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第八章

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A Case Study of Qionglongshan

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Daoism and Local Cults in Modern Suzhou: A Case Study of Qionglongshan

現代蘇州的道教及地方教派：穹隆山個案研究

Vincent Goossaert　高萬桑

內容提要：有著詳細史料記載的施道淵（1617-1678）的一生可以視為是反映正統道教與民間信仰，特別是巫師主持的叢祠民信關係的獨一無二的案例。本文在介紹施道淵的生平以及他如何對待民間信仰，特別是五通神，也簡要地對近年來這方面的研究做一梳理。施道淵經常被蘇州當地的仕人們請去主持驅邪儀式。在這一過程中，施道淵不僅使用傳統道教雷法的武神，同時也將民間神靈納入他的供奉之內。這樣一來，有著正邪兩面性的神靈如五通神的邪性得以控制，因而更容易為人接受。這一進程持續了很久。近來進行的實地調研顯示，五通神雖然仍有部份邊緣性沒變，但它已經基本上被納入道教主流中了。

Abstract: The richly documented life of Shi Daoyuan 施道淵 (1617-1678) provides a unique case study of the relationship between elite Daoist institutions and local cults, particularly spirit-medium cults. The article discusses current research on this topic before introducing Shi and the sources for his dealings with local cults, notably the Wutong. Shi was often called by members of the local elites in Suzhou to perform exorcisms. In this process, Shi not only employed martial gods from the classical Daoist thunder rites traditions, but also incorporated local gods into his pantheon. As a result, ambivalent gods such as the Wutong were to some extent tamed and made more acceptable. Such a process developed over the long term; present fieldwork shows that the Wutong are still partly marginal but have been nonetheless quite thoroughly integrated within mainstream Daoism.

關鍵詞：蘇州、道教、五通神、雷法、驅邪儀式
Keywords: Suzhou, Daoism, Wutong, thunder rites, exorcism

1. Introduction

This essay is part of a larger project that aims to understand the historical construction of Jiangnan modern society and the role of religious traditions in this process, with particular attention to Daoism.[1] My premise is that Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, and the vast realm scholars call "popular religion" do not exist independently but work as parts of a larger system. I have been particularly interested in the role played by elite Daoists and their central temples in the Jiangnan socio-religious system,[2] and hope here to build on my earlier work to understand how these elite Daoists interacted with and shaped the development of spirit-possession cults.

I propose to look here at one historical case study: that of the activities of a leading elite Daoist, Shi Daoyuan 施道淵 (1617-1678),[3] and his interactions with local religious life in and around Suzhou. I will first discuss the state of the field and theoretical issues involved in studying the interaction between Daoism and

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[1] Research for this essay, including fieldwork, was conducted within the framework of first the "Temples & Taoists" collaborative project (http://www.gsrl.cnrs.fr/taoist-and-temple/) and then the "Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religion" (http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/PGGroupStudyPlan _Page.aspx?groupStudyPlanID=8&groupStudyPlanPageID=35) project. I am extremely grateful to Tao Jin 陶金 for his invaluable help in the course of fieldwork, and to the Suzhou Daoists who very kindly entertained all our questions.

[2] Vincent Goossaert, "Qingdai Jiangnan diqu de Chenghuangmiao, Zhang Tianshi ji daojiao guanliao tixi 清代江南地區的城隍廟、張天師及道教官僚體系," *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究 1 (2010): 1-11; Vincent Goossaert, "Bureaucratie, taxation et justice: Taoïsme et construc-tion de l'État au Jiangnan (Chine), XVIIe-XIXe siècles," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 65, no.4 (2010): 999-1027; Vincent Goossaert, "The Heavenly Master and the Daoist Construction of Local Religion in Late Imperial Jiangnan," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, forthcoming.

[3] The date of Shi's death is well known, but his birth date is often ignored by scholars. His epitaph by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (*Qionglong Liangsheng Shi zunshi mubiao* 穹窿亮生施尊師墓表, in *Nanyun wengao* 南畇文稿, 10.1a-2b) claims he died on Kangxi 17/7/28 (13 November 1678) aged 62 *sui*, which points to a birth in 1617.

popular religion, before introducing Shi Daoyuan and the temple he established, the Shangzhenguan 上真觀 , atop Qionglongshan 穹窿山 in the vicinity of Suzhou. Then, based on a rich gazetteer of that temple, I will explore Shi's dealings with local spirit-possession cults, notably the famed Wutong 五通 , and follow them down to the present day. I hope to show that Daoists, along with other religious specialists, were instrumental in negotiating a place for such cults in local society.

