers and princes will be determined by me, the emperor, and will be recorded in the holy book.

The details are discussed and determined as such:

> If the army returns triumphantly, we will implement our sacrificial ritual and ceremonies in the Heaven and Earth Hall, the Great Temple (太庙), the Ancestor Hall (奉先殿), the Altar of Land and Grain, and the sepulcher of our ancients as usual. The emperor will lead the ritual in the hall at the time the Heaven Observer (钦天监) selects with full sacrifices. The general who has won the war will wait at 金水桥 Jinshui Bridge, all the officials will wait in their usual place at morning court, outside 午门

[11] This is the "temple name" of the Qianlong emperor.

> Wumen, the kings, *beile*, *beizi*s, dukes, high scholars, *dutong*s, 尚书 *shangshu*s, and all the other first-level officials should wait outside the inner gates of the hall in that order. The ritual official will play music to invite the emperor. Those officials, who do not have the right to accompany the emperor, should wait for the emperor to leave while kneeling down on the ground. The triumphant generals and kings, *beile*, *beizi*s, dukes, scholars, *dutong*s, *shangshu*s, and first-level officials should kneel down and await the emperor. When he comes, they should accompany him to enter the hall. The ritual official should invite the emperor to enter the hall to offer sacrifices; the accompanying officials should stand aside in order. The ritual official will play a piece of music indicating the end. The ritual official should then invite the emperor to exit and embark in a sedan chair.

Among the hall ceremonies, declaring war, appointing generals, and returning triumphantly from battle are all national affairs. Because the emperor valued these things so much, the rituals and ceremonies were prepared with extravagance and in minute detail. Ceremonies regarding military actions were part of the national ceremonies in the Qing dynasty, and they were completed when Qianlong emperor started to rule.[12]

During the Qing dynasty when the emperor started a war, appointed the generals, the army triumphantly returned, and held events of national importance, a hall ritual was held. The national ceremony solidified the emperor's monopoly over the religious power structure. Except for cases mentioned above, the country handled the sacrificial ceremonies directly along with national affairs, making religious activities part of the national political system. These types of national ceremonial activities possessed a scope, formality, and authority that reflected the religious ceremonies of the national ritual system.

After the founding of the country, the religious activities grew more complicated, and national religious ceremonies became increasingly institutionalized, standardized, and sanctified. The state provided special clergy to serve the gods and conduct religious activities and ranked them according to their different services. For example, shamans of the Qing dynasty had to be women rather than men, and were surnamed Aisin Gioro. Two shamans were assigned titles as chief ritualists, and a dozen others held official positions. During the reign of

[12] 姜相顺 / Jiang Xiangshun, 神秘的清宫萨满祭祀 / *Shen mi de Qing gong sa man ji si* (Shenyang: Liaoning ren min chu ban she, 1995), 162–165. (*The Mysterious Shamanist Sacrifices in the Qing Court*)

Kangxi, they received the best cloth and silk every year. After the reign of Qianlong, the shamans were demoted to the rank of the women born from outside the imperial family and received third-rate official treatment. As ritualists, the shamans in the Forbidden City acted to serve the gods in accord with the phrase "to undertake the rituals." The sacrificial ceremony was very complicated and included offering *daphne odora* (七里香), cakes, wines, fruits, spirit money, and sacrifices to the gods and ancestors. The goal of the shamans was to pray to the gods on behalf of the emperor, the empress, and other imperial family members. This was, obviously, a private affair, but in the Qing dynasty the idea was current that "I, the emperor, am also the country." So if a shaman prayed for the imperial family it also meant that he or she was praying for the whole country to be peaceful and orderly. Moreover the emperor, the empress, and the family members and subordinates could all receive blessings from the gods and ancestors. Therefore, the shaman's major responsibility was to perform the sacrifice, invite the gods, and pray.

Because the main function of national religion was to maintain the authority and stability of the ruling class, the country usually reinforced its power by means of the belief system, and through regulating and limiting sacrificial ceremonies outside the Forbidden City. Nurhaci, Kangxi, Qianlong and other emperors made great efforts to strengthen the role of religion, and Qianlong finally fixed the ethnic religious law in a text entitled the *Imperially Commissioned Code of Rituals and Sacrifices of the Manchus* (《钦定满洲祭神祭天典礼》). This was the first ethnic religious law based on shamanism. It was issued by the authorities in the twelfth year of Qianlong's reign, and is concerned with the hall ceremonies, and other imperial ceremonies. Included in the text are regulations concerning shamanist sacrifices, as well as advice on Manchurian folk sacrifice. This law has six volumes, of which volumes one through four are about the gods, ritual etiquette, and text about the sacrificial ceremony; volume five concerns the numbers of items and tools used in the ceremony; and volume six is about the pictures of items and tools.

Issued in the twelfth year of Qianlong's reign, *The Imperially Commissioned Code of Rituals and Sacrifices of the Manchus* is a Manchurian sacrificial law. It unified Manchurian shamanism, primarily through the regulation of the ceremonies, and explained the hall sacrifice of the imperial family. This book collected information concerning some

of the most representative gods from different Manchurian families, such as 阿浑年锡 Ahunnianxi, 安春阿雅拉 Anchun'ayala, 穆林穆林哈 Mulinmulinha, 纳丹岱浑 Nadandaihun, 纳尔浑轩初 Narhunxuanchu, 恩都哩僧固 Endulisenggu, 喀屯诺延 Katunnuoyan, 佛立佛多鄂莫锡妈妈 Fere fodo omosi mama, etc., all very old gods in shamanism. The law combines these gods with other gods in the imperial family sacrifices, creating a whole new group of hall gods. The older, more traditional gods were maintained in order to comfort the shamans and others from the various tribes, and served to stabilize the hearts of the people.

Although the law was aimed at imperial ceremonies, it also restricted the other Manchurian families. In other words, this law standardized the culture of the whole ethnic group from the standpoint of the Aisin Gioro family. To popularize this law; rulers used very harsh measures, although not to the extent of killing as during the time of Nurhaci. All of the Manchurian family sacrifices were monitored; every *dutong* and local government had the right to interfere with the ceremonies of ordinary Manchu people. If they disobeyed, they would be punished, with degradation, dismissal, expulsion from Manchurian banner-ranking system, fines, and being made to forfeit horses and/or slaves. Folk narratives about the capture of shamans of forbidden deities preserve this period's history. The stories reflect the history of the Qing dynasty forbidding the people from offering sacrifices to other gods.

The compulsory regulations from the ruler made for a smooth dispersal of the law among the people. Judging from the shamanist texts we collected, most of them are identical to the Commissioned Code, even those from folk contexts. In texts that were collected from different Manchurian families, the ritual items and processes are the same as the Commissioned Code, such as *huansuo* 换琐, the prayer to heaven for good luck. Among the people, sacrifices offered to the *xiqiang* 西墙, the ancestors, were called Morning Ceremony and Evening Ceremony. In the official ceremony, with the exception of Sakyamuni Buddha, Avalokitesvara, and Guan Gong, most of the gods were identical to the folk ceremonies. Moreover, the ritual items, processes, layouts, and music were more or less the same as those among the people. In particular the messages sent to gods were almost identical between the folk ceremonies and the imperial one. Ritual ceremonies were standardized in terms of the process, type, gods, items, and messages, which replaced the original characteristics of the ceremonies

and rituals of traditional Manchu shamanism. Because of this law, worship of wild deities nearly disappeared, and vestiges of it are preserved among only a few remote clans.

The Imperially Commissioned Code of Rituals and Sacrifices of the Manchus is a Manchurian ritual law that made most of the shamans who practice trances disappear. The duty of a shaman was now that of a priest hosting a ceremony. Rituals that did not require trances became the primary form of Manchurian shamanist religious ceremony. Under pressure from the ruler, Manchurian shamanism shifted from shamanic ritual to state ceremony; shamans were replaced by priests; and the shamanic activities became regulated sacrifices and other ritual activities. This shift itself was a step in the development of Manchurian shamanism, yet also was the end of shamanism. The tradition of clan sacrifice was the most colorful and unique character of Manchurian shamanism. It moved shamanism into a new historical stage and is unique in the development of shamanism.

4. *The Tradition of Shamanism as a Religion of the Patriarchal Clan System*

Contemporary Chinese scholar 牟钟鉴 Mou Zhongjian has raised the idea of a "traditional religion of the patriarchal clan system", and explains that: In Chinese history, there existed an orthodox religion for thousands of years aside from Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism. He calls it the traditional religion of the patriarchal clan system. Its consists of worshipping the sky (Heaven), worshipping ancestors, and worshipping the harvest, with related rituals to worship the sun, the moon, mountains, and rivers as various gods, as well as the supplementary worship of ghosts. The system formed relatively stable suburban temples, family temples, and other rituals. It is based on a "respect for heaven and the ancestors", and it did not have an independent religious organization. Rather, the religious organization was both the political system of the country and the organizing system of the religion. The emperors hosted the ceremony to sacrifice to Heaven, the leader of a family hosted the ceremony for the ancestors. The sacrifices and the politics of the country and the family were combined into one. It is both national religion and popular religion. So it could be called the traditional national ethnic religion. Four main phenomena were worshipped: the heaven, the land, the ghosts of the people, and the spirits of the materials. Its frequent religious activities include offering sacrifices to heaven and earth, to the ancestors, to the harvest and the grain, and to all of the stars, and sometimes also the gods

and ghosts. This national ethnic religion began with primitive beliefs, which formed during the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, were perfected between the Han and Tang dynasties, and continued uninterrupted until the end of the Qing dynasty. The records of rituals of luck and funerals are evidence of this religion.[13]

The basic purpose of the patriarchal clan system religion was to ensure that the divine rights of the emperor from the Heaven, and obedience to the ancestral laws could not be circumvented. The government relied on Heaven, which gave the emperor power. Hence sacrifices to Heaven were included in the national rituals and arranged by the government, which served the regime and politics. The rules of halls were also important components of the national rituals. The religion was connected with politics and political life, like a theocracy.

Through analyzing the content and characteristics of the national religions in the states founded by the northern peoples, we can see that the religion of the countries was interlinked with the patriarchal clan system religion of the Han people. The differences in ethnic characteristics are superficial, and the regulations and laws are simple and coarse. Actually, the states founded by northern ethnic groups are somewhat like earlier states founded by the people of central China: they all establish their own national religions out of their original belief systems.

The origin of the clan system's religion lies in its social tradition. This type of social connection is determined by blood relationship. The states founded by northern peoples basically maintain the blood relationships of the clan system, employing the original relationships to establish societies based on patriarchal hierarchical systems. The patriarchal clan system turned blood relationships into social relationships, ranking everyone according to the distance of their blood relationship, fixing social status, creating new class relationships upon blood relationships of the patriarchal clan systems, forming the classes of the patriarchal clan system, hierarchies, and state system. The fact that societies ranked their basic units upon blood relationships made people highly sensitive to blood relationships. Primitive societies that worship totems and ancestors as a means of strengthening the links of their blood

[13] 牟钟鉴 / Mou Zhongjian, "关于中国宗教史的若干思考 / Guan yu Zhongguo zong jiao shi de ruo gan si kao," in 中国宗教与文化 / *Zhongguo zongjiao yu wenhua*, ed. Mou Zhongjian (Taipei: Taiwan tang shan, 1995), 139–140. ("Reflections on the History of Chinese Religions," in *Religions and Cultures in China*)

relationships turned into patriarchal clan systems when they became states. The late-Ming Jurchen hall ceremony becoming the Qing Manchurian popular home rituals reflects the change in the form of ancestor worship from the clan system to the patriarchal clan system.

Nevertheless, after the northern people became the sole rulers of China, their national religion underwent a gradual assimilation and shift to the patriarchal clan system of the Han Chinese. This shift took on two forms: one was the direct absorption of the system and forms of the patriarchal clan system; the other was the inclusion of shamanic traditions in the patriarchal clan system, making the ethnic traditions important parts of the patriarchal clan system. Thus the shift could display the ethnical content and forms of the patriarchal clan system.

According to *The History of the Jin—Volume on Ritual* (《金史·礼志》), in the Jin state of the Song dynasty, the ceremony offering sacrifices to Heaven was a tradition of the Jurchens; Emperors Taizu and Taizong set a status for this type of ceremony. When King Hailing seized power, he imitated the Han people by setting up northern and southern suburban temples. In the first year of Zhenyuan (1153), he set up an altar for the harvest in Shangjing. When Shizong ascended to the throne, he said to his ministers: "Our country places great emphasis on the rituals worshiping Heaven. Now you suggested erecting altars as before. This is suitable. Our country is bordered by Liao and Song as the most central and genuine part, therefore our rituals must be performed." He also commanded: "The most important affair in a country is ritual; the most important ritual is the sacrifice to Heaven. We must follow the traditions". This clearly reveals his willingness to follow Tang and Song traditions. Thus he built a round mound outside the south suburb at the Fengyi Gate, and a square mound outside the north suburb at the Tongxuan Gate; and offered sacrifices to Heaven on the round mound at the Winter Solstice, and at the square mound, at the Summer Solstice. On the morning of the spring equinox, he offered sacrifices to the sun in the east suburb temple, and to the moon in the west suburb temple on the evening of the Autumn Equinox. Besides Heaven, he also oversaw the sacrifices to the mountains and oceans in the east, south, center, west, and north directions at the beginning of each season.[14]

[14] 张声作 / Zhang Shengzuo, 宗教与民族 / *Zong jiao yu min zu* (Beijing: Zhongguo she hui ke xue, 1997), 295. (*Religion and Race*)

The Qing emperors radically reformed traditional shamanism. For one thing, they pushed the tradition of shamanism to its peak. For another, they absorbed many ritual traditions from the patriarchal clan system of the Han people, establishing comprehensive and regulated national ceremony. Volume eighty-two of *The Qing History* (《清史稿》) states:

> In the early Qing dynasty the emperor regulated the ceremonies into three grades: Ceremonies for the Round Mound, Square Pond, Grain, Temple, and Harvest are regarded as the most important. Ceremonies for the Heaven, Earth, years, sun, moon, emperors of past dynasties, ancient teachers and peasants are second place ceremonies. Those for ancient doctors and people who were the most loyal and filial are graded as folk ceremonies of the third degree.

From this we can see that the northern rulers universally absorbed the traditions of the patriarchal clan system from the Han people to show that they were the orthodox successors of the Hua and Xia, and demonstrating their right to rule.

However, only the religious traditions of their ethnic groups were able to effectively serve the monarchy's power and express strong political or extensive ethnic characteristics, moreover they could be absorbed into the national ceremony. This fact proves that traditional ethnic religion could also accompany feudal development, becoming the most important cultural mode for maintaining the feudal patriarchal clan system.

The national religion in the states founded by the northern peoples had one special characteristic—the offering of sacrifices to the birth god. Although this sort of sacrifice evolved into rituals protecting the imperial family, providing health and good fortune, and fertility and long life, its original primitive beliefs are still apparent. The Khitan (契丹) emperor began his 柴册 *chaice* ritual in concert with a "rebirth ritual". There is still the 坤宁宫 Kunning Palace where one can pray to Fere fodo omosi mama for children. When the ceremony began, they hung the image of the god, the mother Fere fodo omosi mama. Preparations for the ritual began several days in advance. The official who managed the food would find nine harmonious Manchurian families, and collected cotton thread and pieces of silk from them. The cotton would be twisted into two strings, to which were attached three little squares of silk. In addition, a willow nine 尺 *chi* tall and three 寸

cun in circumference was cut down and erected upon a stone.[15] Paper spirit money and three pieces of silk were tied around the tree. Flax strings were tied around a holy arrow and they hung the thread made from cotton collected from the nine families on the arrow; and colorful pieces of silk were tied on a yellow and green cotton thread that stretched from out a willow up to an iron nail on the west hill wall. The emperor and empress would attend the performance and the ritual. A shaman would aim the holy arrow towards the willow, then pass pieces of flax on the willow, and sing the songs inviting the gods. After singing, the shaman would bow to the east, and aim the arrow towards the emperor. The emperor was required to stroke the cloth on the arrow three times and hold it in his arms. The shaman then raised the arrow again. He then presented the flax to the emperor, who repeated the action described above two more times. Then the shaman presented the empress with this arrow three times, and the empress repeated her husband's actions three times. The emperor and the empress set wine on the table for the willow, and placed cakes on the table between the branches of the willow. Then they repeated this. Then, the shaman gave the holy knife to the official who handled the incense, and plucked three strings from the arrow, giving one to the emperor and one to the empress to hang around their necks. Then they sat on the western kang, and the shaman and the incense official offered the sacrificial meat on a plate to the emperor and the empress. After eating, they return to the palace. The cakes between the willow branches were free for the taking by those in attendance until nothing was left. The other ritual items were packed in a bag, and hung on the wall on west hill.

Mother Fere fodo omosi, worshiped in the Kunninggong, is one of the ancient gods popularly worshiped by the Manchus. The ordinary people call her Fodo mama or Futa mama. Many Manchus write her name as Womuxi mama, Wumuxi, or Aomoxi mama, as seen in many shamanic scripts. According to the *Concise Manchu-Chinese Dictionary*, Fere omosi mama can be translated as "the grandmother of the children in the shrine."[16] *Fodo* is the willow the shaman used when he danced for luck. So Fere fodo omosi mama means "the grandmother of children who pray for luck with the willow in the shrine." In the

[15] Three *chi* are approximately one meter, and three *cun* are approximately four inches. Translators

[16] 刘厚生 / Liu Housheng, 简明满汉辞典 / *Jian ming Man Han ci dian* (Kaifeng: Henan da xue chu ban she, 1988). (*Concise Manchu-Chinese Dictionary*)

common Manchu home rituals, four main sacrificial rituals are typically held; these are to the ancestors, and Heaven, the changing of the threads, and the one carrying the lamp. The changing of the threads ritual is for Fere fodo omosi mama. It is well documented that, the Omosi mama is the equivalent of the goddess Omi or Oumay of the Altai people.

The Turks, the Mongolians, and many other ethnic groups among the Altaic speaking peoples all worship the goddess Oumay, although she has different names among different peoples. The Uyghurs call her Wumi, the Khalkhas call her Wumayenie or Oumay, the Mongolians call her, Wumay Oumay. The Manchus call her Wumuxi, the Ewenki call her Wumi or Oumay, Oroqen call her Aomaoximoukou or Amuhong mama, the Daurs call her Wumie, and the Xie call her Xilin mama.

According to late Soviet expert C.B. Ivanov's book, *Plastic Arts Booklet of the Peoples of the Heilongjiang River*, the word "Oumay" sounds alike in the different region's languages, and has different meanings as well. The Mongolians and Ewenki use Oumay to mean the womb; the Nanajs use *aomo* to mean "nest", "hole", or "cave". The word for nest among the Ewenki of the Tuluhan region is *wumuke*. For the Negidal, *omi* or *aomi ya* is the soul of a one year old baby. The Nanajs say *aomisong mama* to mean a goddess in Heaven who supervises a clan tree on which clan childrens' souls grow. Omi, Wumi, Aomixi, and Wumixi are all names for the birth-giving god among the Ewenki, Mongolian, and Turkic groups in Northern China. The Buryats of the Transbaikal region call the placenta *oumay*; the Kachins use this *oumay* as an amulet for babies.[17]

Overall, the beliefs surrounding Oumay can be divided as follows: 1) worshipping the female reproductive capacity; 2) reproductive god, infant-protecting god; 3) totem worship. Moreover, some peoples call a certain type of shaman, Oumay. The Fere fodo omosi mama of the Manchurians is a manifestation of the second type, including some traces of the first and the third type.

Therefore, the Manchu ethnic group as the largest of the Tungusic speaking peoples is similar to other northern ethnic groups. They entered the historical stage of state building, brought Tungusic

[17] 富育光 / Fu Yuguang, 萨满教与神话 / *Sa man jiao yu shen hua* (Shenyang: Liaoning da xue, 1990), 80. (*Shamanism and Myth*)

shamanism to a new level, and it developed a richer, continuous appearance.

All in all, shamanism is like other traditions, in that it is also the result of mankind's historic activities, and the result of cultural production and construction. Thus the tradition is equated with a given peoples' historical existence during a certain period. Yet shamanism remained a relatively stable element in and a nucleus of Manchu history and culture, participating in cultural life, creating modernity, influencing, even restricting, and directing the lives of modern people, and thus directing the direction of the cultural development.

Tungus ethnic shamanism embodies a certain type of thoughts and habits in its culture that constantly infiltrates the experience of the other regions, adapting to other cultural conditions, so that it has the effect of modernity on social life. In developing, shamanism often adapts itself from its original form and content, as different levels of historical development, in range, level, degree, and method, all changing along with society.

Tungus shamanism is a religious phenomenon with a process of growth, development, and transformation. The development of shamanism is mutually influenced by society and ethnic lifestyle. This process of development displays certain rules that help us understand the history of shamanism. Realizing this fact clearly enough, we should not take it as an independent and unchanging religious phenomenon, but as a part of the whole entity of society, that can be recognized and researched.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DABA BELIEFS AND WRITTEN SCRIPT[1]

Song Zhaolin[2]
Translated by Levi Gibbs, Hao-hsiang Liao, and Rongbin Zheng

The Daba (达巴) beliefs of the Mosuo (摩梭) people, who reside in the Lake Lugu (泸沽湖) area on the border of Yunnan and Sichuan provinces, have a long history. Basically, they follow a "primal" belief system. However, the head ritual specialists of the Daba religion, who are called *daba*, have advanced beyond the stage of spirit-possessed shamans, and also are in possession of a number of sacred texts. Therefore, these practitioners should be categorized as a type of priest. The Daba religion is a type of belief system that has its roots in the latter stage of "primitive society" and has been significantly influenced by the Bon (苯) belief of the Tibetan people.

In the academic field, it has long been accepted that the Dongba (东巴) beliefs of the Naxi (纳西) people include a native written language, while the Daba beliefs have no written language. The popular news media has even concluded that "the Dongba characters are the only extant pictographs (*xiangxing wenzi* 象形文字) in the world." However, this conclusion may be a bit premature. If we open the treasure box of our country's folklore culture, we will find that the Dongba pictographs are not the only examples.

Regarding the culture of the Mosuo people in the Lake Lugu area, there have been written reports that indicate the Mosuo people had a written language. In September 1940, Zhuang Xueben (庄学本)

---

[1] The name of the original paper was "摩梭人的达巴教和达巴文 / Mo suo ren de da ba jiao he da ba wen" (The Daba Religion and Language of the Mosuo). 民族学报 *Min zu xue bao* 4 (*Journal of Ethnology*) (Yunnan Nationalities University, 2006).

[2] Song Zhaolin (宋兆麟) is a research fellow of the National Museum of China. He is an ethno-archeologist and senior advisor of the Chinese Folklore Society. His publications include: 中国远古文化 / *Zhongguo yuan gu wen hua* (China's Ancient Culture) (Ningbo chu ban she, 2004), 永宁纳西族母系制 / *Yongning Naxi zu mu xi zhi* (Matrilineal System of the Naxi in Yongning) (Yunnan ren ming chu ban she, 1983), 生育神与性巫术研究 / *Sheng yu shen yu xing wu shu yan jiu* (Studies of Fertility Spirits and Sex Magic) (Beijing: Wen wu chu ban she, 1990), and thirty other books. (Editors)

proposed in the journal, *Liang You* (良友), that: "The characters are simple pictorial images. They can be classified as indigenous pictographs and are used only in sacred texts." He did not mention the specific characters.[3] In the beginning of 1963, when this author was collecting cultural relics in Dapo Village (达坡村) in Yongning Township (永宁乡), I received a small book for divination from a *daba*. On the cover of the book, there are a few pictographs. The book has twenty-four pages. Each page has fourteen squares and each square has a pictographic character. The book is 16 centimeters long and 8 centimeters wide. I did not understand the pictographic characters at that time and wanted to do some research on them. When I went to the museum archives, I couldn't access any relevant information because of restrictions set by the archives. Later, I returned to the local place many times to do more fieldwork. Since the book was the personal property of a *daba*, I was hesitant about pursuing the investigation and let the matter rest. The earliest report on the Mosuo people's way of recording things is by Song Zhaolin, which discusses the symbols carved on their house beams.[4] In the 1980s, Mr. Yang Xuezheng (杨学政) collected examples of a Mosuo book of divination from a *daba* named Magaoru (马高汝) in Wenquan Village (温泉村) in Yongning Township, Ninglang County (宁蒗县), and another *daba*, named Lafayishi (喇法益史), of Douluohe (逗罗河) in Yanyuan County (盐源县), which he later analyzed.[5] This was an important discovery.

According to legend, the Mosuo people used to have their own writing system, which was written on sheepskins. There was a family of eight brothers and two of them resided in Qiansuo (前所). These two brothers did not attend to their proper duties and one day played a trick on the local people. They covered a bamboo basket with a piece of cloth and claimed it was a male spirit. They covered another basket with a skirt and claimed it was a female spirit. Many people believed in the hoax and began to worship these two baskets. Later, the head of the village discovered the trick and sent them to jail. The two brothers could not endure the severe life in the jail and thought about

[3] 庄学本 / Zhuang Xueben, "么些 / Me xie," *Liang you* (1940).

[4] 宋兆麟 / Song Zhaolin, 日月之杰 / *Ri yue zhi jie*, (Shanghai: Shanghai wen yi chu ban she, 1997), 15.

[5] 杨学政 / Yang Xuezheng, "摩梭人达巴卜书及原始符号研究 / Mo suo ren da ba bu shu ji yuan shi fu hao yan jiu," 史前研究 /*Shi qian yan jiu* 3–4 (1986). ("Research on the *Book of Divination* and Indigenous Symbols of the Mosuo *Daba*")

escaping, but the doors and the windows were too hard to break open and they did not have any tools. Later, they found a needle, which they used to excavate a hole. The elder brother became a honey bee and flew out through the hole. The younger brother became a hornet, but could not fly through. The elder brother came back to rescue his brother by making the hole bigger with a knife. When the village head heard of this, he sent people to capture them. These two brothers climbed mountain after mountain, crossed numerous rivers, and finally escaped from their pursuers. During their escape, they were so thirsty and hungry that they roasted the sheepskins and ate them. As a result, the Mosuo people lost their writing system.

A Daba legend also says that the Mosuo people used to have a written language, and that the characters were kept by a *daba*. Once, when the *daba* returned to his village from a trip to collect sacred texts, he was so hungry that he ate the sheepskins on which they were written. Thus, the Mosuo characters were lost.

In the summer of 2000, I took my sixth trip to Lake Lugu. The purpose of the trip was to determine whether the *daba* had a written language. I carried out investigations in Zuosuo Township (左所乡) and Qiansuo Township (前所乡) in Yanyuan County, Yongning Township in Ninglang County, and Wujiao Township (屋脚乡) in Muli County (木里县). That trip was very productive.

1. Bizha (比喳) *and* Daba

The Mosuo people have two kinds of sorcerers: *bizha* 比喳 and *daba*. The literal meaning of *bizha* is "commanded by ghosts and spirits." They are mainly in charge of conducting funerals, exorcizing ghosts, sacrifice-offering ceremonies, and so on. Their special ability involves spirit-possession. They have a low social status, and cannot conduct major ceremonies, nor do they have ritual garments, ritual instruments, or any sacred texts. However, they do have their own spiritual hierarchy, including the sky spirits, earth spirits, water spirits, fire spirits, wind spirits, female spirits, and spirits from one's own clan and from other groups. When the *bizha* offers sacrifices to the ancestors, they will first chant "our ancestral mother, Hongzejijimi (洪泽几几眯)," followed by the ancestors of other clans, tribes and families. Offering sacrifices to ancestors, exorcizing ghosts, and sending off spirits are the basic responsibilities of a *bizha*. In practice, the *bizha* is an indigenous sorcerer, the equivalent of a shaman in northern China.

The Daba belief system was formed based on Bizha beliefs. The founder of the Daba beliefs was Muluabadu (母鲁阿巴都), which is abbreviated as Du Spirit (Du Shen, 都神). His name is frequently mentioned in the Daba scriptures.

Daba 达巴 is also written as 打巴 in Chinese. *Da* is from the Mosuo language, originally meaning "chopping wood" or "carving inscriptions on metal and stone." *Ba* means "marks left after chopping" or "scars." There are two interpretations of the term *daba*—one is that it means using a knife or ax to eradicate the catastrophes of the world, which is the goal of being a *daba*. The other interpretation is that *daba* refers to the sacred texts; specifically, the use of knives or axes to carve symbols on trees or stones. Even now, when Mosuo people build a house, they still carve certain symbols on the wooden logs.

The earliest *daba* may have been a type of ritual priest. Later, their duties were subdivided, and three categories of *daba* were formed:

ha daba (哈达巴)—equivalent to a ritual priest. They can conduct sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. They have a relatively high social status. They also lead the rituals for sending-off of ghosts and burial ceremonies.

bu daba (布达巴)—mainly in charge of curing illnesses and exorcizing ghosts. They have shamanic knowledge and can chant sacred texts.

pai daba (排达巴)—mainly in charge of divination. They have books for divination and are considered as fortune-tellers.

If we consider the *bizha* as products of charismatic spirit possession depending on their association with the spirits, then the *daba* can be understood as hereditary head ritual specialists.

Daba have certain ritual garments. The headdress they wear is called *zha'ema* (扎俄马), which is sewn with five pieces of cloth. There is a figure on each piece of cloth. The first one on the left is Kaxigemi (喀西格咪), who is a spirit that lives in heaven. The second one from the left is Womuganna (喔母干那), who is the spirit in charge of ghosts in heaven. The middle one is Lajigemixiao (拉吉咯米肖), who is the founder of the Daba religion. The fourth one is a *daba*. The last one is Qingyisigei (情衣斯给), who is a lion that lives in the mountains and serves as an assistant for the *daba*. When a *daba* invites the spirits, he must first invite the first three spirits as the most important protective spirits, and when he exorcizes the ghosts, he invites the lion spirit. On each side of a *daba*'s ritual headdress there is a small piece of cloth. When the *daba* is performing a shamanic trance-dance, they are considered his ears. It has been claimed that the ritual headdresses of the *daba*, *dongba* and lamas are all the same, consisting

of the images of five spirits. In reality, however, there are significant distinctions among them.

The ritual implements a *daba* uses include the following items:

Sun and Moon Flag—A *daba* will insert a flag in the ground when he is conducting a ceremony. The flag is triangular with images of the sun and moon on it. The flagpole is long and on top of it there is an iron spear point or forked prongs. The flag is a symbol of the *daba* and is also a magical weapon of protection.

Statues of the Spirits—There are two categories of effigies that a *daba* uses: One kind is comprised of permanent representations of protective spirits, such as the founder of the Daba religion or the Water Dragon King. The founder of the Daba religion, for instance, is a rectangular effigy carved out of wood with a sharp point at the top. The *daba* usually puts it inside his bag of ritual implements and takes it out when necessary. The other sort of effigy is made only for temporary usage. This category includes effigies of ancestors, mountain spirits, the Dragon King, etc. During ceremonies, they are made by hand out of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour mixed with milk tea).

Plates for Sacrifices—The plates are square and carved out of wood, with a shallow, circular depression in the middle for heaping grain. An effigy of a spirit is set in the center. The plates are generally placed in the middle of the altar.

Engraved Wooden Printing Boards—Images of effigies of spirits or auspicious images are carved on wooden boards that are used for printing cloth or paper images of spirits, such as mountain spirits, water spirits, and various auspicious images. The prints are generally hung on the door lintels.

Drums—A small round drum played by hand is called the *dagula* (打古拉). With a diameter of about 25 centimeters, it is made of wood, and covered with a goat skin on each head. Also called the "two-headed drum," its nickname is the "small drum." Thus, ritualists of the Bon religion (who use a similar drum) are called "Monks of the Small Drum." A big drum called *dakala* (打喀拉) is also used. Oblate in shape, it also has two heads. The drumstick is called *dakaladie* (打喀拉跌). This kind of big drum is similar to the standing drum used by Buddhist lamas. This is an indication that the Daba religion has been influenced by Tibetan Buddhism.

Hand Bell—The bronze hand bell, or "ringing bell," is oblong in shape and pierced with a hole. There is a small handle on one end made of yak horn. Mosuo people call it *akuala* (阿垮拉). When rung

by hand, a cord is pulled so that the mouth of the bell faces upwards. The clapper inside the bell produces the sound.

Spirit Stick—Called *yizhuma* (义竹玛), the stick is rectangular in cross-section, with carvings of images of spirits, animals, ghosts, etc. on the sides. There is a hole in the upper end, through which a cord can be threaded for carrying it.

Long Sword—The one-edged sword is about one meter long. It has a handle and a long, one-edged blade, and a scabbard. The sword is for practical use and was once the most popular sword during the Qing dynasty. It is a necessary item when a *daba* is trance-dancing or conducting a funeral.

Protective Talisman—This item is sewn with cloth or made of bronze, with images of spirits and supernatural beings placed inside. A *daba* carries it in a bag on his shoulder as a ritual instrument for self-protection. Some talismans, cast in bronze, are in the shapes of birds and eagles, which are viewed as links to the ancient times.

A String of Boar-Tusk Beads—A string of beads is a must on a *daba*'s neck. These beads are made of wood, plant seeds or pieces of jade. There are 108 beads in total (Editor's note: also a possible link to Buddhism). The lower part is strung with a pair of boar's tusks, and sometimes decorated with deer antlers, bells, seashells, etc.

Helmet and Armor—Older *daba* all have a suit of armor and a helmet. The helmet is made from iron, and chicken feathers can be inserted on the top. The armor is made from leather and is very long. A *daba* usually uses them when conducting a funeral.

2. *The World of Ghosts and Spirits*

This section deals with the ghosts and spirits that the *daba* worship. There are proverbs saying that "there are eight hundred spirits and three thousand ghosts" and "there are thirty-three spirits in the sky and twenty-eight ghosts on the earth." These proverbs indicate two things—one is that the objects of Daba worship are so numerous that they are hard to count. The second is that the objects worshiped are divided between those of the sky and those of the earth, as well as which are good and which are evil; in other words, a distinction is made between ghosts and spirits.

2.1. *Sky Spirits*

In terms of Mosuo worship of celestial phenomena, the main focus is on the sky spirits. The major sky spirits receive the most attention. Besides them, the stars, wind and rain are also worshipped. Local people know the Dragon King as Ribengu (日本古). Whenever there is drought, they will pray for rain. The ceremony is conducted by the *daba* or Buddhist lamas, who will chant sacred texts next to a lake or a well. In the ceremony, they set up wooden tablets on which animal images such as birds, cows, pigs, water deer, snakes and lions have been painted. These items represent a sacrifice of these animals to the Dragon King to implore him to send rain and eradicate the catastrophe. The ceremonies of dispelling wind and hail are similar. In all such rituals, *daba* determine directions based on the rise and fall of the sun and moon. Each direction has a spirit. The east is the gold element, which is white. The west is the wood element, which is yellow. The south is the water element, which is blue. The north is the fire element, which is red. And the middle is the earth element, which is black and called the "Spirit of the Five Directions."

2.2. *Mountain Spirits*

The Mosuo people are devout in the worship of mountain spirits. A local proverb says, "*kusharugeha, nixidageha* (库沙日格哈, 尼西打格哈)," which can be translated as "Worship the mountain spirit when you go hunting; worship the sea spirit when you go fishing." According to legend, there was a big mountain in the place where the sun rises, which was called Mt. Xiongji (雄吉山). There were many fairies living there. If a girl visited Mt. Xiongji, she would become as pretty and attractive as a fairy. Besides Mt. Xiongji, Mt. Ganmu (干木山), which is considered to be an image of the Female Spirit, is another mountain that people worship. Other big mountains in the nearby area are also anthropomorphized, such as Mt. Pulan (普兰山), Mt. Tebu (特布山), Mt. Bulang (布郎山) in Qiansuo, and the Big Mountain (大山) in Zuosuo. They all represent images of mountain spirits.

2.3. *Water Dragon King and Water Spirits*

The Mosuo people call the water spirits *jiekuagela* (结垮格拉). Their folk name is "Water Dragon Spirits." According to a legend from

Wujiao Village (屋脚村), human beings and the Dragon Kings originally belonged to the same family and shared everything in the natural world. Later, however, they separated from each other. From then on, livestock belonged to the human beings, while the Dragon King owned the birds and animals. This author saw paintings of the Dragon King in the houses of several *daba* in Wujiao Village and Lijiaju (利家咀). There were five kinds of Water Dragon Kings. The biggest of them is the ancestor of the Water Dragon Kings, who gave birth to the other four, who occupy the North, South, East and West. Water Dragon Kings are major local spirits and they are involved in all of the important ceremonies. When worshiping the Dragon Kings, the person who conducts the ceremony needs to bathe beforehand, and cannot kill animals or eat meat. Such purification distinguishes this ritual from others. The spirits of the water wells are called *jigegua* (吉格瓜).

2.4. *Animals and Plants*

The spirit most worshipped by the Mosuo people is Yiyige'er (衣亦格尔), the Bird Spirit. According to legend, Yiyige'er lived in the forests and was the protector of hunters. Later, when the Mosuo transitioned from hunting to nomadic life, Yiyige'er became the protector of shepherds. Much later, when the Mosuo people took up agriculture, Yiyige'er again became the main spirit in charge of rain and thunder, which significantly influenced the harvest of crops. Dogs are considered benefactors by the Mosuo people. Given the fact that in the past dogs were said to have given years of their own lives to humans, the Mosuo people do not hit or yell at dogs, nor do they eat them. They even offer food to dogs during the important adolescent coming-of-age ceremonies. The Mosuo people also show reverence for cows. On the first day of the tenth month of the lunar calendar each year, they use yellow rice to make sticky rice cakes (*baba* 粑粑) and offer them to the cows. They also make the offering meal more substantial by adding a kilogram of cured meat, half a kilogram of wine, and a little honey, as well as extra feed.

There are relatively few plants that the Mosuo people worship. One is a type of shrub known as "horse mulberry" (马桑树; Coriaria sinica) found in the mountains that, according to legend, contains many evil spirits. These spirits frequently come to the village and make people sick. Thus, the Mosuo people are sure to worship the horse mulberry when they are sick. There is also a type of smelly and poisonous tree

known locally as *ci xiangshu* (刺香树), which is said to be haunted by spirits who make people sick. The local *daba* have a sacred text called *Wabu* (瓦布), which is used to worship the tree. Another tree, the *pu'erguoduo* (普尔果多), is known as the "tree of fertility," and is worshiped by those who want to have children.

2.5. *Ancestors*

The ancestor spirits that Mosuo people worship include the Ancestral Mother, other female spirits, clan ancestors and village elders who have recently passed away. However, generally speaking, Mosuo people do not worship effigies, they simply set up an offering table as a symbol of the ancestors. Mt. Ganmu is a symbol of the female spirits and is associated with certain ceremonies. The matrilineal ancestors are worshiped in two places in the home—one is on a wooden table between a big bed and a small bed. A small altar table is put in front, upon which the bowls and chopsticks that the ancestors liked when they were alive are placed. The other place is the hearth stone. Mosuo people offer food to the stone every day, which symbolizes the inviting of their ancestors to enjoy meals with them.

2.6. *Man-Made Objects as Abodes of the Spirits*

Beliefs about certain man-made objects are common among the Mosuo. One outstanding example is the main door. Mosuo people think that the door has a door spirit, and large doors are guarded by four spirits. The spirit above the door is Jixiha'er (即西哈尔), which is a mythical bird or "roc."[6] The spirit on the left side is a yak, while the one on the right is a tiger. The spirit below the door is a lion. On the door lintel, there are also various supernatural beings that ward off evil.

The Kitchen God (灶神) is also important to the Mosuo. The god was originally represented by an effigy made of mud, but since the 1980s and '90s, people along the shores of Lake Lugu do not worship it any longer. Some people have replaced it with an image of a spirit painted on a canvas. However, the Mosuo people of Wujiao Township still commonly worship Kitchen God figures made of mud.

[6] Similar to a "garuda" in Tibetan Buddhism. (Editors)

2.7. *Beliefs Involving Sexual Organs*

Mosuo people have special beliefs concerning sexual organs, which are distinguished between female organs and male organs. The mountain creeks and rock caves are viewed as female sexual organs and worshiped as such. For example, in Yongning, people view the low-lying grounds of Mt. Ganmu as a vagina. In the Lazi Cave (喇孜岩穴) of Wujiao Township in Muli County, there is a stalagmite in the shape of a concave depression. Local Xifan (西番) people (a subgroup of Tibetans) and Mosuo people view it as the vagina of the Goddess and worship it frequently. The worship ceremony follows certain steps. In the first step, participants burn incense and light pine torches in order to expel evil spirits and to light up the cave, both of which are required conditions for the ceremony. In the second step, they offer food and wine to the Goddess. In the third step, they pray, usually to the Goddess to give them a baby. In the fourth step, they wash themselves in a local creek. Mosuo people believe that this step is for the purpose of curing illnesses. The creek can wash away the malevolent properties in the body so that birthing is made easier. In the fifth step, young lovers and couples have sex in the forest and spend the night together praying for baby. It is believed that by following these prescriptions a woman can realize her goal of becoming pregnant.

Male sexual organs are also worshiped. For example, there is a mountain named Dapo (达坡山) south of Yongning that is viewed as a symbol of the phallus. There is also a cave behind Dazizu Village (达孜祖村) in Zuosuo, in which there is a pillar-shaped stone which is also viewed as a male sexual organ. In Daba Township (大坝乡) in Muli County, Chicken Cave (鸡儿洞) is located in the mountains. Inside is a pillar-shaped stalactite which the local people often worship. In a mountain cave in Eryaduokawa Village (俄亚多卡瓦村) in Muli County, is a stone ancestor effigy to which the people often make sacrifices. This ceremony includes burning incense, lighting a fire, offering food, praying, soaking in water, washing bodies, engaging in physical contact, having sex, etc.

2.8. *Ghosts and Spirits*

Mosuo people have two fixed definitions of ghosts—one is the ghosts of those who die normally. They are categorized as ancestors and viewed as good ghosts. The others are called wild ghosts, who did not die in a normal way. The ancestors do not receive them, so they

wander around. Generally, they are called "ghosts of those who met a violent end" (*xiongsi gui* 凶死鬼) and can be subcategorized into ghosts of those who hung themselves to death, ghosts of those who died in disasters, ghosts of those who drowned to death, etc. There is also a kind of ghost called *bichu* (比初), which refers to ghosts of other clans and those who do not share one's surname. They misbehave frequently and are regarded as evil ghosts.

3. *Patterns of Belief*

The Daba religion has many types of religious activities. The following are some of the major ones:

3.1. *Divination*

Traditionally, Mosuo people believe in ghosts and spirits and fear them. They think that ghosts are always lingering around and bring them misfortune and disasters. Since it is difficult to know where ghosts are, people try to locate them so that they can keep them at a distance and avoid potentially harmful consequences. Thus, divination is used to determine the location of ghosts.

3.1.1. *Divination with Clothes*

Mosuo people use the front of a garment as a tool for divination. They chant the name of the ghost while measuring the length of the garment. They measure it over and over while they chant the names of various ghosts. If they find that the length of the garment is longer at one time than another, then it is taken as a sign that they have offended a particular ghost. After the divination, they must worship the ghost or conduct a ceremony in order to exorcize it.

3.1.2. *Divination with Split Sticks*

Before the divination begins, the ritualists pick seventeen 12-centimeter-long sticks of wood, then split them in half to make seventeen pairs. The uncut sides symbolize inauspicious omens while the cut sides symbolize lucky omens. When they conduct a divination, the ritualists hold all the split sticks in their hands and chant the spells. Then, they throw the sticks on the ground. If the number of cut sides outnumbers that of uncut surfaces, that is a lucky omen. Otherwise, it is considered an inauspicious omen.

3.1.3. *Divination with Pebbles*

If a family member becomes ill, and it is not known what ghost(s) have been offended, a *daba* has to be invited to divine with pebbles. The *daba* grabs a handful of pebbles, throws them on the ground, and looks where the majority of them fall. The area where the most fell indicates the direction of the ghost that was offended. After that, the ritualist prepares some food and goes in the determined direction to sacrifice to the ghost.