2. Rethinking Daoism and Popular Religion

Much work has been conducted on the "popular religious" traditions of Jiangnan, and in particular, of the Suzhou-Shanghai area, notably by scholars such as Jiang Bin, Wu Tao, and most recently Wang Jian.[4] They have used and expanded on the pioneering work of Hamashima Atsutoshi on the territorial organization of village cults[5] and brought more evidence for the crucial importance of temple territories 廟界 and their nested hierarchies, structured by complex ritual flows, in which these territories negotiate their relationships. These scholars, using both fieldwork and the extremely rich published documentation, notably the township gazetteers, have done a lot toward helping us to understand village-level religious life in the area. Richard von Glahn, based on gazetteers for one township, has attempted to develop an overall model of how local religious organization developed in late imperial

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[4] Jiang Bin 姜彬 , ed., *Wu Yue minjian xinyang minsu: Wu Yue diqu minjian xinyang yu minjian wenyi guanxi de kaocha he yanjiu* 吳越民間信仰民俗：吳越地區民間信仰與民間文藝關係的考察和研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1992); Wu Tao 吳滔 , "Shenmiao jieyu yu xiangcun zhixu de chongzu: Wujiang Zhuangjia yumiao kaocha baogao ji qi chubu yanjiu 神廟界域與鄉村秩序的重組 — 吳江莊家圩廟考察報告及其初步研究 ," *Minsu yanjiu* 民俗研究 2 (2008): 86-106; Wang Jian 王健 , *Lihai xiangguan: Ming Qing yilai Jiangnan Susong diqu minjian xinyang yanjiu* 利害相關：明清以來江南蘇松地區民間信仰研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2010).

[5] Hamashima Atsutoshi 濱島敦俊 , *Sōkan shinkō: kinsei Kōnan nōson shakai to minkan shinkō* 總管信仰：近世江南農村社會と民間信仰 (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 2001).

Jiangnan.[6] Yet, all of these authors find it difficult to do equal justice to all traditions and religious specialists; the roles of spirit-mediums and scripture-chanting masters (*xuanjuan xiansheng* 宣卷先生) remain largely under-studied.[7] As of yet, no in-depth study of spirit-mediums in modern or contemporary Jiangnan exists. When mentioned in the scholarly literature, they are talked of as if they belong to a separate world from Daoists—with the exception of a casual, and highly tantalizing mention of pre-1949 Daoists in Shanghai whose wives were generally spirit-mediums.[8] Yet the reality on the ground is that local activists 香頭 who organize pilgrimages and rituals, and thus bring patrons to the Daoists on a regular basis, are as a rule spirit-mediums and that collaboration between the two is long-standing, structural, and intense.[9]

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[6] Von Glahn, "The Sociology of Local Religion in the Lake Tai Basin," in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong/Paris: Chinese University Press/EFEO, 2004), 773-815.

[7] Fan Ying 范熒 , *Shanghai minjian xinyang yanjiu* 上海民間信仰研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006). Chapter 2 attempts to bring together modern historical sources on spirit-mediums in the Shanghai area but lacks a clear analytical framework. For the *xuanjuan xiansheng*, see Che Xilun 車錫倫 , "Qing ji jinxiandai Wu fangyanqu minjian xuanjuan he baojuan gaikuang 清及近現代吳方言區民間宣卷和寶卷概況 ," *Wenzhou Shifan Xueyuan xuebao* 溫州師範學院學報 24, no.3 (2003): 46-51; Rostislav Berezkin, "Scripture-telling (*jiangjing*) in the Zhangjiagang Area and the History of Chinese Storytelling," *Asia Major* 24, no.1 (2011): 1-42.

[8] Zhu Jianming 朱建明 and Tan Jingde 談敬德 , *Shanghai Nanhuixian Zhengyi pai daotan yu Dongyuemiao keyiben* 上海南匯縣正一派道壇與東嶽廟科儀本 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 2006) (Wang Ch'iu-kuei, ed., *Zhongguo chuantong keyiben huibian* 中國傳統科儀本彙編 , 9), 9-11.