3.1.4. *Divination with Bones*

Normally, when Mosuo people slaughter oxen and sheep, they must keep the scapula bones and leave them to dry. Later, they can be used for divination when needed. Usually, in the divinations, a lump of *moxa* (wormwood) is placed on a bone, and the *daba* recites the scriptures and lights a fire to heat it. Then, looking at the cracks that appear, he consults their positions and makes a divination. Four directions are represented on a bone: The upper part corresponds to the heavens or the world of the spirits. The bottom part is linked to the earth and the world of ghosts. The left section refers to oneself or the host's place. The right refers to enemies or other places. Based on this, if the cracks in the direction of the heavens and one's own place are longer, it is considered to be a good omen. If the cracks are longer towards the earth and other places, it is an ominous sign.

3.1.5. *Chicken Divination*

"Chicken divination" refers to divination performed by killing a chicken. This is very popular in the Mosuo, Tibetan, Yi (彝) and Pumi (普米) ethnic areas. People in the region believe the Yi to have the best technique for chicken divination, with the Mosuo next in skillfulness. Mosuo people call chicken divination *awola'er* (阿窝拉尔). When the divination is performed, a rooster must be used. After it is boiled, the divination entails looking at each part of the rooster: The rooster's eye socket bones are examined first. The left represents the host, and the right refers to guests. Colorless bone is seen as auspicious, while black spots on the skull are considered unlucky. In addition, the distance between a black spot and the eye socket determines the approach of bad luck. If the spot is further away, then bad luck will come more slowly, whereas if it is closer, it will come more quickly. The second thing examined is the rooster's mouth. If the mouth has red spots, it is lucky, symbolizing incoming wealth. If the mouth is black, it is an inauspicious sign,

signifying that one will suffer financial losses. The third observation is whether the rooster's mouth is open or closed. If the mouth is open, it is unlucky, perhaps signifying a quarrel or engagement in a blood-feud. If the mouth is closed, it is propitious, denoting that all is well. Fourth, the rooster's leg is cut open to examine the bone marrow. If the marrow is plentiful, it is an omen indicating a bumper harvest. If there is little marrow, it is a sign that there will be crop failure. Finally, the rooster's tongue bone is located. It is found where three head bones intersect, with the middle bone being shorter than the other two. This center bone symbolizes the kitchen god, Zhanbala (詹巴拉灶神). If the bone has a good curve to it and is facing forward, this shows that Zhanbala is pleased, and happy events will arrive soon. If it is skewed or bent without a clear direction, then it is considered that Zhanbala is not happy and doesn't want to bless and protect the host. In this case, bad events will occur, and after they do, the kitchen god must be given offerings. There are also two long bones on each side of the tongue bone. In this case, the left side also symbolizes the host and the right denotes guests. If both of the bones are facing forward and parallel, it is auspicious. If either one bends towards the middle or outside, or curves backward it is inauspicious. If the "host" bone curves the wrong way, it will be bad luck for the host; and the same applies for the "guest" bone.

3.1.6. *Chicken Egg Divination*

After boiling, washing, and peeling an egg, auspicious and inauspicious signs can be determined according to the position of the yolk with relation to the white. If the border between the two is clearly defined, it is good luck. If the division between the two is mixed and unclear, it is bad luck. From this, the state of a sick person's condition can be divined.

3.2. *The Offering of Sacrifices*

"Offering sacrifices" refers to prayers and offerings to the spirits, given with the goal of securing their protection and blessings. This type of activity must have a defined object of worship, a set place, sacrifices, and entails various related activities. Sacrifices among the Mosuo are quite numerous, although they mainly fall into three categories: offering sacrifices to heaven, to earth, and to the ancestors. Sacrifices to the mountains is provided here as an illustration.

The Mosuo are a people that inhabit mountainous areas. When they walk out of the door of their houses, they see mountains. Their livelihood depends on the mountains. For this reason, the rituals of offering sacrifices to the mountains are quite grand and ceremonious. They are held during two occasions: One is spontaneous, occurring whenever necessary. The ritual is led by the head of the household. Incense is burned for the mountain spirits, sacrifices are offered, and some families invite a lama to come recite scriptures. Flocks of sheep are painted or printed on specially prepared wooden boards that are inserted in the ground. It is said that these images represent food for the mountain spirits. This type of sacrificial offering is mainly performed during the first and fifteenth days of the lunar month. However, the mountain spirits can be prayed to at any time if there are minor illnesses or calamities within the home. The second type of sacrifice occurs on fixed days, usually on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh lunar month. On this day, the lamas and *daba* recite scriptures, and all of the men and women, old and young from the village flock to the mountains, bringing sacrificial goods and food. Those who are sick and infertile must walk ahead, as well as some *azhu*.[7] On the way to and from the sacrificial site, it is said that, "When they come to a river they build a bridge, when they come to a road, they fix the road." People believe that fixing a bridge is a good deed, and that, by accumulating good deeds in secret, one will receive something good in return and give birth to many sons and daughters. This is done in the belief that doing numerous good deeds will bring good luck. In addition to chanting sacred texts and lighting incense when they offer sacrifices to the mountain, they must also walk around it. In Ninglang, the people walk around a mountain from west to east, turning left to change directions, in keeping with the customs of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Lamaism. In Zuosuo, the people walk from east to west, and change directions by turning right, as is customary in the Bon religion.[8] During the time they walk around the mountain, they can sing and engage in races. When they race, several jars of wine are placed ahead of them. Those who are ahead in the race can successively pick up the jars and drink, as a kind of encouragement and reward. This interesting activity is also called "racing from jar to jar."

[7] Among the matriarchal Mosuo, where "walking marriage" is still practiced, a person's current lover is called an "*azhu*" for male lovers or "*axia*" for female lovers. (Editors)

[8] These directions are the same as when walking around a temple or *stupa*. (Editors)

3.3. *Magic*

Magical activities among the Mosuo are quite numerous. They achieve their imagined goals through imitative or sympathetic means. The most common magical activities include:

3.3.1. *Fertility Magic*

In order to seek fertility, one method is to offer sacrifices to Ganshui Mountain (干水山) and walk around Lake Lugu. In this region, the people in the Zuosuo area are considered the most pious. During the occasion, both male and female *azhu* walk together, but cannot court each other. They must not even think about the fact they are in an *azhu* relationship, since it is said that if they do, the female spirits will be angry and not aid in their fertility. Another method is to repair a bridge. People believe that repairing bridges is a kind of good deed, and by accumulating such good deeds done in secret, one will receive a good turn and be able to have many children.

A third method is to show respects to the site known as Daerwo (打儿窝), located approximately five kilometers north of Qiansuo Township on the right bank of the Qiansuo River. The river valley in that area is small and narrow, with overhanging cliff caves facing each other on both sides. On the eastern bank, there are relics of Dongba activities, and on the western bank, there are two caves, one larger and one smaller, both rather high on the hillside. These two caves constitute Daerwo. Those people who walk to this place, as well as childless adults, all do so to ask for children. When they arrive there, first they burn some pine needles as an offering for the female deity, Badinglamu (巴丁拉木). Then, they sit cross-legged on a stone platform in front of Daerwo and throw small stones into the caves. First, they aim for the larger grotto, and then for the smaller grotto. If they manage to throw stones in the caves, it's seen as good luck, assuring that they will be able to give birth to children. It is an ominous sign if the stones don't go in—meaning the couple will remain childless.

3.3.2. *Magic for Protecting Infants*

When women are more than eight months pregnant and about to give birth, they invite a *daba* to pick three leaves from a fruit-bearing tree (such as chestnut, walnut, plum, pear, etc.), and use them for divination. Using hemp stalks, the *daba* weaves a basket, drapes colorful thread and chicken feathers on it, and places cakes and rice balls inside. He then hangs the basket on the tree from which he got the

leaves. People believe that this tree is the guardian of the child. With its protection, the child can have a smooth delivery, as easy as the fruits are formed. After it is born, the child will have a peaceful life, free from disaster.

There is another type of magic done for children to exorcise ghosts. Usually, this is done during the latter part of a woman's pregnancy. The woman holds a sickle in her left hand and a gourd water ladle in her right hand. In the ladle, she puts a human figure made from glutinous rice, which symbolizes the ghost. The woman uses the sickle to cut it into pieces, and then places it on a board of yellow wood and takes it outside of the village, where she leaves it for an eagle to eat. In this fashion, the ghost is driven away. In addition, the baby's gender can be foretold from the direction in which the eagle flies away.

3.3.3. *Magic for Exorcising Ghosts and Curing Illnesses*

Magic involving throwing stones. When a person falls ill, a *daba* is asked to recite scriptures and conduct a sort of magic called *chu'erpa* (除耳帕). With both hands, the *daba* carries a wooden or bamboo box filled with many stones. Then, with the ill person at the center, he throws the stones in the four directions in an attempt to exorcise the ghosts, yelling, "Get out! Get out!" Two other people follow behind the *daba*, one carrying a long knife, which he brandishes as he walks forward with movements that look like he is chopping the demons in his path. The other carries a basin and sprinkles water.

Torch magic. This type of magic can be performed by ordinary people. Two people are involved. The one in front raises the torch and walks forward in a slow, dignified manner. The other follows behind, carrying a saw in hand and sprinkling water on the torch. These actions are said to repel negative forces from the ill person. In the evening, the *daba* recites from the scriptures. He takes a certain number of live coals from the fire pit at the center of the room and places them on a yellow wooden board. Then, he places it on the path. This is believed to prevent ghosts from coming to make surprise attacks.

3.3.4. *Magical Curses*

Magical curses. When two parties quarrel and armed conflict occurs, rice and dough are often used to form one or more people, symbolizing one's enemies. Then, these are taken out into the wilds and chopped to pieces with knives, in order to curse the enemies. This symbolizes that, like the dough men, the enemies will become "ghosts beneath the knife." In the past, the *tusi* (土司) (a local headman once appointed

by the imperial government) of Zuosuo and Muli fought each other for many years. The Zuosuo *tusi*, Labaocheng (喇宝成), made many dough people, each as big as a real person, and then had them carried away to be chopped up. This sort of "psychological warfare" was carried out to curse and destroy his opponents.

Dog-beating magic. There is a form of ritual magic known in Mosuo as *kuwula* (库乌拉). In this tradition, a dog is tied to a tree with its head facing the opponent's village or house. Usually, it is tied there for several days, though in some cases it is beaten to death the very same day. The instrument used is a wooden club, and the dog's head must also be cut off and placed on one of the tree's branches, with the head still facing the direction of the enemy. When enacting this tradition, the participants say, "All of you will be just like this dog, dead and exterminated, like a tree with its roots cut." At the end, the dog's head is tossed away from the site. If it lands facing the enemy, it is good. Otherwise, they must throw it again, until it faces the proper direction.

3.3.5. *Magical Oaths*

Drilling an ox hide. When two families or two feuding parties make peace, they drill an ox hide. First, they kill an ox and pour the ox's blood into a large liquor jar that they have prepared for the occasion. This is then poured into cups made of ox horns, and the participants toast each other. The ox head and hide are then put on a wooden frame so as to resemble the shape of the original ox. When both parties have become reconciled, they bore a hole into the ox from beneath and then drill their way out through the tail. Together, they chant, "We live together and die together, never changing our hearts during our whole lives, as if we were one person. Whoever breaks their promise, may they die just like this ox." When an ox is killed, a little of its blood is sprinkled upwards towards the sky. When the chest cavity is opened, they take out the ox's heart and offer it as a sacrifice outdoors. Both parties kowtow to the mountain spirits. Finally, they boil the meat and offer it for all the participants to share.

3.3.6. *Magic for Divine Judgment*

This type of magic, which the Mosuo call *man'anwuguluza* (满鞍乌古鲁扎), is translated into Chinese as *lao youguo* (捞油锅) or "fishing things out of a frying pan." When civil disputes occur, sometimes both parties refuse to cede to each other and are filled with mutual suspicion and misgivings. A *daba* or an elderly person is invited to lead the "fishing things out of frying pans" ritual. A pot of oil is heated, and when it

boils, both parties are made to fish out an object (either a piece of stone or an iron axe head). Whoever's hand is scalded and blistered is seen as being unreasonable, and is thus judged as the wrongdoer. Afterwards, the guilty party is punished.

3.4. *Warding Off Malevolent Spirits*

Warding off malevolent spirits and influences is a rather fixed means of guarding oneself against ghosts. It is not an attack on the ghosts, but rather a means of defense against them. There are two categories for warding off the malevolent spirits: (1) by using architecture, and (2) by using the human body.

A *kada* (卡达) is a type of three-pronged fork that is stuck into the ridgepole of the principle room in a building. The fork's prongs face up, and it is said that they can prick the ghosts, protecting the house and keeping it safe. Also, by placing a water basin on the roof of a house or the principal room in a building, the "water element" will press down the "fire element," thus guarding against fires.

There are many varieties of objects that are placed above doors to ward off malevolent forces. Sheep horns, which the Mosuo call *chikua* (迟垮), are nailed on the lintel with the points facing outwards. It is said that a sheep horn is so sharp that it can stop ghosts from attempting to enter. A pair of ox horns (still attached to part of the skull), which the Mosuo call *ekua* (俄垮), are displayed in the same way as the sheep horns. People regard the ox as having great strength, and sharp ox horns are thought to stab ghosts to death. A bow and arrow, which the Mosuo call *ren'en* (忍恩), are placed horizontally on the lintel, with the bow strung and holding an arrow in order to scare the ghosts. A saw, which the Mosuo call *sede* (色得), is placed on the lintel with its teeth facing outwards. An eagle, which the Mosuo call *gelamikechai* (格拉米柯柴), is placed on the lintel as a symbol that an eagle is protecting the family, keeping ghosts from entering. Either one or several hornet's nests, which the Mosuo refer to as *nawuku* (纳乌库), are strung together on a rope and hung on the lintel. It is said that if hornets are living above the door, all types of ghosts will be terrified at the sight.

All types of talismans for warding off evil are also worn on the body, and, in particular, by children. People believe that braids, necklaces, and silver Buddhas worn on their children's heads, as well as bracelets on their wrists, all serve to shield the children against harm and to ward off malevolent spirits, so each child can grow up healthy. Among these talismans is a kind of sow knuckle bone (*zhougu* 肘骨), as big as a red

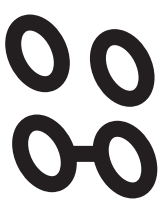
date, called *huda* (呼达). A hole is drilled through the bone and a string is run through it and tied around the neck or a button. The token has the function of warding off malevolent spirits and exorcizing ghosts.

4. *The Discovery of the* Wenquan Text (温泉本)

Even though the Mosuo have numerous legends concerning writing known to every family, they are just that—legends, not authentic history. The key to solving the history behind this is fieldwork. Fortunately, Mr. Yang Xuezheng of the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences acquired a type of Mosuo divination book in Awudabachu, Wenquan Township, Yongning District. Called the *Almanac* (标日子书) or *Book of Heaven* (天书), it contains twelve sections, with each section recording all of the auspicious and inauspicious days in one month. In total, 32 symbols are used, each with a fixed form, pronunciation, and meaning; thus possessing the properties of a written language. We call this book the *Wenquan Text*, named after the township where it was discovered. The symbols are listed below, in accordance with Mr. Yang Xuezheng's investigation:

('pœn mi꞉ni꞉ʒi)

Literal meaning: Female reproductive organ. Ritual connotation: Indicates a very auspicious day. This day is especially good for getting married or befriending *azhu* lovers. After such a marriage, the couple will give birth to many children, especially girls.



('dʒa꞉gə)

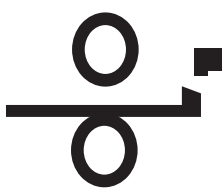
Literal meaning: Horse rump. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. This day is suitable for breeding or trading livestock. The animals may also be taken to a beautiful meadow to graze, in the hopes that they will multiply and flourish, becoming fat with shiny hair.

(bau'kwaɪ)

Literal meaning: Woman's vagina. Ritual connotation: Indicates a very auspicious day. This day is suitable for sowing highland barley, oats, and other grains, as well as raising the seedlings of various types of legumes and vegetables. It is also suitable planting trees and grafting. On this day, sowing and raising seedlings is done with the hope that the plants will grow and develop well.

(bau'jiɪ)

Literal meaning: Female breast(s). Ritual connotation: Indicates a very auspicious day. On this day, girls who have achieved thirteen years of age can hold the "skirt-wearing rite," a rite of passage. Afterwards, it is suitable for them to get married, move into their own household, adopt younger relatives, raise children, trade livestock, and to go to other towns to engage in trade. All of the events done on this day are meant to bring future prosperity and good luck: The sign is similar to full female breasts, filled with milk, which symbolize good fortune.

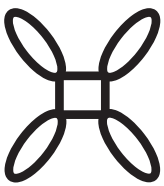


('jiɪgə)

Literal meaning: Male-female sexual intercourse. Ritual connotation: Indicates a very auspicious day. On this day, no matter whether a couple has sexual intercourse indoors or outdoors, the woman will become pregnant and give birth to a child.

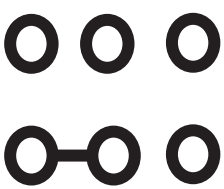
('bau gə pu)

Literal meaning: The sun surrounded by a halo. Ritual connotation: (1) For those people who stay at home, this indicates a normal day, neither auspicious nor inauspicious. On such a day, people can bring food and things into the home, but can't take them out. If things are silently brought in, it does not bring bad luck, but if items are removed from the house, it is considered inauspicious. (2) For those who go out to hunt, herd, or trade, this indicates an unlucky day. A halo around the sun symbolizes an ill omen.



('kɔ dʒaː)

Literal meaning: Throat. Ritual connotation: (1) For people who stay and work at home, this indicates a normal day, just like the throat swallowing food slowly and in small amounts: While they will not suddenly receive a great deal of property, neither will they lose a great deal of their workforce. For this reason, it is said to be a "normal" day. (2) For those people who go out to hunt, fish, herd, trade, etc., this day will be as difficult to access as a narrow throat, indicating that for them, this day bodes ill rather than well.



(gu 'miː)

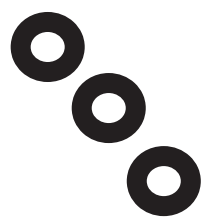
Literal meaning: Diarrhea and vomit. Ritual connotation: Indicates an inauspicious day. On this day, one should avoid eating anything raw or cold, as well as food given by outsiders, relatives, or friends. All cases of diarrhea and vomiting that occur on this day are seen as food poisoning.

(naːŋ 'hɔŋ)

Literal meaning: Sea conch. Ritual connotation: An inauspicious day. Indicates an empty conch without flesh inside. On this day, property cannot be obtained, and everything can be tainted by unlucky forces. Blowing the conch can bring about wars between clans and tribes with blood and death, causing people to be unable to live peacefully.

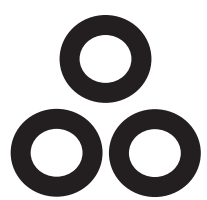
(sɔːta'ɔː)

Literal meaning: Three stars in a horizontal line. Ritual connotation: Indicates a normal day. On this day, people can renovate or build a house, move to a new house, go out to work, visit friends and relatives, and engage in other everyday activities.



(sɔːta'lɔː)

Literal meaning: Three stars in a diagonal line. Ritual connotation: Indicates an inauspicious day. On this day, frosts, gale-force winds, and other natural disasters can occur. On this day, people cannot move their homes or grazing lands.



(sɔːta tsɔː'miː)

Literal meaning: Three stars clustered. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. On this day, fixing and building houses, as well as moving to a new house, will all result is good luck and peace. Newly started pastures will have plentiful water and luxuriant grass.

('gə puɪ)

Literal meaning: The Big Dipper. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. This day is suitable for praying for blessings and offering sacrifices. These sacrifices are made to the sky spirits, the mountain spirits, the water spirits, the clan's sacred grove, the village protection spirits, etc., in order to pray for all the nature spirits to guarantee good weather for crops, ward off calamities and drive away disaster, keep both people and livestock safe and healthy, and ensure that there will be bumper crops of grain.

(hɔɪ'gə)

Literal meaning: Turtledove. Ritual connotation: Indicates an extremely inauspicious day. On this day, people and livestock will be confronted with death, wounds, and disasters. Family members should not go out, and livestock should not go out to graze. People and livestock born on this day are all seen as fiendish ghosts that have descended into the world of humans, and will haunt people and livestock in the future. People avoid them as taboo.

(gaɪ'gə)

Literal meaning: Crow's head. Ritual connotation: Indicates an extremely inauspicious day. On this day, disasters involving fire can occur. Livestock may run away and objects can be lost. People and livestock may also be afflicted with plagues and diseases. People on this day are especially careful and cautious.

('bɔɪkwaɪ)

Literal meaning: Pig's mouth. Ritual connotation: Indicates a normal day. Goods come in and go out, just like a pig mouth eating food: Some of the food goes in, while other bits leak out. This symbolizes both receiving and losing property, so this day is considered as normal.

('bɔɪjiɪ)

Literal meaning: Boar's reproductive organ. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. This day is for breeding animals. The livestock that breed on this day will have many healthy offspring.

(bɔɪmæn)

Literal meaning: Lard. Ritual connotation: Indicates a normal day. This day's financial resources and gains are as few and excellent as lard. The gains will not be numerous, but will be of excellent quality.

(bɔɪmʌdzi 'rxɪ)

Literal meaning: Pig tail. Ritual connotation: Indicates a normal day. This day will not have any extraordinary catastrophes occur, but neither will any especially auspicious events occur. Both auspicious and inauspicious things will be as small as a pig's tail. The meaning is that large events of both good and bad fortune have already passed, and only small events remain.

(dzi'kwaɪ)

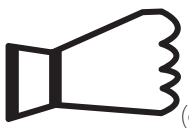
Literal meaning: Beast's horn. Ritual connotation: Indicates an inauspicious day. This day bodes more ill rather than good. It is not suitable for going out fishing, hunting, or to trading. It is also not suitable for getting married, marrying off one's daughter, adopting a child, or conducting rites of passage. This is a "beast's horn" day, because horns are withered, with no fat on them, yet they are hard and sharp enough to easily stab and wound people. Therefore, this is seen as an inauspicious day.

(dzi 'liː)

Literal meaning: Ear. Ritual connotation: Indicates a normal day. The ear has flesh but also cartilage. People can live and work normally. On this day, although people may run into some auspicious events, at the end, the essence of what has been obtained is very little. No large calamities or dangerous conditions will occur, and people can live and work normally.