[9] The connection between *xiangtou* and Daoists was discussed in Yang Der-Ruey, "The Changing Economy of Temple Daoism in Shanghai," in *State, Market, and Religions in Chinese Societies*, ed. Yang Fenggang and Joseph B. Tamney (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 113-148. Briefly in Vincent Goossaert and Fang Ling, "Temples and Daoists in Urban China since 1980," *China Perspectives* 4 (2009): 32-41.

Meanwhile, scholars have also studied Suzhou and Shanghai Daoism, which is very well documented and active:[10] these scholars have probed the history of the main temples, and the living ritual traditions. Yet they rarely venture into the relationship of Daoists with other specialists such as spirit-mediums and with local cults. One of the few scholars to have discussed the relationship between Daoism and popular religion is Paul Katz. In his work on the cult of Marshal Wen 溫元帥 in late imperial Zhejiang, Katz shows complex interactions at the levels of hagiography, ritual, and temple life between Daoists and local leaders who have competing, reverberating claims over the god. Katz warns us not to take the claims of Daoists over local cults for granted, and emphasizes that their attempts at redefining local gods through hagiographies and rituals were often less than successful.[11]

In order to further think through the issue, I have taken much inspiration from Kenneth Dean's study of Putian 莆田 (Fujian 福建) society, which looks at all dimensions of communal life, and rituals in particular.[12] Dean uses the notion of multiple liturgical frameworks, showing that liturgical systems such as Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, local spirit-medium traditions, and more, all play a role in structuring local cults and their alliances, at different times and under different

[10] See notably Zhu Jianming and Tan Jingde, *Shanghai Nanhuixian Zhengyi pai daotan*; Zhu Jianming 朱建明 , *Shanghai xian shengtang daoyuan jiqi taiping gongjiao kaocha jishi* 上海縣聖堂道院及其太平公醮考查記實 (Taipei: Caituan faren Shi Hezheng minsu wenhua jijinhui, 1993) (*Minsu quyi congshu* 民俗曲藝叢書); Liu Hong 劉紅 , *Suzhou daojiao keyi yinyue yanjiu: yi 'Tiangong' keyi weili zhankai de taolun* 蘇州道教科儀音樂研究：以「天功」科儀為例展開的討論 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1999); Huang Xinhua 黃新華 , "Minguo nianjian Suzhou daojiao kao 民國年間蘇州道教考 ," *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 4 (2008): 33-36.

[11] Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995).

[12] Kenneth Dean and Zheng Zhenman, *Ritual Alliances of the Putian Plain*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

circumstances. These liturgical frameworks can be analyzed as different historical layers, as they have been dominant at different stages of the local system's historical development, but they all continue to co-exist. In his earlier work,[13] Dean had focused on the Daoist liturgical framework and its role in the development of local temple cults; later on, he came to view it not in isolation but complementary to other frameworks, while continuing to document its massive presence and continued relevance. This approach seems to hold the potential of being equally illuminating in the case of Jiangnan. Similarly, while hoping to also document the role of Confucian, Buddhist, devotional, and other frameworks in Jiangnan society in later publications, I will focus here on the Daoist framework, and try to show some of the ways in which it managed local society.

3. Shi Daoyuan and Qionglongshan

Shi Daoyuan (*faming* 法名 Daoyuan, *daoming* 道名 Jinjing 金經, *zi* Liangsheng 亮生, *hao* Tiezhu 鐵竹) was without contest the leading Daoist in early Qing Suzhou, and remains a towering figure in local lore to this day.[14] He is closely associated with Qionglongshan, the highest hill in the Suzhou area, near the lake Taihu. Shi's career is best described in the gazetteer of Qionglongshan, edited and published in 1674, four years before Shi's death. Shi was a Suzhou man, and became a Daoist there at the Chaozhenguan 朝真觀 (just outside the Walled city to the East), a major temple with close links to the Longhushan 龍虎山 during the Ming.[15] He was a

[13] Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of South-East China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[14] On Shi Daoyuan, his close connection to the Longhushan, and his efforts to reform the Daoist ordination system, see Vincent Goossaert, "The Heavenly Master Ordination System in Modern China: A Preliminary Study of *Tiantan yuge* 天壇玉格," (in a volume edited by Lai Chi-tim, forthcoming).