(dzi 'naːŋ)

Literal meaning: Eye. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. On this day, people will find good luck during their work. Those who hunt will find game. Those who herd will find new pastures. Those who fish will find crevices where fish live, schools of fish, etc.


(dzi 'gu)

Literal meaning: Palm of a hand. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. On this day, people's work will be richly rewarded, receiving whatever they attempt on the first try. Those who go out to work, even if they haven't found anything valuable (perhaps just a tree branch, a bunch of grass, or a piece of rock), they must pick it up and bring it home, in order to fulfill the good omen of "on the first day, no one comes back empty-handed."

(laː'kwaː)

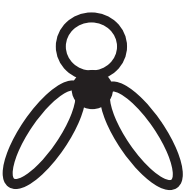
Literal meaning: Tiger's head. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. This day is a day for warfare. Those who go to battle will defeat their enemies and claim victory. Most children who are already thirteen years of age choose this day to carry out the "skirt-wearing" and "pants-wearing" rites of passage. They believe this will give them the temperament of a tiger, brave and fierce. All babies born on this day are highly valued. Many of the baby girls are named Lamu (喇木), meaning "tigress," and many baby boys are named Laze (喇泽), Laza (喇扎), etc., the meaning of which are that they possess the fear-inspiring prowess and unparalleled ferocity of tigers.

(ʃei dzi 'du)

Literal meaning: Poisoned food. Ritual connotation: Indicates an extremely inauspicious day. On this day, there is the danger of food poisoning for both people and livestock. People must be especially careful and cautious in eating and drinking, and avoid food given by outsiders.

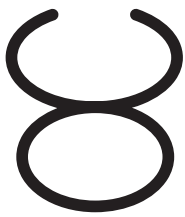
(ʃaː'kwaː)

Literal meaning: Male reproductive organ. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. Infertile women must pay respects and makes sacrifices to the stone ancestor effigy, in order to ask for children. Many boys who are thirteen years of age choose this day to carry out the "pants-wearing" rite of passage. The meaning of carrying out this rite of passage on the "day of the male reproductive organ" is that the boys will be healthy and smart, with a bright future filled with good fortune and happiness. Many choose this day for adopting sons and godsons, and naming sons, in order to increase the family's male descendants.



(mæn 'kwaː)

Literal meaning: Deformed person. Ritual connotation: Indicates an inauspicious day. This is an unlucky day to give birth. Babies born on this day will have physical deformities. On this day, people should avoid getting married and befriending *axia* (female lover). Having sex out-of-doors is prohibited. This day is especially powerful for praying to spirits for blessings and expelling evil for those children with physical disabilities. Also on this day, rites for warding off calamities can be held for pregnant women.

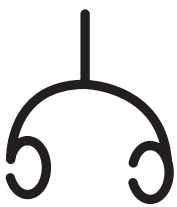


('bi gə)

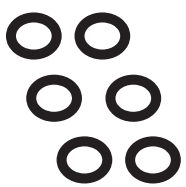
(Nowadays, the ritual specialists no longer know the meaning of this symbol.)

(pæn 'miː)

Indicates an auspicious day. The specific literal and religious meaning of this symbol are now unknown to modern-day ritualists.



Literal meaning: Fire-steel (for fire-making with flint). Ritual connotation: Auspicious.



(sɔːˈtʌ ɔːlu)

Literal meaning not known. Ritual connotation: Indicates an inauspicious day. Can also record even-numbered days. The specific meaning is not clear.

(niː 'dʒi)

Literal meaning: Female reproductive organ. Ritual connotation: Indicates an auspicious day. This day is good for men and women to have sexual intercourse, for livestock to mate, and to graft plants, sow seeds, raise seedlings, etc. People believe that on this day the vagina is unobstructed (阴窦畅通), the feminine/negative energy of life (*yinqi* 阴气) is moist and concentrated, and conditions are favorable for all things to grow.

Above, we have the pictographic characters found in the *Wenquan Text*. Is this the only evidence that such texts exist? What is the complete picture surrounding this text? As these questions are worthy of consideration, I was led to make another trip to that area for additional investigations.

5. *Newly-Discovered Versions of the* Book of Divination

In the summer of the year 2000, the author went to visit Lake Lugu, with the main purpose of searching for Mosuo written texts. A team of nine people went together, with several research topics. Some were investigating folk literature, others were interested in the changes in the "walking marriage" system, and others in the ancient caravan culture. I was mainly concerned with whether or not the *daba* had sacred texts. After half a month of interviews, I found that in each of the several villages that I passed through, the *daba* had a kind of book of divination. Among these, I found one in Sanjia Village (三家村) in the Qiansuo District of Yanyuan County in Sichuan province, which I will call the *Sanjiacun Manuscript* (*Sanjiacun Chaoben* 三家村抄本). Another manuscript contained colored drawings, which can be called the *Lijiazui Painted Manuscript* (*Lijiazui Caihui Ben* 利家嘴彩绘本). In Lijiaju Village (利家咀村), there was also a black-and-white *Lijiaju Manuscript* (*Lijiaju Chaoben* 利家咀抄本). Another manuscript was discovered in Wujiao Village, Muli County, called the *Wujiao Manuscript* (*Wujiao Chaoben* 屋脚抄本). What is unique about this manuscript is that it has Mosuo pictographs above with Tibetan glosses below. If we

include the *Walapian Manuscript* (*Walapian Chaoben* 瓦拉片抄本) introduced by Mr. Yang Xuezheng, at present there are five manuscripts that have been discovered. This situation is advantageous for a more in-depth exploration of the Mosuo people's *Book of Divination* and their pictographic characters.

As mentioned earlier, we also discovered several manuscripts of the *Book of Divinations*, which point out one fact in particular: While the *Book of Divination* is seldom seen in the Yongning District in Ninglang (宁蒗永宁地区), it is still prevalent in Muli County, and the latter area is precisely where very few Yunnan scholars tend to go.

The five manuscripts that have been found can be divided into two categories:

One type consists of simplified editions, or those with single symbols. In these, each square or each day contains only one pictograph. This category includes the *Walapian Manuscript*, the *Lijiazui Painted Manuscript*, the *Wujiao Manuscript*, etc. These manuscripts just use 28 symbols to record the 365 days of a year.

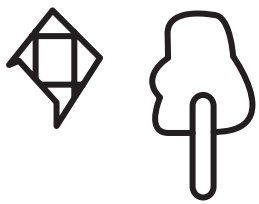
The other category is the complex editions, or "double symbol" editions. In these, each square or day uses two pictographs. This category includes the *Lijiazui Manuscript*, the *Sanjiacun Manuscript*, etc. In these texts, each square uses two pictographic symbols to express good luck and bad luck, fortune and misfortune for a day. Among the symbols used, most are the same as those used in the simplified editions. Thus, we can see that the simplified versions came earlier than the complex ones.

In order to make a detailed introduction of the content of each type of manuscript, three specific cases are discussed below:

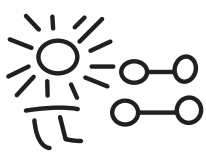
Case 1

In Sanjia Village in the Qiansuo area of Yanyuan County in Sichuan province, the author found a text in the possession of Ajiakuzechi'er (阿家苦则迟尔). This man was forty-four years old and had two years of schooling. His family had been *daba* for generations and their ritual clothing, implements, and sacred texts were all completely intact. The book is called *Gemu* (格木), commonly referred to as the *Book of the Stars* (*Xingshu* 星书). Legend has it that a *daba* went to look for a book for keeping track of the days. First, he looked for the stars, but stars were sleeping, and he couldn't find a book with thirty days in a month. He went up to the sky to look for it, and received the *Gemu*, in which each month has twenty-eight days. This book is suitable for divination

and use on long journeys. However, only by looking at the specific circumstances for each day can one decide what actions are suitable at a given time. Therefore, this is a book of divination or a type of almanac. There is one square for each day, twenty-eight squares for each month, and 336 squares for each year. Each square contains two pictographic symbols. The days of the first month are given below:

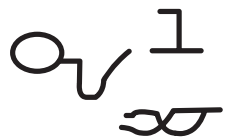


Day 1: There are two symbols. The one on the left is pronounced *nizhi* (尼支), and is believed to be either two stars or two male phalluses. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布), and represents seven throats. This is an auspicious day on which cremation can be carried out.

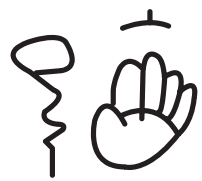


Day 2: There are two symbols. The one on the left is pronounced *wage* (洼格), meaning the Horse Star (马星). The one on the right is pronounced *nima* (尼马), meaning the sun. This day is auspicious, and good for beginning a long journey.

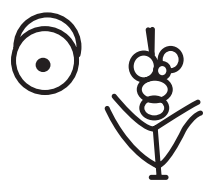
Day 3: There are also two symbols. The one on the left is pronounced *baokuai* (报快), and uses the image of a sheep's sexual organs to symbolize the Sheep Star (羊星). The one on the right is pronounced *dawa* (答洼), the symbol ᠊ in it represents the moon. This day is auspicious and suitable for working.



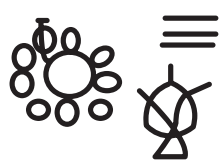
Day 4: Two symbols. The one on the left is pronounced *baji* (巴吉), and represents human sexual organs, without specifying gender. The one on the right is pronounced *zamimen* (扎迷门), and means "eye." This day is not good for the eyes, although for other things it doesn't matter.



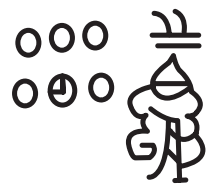
Day 5: Two symbols. The one on the left is pronounced *jike* (吉科), and uses flowing water to symbolize the Water Star (水星). The one on the right is pronounced *laba* (拉巴) and means the palm of a hand. However, this is the Tibetan pronunciation. In Mosuo, it is called *luokua* (洛垮). This day is auspicious, suitable for constructing a storehouse or dispelling calamities.



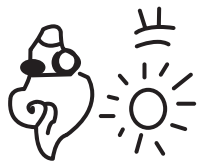
Day 6: The one on the left is pronounced *boluopo* (拨洛泼), meaning a pond. The one on the right is pronounced *pengbu* (烹布), which is Tibetan for throat. This day is auspicious. There will be food to eat and clothes to wear. Those who go out to battle will be victorious.



Day 7: The one on the left is pronounced *guzaku* (古扎哭), meaning the Throat Star (喉咙星). The one on the right is pronounced *zapengyou* (杂朋友), meaning nose. This day is classified as an auspicious day.

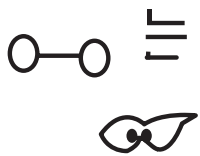


Day 8: The one on the left is pronounced *guzagumi* (古扎古米), indicating "six stars lined up" (六排星) or the Human Body Stars (人体星). The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布). This is an extremely auspicious day, where everything will be successful.

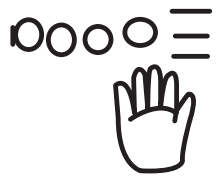


Day 9: The one on the left is pronounced *nianhuo* (年火), meaning the Fire Star (火星). The one on the right is pronounced *nima* (尼马), meaning the sun. This is an extremely auspicious day, where everything will be successful.

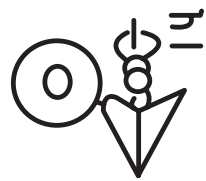
Day 10: The left side is pronounced *suotawo* (索塔窝), meaning three stars. The right side is pronounced *dawa* (答洼), meaning the moon. This is an auspicious day.



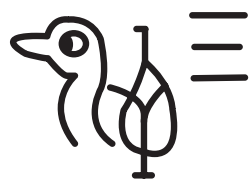
Day 11: The left side is pronounced *suotaluo* (索塔洛), meaning two stars. The right side is pronounced *zami'er* (扎米尔), meaning eye(s). This is an auspicious day.



Day 12: The left side is pronounced *suotacuomi* (索塔窝搓迷), meaning four stars in a row. The right side is pronounced *laba* (拉巴), meaning the palm of a hand. This day is fairly auspicious, although one shouldn't visit graves and must be sure to pen up all livestock.

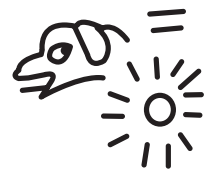


Day 13: The left side is pronounced *suotagewai* (索塔格外), meaning white stars. The right side is pronounced *pengbu* (朋布), which in Tibetan means "nose." This day is extremely auspicious.

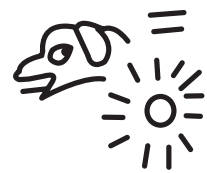


Day 14: The one on the left is pronounced *huge* (胡歌), meaning eagle. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布), meaning throat. On this day, one cannot harm any livestock.

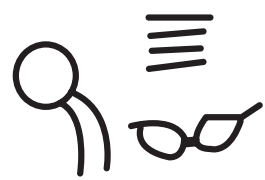
Day 15: The one on the left is pronounced *gege* (格哥), meaning eagle. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布), meaning throat. On this day, one cannot harm livestock.



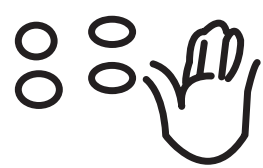
Day 16: The one on the left is pronounced *bukuai* (布块), meaning pig's head. The one on the right is pronounced *nima* (尼马), meaning sun. On this day, one cannot let pigs out to graze or sell pigs.



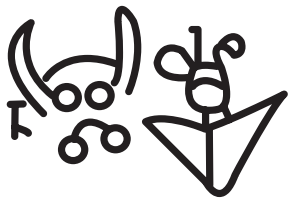
Day 17: The one on the left is pronounced *buji* (布吉), meaning the sexual organs of a boar. The one on the right is pronounced *dawa* (答洼), meaning moon. This is an auspicious day.



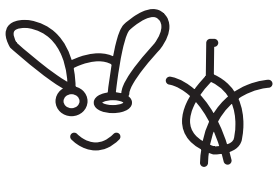
Day 18: The one on the left is pronounced *buma* (布马), meaning lard. The one on the right is pronounced *zamimen* (扎米门), which means "eye" in Tibetan. This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.



Day 19: The one on the left is pronounced *buma* (布麻), meaning pig's tail. The one on the right is pronounced *laba* (拉巴), meaning the palm of a hand. This day is normal.

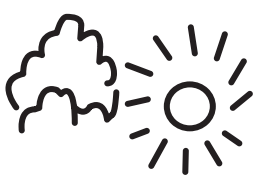


Day 20: The one on the left is pronounced *rikua* (日垮), meaning "ox horn." The one on the right is pronounced *zapengyou* (杂朋友), meaning throat. This day is not good for livestock. Animals cannot be sold and must be well looked after.

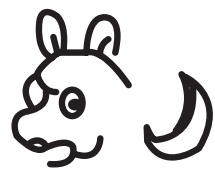


Day 21: The one on the left is pronounced *rixi* (日西), meaning ox ears. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布), meaning nose. On this day, one cannot obtain new things, nor sell draft animals.

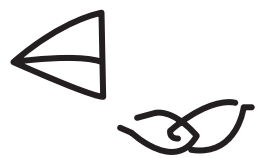
Day 22: The one on the left is pronounced *rinian* (日年), meaning ox eyes. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布), meaning nose. On this day, livestock must be watched carefully.



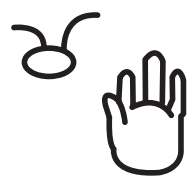
Day 23: The one on the left is pronounced *rigu* (日古), meaning the body of an ox. The one on the right is pronounced *nima* (尼马), meaning sun. This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.



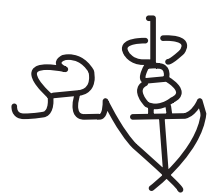
Day 24: The one on the left is pronounced *lahongkua* (拉红垮), meaning tiger. The one on the right is pronounced *dawa* (答洼), meaning moon. This day is inauspicious, as it is believed that when a tiger is hungry, it must harm people and other animals.



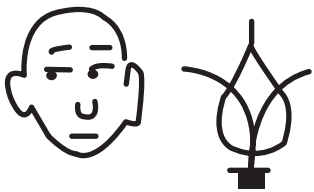
Day 25: The one on the left is pronounced *shezhide* (蛇支德), meaning the Tiger Star (虎星). The one on the right is pronounced *zamimen* (扎米门), meaning eyes. This day is normal.



Day 26: The one on the left is pronounced *yaoku* (要哭), meaning the upper body of a sheep, symbolizing the Sheep Star. The one on the right is pronounced *laba* (拉巴), meaning the palm of a hand. On this day, goats cannot be sold.



Day 27: The one on the left is pronounced *makua* (麻垮), meaning the private parts of a sheep. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengbu* (杂朋布), meaning throat. This day is auspicious, but draft animals must not be sold.

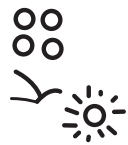


Day 28: The one on the left is pronounced *paimi* (拍米), meaning human head. The one on the right is pronounced *zapengyou* (杂朋友), meaning nose.

Case 2

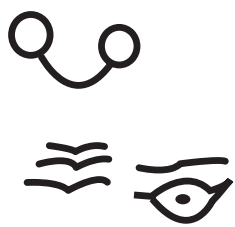
On July 26, 2000, our research group intended to get a lift to Wujiao, but the owner of the vehicle tried to overcharge us, asking for 300 RMB. In addition, some sections of the road were blocked due to landslides, and the driving was quite dangerous. We decided to use a train of horses instead. Each horse cost 40 RMB, with six people using six horses in all. At ten o'clock, we set out from Walapian (瓦拉片) in Wenquan Township (温泉乡). After passing by several Yi nationality villages, we began to climb the mountain. The road was very narrow and the forest was dense. As the horse train passed through the forest, our luggage was scraped and torn. Sometime after five in the afternoon, we arrived at Lijiazui Village (利家嘴村). This village had 24 households, living on a small, flat place on the mountainside. Nevertheless, each compound was very big, built in the shape of an earthen fortress. The scale of matriarchal households are quite large. We stayed with the Mupa family (木帕家). Our male host was named Mupa Duoji (木帕多吉). He was a famous *daba*. I shared a room with him. At night, when the moon rose, all of us sat in a circle on a small, flat clearing, and we began to ask about the almanacs of the Mosuo people. The *daba* Mupa Duoji, our main informant, was 68 years old at the time, and a celebrated *daba* in Wujiao Township. We asked, "Do the *daba* in this village have sacred texts?" He said, "Yes, they have books for telling the fortunes of each day." After he said this, he went to find a book. We were excited to no end, but after we had a look, we realized that it was copied by hand in a notebook, not an original text. Nevertheless, in order to discern the content of this book, we continued to examine it, then attempted to translate each symbol one after another. The *daba* would read each sentence, and we would write it down. We recorded the following content:

Day 1: The symbol on the left is pronounced *nì zhì*, and represents the male sex organs. It symbolizes the stars. The symbol on the right is pronounced *rzà pēng ku*, and indicates "seven throats." This is an auspicious day. It is good for carrying out cremations, but not suitable for sacrifices.

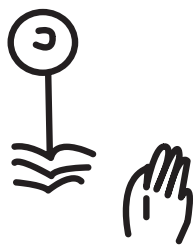


Day 2: The symbol on the left is pronounced *nizhi* (尼支), meaning horse. The symbol on the right, pronounced *nima* (尼马), indicates the sun. This is an auspicious day. It is good for worshipping the Water Dragon King, and suitable for traveling.

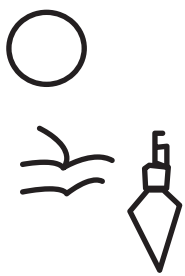
Day 3: The symbol on the left is pronounced *waqiao* (洼乔). It represents a sheep's sex organs. The symbol on the right, pronounced *dawa* (打洼), indicates the moon. On this day, outreach is important, but it is not suitable for selling livestock.



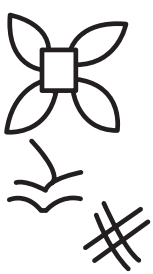
Day 4: The symbol on the left is pronounced *bokua* (博垮), and represents the sex organs of livestock. The symbol on the right is pronounced *za'ni'er* (扎尼耳), indicating eyes. On this day, people can conduct religious rites, but cannot worship the Dragon King. In addition, one cannot hurt one's eyes.



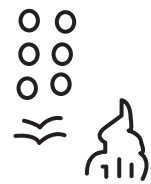
Day 5: The symbol on the left is pronounced *jige* (击格), meaning "flowing water." It symbolizes the Water Star. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zala* (扎拉), meaning the palm of a hand. It is an auspicious day, but one cannot worship the Dragon King. One should not kill or sell livestock on this day.



Day 6: The symbol on the left is pronounced *bogepo* (波哥泼). It uses the circle to indicate a pool of water. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zagumi* (扎古迷). It represents an animal that recovers after being chopped up and dropped into the water. It is also called "throat." It is an auspicious day. One can do anything on this day.

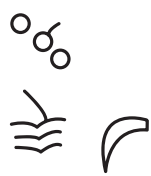


Day 7: The symbol on the left is pronounced *kuozakuo* (括扎括), indicating the Throat Star. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zadajiabu* (扎大加布), meaning the Earth, the world. This is an auspicious day. Everything will go smoothly.

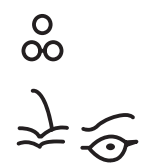


Day 8: The symbol on the left is pronounced *guzagumi* (古扎古米), meaning "six stars lined up." The symbol on the right is pronounced *dingba* (丁巴). It is the same image as the one for Day 1. It is an auspicious day. One can do anything on this day, except for worshiping the Dragon King and the mountain spirits.

Day 9: The symbol on the left is pronounced *suotawo* (搜塔窝), meaning the Fire Star. The symbol on the right is pronounced *nima* (尼马), meaning the sun. It is an auspicious day, and good for worshipping the Dragon King, mountain spirits, and water wells.



Day 10: The symbol on the left is pronounced *suotaluo* (叟塔罗), indicating three stars (三星). The symbol on the right is pronounced *dawa* (打洼), meaning the moon. It is an auspicious day.



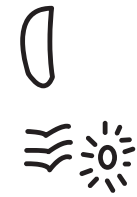
Day 11: The symbol on the left is pronounced *suotachuanmi* (叟塔窗迷), meaning the body of three stars (三星身躯). The symbol on the right is pronounced *za'ni'er* (扎尼耳), indicating eyes. It is an auspicious day.