[15] This short biography is based on the documents found in *Qionglongshanzhi*, *Xuanmiaoguanzhi*, and other sources. Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1672), Xiang Qiu 向球, and Li Biao 李標, *Qiong longshanzhi* 穹窿山志 (1674 (?). Repr. in *Zhongguo daoguanzhi congkan* 中國道觀志叢刊,

celibate Daoist;[16] Quanzhen hagiographies claims he underwent Quanzhen consecration 受戒,[17] but this is never mentioned in local Suzhou sources. His youth is not well documented; some claim he worked for the would-be emperor Li Zicheng 李自成 (even though Li never controlled Jiangnan), thus making him a somewhat ambiguous figure.

When he was nineteen, he became a disciple of the Longhushan dignitary Xu Yanzhen 徐演真 , with whom he studied thunder rituals 雷法 . He then embarked on a highly successful career as a healer and exorcist. He was apparently very active before the Manchu takeover: one source describes him as the leader of a society for worshipping the Dipper 斗社 , whose members were all spared in the Manchu takeover of Suzhou in June 1645, as well as during the repression of local Ming loyalist resistance in the following years.[18] He later further raised his profile by presiding over rituals that averted epidemics and fires.

In 1650, while travelling through Suzhou on their way to Beijing, Shi Daoyuan, together with local officials, the 52nd Heavenly Master Zhang Yingjing 張應京 (?-1651, titled in 1636), and his son Zhang Hongren 張洪任 (1631-1667, who became the 53rd Heavenly Master in 1651), vowed to reconstruct the temple devoted to the

vols. 14-15 **(**Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000**).** Gu Yuan 顧沅 , *Xuanmiaoguanzhi* 玄妙觀志 (1832, repr. in *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 , vol. 20. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992).

[16] Miao Tong 繆彤 , "Qionglongshan xinjian Guansheng geji 穹窿山新建關聖閣記 " (1654), *Qionglongshanzhi*, 1:155-160. Also in Wu Yakui 吳亞魁 comp., *Jiangnan daojiao beiji ziliaoji* 江南道教碑記資料集 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2007), No.202, pp. 292-93, where Shi is described as 以童貞修道 .

[17] Min Yide 閔一得 (1758-1836), "Longmen zhengzong liuzhuan zhipaitu 龍門正宗流傳支派圖 ," *Jin'gaixindeng* 金蓋心燈 (*Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 , vol. 31), 6b.

[18] Hu Hong 胡紘 , "Zeng Qionglong Shi dafashi ji 贈穹窿施大法師記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 299-305. For the history of the conquest of the Suzhou area by the Manchus, see chap. 8 of Frederic E. Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Three Mao Brothers 三茅真君 atop Qionglongshan. The reconstruction resulted in a huge temple complex that became a major centre for Daoism throughout Jiangnan. In 1658, the Heavenly Master, visiting again, obtained a title from the Shunzhi emperor for both the temple (now named Shangzhenguan 上真觀) and for Shi himself. In 1662, Shi was named abbot of the Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 (the huge Daoist temple located in the middle of Suzhou's walled city) to preside over its reconstruction, and was over the following years invited by officials to celebrate *jiao* offerings not just throughout Jiangnan, but all the way to Guangzhou and Fujian (in 1671). He was invited to officiate at the Palace in Beijing in 1676 and again in 1678, where he had closed links with several members of the imperial family, but he soon returned to his native Suzhou shortly before passing away. He also held titles in the Longhushan administration, with which he was very close during his whole career. His death is the subject of much discussion among Suzhou Daoists, who say he may have been embroiled in a dispute with Qing officials and killed. His epitaph, written by Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719), says he died peacefully at Xuanmiaoguan, but adds that he was only buried at Qionglongshan fifteen years after his death, which indeed suggests something irregular happened.[19] In any case, he is still revered among Suzhou Daoists.

Shi was active throughout the Jiangnan area and beyond, but his home temple, which still honours him today as its patriarch, is the Shangzhenguan. Qionglongshan in Shi's times is described in some texts as housing hundreds of Daoists; it clearly was a major ordination centre. Shi was also famous for ordaining lay devotees; indeed, some of the Suzhou upper gentry and officials who became his personal disciples signed inscriptions and other documents with the ordination titles Shi conferred on them.[20] Qionglongshan remained a major centre until 1949,

[19] *Qionglong Liangsheng Shi zunshi mubiao*.