Day 12: The symbol on the left is pronounced *suotamiehuo* (叟塔灭伙), indicating the "eye of three stars" (三星之目). The symbol on the right is pronounce *laba* (拉巴), meaning the palm of a hand. It is an auspicious day, but it is not suitable for entering mountain gravesites.

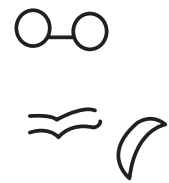
Day 13: The symbol on the left is a white star. The symbol on the right is pronounced *luodi* (洛蒂), meaning throat. It is an auspicious day, and suitable for hosting big events.

Day 14: The symbol on the left is pronounced *huge* (虎哥), meaning wild chicken head. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zadajiabu* (扎大加布), meaning the Earth. It is an auspicious day, and good for training young cattle to plow.

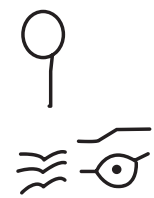
Day 15: The symbol on the left is pronounced *huge* (虎哥), meaning eagle. The symbol on the right is pronounced *dingba* (丁巴), indicating throat. This is an inauspicious day. Livestock must be watched carefully.



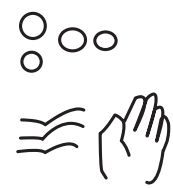
Day 16: The symbol on the left is pronounced *bukua* (布垮), indicating a pig mouth. The symbol on the right is pronounced *nimi* (尼迷), indicating the sun. This is an inauspicious day. One can sell livestock, but cannot take pigs out to root around or offer sacrifices.



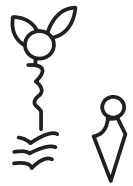
Day 17: The symbol on the left is pronounced *bumo* (布莫), representing a pig's sexual organs. The symbol on the right is pronounced *dawa* (打洼), indicating the moon. It will be clear at night, but is not good for offering sacrifices.



Day 18: The symbol on the left is pronounced *buji* (布吉), indicating a pig's urinary bladder. The symbol on the right is pronounced *za'ni'er* (扎尼耳), indicating eyes. This is an normal day, neither auspicious nor inauspicious.



Day 19: The symbol on the left is pronounced *haoman* (好曼), indicating pig tails. The symbol on the right is pronounced *laba* (拉巴), indicating the palm of a hand. This is a normal day.



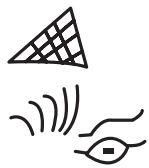
Day 20: The symbol on the left is pronounced *rikua* (日垮), indicating ox horns. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zagumi* (扎古迷), indicating throats. This is an inauspicious day. Do not sell sheep. Do not kill livestock.

Day 21: The symbol on the left is pronounced *zixi* (子西), indicating sheep ears. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zadajiabu* (扎大加布), indicating the Earth. This is an inauspicious day.

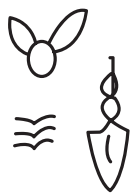
Day 22: The symbol on the left is pronounced *riniang* (日娘), indicating sheep eyes. The symbol on the right is pronounced *dingba* (丁巴), indicating throats. This is an inauspicious day. One should not do anything.

Day 23: The symbol on the left is pronounced *rigu* (日古), indicating the body of an ox. The symbol on the right is pronounced *nima* (尼马), indicating the sun. This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.

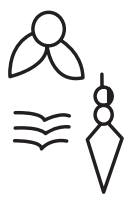
Day 24: The symbol on the left is pronounced *lanhongkua* (兰红垮), indicating a tiger head. The symbol on the right is pronounced *dawa* (打洼), indicating the moon. This day is inauspicious. Avoid losing livestock.



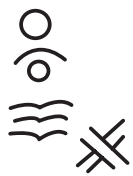
Day 25: The symbol on the left is pronounced *shezhitou* (蛇支头), indicating flesh or the body of a tiger. The symbol on the right is pronounced *za'ni'er* (扎尼耳), indicating eyes. It is a normal day.



Day 26: The symbol on the left is pronounced *biekua* (别垮), indicating sheep horns. The symbol on the right is pronounced *luodi* (洛蒂), indicating throats. This day is inauspicious. Do not sell sheep.



Day 27: The symbol on the left is pronounced *makua* (妈垮), indicating sheep tails. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zagumi* (扎古迷), indicating throats. This is an inauspicious day.



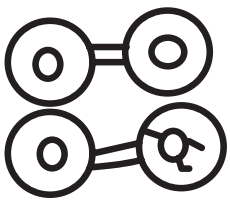
Day 28: The symbol on the left is pronounced *wage* (洼哥), indicating the upper body of a human. The symbol on the right is pronounced *zadajiabu* (扎大加布), indicating the Earth. This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.

Case 3

Our group left Lijiazui Village on July 27, 2000 to go do investigations in Wujiao Village. We planned to leave Wujiao Village on August 5 and return straight to Wenquan. However, before our departure, we heard a piece of news that an old man in the Lijiazui Village had passed away on August 4, and a "horse-washing ritual" (洗马仪式) was going to be held. Many villagers were going to attend the funeral. This was a remarkably rare opportunity for those of us who engage in researching the Mosuo culture. Therefore, we changed our itinerary. Some of us would return to Wenquan by bus. Some students and I would go back and revisit Lijiazui Village to investigate the horse-washing ritual, and we would meet up afterwards.

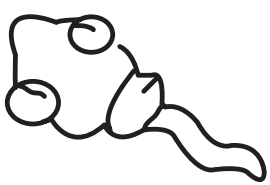
On the morning of August 3, we departed after breakfast. It was a rainy day. Fortunately, the rain stopped now and then, so it did not cause too much trouble on our journey. After we arrived, we stayed at Mupa's house as before, but we did not stay inside the room. Instead, we set up two tents in the yard, one for men, the other for women. It was rather convenient, and the air was fresh. I had attended Mosuo funerals numerous times, but had not seen a horse-washing ritual. This time, I not only watched the process of the funeral, but also observed the horse-washing ritual and the yak-tail dance, which deepened my understanding of the funeral culture of the Mosuo people. On the morning of the third day, we were about to leave again. I asked a community school teacher, whom we met during our visit, "Is there a history book with pictures of your village?" He said: "Yes, I have one in my home. Let me get it and show you." So, he brought the book, and as soon as I looked at it, I became very excited, because it was an old handwritten manuscript, and in color. The book had a special feature: one square was drawn for each day, and each square contained one pictographic character. Altogether, there were 28 graphs. However, the graphs are a bit different from other manuscripts, as this example of the 28 days of the first month illustrates:

Day 1: It is only one symbol, in the shape of a diamond. Each interior angle has a partial circular arc, as does each exterior angle. This picture is pronounced *nizhi* (尼支), indicating two male phalluses.



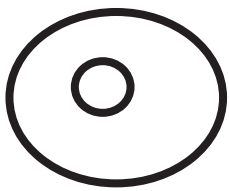
Day 2: It is also one picture, divided into two parts: upper and lower. Each part has two circles connected together, indicating two Horse Stars. It is pronounced *wage* (洼格). It is an auspicious day.

Day 3: It is a drawing of a frog. This day is auspicious, because the frog represents a type of spirit. With the spirit's blessings, everything goes smoothly.

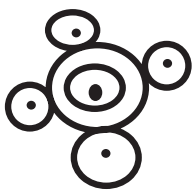


Day 4: It is also one symbol, and appears in the shape of a human sexual organ. It is pronounced *baji* (巴吉). This day is still auspicious.

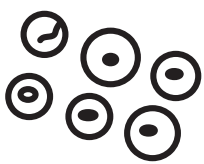
Day 5: It is a drawing of a fountain with water flowing outwards. It symbolizes the Water Star. It is pronounced *laba* (拉巴). This is an auspicious day, and suitable for building houses and putting out fires.



Day 6: It is a drawing of a pool. It is pronounced *bagefa* (拔哥发), symbolizing auspiciousness.

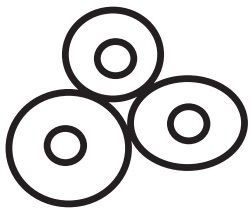


Day 7: It is a drawing of a star, holding four little stars. It is pronounced *guzaku* (古扎哭), meaning the Throat Star. This is an auspicious day.

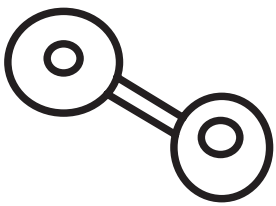


Day 8: It is a drawing of a set of six stars, pronounced *guzagumi* (古扎古迷), meaning "six stars lined up." This is an auspicious day, but not suitable for worshipping the Dragon King.

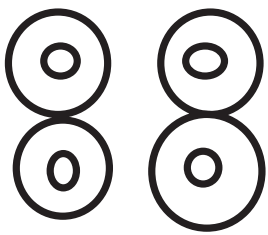
Day 9: It is a drawing of a sea conch, pronounced *nianhuo* (年火). It means the Fire Star. This is an auspicious day. One can do anything.



Day 10: It is drawing of a set of three stars, pronounced *suotawo* (索塔窝), which means "three stars." This is an auspicious day.



Day 11: It is a drawing of two connected stars, pronounced *suotaluo* (索塔洛), meaning "two stars."



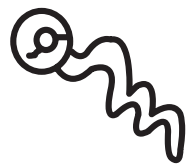
Day 12: It is a drawing of four stars, pronounced *suotacuomi* (索塔搓迷), meaning "four stars lined up" (四排星). It is an auspicious day, but is not good for entering graveyards.

Day 13: It is a drawing of a star, pronounced *suotagewai* (索塔格外), meaning "white star." This is a very auspicious day.

Day 14: It is a drawing of a wild chicken, pronounced *hupeng* (胡朋), meaning "wild chickens." It is an auspicious day, and is good for plowing.

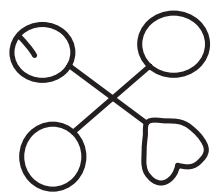
Day 15: It is a drawing of an eagle, pronounced *gege* (格哥), meaning "the eagles in the mountains." This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious. One should avoid injuring livestock on this day.

Day 16: It is a drawing of a pig's head, pronounced *bukuai* (布块), meaning "pig's head." This is an auspicious day.



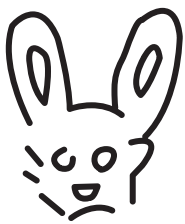
Day 17: It is a drawing of a pig's reproductive organ, pronounced *buji* (布吉), meaning "the sexual organ of male pigs."

Day 18: It is a drawing of a piece of pig fat sitting on a plate. It is pronounced *buma* (布马), meaning "pig fat." This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.



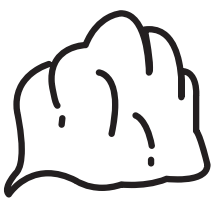
Day 19: It is a drawing of four circles, connected with intersecting lines. It is pronounced *buma* (布麻), meaning "pig tail." It is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.

Day 20: It is a drawing of an ox horn. It is pronounced *rikua* (日跨), meaning "ox horn." It is an inauspicious day. One cannot buy or sell livestock on this day.



Day 21: It is a drawing of the body of an ox, pronounced *rixi* (日西), meaning "ox ears." It is an inauspicious day, and is not good for livestock.

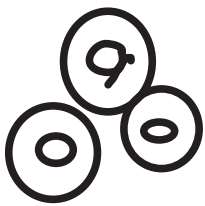
Day 22: It is a drawing of a pair of eyes, pronounced *rinian* (日年). It is an inauspicious day. One should not buy or sell livestock and avoid losing animals.



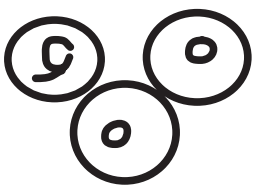
Day 23: It is a drawing of an object, pronounced *rigu* (日古), meaning the body of an ox. This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious.

Day 24: It is a drawing of a tiger's head, pronounced *lahongkua* (日红垮), meaning "the day of the tiger's head." This is an inauspicious day, because the tiger will attack people.

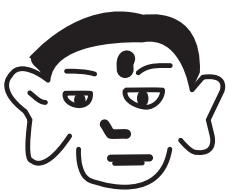
Day 25: It is a drawing of an arrow-headed object, pronounced *shezhide* (蛇支德), meaning "Tiger Star." This is a normal day.



Day 26: The upper part is a drawing of a circle. The lower part is a pair of sheep horns. It is pronounced *yaoku* (要哭), meaning "the upper body of a sheep." One should not sell sheep on this day.



Day 27: The upper part is a drawing of a circle. The lower part is a pair of sheep horns, meaning "the lower body of a sheep." This day is neither auspicious nor inauspicious. However, one should not sell sheep on this day.



Day 28: It is a drawing of a human head, pronounced *pami* (拍米), meaning "human head." This is a normal day.

6. *Indigenous Pictographic Characters*

Long ago, human beings invented syllabic languages that are composed of words and sentences, through which meanings and thoughts are expressed. This is one of the oldest means of communication. However, these languages have only sounds, but no substance, and words are "gone" once spoken. Thus, they are temporally and spatially restricted. Later on, written scripts were invented. They are symbols and forms to record language. Written scripts carry meanings in their forms, and express meanings through their pronunciations. They can be saved and passed on to others. Therefore, they are one of the signs of the civilized era.

The formation of written language was an extremely slow process. The earliest stage consisted of symbols for documenting events, including inscriptions on wood and tying knots on ropes, which later led to the invention of inscribed symbols and pictographic forms. Written language was formed, based on the use of pictures for recording events, in the later period of primitive society, and did not reach maturity until the civilized era.

Based on the present situation, there are three types of scripts: phonemic scripts, which refer to Romanized scripts, such as the Latin and Slavic languages; syllabic scripts, such as Japanese *kana*; and ideographic scripts, such as Babylonian cuneiform, ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, and Chinese characters.

Based on pictographs, Chinese characters developed through the oracle bone script stage and the bronze script stage. The oracle bone script, also based on pictographs, evolved from pictographic characters. This type of written form featured drawn pictures of objects, and used their original names in spoken language as the pronunciation of the writing. This was the earliest stage of Chinese character structure. However, there are some limitations to the use of pictographic characters. They are not sufficient to express all actions and activities. Two other types of characters were thus created: compound ideographic characters and semantic-phonetic compound characters. The former used several symbols to compose a character. The latter used two symbols to compose a character. One indicates its meaning and the other its pronunciation. These types of characters are seen quite often in the ancient oracle bone script. Therefore, it is not hard to see that the oracle bone script evolved from pictographs and pictographic characters.

The means of creating Chinese characters are called the "six writings/scripts" (*liushu* 六书), which include pictographs, ideographs, ideographic compounds, semantic-phonetic compounds, transformed cognates and phonetic loan characters. Modern Chinese morphology regards transformed cognates and phonetic loan characters as ways of using characters, which are irrelevant to the creation of characters. As for the rest, ideographic compounds make use of simple characters to compose new characters. For example, "the sun" (*ri* 日) and "the moon" (*yue* 月) make up the character for "bright" (*ming* 明). "Mountain" (*shan* 山) and "high" (*gao* 高) make up the character for "high mountains" (*chong* 崇). This is a rather advanced means for creating characters, which does not exist in the *Book of Divination* of the Mosuo people. Semantic-phonetic characters are also called pictographic characters, or *xieyinzi* ("meaning-plus-sound characters"), which combine semantic and phonetic radicals to create characters. The semantic radicals stand for the meaning of the character, and the phonetic radicals for the sound. Take "seedling" (*yang* 秧) for example. The radical "禾" on the left implies its meaning, and the radical "央" on the right is used for its pronunciation. This is another rather advanced way of making characters that does not exist in the *Book of Divination* of the Mosuo people. However, pictographs and ideographs are common in the *Book of Divination.* In the following, I will make some specific analyses:

First, I will discuss the pictographic characters. As can be seen from the above cases, the majority of the Mosuo script is written in pictographic characters. The word for "sun" is a drawing of the sun. "Three stars" is a drawing of three stars. "Eye" is a drawing of a pair of eyes. "Frog" is a drawing of a frog, and "wild chicken" is a drawing of a wild chicken. There are many more such words. All these characters are drawings, and thus are pictographic characters. Although this is a "method" of making characters by depicting objects, the actual writing of the characters varies in different versions. For example, the "sun" and "three stars" both are written differently in different versions, but all of these are pictographs.

Next, I will examine ideographic characters. Ideographic characters employ symbols to represent meanings. They can be divided into two subgroups: one group is made up of characters that are just pure symbols. The other group is made up of characters that add certain symbols to extant characters to form ideographs. For example, in the wooden houses built by the Mosuo, certain symbols are carved on each piece of

wood—"one" on the first piece, "two" on the second piece, and so on.[9] In the *Book of Divination*, a tiger head symbolizes a tiger, a sheep head symbolizes a sheep, and an eagle head symbolizes an eagle.

From the analysis above, we can tell the following characteristics of the characters in the *Book of Divination* of the Mosuo people:

First, the writings of the characters are fixed. The five handwritten copies that have been discovered can basically be categorized into two types: (1) "single symbol" versions, that is, those with one square for each day, and each square containing a single pictographic character. In all, there are only 28 characters; and (2) "double symbol" versions, that is, those with one square for each day, but with each square containing two pictographic characters. Therefore, the overall number of the characters is a bit more. There are 30 characters in all. All of these characters have fixed forms, and each character has a set pronunciation and certain meanings. One might say that the form, pronunciation, and meaning are all indicated, all of which are basic conditions for being considered as a written language.

Second, these characters can record the rather complex *Books of Divination*. The Mosuo written characters are quite numerous, but have already reached a certain number. Also, they can record 336 days in a year, with different contents for each day. The *daba* can use the pictographic characters written down for each day to predict its auspiciousness. For this reason, the characters were formed into the *Book of Divination*. This is something that cannot be achieved with average symbols.

Third, the Mosuo characters circulate within a certain region. The pictographic characters created by *daba* and the *Book of Divination* are not limited to only certain individuals. Instead, they are recognized and used by all of the *daba*, and are the only sacred texts they possess. They are used in the areas surrounding Lake Lugu, including Ninglang County, Yanyuan County and Muli County. In other words, the pictographic characters of the Mosuo people are being used in all the places where there are Mosuo *daba*.

The three points above illustrate that the Mosuo people already have their own written script. Drawings and pictographs make up the majority. There are also a number of ideographic characters, but no semantic-phonetic characters or ideographic compound characters.

[9] This is probably to help reassemble a house after it is taken down. (Editors)

Therefore, the scripts are rather ancient, and are far less developed than the *dongba* scripts.

Although the Mosuo people have a pictographic script, it is still relatively primitive, which is demonstrated by the following aspects: One is that pictographs make up a large proportion of the whole script, and ideographs are rather few in number. This shows that the script has just disengaged from the pictographic state. The Mosuo people live next to the Tibetan people. In the Tibetan Bon religion, the sacred texts, such as the text for sending away spirits (*songhunjing* 送魂经)[10] and the books used for divination, are also like this, as are the *Tigress Almanac* (*Muhu Lishu* 母虎历书) of the Ersu (耳苏) people (a Tibetan subgroup) and the Qiang (羌) people's divination books for their ritual priests, who are called *shibi* (释比).[11] However, the Mosuo people's pictographic characters are a bit more advanced than sacred texts composed of drawings, although the Bon religion's almanac shows more complexity than the Mosuo's *Book of Divination*.

Another point is that the actual process of writing out the *Book of Divination* is rather spontaneous. During this process, there are two types of situations: (1) Different pictographs may be used for the same day. For example, on the third day and the thirteen day of the lunar month, many versions use stars to symbolize the Big Dipper, while a few versions use the shape of a wooden ladle. As for the twenty-fourth day, some versions draw a tiger's head, while a few versions draw tigers' ears. (2) There are different ways of writing the same pictographic character, which shows that different *daba* have different understandings concerning common objects, and thus differ in the way they write them. Therefore, it can be deduced that when these texts were written, there was no standardized system of writing.

A third point is that the characters are used in a limited scope, and are only used for the *daba* to write the *Book of Divination*. They are not yet used in daily life. In fact, it is also impossible to use a little over thirty pictographs to record complex texts. This also reflects the primitive state of the Mosuo written scripts. Even for the *Book of Divination*, the writings in different handwritten copies differ from person to

[10] 宋兆麟 / Song Zhaolin, "藏族的送魂经 / Zang zu de song hun jing," *Dong nan wen hua* 3 (2008). ("The Tibetan Sacred Texts for Sending Off Spirits")

[11] 刘尧汉 等 / Liu Yaohan, et al., "一种罕见的象形文字 / Yi zhong han jian de xiang xing wen zi," *Zhongguo li shi bo wu guan guan kan* 1 (1981). ("A Rarely Seen Pictographic Script")

person, and place to place. Of course, it is certain that commonalities among the manuscripts are dominant, although each copy always has some characters that are written in a different way than in other copies.

In conclusion, the pictographic characters by the Mosuo *daba* are still rather primitive. But it is this feature that gives them important value in the study of the emergence of written scripts.

7. *Ritual Specialists Are the Inventors of Written Scripts*

Who invented Mosuo written script? With respect to the emergence of script, ritual specialists are closely involved in its invention. We may first refer to some ethnological data.

The average people among the Mosuo do not use the script. Only their ritual priests, the *daba*, use the pictographs to write the *Book of Divination*. Thus, the pictographic characters are spread and carried by the ritualists. This fact shows that the original written script of the Mosuo people was invented by the ritual priests. This is not the only proof. There are other examples in China.