[20] For instance, Song Shiying 宋實穎, the author of the inscription *Zhu tianjun dianbei ji* 朱天君殿碑記 (*Qionglongshanzhi*, 1: 111-16; also in Wu Yakui, *Jiangnan daojiao beiji ziliaoji*, #195)

and attracted huge numbers of pilgrims and local village groups who climbed the mountain to request Daoist rituals. This tradition has now resumed.

The Qionglongshan gazetteer 穹窿山志 is in many regards a fascinating text; compared to other gazetteers of Daoist institutions it contains much more data on both interactions with local society (notably in the shape of accounts of miracles, ritual performances, and other events) and on liturgy and codification. The text comes in two editions: the original 1674 edition (the last preface is dated 1673, but two texts in *juan* 2 are dated 1674, so I assume the compilation ended that year), and a 1943 version. The original edition (recently reprinted as part of a series of Daoist gazetteers)[21] contains six *juan*: The first two contain seventy-one independent short texts by different authors, either stele inscriptions (in *juan* 1) or records describing specific events in which Shi Daoyuan played a key role (in *juan* 2), taking place between 1644 and 1674; *juan* 3 contains ritual and temple regulations as well as essays on Daoist liturgy and doctrine; *juan* 4 deals with the lore of the three Mao brothers on the mountain; *juan* 5 and 6 contain poetry. Illustrations of the various features of the mountain are interspersed throughout the book. The 1674 edition had probably become very rare by the late Qing if not before; one copy was kept in the Forbidden City and has been reprinted since.[22] A new edition was made in 1943 (reprinted in *Zangwai daoshu*) from a partial copy then kept in Suzhou.[23] The contents are mostly similar, albeit not always in

signs as 受高上大洞文昌紫陽寶籙紫霄玉華上令司文昌內院事弟子 . See also "Song dushi guishan xu 送度師歸山序 " (dated 1663, *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 212-16) where the author, Du Fanke 杜蕃科 , the local magistrate, signs with his ordination title.

[21] *Qionglongshanzhi*, in *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan*, vols. 14-15.

[22] *Qionglongshanzhi*, *Gugong zhenben congkan*, vol. 267. This is a different edition from the *Daoguanzhi congkan* reprint: it has four more prefaces, and the pages are not in the same order (whether this is due to the original edition or to the editors of the reprint series is unclear).

[23] *Qionglongshanzhi*, *Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 33 (also reprinted in *Zhonghua xu Daozang* 中華續道藏 , vol. 3, Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1999, 20 vols.).

the same order, but some material present in the 1674 edition is absent. The 1943 edition also adds two original prefaces and one inscription, and the contents of some texts differ. While I refer to the more comprehensive 1674 edition here, the necessity of comparing the two remains.

Three men are listed as compilers for this work: Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609-1672; he died before the gazetteer was completed), Xiang Qiu 向球 , and Li Biao 李標 . The first is much better known than the other two. Wu Weiye (pen name Meicun 梅村) was one of the foremost poets of his time and also emerged in 1654, after a period of seclusion, as a key collaborator with the new Manchu regime.[24] Indeed, the gazetteer should also be read with that agenda in mind—the restoration of local order under the aegis of the new regime. The three co-editors, as well as numerous other local scholars—including Peng Long 彭 瓏 (1613-1689), the father of Peng Dingqiu[25]—wrote records and poems included in the gazetteer, in which they speak about their relationship with Shi Daoyuan as patrons, disciples, and witnesses to his feats.

In what follows, I am purposefully leaving aside key aspects of this text, including Shi Daoyuan's relations with elite patrons (including officials and local gentry), and his codification of liturgy and temple regulations, which I will explore in other publications. I am focusing on accounts of miracles and rituals, mostly contained in *juan* 1 and 2 of the gazetteer. These stories are similar in many regards to stories of Daoist exorcisms and ritual performances found, in extremely large numbers, in Qing-period *biji xiaoshuo* 筆記小說 .[26] Yet, while accounts in

[24] Biographical notice in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 882-83; Wakeman, *Great Enterprise*, 934-42, 1075-80. Wu retired from his position in Peking in 1657.

[25] Peng Long 彭瓏 , "Guichou zhongyuan yi Yuanmiaoguan lichan qianmu … 癸丑中元詣元妙觀禮懺薦母 …," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 319-21.

[26] Later examples of Qionglongshan Daoists performing exorcisms in *biji* sources include "Niaoguai 鳥怪 ," Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), *Zibuyu quanji* 子不語全集 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1997), 續集卷 4: 500.

Qionglongshanzhi and the *biji xiaoshuo* should be considered together as one type of writing about Daoism, gods, and local culture by late imperial Jiangnan elites, our stories here are purposefully inserted in a religious gazetteer where all parties—authors of the stories (most of the time participants themselves), elite Daoists, and officials—testify to their accuracy. They form a key source for understanding the connections between elite Daoism and local culture.

4. Negotiating Stray Gods and Martial Deities

The stories in *Qionglongshanzhi* sometimes tell of Shi Daoyuan performing communal rituals, but most of them discuss his exorcistic interventions on the request of members of the local population (the vast majority of them local elites) facing spirit-possession, illness, or even sudden deaths. Scholarship has tended to highlight the opposition between elite Daoists and exorcists; in this case, we cannot but see how it was elite Daoists who regulated and codified exorcistic rituals, and popularized them—the Qionglongshan gazetteer is full of striking descriptions of Shi Daoyuan exorcizing local demons, in the same manner as the Heavenly Masters 張天師 themselves. People come to him with requests for healing, and he is described as always rushing to the scene to offer his help. When the patron is a member of the upper elites, Shi seems inclined to seize the occasion to hint about the costs of his mammoth building projects on Qionglongshan—but Shi also deals with other patients from all walks of life. In one story, a local military officer asks him to cure one of his soldiers possessed by a cat-spirit playing a seductress; Shi expels the spirit and the soldier becomes his disciple.[27]

Shi Daoyuan's exorcistic prowess includes thunder rites, obviously, but also the use of spirit-mediums. Conventional wisdom has it that elite Daoists distance themselves from spirit-possession and avoid having anything to do with it. The

[27] Jin Yu 金玉 , "Zhou Jiang yusui 周將遇祟 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 216-20.

stories involving Shi Daoyuan completely contradict this image. Shi routinely employs mediums, notably when he works at the homes of his clients, and the latter (people who often are or have been officials) are happy to report it—so much for the supposed blanket rejection of spirit-mediumism by late imperial elites.[28] Even when he disposes of malevolent spirits without having recourse to exorcism, a dialogue often takes place between Shi Daoyuan and the ghost, which implies a medium.[29] For instance, when a local elite woman dies in childbirth, Shi performs a "blood lake" ritual for her, and then asks a maiden to be possessed by her, through the works of another Daoist good at "forcing a dead spirit to possess a young boy or girl" 用童男女伏陰 , to verify that she is now saved and happy.[30]

Particularly rich in details are the stories featuring the martial deities doing exorcistic work for Master Shi. Daoist liturgy in Suzhou is famous for having preserved the thunder ritual tradition; this has led some scholars to qualify Suzhou Daoists as belonging to the Shenxiao 神霄 tradition,[31] even though this is not how Suzhou Daoists describe themselves. The fact is, fierce martial deities that are at the core of the thunder rites are very prominent in Suzhou Daoism: the group of Twelve Heavenly Lords 十二天君 is worshipped as large statues on the sides of the Three Purities Hall of the Xuanmiaoguan.[32] Their statues were also prominent features of the Shangzhenguan, described as terrifying, and in several cases offered by patrons

[28] Donald Sutton, "From Credulity to Scorn: Confucians Confront the Spirit Mediums in Late Imperial China," *Late Imperial China*, 21, no.2 (2000): 1-39.

[29] Zhou Zhiyu 周之瑜 , "Youxuanlu 幽玄錄 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 339-44.

[30] Zhu Chengzuo 朱承祚 , "Geyou jilüe 格幽紀略 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 195-200.

[31] Li Yuanguo 李遠國 , *Shenxiao leifa: daojiao shenxiaopai yange yu sixiang* 神霄雷法：道教神霄派沿革與思想 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2003).