In the western dialect areas of the Naxi people, the priests are called *dongba*. They commonly use the Dongba pictographs to write over a thousand kinds of Dongba texts, while the average people do not recognize and use the Dongba script. This proves that the Dongba script is only for the priests.[12]

The Ersu people in Ganluo County (甘洛县) of Sichuan province are a branch of the local Tibetan people. The common Ersu people do not use written scripts either. However, their priests, the *shaba* (沙巴), have an Ersu script, which is used to write the *Tigress Almanac*. They also use drawings to "write" the *Divination Book* (占卜书) and the *Exorcism Book* (驱鬼书). Tradition has it that the Nashuiyi (纳水依) people, who inhabit the river basin of the Yalong River (雅砻江), are descended from the ancestors of the Naxi people who remained in the area during their migration from the North to the South. Therefore, they preserve a good deal of the early period of Naxi culture. The ritual priests of the Nashuiyi, the *pabi* 帕比, also have some pictographic

[12] 西田龙雄 / Xitian Longxiong, "汉字的六书与纳西文 / Han zi de liu shu yu na xi wen," in 国际东巴文化研究集粹 / *Guo ji dong ba wen hua yan jiu ji cui*, eds. Bai Gengsheng and Yang Fuquan (Kunming: Yun nan ren min chu ban she, 1993). ("Chinese Calligraphy and Naxi Script," in *Collected Papers on Dongba Culture*)

characters and sacred texts composed of drawings, among which is the *Book of Providing Directions* (*Lupiao* 路票). This book is similar to the Dongba *Path of the Spirits* (*Shenlutu* 神路图), except that it is used to send off the spirits of the dead, and is more ancient and simple. In addition, it has many influences from the the Bon religion.[13]

The ritual priests of the Yi people in Sichuan and Yunnan provinces are called *bimo* (毕摩). They use types of Yi script to record all kinds of sacred texts, among which the books for divination are made with drawings. This script is only used by the *bimo*, and the average people do not use it.[14]

The ritual priests of the Qiang people in the western part of Sichuan are called *shibi* (释比). Their divination books are also made with drawings. Except for slight differences, they are very similar to those of the Ersu people, the Namuyi people and the Yi people.

In Sandu County (三都县) of Guizhou (贵州), there lives a branch of the Shui (水) people. The general population does not use written scripts, but their ritual priests, the "ghost masters" (*guishi* 鬼师), invented their own written script, which they used to compose the *Shui Writings* (*Shuishu* 水书).[15]

The above ethnological data supports two points: First, the average people of these groups do not use written scripts, and neither do they need written scripts; their ritual priests were the first to invent and use them. In addition to this evidence, archaeological research also provides such proof. For example, the Shandong Dawenkou (大汶口) culture, which has been generally recognized in the academic world, has pottery vessels with pictographs on them. According to experts, these kinds of pottery vessels were used as sacrificial vessels. In addition, they were only excavated from the tombs of a small number of ritual priests.[16] From this, it can be seen once again that written scripts were first created by ritual priests. These scripts evolved into oracle bone scripts during the Shang dynasty (1600 BCE–1046 BCE). These

[13] 宋兆麟 / Song Zhaolin, "耳苏人的图画经书 / Er su ren de tu hua jing shu," *Dong nan wen hua* 10 (2003). ("The Pictographic Sacred Texts of the Ersu People")

[14] 张纯德 / Zhang Chunde, 彝学研究文集 / *Yi xue yan jiu wen ji* (Kunming: Yun nan min zu chu ban she, 1994), 111. (*Collected Papers on Yi Studies*)

[15] 何积金 / He Jijin, 水族民族探幽 / *Shui zu min su tan you* (Chengdu: Si chuan min zu chu ban she, 1992), 285. (*Investigation of the Shui Ethnic Group*)

[16] 邵望平 / Shao Wangping, "远古文明的火花—陶尊上的文字 / Yuan gu wen ming de huo hua—Tao zun shang de wen zi," *Wen wu* 9 (1978). ("The Sparkle of an Ancient Civilization—The Script on Pottery Vessels")

scripts were also invented and used by the ritual priests (of the Shang dynasty),[17] and later spread out among the people and became the Chinese characters. From this, we can see that ritual priests invented the original written scripts. In other words, the original written scripts came from ritualists, and the early period of writing was, in fact, writing used by ritual priests.

Second, in the above examples, the Mosuo, Ersu, and Nashuiyi, as well as the Naxi, Yi, and Qiang people are basically the descendants of the Di-Qiang (氐羌), who migrated from the Northwest to the Southwest. Among these peoples, written scripts comprised of drawings or pictographic characters are retained to a greater or lesser degree. This is a common characteristic in their cultures.

Why is the invention of written scripts so closely related to ritualists, and especially ritual priests? There are several reasons.

First, the emergence of anything new is due to strong social needs. During the long period of primitive society, when the people were still focused on and constrained by the issue of survival, written scripts were not needed. Therefore, the invention of written scripts was impossible. This has been proven by archeological evidence from the prehistoric era. However, before the eve of the civilized era, namely, during the later period of primitive society, rapid changes occurred. For example, the emergence of private property, as well as the concept of private ownership, called for a way to keep records of property. Since people started to arrange marriages according to family status and family background, written scripts were required to record family history and relationships. Ritualists needed to narrate history when conducting funerals, as well as during sacrifices for the ancestors. Communication between different tribes and clans also required efficient methods for taking notes. Written scripts were also needed for reference when people practiced divination to determine the correct dates for the farming season. According to the "Discourses of Chu" section of the *Guoyu* (《国语・楚语》), "…[Those who dealt with] the ancestor spirits worshiped in temples, the matters of temple sacrifice, the genealogy of the tribe, [and taught] appropriate and humble behavioral manners, suitable rituals, the principles of solemnity, a dignified appearance, the nature of loyalty, the ritual costumes worn during sacrifices, and true

[17] 王宇信 / Wang Yuxin, "甲骨学研究九十年 / Jia gu xue yan jiu shi nian," *Shi xue yue kan* 4 (1989). (Ninety Years' of Research on Oracle Bones)

respect for the gods, are known as *zhu* 祝."[18] All of the above activities required the emergence of a written script. This represents a strong social need for writing, and was the driving force behind the creation of written scripts.

Second, the possibility of and necessary conditions for the invention of written scripts appeared. In primitive society, it is the ritualists who conduct religious activities. During the late period of primitive society, a kind of senior ritualist emerged from among the general ritualists, namely, the ritual priests, including the *zhu* (祝) from the *Guoyu* passage quoted above, the *zhenren* (贞人) in the Shang dynasty, and the *guxin* (古辛) in the Bon religion. As *The History of The Bon Religion* (*Benjiao Liuyuan* 《苯教流源》) puts it, "He who teaches the king is called the *laxin* (喇辛), and he who serves and advises the king closely is called the *guxin* (古辛)." "The king truly values the words of the *guxin*. Until the *guxin* has spoken, the king cannot issue orders." This kind of senior ritualist was not only the leader of the other ritualists, but also maintained and disseminated the contemporary scientific knowledge and culture. They not only mastered literature and history, knew how to use astronomy for calendrical calculations, and had knowledge of medicine, but were also able to explain the rules for customs and rituals. They can be viewed as the predecessors of intellectuals. The "Biographies of Ritualists" section in *The Records of the Grand Historian* (《史记・日者列传》) quotes Jia Yi (贾谊) as saying, "I heard that saints in old times either served in the court or practiced medicine and divination." These people that "practiced medicine and divination" were, in fact, the ritual priests. They had a very high social status, because they had numerous sources of income, keeping pace with the nobles of the clan. Some of the ritual priest positions were even held by nobles, who became the king's assistants or military counselors. They were involved in making decisions for important events. Since the priests did not work in the field, they had a certain amount of free time, which provided them with possibilities to collect and summarize sacred texts and to create written scripts. As J. D. Bernal put it:

> These people are, to some degree, set apart from the whole-time work of food and implement production, and in return they exercise their magical arts for the common good. They are also responsible for the

[18] 来可泓 / Lai Kehong, 国语直解 / *Guoyu zhi jie* (Shanghai: Fu dan da xue chu ban she, 2000), 797. (*A Straightforward Explanation of the National Language*)

> conscious preservation of traditional learning and consequently for its modification in a developing society. Their forerunners in ancient times are therefore the lineal cultural ancestors of sacred kings, priests, philosophers, and scientists.[19]

In other words, the ritual priests had the necessary conditions to invent written scripts and to record sacred texts. China's ethnological and archaeological data confirms this.

Finally, it is necessary to point out that the Daba scripts of the Mosuo people are different from the Dongba scripts. They are used exclusively by the *daba*, and all the *daba* have reached a basic consensus on the scripts. The various handwritten manuscripts are alike except for slight differences. Very few of them differ. The pronunciation and meaning of the writing symbols are generally consistent, which indicates that each symbol has a fixed form and meaning. They can record the rather complex *Book of Divination*. Therefore, the Daba script is a relatively primitive form of writing.

There is an argument that proposes that the eastern dialects also have a Dongba script and sacred texts. It even considers the Daba script to be a part of the Dongba script, using the content on jade rubbings and evidence from *Events from Ancient Times* (*Gudai de gushi* 古代的故事) as proof. It is necessary to clear up this matter.

First, the Dongba sacred texts and the jade rubbings, which are mentioned by Mr. Zhu Baotian (朱宝田) in *Events from Ancient Times*, are not found in the eastern dialect areas.[20] The book, *Events from Ancient Times*, was kept in Eyada Village (俄亚大村), where the Naxi people live. They migrated there from Lijiang (丽江) during the Ming dynasty. The Dongba religion is very popular in the region. There are 20 to 30 *dongba* priests, and even more sacred texts written in the Dongba scripts, of which *Events from Ancient Times* is one. As for the jade rubbings, I saw them in 1981. Mr. Huang Chengzong (黄承宗) gave them to me. The originals are now stored in the museum of Liangshan Autonomous Prefecture. According to Mr. Huang, he used to be the head of the Muli County Regional Bureau of Culture. He loved historical relics, and he collected the original jade articles in Eyada

---

[19] J. D. Burnal, *Science in History*, (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1971), 86.

[20] 邓章应 / Deng Zhangying, "摩梭达巴文初步研究 / Mo suo da ba wen chu bu yan jiu," in 中国民族古文字研究会第七次学术研讨会 / *Zhongguo min zu gu wen zi yan jiu hui di qi ci xue shu yan tao hui*, (Beijing, 2004). ("A Preliminary Study of the Mosuo Daba Script")

Village. Therefore, the jades should be seen as historical relics from the western dialect areas.

Second, although the Naxi areas are divided into eastern and western dialect areas, and people who speak each dialect live in different places, there are still some areas where the two branches live together. For example, the Lake Lugu area is where most Mosuo people live, but within this area, Dazui Village (大嘴村) is inhabited by Naxi people who also migrated there during the Ming dynasty. The Dazui villagers believe in the Dongba religion, and their belief affects the adjacent areas. For example, I have seen a sacred text composed of drawings in Mukua Village (木垮村) in Lugu Town (泸沽镇), Yanyuan County, which is a hand-copied Dongba manuscript.[21] Also, some of the Naxi and Mosuo people live together in Eya (俄亚乡) and Yiji Townships (依吉乡) of Shuili County (水里县), as well as Labo (拉伯乡) and Jiaze Townships (加泽) of Ninglang County, where Dongba beliefs and the Daba beliefs coexist. I remember when I was collecting cultural relics in the Sanjiangkou area (三江口地区) in Labo Township, I found numerous Dongba sacred texts in some of the houses of Naxi *dongba*. In fact, in those areas mentioned above where different groups of people live together, their beliefs have mixed together. For example, the Mosuo people in Kawa Village (卡瓦村), Eya Township, do not really follow in the Daba beliefs anymore. Instead, now they follow the Dongba beliefs. In that area, there is a type of sacrifice for the stone ancestor effigy that is actually conducted by local *dongba*.[22] I once asked some older men, "How come you believe in Dongba now?" They said, "The Dongba beliefs are tougher than the Daba beliefs. Therefore, we believe in them." The so-called "toughness" refers to its being perceived as more developed, whereas the Daba beliefs are considered to be more "backward."

[21] 宋兆麟 / Song Zhaolin, 会说话的巫图 / *Hui shuo hua de wu tu*, (Beijing: Xue yuan chu ban she, 2004), 76. (*Sorcerer's Drawings That Can Speak*)

[22] 宋兆麟 / Song Zhaolin, 中国生育 性 巫术 / *Zhongguo sheng yu, xing, wushu*, (Taibei: Hanzhong chu ban gong si, 1997), 172. (*Birth, Sex, and Magic in China*)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Documents

Anhui tongzhi gao 安徽通志稿 [The Draft of Comprehensive Gazetteer of Anhui Province].

Bao Shichen 包世臣. *Anwu sizhong* 安吴四种 [Four Writings of Anwu].

Bian Baodi 卞宝弟. *Bian Zhijun zouyi* 卞制军奏议 [Memorials of Bian Zhijun].

Chen Bangzhan 陈邦瞻. *Songshi jishi benmo* 宋史纪事本末 [The Separate and Full Account of Events in Song Dynasty].

Chen Zhida 陈智达. *Sanjiao chuxue zhinan* 三教初学指南 [Guide for Beginner of the Teaching of Three Doctrines].

Chen Zhongyu 陈衷瑜. *Chenzi huigui* 陈子会规 [Rules Proposed by the Master Chen].

Damingxian zhailonghua cun diaocha ziliao 大名县翟龙化村调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Zhailonghua Village of Daming County].

Dayu ji 大狱记 [Great Inquisitions].

Ding Bin 丁宾. *Ding qinghui gong yiji* 丁清惠公遗集 [The Posthumous Collection of Writings of Ding Bin, the Lord of Cleanness and Beneficence].

Dong Shi 董史. *Dongshan jicao* 东山集草 [Writing Collections of the Notables].

Donghua lu 东华录 [The Donghua Annals].

Du You 杜佑. *Tong dian* 通典 [Encyclopedia for Institutions].

Foshuo sanhui jiuzhuan xiasheng caoxi baojuan 佛说三回九转下生漕溪宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Twisty Descending down upon Caoxi As the Buddha Says].

Foshuo wuwei jindan jianyao keyi baojuan 佛说无为金丹拣要科仪宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Essential Rules of None-Action Golden Elixir As the Buddha Says].

Gao Ju 高举 et al. *Da Ming lü jijie* 大明律集解 [Collected Commentaries on The Great Ming Code].

Gaokou cun diaocha ziliao 高口村调查资料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Gaokou Village].

Guanxian duo'erzhuang diaocha ziliao 冠县垛儿庄调查资料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Duoerzhuang Village of Guan County].

Guanxian xusanli zhuang diaocha cailiao 冠县徐三里庄调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Xusanli Village of Guan County].

Guo Jianling 郭箋龄. *JiYu shanfang shiji* 吉雨山房诗集 [Poem Collection of the Auspicious-Rain House in the Mountain].

He Qiaoyuan 何乔远. *Min shu* 闽书 [The Fujian Gazetteer]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1994.

——. *Mingshan zang* 名山藏 [The Valuables of the Immortal Bookstore].

Hong Mai 洪迈. *Yi jian zhi* 夷坚志 [The Record of the Listener].

Huang Baonin 黄葆年. *Guiqun caotang shiji* 归群草堂诗集 [Collected Poems of the Thatched Hut of Returning to the Herd].

Huang Yupian 黄育楩. *Poxie xiangbian* 破邪详辩 [A Detailed Refutation of Heterodoxies].

Huang Zhen 黄震. *Huangshi richao* 黄氏日钞 [Personal Daily Notes].

Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲. *Nanlei wenan* 南雷文案 [Writing Collections of Mr. Nanlei].

——. *Mingru xuean* 明儒学案 [The Scholarly History of Ming Confucianism].

Huangji jindan jiulian zhengxin guizhen huanxiang baojuan 皇极金丹九莲正信还乡宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of the Golden Elixir and Nine Lotus of the August Ultimate on Correcting Belief and Recovering Original Simplicity and Returning to Nature].

Hui bao 汇报 [Collected Reports].
Jiangsu haiyun quanan 江苏海运全书 [The Complete Book of Sea Transportation of Jiangsu].
Jindaishi ziliao congkan: xinhai geming 近代史资料丛刊·辛亥革命 [*Series of Primary Sources for Modern Chinese History: The 1911 Revolution*]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957.
Jinshu zongmu 禁书总目 [The Catalogue of Banned Books].
Jiu wudai shi 旧五代史 [The Five Dynasties History].
Junjichu lu fu zouzhe 军机处录副奏折 [Transcripts of Memorial to the Throne Preserved by the Grand Council].
Kugong wudao juan 苦功悟道卷 [The Scroll of Apprehending the Way through Hard Working].
Kumarajiva 鸠摩罗什 trans. *Foshuo mile xiasheng chengfo jing yishu* 佛说弥勒下生成佛经义疏 [Commentary to Sutra on the Descent of Maitreya and Sutra of Maitreya's Attaining Buddhahood]. Beijing: National Library of China, n.d. (This literature was annotated in the Tang Dynasty by an unknown author.)
Li Guangxin 李光炘. *Longchuan shichao* 龙川诗钞 [The Transcription of Poems of Longchuan].
Lianghuai yanfa zhi 两淮盐法志 [The Chronicle of Salt Administration in Lianghuai].
Lidai zushu yuanliu daomai 历代祖师源流考 [The Origin and Orthodoxy of Patriarch in Each Generation].
Ligusi cun diaocha ziliao 李谷寺调查资料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in the Ligusi Village].
Lin Run 林润. *Yuan zhi tang ji* 愿治堂集 [Writing Collections of the Hall of Aspiration of Universal Order].
Lin Xiangzhe 林向哲. *Oulizi ji* 瓯离子集 [The Writings of Oulizi].
Lin Zhizhi 林至致. *Zhuowu shiyi* 卓午实义 [Reflections at Noon].
Lin zi benti jing shilüe 林子本体经释略 [Brief Interpretation to the Original Scripture of the Master Lin].
Lin zi benxing shilu 林子本行实录 [The Chronicle of the Practice of the Master Lin].
Lin zi menxian shilu 林子门贤实录 [The Chronicle of Virtuous Disciples of the Master Lin].
Lin zi nianpu 林子年谱 [The Chronicle of the Master Lin].
Lin zi quanji 林子全集 [The Complete Works of the Master Lin].
Lin zi sanjiao zhengzong tonglun 林子三教正宗统论 [Introduction to the Orthodoxy of the Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching].
Ling Tao 凌焘. *Jiangxi shigao jishi* 江西视臬纪事 [Records of Inspection Trip to Jiangxi].
Linzi sanjiao zhengzong yizhi lu 林子三教正宗易知录 [Reader for the Orthodoxy of The Master Lin's Three-in-One Teaching].
Liu Delong 刘德隆. *Liu E ji laocan youji ziliao* 刘鹗及老残游记资料 [Primary Sources for Liu E and his Travels of Lao Can]. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1985.
Liu Hainian 刘海年 and Yang Yifan 杨一凡 eds. *Zhongguo zhenxi falü dianji jicheng* 中国珍稀法律典籍集成 [The Collection of Rare-Seen Chinese Juristic Writings]. Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994.
Liu Kunyi 刘坤一. *Liu Kunyi yiji* 刘坤一遗集 [Remaining Works of Liu Kunyi]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Lu You 陆游. *Laoxue an biji* 老学庵笔记 [Jottings from the Life-Long Learning Hut]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.
——. *Lu Fangwong quanji* 陆放翁全集 [The Complete Works of Lu You]. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1986.
Mi zang 密藏 [Scriptures of True Words].
Ming shi 明史 [The History of Ming Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
Ming shizong shilu 明世宗实录 [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Shi of Ming Dynasty].
Mingjiang jinshan zhi 闽江金山志 [Gazetteer of Minjiang Jinshan].

Mingqing shiliao 明清史料 [Historical Materials of Ming and Qing Dynasties].
Mingqing yilai beijing gongshang huiguan beike xuanbian 明清以来北京工商会馆碑刻选编 [Selected Inscriptions on Tablet of Guild Hall of Commerce and Industry since Ming and Qing Dynasties]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980.
Na Yancheng 那彦成. *Na wenyi gong zouyi* 那文毅公奏议 [Memorials to the Throne by Na Yancheng, the Lord of Learnedness and Fortitude].
Neike xingnang 内科行囊 [The Traveling Bag for Internal Medicine].
Pan Xiang 潘相. *Erwen shuwu jilüe* 二文书屋集略 [Writing Collections of the Study of Erwen].
Puming rulai wuwei liaoyi baojuan 普明如来无为了义宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Complete Enlightenment through None-Action of the Tathagata of Universal Light]. Moscow: 1977.
Putian shihua 莆田史话 [Narrating the History of Putian].
Qi Xuebiao 戚学标. *Hequan wenchao* 鹤泉文钞 [Collected Prose of Crane Spring].
Qinding pingding jiaofei jilüe 钦定平定教匪纪略 [The Imperially Approved Account of Quelling Heterodox Bandits].
Qing Gaozong shilu 清高宗实录 [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Gao of Qing Dynasty].
Qing renzong shilu 清仁宗实录 [The Veritable Records of the Emperor Ren of Qing].
Qing Xuanzong shilu 清宣宗实录 [The Veritable Record of the Emperor Xuan of Qing Dynasty].
Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian 清代档案史料丛编 [Compilations of Historical Materials in Qing Archives]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978.
Qingji jiaowu jiaoan dang 清季教务教案档 [Archives Concerning Church Affairs and Disputes Involving Missionaries and Converts].
Qingshi liezhuan 清史列传 [Selected Biographies of Notables in the History of Qing Dynasties].
Qingzhou diaocha cailiao 青州调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in Qingzhou].
Quan Heng 权衡. *Genshen waishi* 庚申外史 [Unofficial History for the Years of Gengshen].
Rong Naixuan 荣乃宣. *Quanan zacun* 拳案杂存 [Miscellaneous Collections for the Case of the Boxer].
Ru dao shi xia baojing 儒道释夏宝经 [The Precious Scripture of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and the Great Teaching].
San'an quanji 三庵全集 [Complete Works of Three Huts].
Shandong jindaishi ziliao 山东近代史资料 [Primary Sources for the Modern History of Shandong]. Ji'nan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1961.
Shandong tongzhi 山东通志 [The Complete Records of Shandong].
Shen Baozhen 沈葆桢. *Shen wensu gong zhengshu* 沈文肃公政书 [Discussions on Politics by Shen Baozhen, the Lord of Learnedness and Solemnity].
Shen Yue 沈越. *Huangming jialong liangchao wenjian ji* 皇明嘉隆两朝闻见录 [The Told and Witnessed Events in the Two Reigns of Jiajing and Longqing of the Great Ming].
Shiliao xunkan 史料旬刊 [Ten-Day Periodical for Historical Materials]. Beijing: Jinghua yinshuju, 1930.
Siku cunmu congshu 四库存目丛书 [Existing Titles of Complete Library of the Four Treasuries]. Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1996.
Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四库全书总目提要 [The Synopsis of The Catalogue of The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries].
Song huiyao jigao 宋会要辑稿 [*The Compilation of State Regulations of Song Dynasty*].
Song Jingshi diaocha ji 宋景诗调查记 [Investigation on the Song Jingshi Uprising]
Sui shu 隋书 [History of Sui].
Tan Qian 谈迁. *Zaolin zazhu* 枣林杂俎 [Miscellaneous Collections in the Woods of Date].
The People's University ed. *Qianlong si wu nian Henan Yiyang dengdi bailianjiao qiyi* 乾隆四、五年河南伊阳等地白莲教起义 [The Uprising of White Lotus Sect in the

Area of Yinyang of Henan in the Fourth and Fifth Year of Qianlong]. Beijing: 1980.
Tongxiang lao xiansheng yigao nianpu 桐乡劳先生遗稿年谱 [The Chronicle of Remaining Writings of Mr. Lao from Tongxiang].
Wang Dianjia 王殿甲. *Caoyun huikan* 漕运汇刊 [Writing Collections for Grain Transport by Water].
Wang Dingan 王定安. *Qiuque zhai zidiji* 求阙斋子弟集 [Writing Collections of Juniors of the House of Qiuque].
Wang Qinruo 王钦若 et al. *Cefu yuangui* 册府元龟 [The Imperial Records Office's Compilation of Political Events for Reference].
Wang Xinzhai nianpu 王心斋年谱 [The Chronicle of Wang Xinzhai].
Wei shu 魏书 [History of Wei].
Wucheng diaocha ziliao 武城调查材料 [Materials Collected in Fieldwork in Wucheng County].
Xi Liang 锡良. *Xi Liang yigao* 锡良遗稿 [Remaining Works of Xiliang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Xiaoshi shouji wuxiang baojuan 销释授记无相宝卷 [The Precious Scroll of Explanation that the Prediction of Buddhahood Who is Devoid of Marks].
Xiawu zhenjing 夏午真经 [The True Scripture of Xiawu].
Xie Zhaozhe 谢肇淛. *Wuza zu* 五杂俎 [Miscellaneous Writing Collections].
Xinhai geming qian shinian jian minbian dang'an shiliao 辛亥革命前十年间民变档案史料 [Historical Materials in Archives Concerning Popular Revolts in Ten Years Prior to the 1911 Revolution]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
Xinzhai Yulu 心斋语录 [Quotations of Wang Xinzhai].
Xu Hong 徐鋐. *Ji shen lu* 稽神录 [Accounts of Inspecting Spirits]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.
Xu Ke 徐珂. *Qing bailei chao* 清稗类钞 [Collected Anecdotes and Trifles of Qing].
Xu Xin 徐炘. *Yinxiang shushi zoushu* 吟香书室奏疏 [Memorials of the Chanting Fragrance Study].
Xue Yunsheng 薛允升. *Tang ming lü hebian* 唐明律合编 [Combined Compilation of Tang and Ming Code]. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan 1937.
Yan Yuan 颜元. *Cunren bian* 存人编 [Conservation of Human Being].
Yang Ne 杨讷 et al. *Yuanmo nongmin zhanzheng shiliao huibian* 元末农民战争史料汇编 [Compilation of Historical Records for Peasant War in Late Yuan]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.
Yang Xiba 杨锡跋. *Caoyun zeli zuan* 漕运则例纂 [Compilation of Rules of Grain transport by Water].
Yangshouyuan zouyi Jiyao 养寿园奏议辑要 [Selected Compilation of Memorials of the Maintaining Longevity Garden].
Ye Ziqi 叶子奇. *Caomu zi* 草木子 [The Natural Course of Man].
Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, *Zhanran jushi ji* 湛然居士集 [Works of a Retired Scholar at Ease].
Yiguan dao yiwen jieda 一贯道疑问解答 [Question & Answer of the Way of Penetrating Unity].
Yihe tuan dang'an shiliao 义和团档案史料 [Historical Materials in Archives Concerning the Boxer]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.
Ying Jia 应榘. *Da Ming lü shiyi* 大明律释义 [Explanations on The Great Ming Code].
Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian 雍正朝汉文朱批奏折汇编 [Compilation of Memorials in Chinese with Vermilion Endorsement by the Emperor Yongzheng].
Yongzheng zhupi yuzhi 雍正朱批谕旨 [Vermilion Endorsements and Edicts of the Emperor Yongzheng].
Yu Jiao 俞蛟. *Mengchang zazhu* 梦厂杂著 [Miscellaneous Writings in the Booth of Dream].
Yuan shi 元史 [The History of Yuan].
Zan Ning 赞宁. *Da song seng shi lüe* 大宋僧史略 [The Compendium of Monastic History of the Great Song Dynasty].

Zeng Guoquan 曾国荃. *Zeng zhongxiang gong zouyi* 曾忠襄公奏议 [Memorials of Zeng Guoquan, the Lord of Loyalty and Virtue].
Zhang Qin 张琴. *Putian xianzhi* 莆田县志 [Gazetteer of Putian County].
Zhaodai congshu 昭代丛书 [Series of Books of Enlightening Generations].
Zhejiang haiyun quan'an zhongbian 浙江海运全案重编 [The Complete Recompilation of Sea Transportation in Zhejiang].
Zheng Wangchen 郑王臣 ed. *Pufeng qinglai ji* 莆风清籁集 [Writings in the Breeze of Putian and Tinkling Sounds].
Zhenjia bao buyi 镇家宝补遗 [Addendum to Treasures of Maintaining Family]
Zhenjia bao zhengji 镇家宝正集 [Treasures of Maintaining Family].
Zhi Pan 志磐. *Fozu tongji* 佛祖统记 [Annals of Patriarchs of Buddhism].
Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkan 中国近代史资料丛刊 [Primary Sources for Chinese Modern History]. Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguang she 神州国光社, 1956.
Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠. *Zuo wenxiang gong quanji* 左文襄公全集 [The Complete Works of Zuo Zongtang, the Lord of Learnedness and Virtue].

Secondary Materials

Asmussen, J. P. "Xuāstvānīft.' *Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965.
Boyce, Mary. *A Word-List of Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Leiden: 1977.
Cai Hongsheng 蔡鸿生. "*Tangsong shidai Moni jiao zai binhai diyu de bianyi*" 唐宋时代摩尼教在滨海地域的变异 [The Variance of Manichaeism in the Coastal Regions in Tang and Song Dynasties]. *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大学学报 [The Journal of Sun Yat-sen University] no. 6 (2004): 114–117.
——. *Xue jing* 学境 [The Realm of Pursuing Learnedness]. Hong Kong: Boshi yuan chubanshe, 2001.
Cai Shaoqing 蔡少卿. *Zhongguo jindai huidang shi yanjiu* 中国近代会党史研究 [Studies on History of Secret Society in Modern China]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
Chavannes, Ed, and Pelliot, P. "Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine" (Deuxième partie, suite et fin). *Journal Asiatique* I, sér. 11 (Mars-Avril 1913): 99–199, 261–392.
Chen Gaohua 陈高华. *Chen Gaohua wenji* 陈高华文集 [Anthology of Chen Gaohua]. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005.
Chen Jie 陈捷. *Yihe tuan yundong shi* 义和团运动史 [The History of the Boxer]. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1996.
Chen Yinque 陈寅恪. *Dushi zhaji sanbian* 读史札记三集 [Three Books of Reading Notes for History]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2001.
Chen Yuan 陈垣. *Chen Yuan shixue lunzhu xuan* 陈垣史学论著选 [Selected Works of Historical Studies by Chen Yuan]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1981.
Chen Zhanruo 陈湛若. "*Yihetuan qianshi*" 义和团前史 [The Pre-History of the Boxer]. *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 [Literature, History and Philosophy] no. 3 (1954): 17–25.
Chen Zhichao 陈智超 ed. *Chen Yuan laiwang shuxin ji* 陈垣来往书信集 [Collection of Chen Yuan's Correspondence]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990.
Ci Yi 慈怡. *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辞典 [Fo Guang Buddhist Dictionary]. Kaohsiung: Buddha's Light Publishing, 1988.
Diaz, Emmanuel 阳玛诺 ed. *Jingjiao beisong zhengquan* 景教碑颂正诠 [Corrective Annotations for Tablet Inscriptions for Nestorianism]. Shanghai: Cimu tang 慈母堂, 1878.
Fang Hao 方豪. *Fanghao liushi ziding ji* 方豪六十自定集 [Personal Anthology at the Age of Sixty]. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969.
Feng Chengjun 冯承钧. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong jiu bian* 西域南海史地考证译丛九编 [The Ninth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.
——. *Xiyu nanhai shidi kaozheng yicong ba bian* 西域南海史地考证译丛八编 [The Eighth Collection of Translated Works for the Study on Historical Geography of the

Western Region and Regions Surrounding the South China Sea in Ancient China]. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958.
Forte, Antonino. "Deux etudes sur le Manichéisme chinois." *T'oung Pao* LIX, no. 1–5 (1973): 220–253.
Haloun, G. and Henning, W. B. "The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light." *Asia Major* III (1952): 184–212.
Henning, W. B. "The Book of Giants." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* vol. XI, Part 1 (1943): 52–74.
Jordan, David K. and Overmyer, Daniel L. *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
Karlgren, Bernhard. *Grammata Serca Recensa*. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1972.
Lemerle, Paul Emile. "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure." *Travaux et Mémoires* no. 4 (1970): 1–227.
Lenin, "*Heige'er zhexue jiangyan lu*" 黑格尔哲学讲演录 [Conspectus of Hegel's Lecture on the History of Philosophy]. In *Zhexue biji* 哲学笔记 [Philosophical Notebooks]. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1956.
Li Shiyu 李世瑜. "*Qingbang zaoqi zuzhi kaolüe*" 青帮早期组织考略 [A Brief Examination on its Early Organization of the Green Gang]. In *Jindai zhongguo banghui neimu* 近代中国帮会内幕 [The Inside Story of Secret Societies in Modern China]. Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1992.
——. *Xiandai huabei mimi zongjiao* 现代华北秘密宗教 [Secret Popular Religions in Modern North China]. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1990.
Li Shuhuan 李叔还. *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典 [The Dictionary of Taoism] Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987.
Lian Lichang 连立昌. "*Mingjiao Xingzhi chuyi*" 明教性质刍议 [My Humble Opinion about the Nature of the Teaching of Light]. *Fujian luntan* 福建论坛 [Fujian Forum] no. 3 (1988): 39–43.
——. *Fujian mimi huishe* 福建秘密会社 [The Secret Societies in Fujian]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1989.
Liang Shuming 梁漱溟. "*Du Wang Yangming xiansheng yongliangzhi shi*" 读王阳明先生咏良知诗 [After Reading Wang Yangming's Ode to Innate Conscience]. *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社会科学战线 [The Front of Social Sciences] no. 2 (1988).
Lin Guoping 林国平. *Lin Zhaoen yu sanyi jiao* 林兆恩与三一教 [Lin Zhaoen and the Three-in-One Teaching]. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1992.
——. "*Fujian Sanyi jiao xianzhuang de tiaocha yanjiu*" 福建三一教现状的调查研究 [Research on the status quo of the Three-in-One Teaching in Fujian]. *Monthly Journal of Chinese Affairs* (Japan) vol. 47, no. 3 (March 1993).
Lin Meicun 林梅村, Chen Ling 陈凌, and Wang Haicheng 王海城. "*Jiuxing huihu kehan bei yanjiu*" 九姓回鹘可汗碑研究 [A Study on the Stele of Khans of the Nine Tribes of Ouigour]. In Yu Taishan 余太山 ed. *Ouya yanjiu* 欧亚研究 [Eurasian Studies]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999.
Lin Meicun 林梅村. *Gudao xifeng—kaogu xinfaxian suojian zhongxi wenhua jiaoliu* 古道西风——考古新发现所见中西文化交流 [Forgotten Trails in the Fall Wind: Findings of Cultural Interchanges between China and the West in Recent Archeological Discoveries]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2000.
Lin Wushu 林悟殊. *Monijiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其东渐 [Manichaeism and its Dissemination in the East]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983; Taipei: Shuxin chubanshe, 1997.
——. "*Chicai shimo yu moni jiao*" 吃菜事魔与摩尼教 ['Abstaining from meat and worshiping demons' and Manichaeism]. *Wen Shi* 文史 [History & Literature] no. 26 (1985): 149–155.
——. "*Dunhuang ben Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe de chansheng*" 敦煌本摩尼光佛教法仪略的产生 [The Emergence of Dunhuang Manuscript of The Compendium of Doctrines

and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religion] no. 3 (1983): 71–76.

———. "*Dunhuang yishu Daqin jingjiao xuanyuan benjing kaoshi*" 敦煌遗书大秦景教宣元本经考释 [An Investigation and Interpretation to the Dunhuang Manuscript of The Scripture of Preaching the Essentials of the Teaching of Daqin]. *Jiuzhou xuelin* 九州学林 [Chinese Culture Quarterly] VI, no. 4 (Special Number for Dunhuang Studies, 2003): 23–40.

———. "*Fujian shiliu zi ji kaoshi*" 福建明教十六字偈考释 [Textual Criticism and Explanation of Lapidarian Sixteen-Character Verse of Manichaeism in Fujian]. *Wen Shi* 文史 [History & Literature] no. 1 (2004): 230–246.

———. "*Laozi huahu jing yu Moni jiao*" 老子化胡经与摩尼教 [The Canon on the Conversion of the Barbarians by Laozi and Manichaeism]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religion] no. 4 (1984): 116–122.

———. "*Moni de erzong sanji lun jiqi qiyuan chutan*" 摩尼的二宗三际论及其起源初探 [A Preliminary Study on the Two Principles and Three Times of Mani and its Origin]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religion*] no. 3 (1982): 45–56.

———. "*Quanzhou moni jiao yuanyuan kao*" 泉州摩尼教渊源考 [A Study on the Origins of Manichaeism in Quanzhou]. In Lin Zhongze 林中泽 ed. *Huaxia wenming yu xifang shijie* 华夏文明与西方世界 [Chinese Civilization and the Western World]. Hong Kong: Boshi yuan chubanshe, 2003.

———. "*Songyuan binhai diyu mingjiao fei hailu shuru bian*" 宋元滨海地域明教非海路输入辨 [A Rebuttal to the Idea that the Teaching of Light in Song and Yuan Dynasties was Introduced through Seaways]. *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大学学报 [The Journal of Sun Yat-sen University] no. 3 (2005): 67–71.

———. "*Songyuan wenzhou xuanzhen si moni jiao shuxing zai bianxi*" 宋元温州选真寺摩尼教属性再辨析 [Re-Examination on the Manichean Attribute of The Temple of Being Perfection in Wenzhou in Song and Yuan Dynasties]. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 [Treatise on Chinese History and Literature] vol. 84, no. 4 (2006): 265–288.

———. "*Tangdai moni jiao yu zhongya jiaotuan*" 唐代摩尼教与中亚教团 [Chinese Manichaeism in Tang Dynasty and the Central Asian Manichean Groups]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religion*] no. 23 (1984): 85–93.

———. "*Yuan zhuxi lou ji moni jiao xinxi bianxi*" 元竹西楼记摩尼教信息辨析 [A Critical Examination on the Account of Manichaeism in 'Memorial to Zhuxi Tower' of Yuan Dynasty]. In Zeng Xiantong 曾宪通. *Hua xue* 华学 [Sinology]. Guangzhou: The Sun Yat-sen University Press, 2004.

———. *Bosi baihuojiao yu gudai zhongguo* 波斯拜火教与古代中国 [The Persian Zoroastrianism and Ancient China]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1995.

———. "*Moni jiao ruhua niandai zhiyi*" 摩尼教入华年代质疑 [The Question of the Time when Manichaeism was Introduced into China]. *Wen Shi* 文史 [History & Literature] no. 18 (1983): 69–81.

———. *Tangdai jingjiao zai yanjiu* 唐代景教再研究 [Reinvestigation on Nestorianism in Tang Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003.

———. *Zhonggu sanyi jiao bianzheng* 中古三夷教辩证 [A Critical Study on the Three Persian Religions—Manichaeism, Nestorianism and Zoroastrianism—in the Medieval China]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005.

———. "*Yuandai quanzhou moni jiao ouxiang chongpai tanyuan*" 元代泉州摩尼教偶像崇拜研究 [Origins of the Manichean Idolatry in Quanzhou in Yuan Dynasty]. *Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 海交史研究 [Maritime History Studies] no. 1 (2003).

Lin Ying 林英. "*Fulin seng—guanyu tangdai jingjiao zhiwai jidujiao paibie ruhua de yige caice*" 拂菻僧——关于唐代景教之外基督教派别入华的一个猜测 [Priests from the Byzantine Empire: A Speculation on the Introduction of other Christian Churches to China Except for Nestorianism] *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [Studies in World Religion] no. 2 (2006): 103–112.

Liu Huisun 刘蕙孙. "*Taigu xuepai zhengzhi sixiang tanlue*" 太古学派政治思想探略 [A Preliminary Discussion on the Political Ideas of the Taigu School]. *Wenhui bao* 文汇报 October 11, 1962.

——. "*Qing Daoguang Xianfeng jian minjian sixiang de anliu: Zhou Taigu and Taigu xuepai*" 清道光咸丰间民间思想的暗流——周太古和太古学派 [The Undercurrent of the Popular Ideas in the Years of Daoguang and Xianfeng in Qing: Zhou Taigu and the School of Taigu].

——. "*Taigu xuepai de yishu*" 太古学派的遗书 [Remaining Works of the School of Taigu]. *Fujian shifan xueyuan xuebao* 福建师范学院学报 [Journal of Fujian Normal College] no. 2 (1957).

Liu Ts'un-jen 柳存仁. Lin Wushu 林悟殊 trans. "Tang qian huoxianjiao he monijiao zai zhongguo zhi yiji" 唐前火祆教和摩尼教在中国之遗迹 [Traces of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Activities in Pre-T'ang China]. *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 [*Studies in World Religion*] no. 3 (1981): 36–61.

Liu Yi 刘屹. "*Tang kaiyuan nianjian Moni jiao mingyun de zhuanzhe—yi dunhuang ben Laozi xisheng huahu jing he Moni guangfo jiaofa yilüe wei zhongxin*" 唐开元年间摩尼教命运的转折——以敦煌本老子西升化胡经和摩尼光佛教法仪略为中心 [The Turning-Point of the Fate of Manichaeism in the Years of Kaiyuan: Centered on the Dunhuang Manuscript of The Scripture of *Laozi's* Ascension to the West and Conversion of the Barbarians and The Compendium of Doctrines and Laws of Mani the Buddha of Light]. *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 [Dunhuang and Turpan Studies] vol. 9: 85–109. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2006.

Liu Zhi 刘枝. "*Mingmo putian zhi wohuo*" 明末莆田之倭祸 [The Disaster caused by Japanese Pirates at the end of Ming]. *Xin fujian* 新福建 [The New Fujian] vol. 1, no. 6.

Lu Yao 路遥 and Cheng Xiao 程歊. *Yihetuan yundong shi yanjiu* 义和团运动史研究 [Studies on the History of the Boxer]. Ji'an: Qilu shushe, 1988.

Lu Yao 路遥, *Yihe quan yundong qiyuan tansuo* 义和拳运动起源探索 [Exploring the Origion of the Boxer]. Ji'nan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1990.

Luo Xianglin 罗香林. *Tang yuan erdai zhi jingjiao* 唐元二代之景教 [Nestorianism in Tang and Yuan Dynasties]. Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe 中国学社, 1966.

Luo Zhenyu 罗振玉. *Xuetang jiaokan qunshu xulu* 雪堂校刊群书叙录 [Collected Prefaces and Colophons in Books Compiled by the Snow Hall].

Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤. "*Moni guang fo kao*" 摩尼光佛考 [A Study on Mani the Buddha of Light]. *Shi lin* 史林 [The Historical Review] no. 1 (1999): 11–15, 82.

——. "*Roufo gufo xuefo yu yishuxuerou kao—jiujiao shengcan yu monijiao de guanxi*" 肉佛、骨佛、血佛与夷数血肉考——基督教圣餐与摩尼教的关系 [A Study on the 'Flesh Buddha, Bone Buddha and Blood Buddha': The Relationship of Eucharist and Manichaeism]. *Shi lin* 史林 [The Historical Review] no. 3 (2000): 40–47.

Ma Xisha 马西沙. "*Jiangnan zhaijiao yanjiu*" 江南斋教研究 [Study on the Teaching of Abstention in the Region South of Lower Yangtze River]. In *Qingshi yanjiu ji* 清史研究集 [Collection of Studies on Qing History]. Beijing: Guangmingribao chubanshe, 1990.

——. "*Jinzhuang jiao shishi bianzheng*" 金幢教史实辩证 [An Investigation on the Historical Facts of the Golden Banner Teaching]. In Jiang Canteng 江灿腾 and Wang Jianchuan 王见川 eds. *Taiwan zhaijiao de lishi guancha Yu zhanwang* 台湾斋教的历史观察与展望 [Historical Investigation on the Teaching of Abstention in Taiwan and their Prospects]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1994.

——. *Minjian zongjiao zhi* 民间宗教志 [Annals of Chinese Popular Religion] Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992.

——. *Qingdai bagua jiao* 清代八卦教 [The Eight-Trigram Teaching in Qing Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhongguo renmindaxue chubanshe, 1989.

Ma Xisha 马西沙 and Cheng Xiao 程歊. "*Cong luojiao dao qingbang*" 从罗教到青帮 [From Luo Sect to Green Gang]. *Nankai shixue* 南开史学 [History Studies in Nankai University] no. 1 (1984).

Ma Xisha 马西沙 and Han Binfang 韩秉方. *Zhongguo minjian zongjiao shi* 中国民间宗教史 [The History of Chinese Popular Religion]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992.

Ma Xulun 马叙伦. *Shiwu xushen* 石屋续渖 [The Unexhausted Juice of Stone House].

Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫. "On the Uighur cxcaptay and the Spreading of Manichaeism into South China." In R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, and P. Zieme eds. *Studia Manichica* IV (1997): 430–440.

Mu Runsun 牟润孙. *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究辑 [Collections of Studies on the History of Song Dynasty]. Taipei: 国立编译馆中华丛书编审委员会 [Compilation and Review Committee for Chinese Academic Series of The National Institute for Compilation and Translation], 1958.

——. *Zhushi zhai conggao* 注史斋丛稿 [Series of The Studio of Annotating History]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

Muramatsu, S. "Eine nestorianische Grabinschrift in türkischer Sprache aus Zaiton." *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* XXIV (1964): 394–396.

Nian Liangtu 粘良图. "*Moni jiao xinyang zai jinjiang*" 摩尼教信仰在晋江 [The Manichean Belief in Jinjiang]. *Fujian zongjiao* 福建宗教 [Religion in Fujian] no. 6 (2004).

Pelliot, Paul. "Les traditions manichéennes au Fou-Kien." *T'oung Pao* XXII (1923): pp. 193–208.

Samuel, N. C. Lieu, "Nestorians and Manicheans on the South China Cost," *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 34 (1980).

——. *Manichaeism in Central Asia and China*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998.

——. *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey*. Manchester; Dover, N.H., USA: Manchester University Press, 1985.

——. *Polemics against Manichaeism as a Subversive Cult in Sung China, A.D. c.960–c.1200*. Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1979.

Sato Chisui 佐藤智水. "Inscriptions on Buddhist Statues in the Period of the Northern Dynasties," *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌, 86, 3 (1977): 1421–1467, 1561–1562.

Sato Kimihiko 佐藤公彦. "義和団(拳)源流：八卦教と義和拳" [The Origin of the Boxers: The Eight Trigrams Sect and the I-ho-chuan]. *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 91 (1), 1982.

Sun Peiliang 孙培良. "*Moni he Moni jiao*" 摩尼和摩尼教 [Mani and Manichaeism]. *Xinan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 西南师范学院学报 [Journal of Southwest Normal College], no. 2 (1982).

Tang Changru 唐长孺. *Weijin nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晋南北朝史论拾遗 [Supplementary Amplifications of Essays on the History of Wei, Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

Wang Guowei 王国维. *Guantang jilin* 观堂集林 [The Collected Writings of Guantang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.

Wang Jianchuan 王见川. *Cong moni jiao dao mingjiao* 从摩尼教到明教 [From Manichaeism to the Teaching of Light]. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1992.

Wang Xuejun 王学钧. "*Liu E* '*ti yuyuan yaji tu fuben hou bing xu*' *kaobian*" 刘鹗《题愚园雅集图抚本后并序》考辩 [An Investigation on Liu E's Notes and Preface to the Fuzhou-Printed Portrait of Decent Meeting at the Yuyuan Garden]. *Wenxian* 文献 [Literature] no. 3 (1990): 109–119.

Franke, Wolfgang. "Some Remarks on the 'Three-in-One Doctrine' and its Manifestations in Singapore and Malaysia." *Oriens Extremus* vol. 19 (1972): 121–130.

Wu Han 吴晗. *Dushi zhaji* 读史札记 [Reading Notes of History]. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1979.

Xia Jingguan 夏敬观. *Yaotiao shijia shi suibi* 窈窕释迦室随笔 [Essays of the House of Gentle and Graceful Sakyamuni].

Xu Dishan 许地山. "*Moniz hi erzong sanji lun*" 摩尼之二宗三际论 [On the Two Principles and Three Times of Manichaeism] *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京学报 [The Yenching Journal] vol. 3 (1928): 383–402.

Xu Wenkan 徐文堪 and Ma Xiaohe 马小鹤. "*Moni jiao dashenzhou yanjiu—patiya wenshu M 1202 zai kaoshi*" 摩尼教大神咒研究——帕提亚文书 M1202 再研究 [A Study

on the Manichean Great Spiritual Mantra: Reexamining the Parthian Manuscript M1202], *Shi lin* 史林 [*The Historical Review*] no. 6 (2004): 96–107.

Yang Benyi 杨本义. "*Xinjiu Taizhou xuepai de jidian jingren xiangsi*" 新旧泰州学派的几点惊人相似 [Several Startling Similarities of the Old and New Taizhou School]. In *Taizhou wenshi ziliao* 泰州文史资料 [Historical and Cultural Materials of Taizhou].

Yihetuan shi taolun wenji 义和团史讨论文集 [Selected Papers on the History of the Boxer]. Ji'nan: qilu shushe, 1982.

Yin Xiaoping 殷小平. "*Cong daxingguo si kan yuandai jiangnan jingjiao de xingqi*" 从大兴国寺看元代江南景教的兴起 [The Rise of Nestorianism in the Lower Yangtze River Region in Yuan Dynasty with Regard to the Grand Temple of Prospering the State]. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中华文史论丛 [Treatise on Chinese History and Literature] vol. 84, no. 4 (2006): 290–313.

Yu Songqing 喻松青. *Mingqing bailian jiao yanjiu* 明清白莲教研究 [A Study on the White Lotus Teaching in Ming and Qing Dynasities]. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1987.

Yu Wanli 虞万里. "*Dunhuang Moni jiao xiabu zan xieben niandai xintan*" 敦煌摩尼教下部赞写本年代新探 [A New Investigation on the Date of the Dunhuang Hand-Copied Manuscript of the Manichean Hymn of the Lower Section], *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐鲁番研究 [Dunhuang and Turpan Studies] vol. 1 (1995): 37–46.

Zheng Zhiming 郑志明, "*Taiwan xiajiao de zongjiao tixi*" 台湾夏教的宗教体系 [The Religious System of Sanyi jiao in Taiwan]. *Taibei wenxian* 台北文献 [The Taipei Literature] Issue Zhi (直), no. 76.

Zhongguo nongmin zhanzheng shi luncong 中国农民战争史论丛 [Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Peasant War]. Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1982.

Zhongwen da cidian 中文大辞典 [Comprehensive Dictionary of the Chinese Language]. Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo 中国文化研究所 [Institute for Chinese Culture], 1956.

Zhuang Jifa 庄吉发. "*Qingdai Qianlong nianjian de shouyuanjiao jiqi zhipai*" 清代乾隆年间的收元教及其支派 [The Teaching of Attaining the Origin and its Branches in the Reign of Qianlong Emperor]. *Dalu zazhi* 大陆杂志 [The Continent Magazine] vol. 63, no. 4 (1981).

——. "*Qingdai qinglianjiao de fazhan*" 清代青莲教的发展 [The Development of Blue Lotus Sect in Qing Dynasty], *Dalu zazhi* 大陆杂志 [The Continent Magazine], vol. 71, no. 5.

INDEX

Aisin Gioro, 403–404, 408, 410–411, 413, 415
Ancient Buddha, 296, 319

Baikal Mountains, 376
Bainaqia, 378
Bang Hu, 47
bears, 377, 391
"beast master", 378
Big Sword Society, 256, 291, 311, 312, 314
birch tree, 389, 396
bizha, 425–426
Book of Divination, 424, 450–480, 483
Bon, 423, 427, 436, 478, 480, 482
bones, 377, 387, 389, 392, 396, 434–435
bronze mirrors, 368, 391, 392
Buddhism
  Great Vehicle (Mahayana), 19, 23, 173, 180, 301, 317, 325, 329
  Lesser Vehicle (Hinayana), 19

Changbai Mountain, 382
Chen Yuan 陈垣, 26, 57, 67, 111
Chitoumo 翅头末, 21
Christian Church, 287, 298, 311, 313
clan ancestors, 381–382, 403, 431
clan society, 380–386, 393, 404, 408
Compendium, 29, 34, 62, 65
Confucianism
  Confucius, 3, 124, 125, 134, 136, 138, 143, 145, 146, 157, 161, 210–212, 218, 223, 228, 235–237, 245, 249, 251
  Duke of Zhou 周公, 9, 210, 218, 223, 237
  idea of consolidating society, 20
  Mencius, 9, 210, 211, 218, 228, 236, 237
  Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐, 142, 210–212, 223, 225, 228, 245, 251

daba, 423–484
Daming lü, 100
Daoism/Taoism
  Dao zang, 26, 84
  Fulu 符箓, 113–114
  Laozi, 27, 58–59, 64, 95–96, 136, 320
Daqin, 26, 68
Daur, 351, 352, 386, 395, 421
deer, 428–429
"Discouses of Chu", 481
divination, 352, 390, 395, 401, 403, 424, 426, 433–435, 437, 441, 478, 481, 482
dogs, 430, 439
Dong dacheng jiao, 173, 325
Dragon King, 427, 429–430, 460–462, 469
dreams, 359, 360, 366, 390, 401, 403
Dunhuang, 62, 64, 66, 70, 71, 75

earth god temple (*tudimiao*), 367
ecstasy, 390
Edouard Chavannes, 26, 74, 98, 99, 102, 103–104
Eight-Trigram Teaching, 249, 262, 284, 289, 299, 303, 311, 314, 333
Elder Brother Society, 204, 303
Er gui zi 二禬子, 6, 88, 91
Ersu, 478–481
Eternal Venerable Mother 无生老母, 296, 305, 315, 316, 317, 319–320, 321
Evenki, 351
Ewenki, 375–379, 381, 383, 385, 388–390, 392, 395–397, 421

Faqing 法庆, 23
Fengke 风客, 199–201
Fere food omosi mama, 415, 419–421
fire, 355, 356, 368, 371, 373, 382, 384, 429, 432, 434, 438, 440, 445, 449, 454, 462, 469, 470
fire sacrifice, 384
flag, 371, 373, 389, 427
forilang, 379
Fozu tongji, 26, 28, 29, 83

ghosts, 378, 394, 395, 396, 416–417, 425–426, 428, 432–433, 434, 438, 440–441, 445
  "ghost masters", 480
Grain Transport
  abolishment, 167, 192, 202–203
  by sea, 167, 176, 192
  by water, 176–177
  intra-group relation, 189–190

sailors, 181–182, 189
salt smuggling, 193, 199–200, 203
trade association, 184, 188
vendettas, 188, 189
Green Gang 青帮
anqing daoyou 安清道友, 168, 191, 193, 194, 195, 204
Incense Hall, 202
laoguan 老管, 185, 186, 187
Li Shizhong, 196–198
Pan Hut, 193
patriarchal worship, 191
secret books, 178, 185, 194
three Huts, 178, 184–185, 188
gynecological problems, 361–362, 367

hada, 371, 373
hala, 380, 384
hall, 372–373, 408–415, 418
hand bell, 427
Heilongjiang River, 376, 421
Hezhen, 351, 375–377, 379, 388–390, 392–393
Horchin, 354–355, 357–361, 363, 365–367, 369, 370
"horse-washing" ritual, 467
Hu Tianliang, 357–361, 369–371
Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲, 128, 131, 230
Huangya jiao 黄崖教
Guiqun caotang, 211
Li Guangxin 李光炘, 208, 215, 230
merit of the sage, 247
qiang cheng zhi xue 强诚之学, 211, 237–238
rebellion, 207–208, 243
"return the teaching to the north," 214, 218
utopian community, 208, 214–215, 241–242, 252–253
Zhang Jizhong 张积中, 208, 213, 229
Zhou Ding 周鼎, 211
Zhou Taigu 周太古, 209, 212
Huihu/Huihe, 36, 66, 73, 83
Hulu 呼禄, 59, 78–79
Hulun Buir, 376, 389, 395, 396
hunting, 376–381, 383, 408, 429
hysteria, 390, 391

idols, 357, 368n15, 371–373, 388, 408
Incense Army, 42, 44, 45, 47
Incense Burning Assembly, 33, 44, 49
Incense Gathering, 19, 39, 42, 46–47
initiation rites, 353–357, 360–362, 364–367, 369–374
Inner Elixir 内丹, 232–233, 247, 268, 284

Jianzhou Federation, 408–409
Jie di zhai 揭谛斋, 88, 92, 113
Jin State, 418
Jingang chan 金刚禅, 88, 91
Jirim League Museum, 361
Jurchen, 378, 386, 400–402, 404–405, 408, 410, 418

kang, 379, 420
Kitchen God, 431, 435
knife-ladder ritual, 355, 398

lamas, 360, 363, 366, 426–427, 429, 436
Land Reform Movement, 368
Laoguan zhaijiao 老官斋教, 174, 175
Ling Chunsheng, 351
Liu E 刘鹗, 217, 220, 221–222, 231, 248
liushu, 476
Lü Guangtian, 381, 385n11, 389, 389n6
Lu You 陆游, 31, 76–77, 88, 90–93, 107, 113, 116
Luo Teaching 罗教
birth, 169
charity, 179, 182–183, 186
homogenization, 183–184
Luo Jing 罗静, 169, 171, 295, 300
wubu liuce, 169, 326

magic, 354, 355, 361, 368, 371, 374, 379, 382, 387, 437–439, 482, 484n22
magical ancestry, 389, 399
magical battle, 382
magical drawing, 363
magical rites, 379
Maitreya Buddha, 5, 20, 22, 23, 35, 42, 44, 45, 47–48, 50, 53, 100, 105, 109, 145, 147, 298, 323–324
Maitreyan belief
ascending/descending, 20, 21
Dragon Flower Assembly, 21, 22
principle scriptures, 20
pseudo-scriptures, 23
rebellions, 34–35
tripartite division of time, 24, 25
Maitreyan Great Vehicle Teaching, 23
malevolent spirits, 440–441
Manchu, 354n4, 375–379, 381–382, 384–385, 388, 391–392, 399, 402–404, 407–408, 410–411, 414–416, 421–423
Mandate of Heaven, 406

Manichaeism
chicai shimo 吃菜事魔, 14, 40, 56, 93, 110, 121
Chinese scriptures, 27–28
Creation myth, 29–31
Eschatology, 32
Father of Light/Ming fu, 16, 29
King of Light, 28, 32, 45,
Mani, 27, 31, 32, 36, 58–59, 60, 62, 66, 82, 96, 102, 103–104, 106
missionary work, 61
Mushe, 25, 59
original sin, 30
sacred books, 27
sinicized, 56, 65, 74, 76, 80, 102, 120, 121
syncretism, 33, 36, 38, 41
Teaching of Light, 27, 46, 73, 75, 76, 94, 106, 110–111
Thatched House, 96, 106
Three Times, 5, 27, 29, 87, 249
Two Principles, 26, 27, 29, 87
uncanonical scriptures, 28
veneration of white-color, 34
Marx/Marxist, 12, 322
master shamans, 354–355, 357–358, 364, 394–395, 398–399
Messianism, 5, 22, 23
Min shu 闽书, 25, 32, 57, 99, 118, 128, 150
Ming 明 dynasty
wei/suo 卫所, 169
Zhu Yuanzhang, 46, 49, 100–101
Mingwang chushi Mile xiasheng 明王出世弥勒下生, 32, 42
Mingzun jiao 明尊教, 98, 102, 108, 110
Mongol, 351, 353–355, 360n11, 363, 365, 368n15, 371, 374, 386, 395
Mosuo, 423–427, 429–437, 439–441, 450–451, 453, 459, 467, 476–479, 481, 483–484
Mouni jiao 牟尼教, 88, 91
mountain spirits, 427, 429, 436, 439, 445, 462
Mt. Ganmu, 429, 431, 432
mukun, 380–381, 383, 395–396
*mukun sewen*g, 381
multi-layered universe, 388
museums, 351, 361, 423n2

Naxi, 423, 479, 481, 483–484
Nestorianism
Jing jiao 景教, 68
Jing Jing 景净, 69, 70
Shizi jiao 十字教, 71
Nian Rebellion, 196, 208
"nine barriers", 354–356, 358, 370
Nurhaci, 403–410, 414–415

onggon, 368, 372
Oroqen, 351, 375, 376–378, 381, 383–385, 391–392, 395, 421

"pants-wearing" rite, 447–448
Paul Pelliot, 26, 58, 63, 74, 92, 98, 99, 102, 103–104, 112
pig, 355, 359, 362, 377, 429, 445–446, 456, 464, 471, 472
pirate, 129
popular religion/folklore religion
composition, 183
effect of Buddhism and Taoism, 24–25
hereditary hierarchy, 184
power struggle, 305, 306
religiosity, 190
secret popular/folk religion, 11, 16, 276, 315–318, 319–322, 324–325, 328, 332–334
sectarianism, 4, 12, 16
syncretism, 253
Poxie xiangbian 破邪详辩, 321–322, 334
precious scroll, 169, 172, 173, 301, 315, 316, 318, 320, 326
"primitive religion", 351
"primitive society", 417, 423, 475, 481–482
pulse, 360, 370
Pure Land
Amitabha Pure Land, 20, 44, 48, 49
Maitreya Pure Land, 20

Qiang, 478, 480–481
Qianlong Emperor, 381, 410, 412n11, 413–414
Qing 清 dynasty, 404, 409, 413–415, 417, 419, 428
repression of popular religion, 181
Qingcha men, 173, 174, 327
qingpi 青皮, 201
Qingshui jiao, 259, 261, 263, 269, 271, 272, 286, 331, 333

Randeng fo 燃灯佛, 23–24
reindeer, 377, 379, 392, 394
ritual garments, 425–426

Sakyamuni, 21, 23, 24, 37, 107, 136, 145, 146, 212, 266
Salvationism, 31, 32, 49

sanfo yingjie 三佛应劫, 23
secret society, 111, 168, 171, 204, 254, 256, 276, 314
Serenchin, 353, 355, 357–365, 367–372, 374
sexual organs, 432, 452, 453, 456, 464, 468, 472
  beliefs involving, 432
"shaman" in Chinese records, 386
  definition, 391
  local terms for, 386
shaman sickness, 382–383, 391–392
shaman spirit, 357, 361, 363, 382, 389, 399
Shandong culture, 480
sheepskins, 424–425
Shi shi fa 师氏法, 60, 111–120
Shirokogoroff, S.M., 351, 352
Shui, 480
Si guo 四果, 88, 91–92
Sibe, 351
Sichuan, 423, 450, 451, 479, 480
sky spirits, 425, 429, 445
Songhua River, 351n*, 382
Sulin fa/Sulin jiao, 94, 97
Suristan, 27, 58, 59, 95, 97

Taiping Rebellion, 192
Taiwan, 164, 171, 174, 175
Tang 唐 dynasty
  To ban Maitreyan sect, 35
  To ban Manichaeism, 36
Three-in-One Teaching
  apotheosis, 127–128, 135–136, 139–140, 145–146
  diffusion, 126
  Gen bei xin fa, 124, 131–132
  halls, 137–138, 151–152, 153
  jiuxu xinfa, 131, 138–139
  Lin Zhao'en 林兆恩, 124, 130, 157, 233–234
  Lin Zhaoke 林兆珂, 141–142
  Lu Wenhui 卢文辉, 144, 145, 146
  syncretism, 132–133, 138, 234–235
Tianli jiao, 249, 277, 279, 280, 285, 286, 330, 333
Tigress Almanac, 479
Tongliao, 354, 357, 361, 364, 365, 367
Tongliao Grand Monastery, 364
trance, 358, 363, 366, 367, 373, 387, 390, 392, 402–403, 416
trance-dance, 367, 383–385, 387, 391–392, 394–395, 398–399, 402, 426, 428
Tungus, 351, 375–378, 380–383, 385–393, 399, 421, 422
Tuşita, 20, 21

Vegetarian Teaching, 174–175

Wang Gen 王艮, 226, 229–230, 232
Wang Sen, 173, 174–175, 180, 325, 327
Wang Yangmin 王阳明, 7, 138, 227–229, 232–233, 235, 253
Wang Ze, 37
Wenquan Text, 441–450
Wenquan Township, 459
Wenquan Village, 424, 467
Wenxiang jiao, 173
White Lotus Teaching, 4, 15, 41, 45, 109, 168, 265, 271, 290, 319
witchcraft, 377
women
  Bodhisattva Lü, 325
  Chen Zhongxi 陈众喜, 317–318, 336
  deities, 319, 322–323
  equality, 315–316, 323–324, 331–332
  Granny M., 米奶奶, 327–328
  lake of blood, 318
  leadership/motherhood, 331–332
  sancong side, 337
  sangang wuchang, 337
  Tang Sai'er 唐赛儿, 329
  Wang Cong'er 王聪儿, 329
  Yi zhi hua 一枝花, 322, 330–331
  yin-yang, 316
  Zhang Cuihua 张翠华, 327
  Zhang Guiyuan 张归圆, 326
Wuwei jiao, 109, 169, 172

xiangxing wenzi, 423
Xibe, 375–379, 397–399
Xiyouji (Journey to the West), 360

yak, 427, 431, 467
Yan Yuan 颜元, 336–337
Yang Xuezheng, 424, 441, 451
Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材, 42
Yi, 434, 459, 480, 481
Yiguandao 一贯道
  Amitabha Teaching, 310–312
  Blue Lotus Sect, 17, 302, 303, 314
  Dragon Flower Society, 312–313
  Eternity Teaching, 313–314
  Last Effort Teaching, 295, 296, 298, 302, 305, 306, 307, 309, 313, 314
  Lidai zushi yuanliu daomai, 300, 303, 304, 306

Liu Qingxu 刘清虚, 300, 308
Lu Zhongyi 路中一, 300, 309
origin, 174, 305, 309
scriptures, 296–297
Wang Jueyi 王觉一, 291, 294–295, 306, 308
Xiantian wusheng jiao, 296, 313
Yiguan daoli wenda, 305, 309
Zhang Guangbi 张光壁, 300, 309
Yihetuan 义和团
Eight-Trigram Fists, 282–283
Feng Keshan 冯克善, 280–281, 283, 285
Li Cui 李翠, 263, 265, 266
Li Trigram, 267, 278, 290, 291
Liuhe quan, 262, 266
martial field/civil field, 262, 266, 269, 277, 283–285
Meihua quan, 257, 269, 275–276
Qingshui jiao, 259, 261, 263, 269
Shouyuan jiao, 260, 268
Wang Lun 王伦, 259, 261, 269, 320
Yang Sihai 杨四海, 270, 271–272
Yihequan, 256, 277
Yihetuan jiao, 257, 270, 285, 291
Zhu Hongdeng 朱红灯, 258, 286, 287, 288–289, 290
Yijian zhi 夷坚志, 86–87
Yongning Township, 423n2, 424–425, 432, 441, 451
Yuan 元 Dynasty
Han Shantong 韩山童, 43, 44, 46
Liu Futong 刘福通, 39
Peng Yingyu 彭莹玉, 47–48
Xu Shouhui 徐寿辉, 48
Yelikewen, 94
Yunji qiqian 云笈七籤, 24, 25, 84
Yunnan, 423, 451, 480
Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, 441

Zhang Xisheng 张希声, 84
Zhu Bian 朱辨, 24
Zhu Xi 朱熹, 9, 25, 142, 211, 228, 297, 299
Zoroastrianism, 6, 67, 68, 72