[32] Nikaidō Yoshihiro 二階堂善弘 , *Min-Shinki ni okeru bushin to shinsen no hatten* 明清期における武神と神仙の発展 (Suita-shi: Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo, Kansai daigaku shuppanbu, 2009), 141-53.

who had been cured by these martial deities.[33] One of them is Heavenly Lord Liu 劉天君 , who is described in various thirteenth- and fourteenth-century exorcistic liturgical manuals. In the course of one of the most common rituals that Suzhou Daoists perform for lay groups (historically, and still today, as I could observe), called *tiangong* 天功 , the chief priest calls on one of the twelve Heavenly Lords to assist in carrying his petitions to Heaven. Which one of the twelve is summoned (*zhaojiang* 召將) depends on the purpose and circumstances of the ritual. When rituals are performed for good harvests and fair weather, it is Lord Liu who is summoned and identified as Liu Mengjiang 劉猛將 .[34] Liu Mengjiang is one of the most popular local gods throughout Jiangnan, omnipresent in village temples and particularly associated with protecting crops against locusts. Historically, the Lord Liu of early thunder rituals is probably not Liu Mengjiang, who himself anyway has a good dozen different identities/names.[35] But my goal has not been to trace origins and decide how Daoist ritual and popular cult influenced each other; rather, I have observed that in Qing and contemporary Jiangnan, the two are identified with each other. The Daoist martial Lord expelling demons for Suzhou Daoists is also a village god. This, of course, is not entirely new: another of the twelve Lords, marshal Wen, is a major popular deity in Jiangnan, with his own large-scale festivals and processions, as studied in wonderful detail by Paul Katz.[36]

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[33] Zhang Qi 張圻 , "Wei tianjun ganling ji 魏天君感靈記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 221-25.

[34] Liu Hong, *Suzhou daojiao keyi yinyue yanjiu*, 57-58. This is confirmed by Daoists I interviewed in Suzhou.

[35] Liu tianjun has his own independent shrine mid-way up the Qionglongshan as the mountain's guardian deity: Yang Youlie 楊右烈 , "Qionglongshan Shangzhenguanji 穹窿山上眞觀記 ," in *Qionglongshanzhi*, 1: 125-30. On Liu Mengjiang's identities, see Wu Tao 吳滔 , Zhou Zhong-jian 周中建 , "Liu Mengjiang xinyang yu Wuzhong daozuo wenhua 劉猛將信仰與吳中稻作文化 ," *Nongye kaogu* 農業考古 1 (1998): 265-269.

[36] Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats*.

All this becomes even more interesting when some of the twelve Lords go astray and possess local people, showing that their fierce character is not just for liturgical embellishment, and that local people do know about (and fear) them. In some of the stories, the Lords possess mediums 童子 for a good cause: one example is Lord Wang 王天君 (not one of the Twelve Lords), who comes down into a medium (on Shi Daoyuan's order, and routinely, it would seem) and helps one of Shi's patrons whose wife was embroiled in a nasty trial in the netherworld. In the end, the patron pays for an entire new hall dedicated to Lord Wang in the Qionglongshan temple complex.[37]

But some of the Lords in Shi's service seem to have a less than impeccable vita. In one story, Shi Daoyuan is summoned to help a sixteen-year old girl who has been drowned by a vengeful spirit. With the help of Lord Wang, he both resuscitates the girl (who goes on to become a spirit-medium, 師婆) and summons the malevolent spirit, whom he converts into a martial deity in the service of 上帝 .[38] In a similar story, Shi promotes the vengeful ghost who was possessing a girl to the rank of lower official in the divine army under the order of both Lord Wang and the Wutong. Afterwards, Shi writes an order to Wang and the Wutong to inform them of the event.[39] In another case, Shi promotes a turtle-demon with a very bloody past to the rank of general under Zhenwu 真武 (Zhenwu is invoked in several accounts of Shi's exorcisms); he is enshrined with a statue next to Zhenwu's statue in the Xuanmiaoguan.[40]

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[37] Li Biao 李標 , "Wang Tianjun dianji 王天君殿記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 205-8.

[38] Li Biao, "Zhou Jiangjun qiuduji 周將軍求度記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 201-4.

[39] Li Maofang 李茂芳 , "Jinchang nüzi xiugu yinguo shiji 金閶女子秀姑因果實蹟 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 255-59.

[40] Wang Bian 王抃 , "Jieshi sanshi yuandui shoufu linggui jilüe 解釋三世冤對收伏靈龜紀略 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 349-60.

Sometimes, the Lords take the initiative. A lay disciple of Shi forgot to pay for a statue of Lord Wei 魏天君 and soon found himself possessed by the Lord. He pleaded for Shi's help. Shi answered, "This is one of my generals—no exorcism is needed, but you need to make good on your promise" 不須用符水，此本山神將，催完前願。[41] The disciple pays up and is immediately cured. In other words: Shi is a benevolent master, but it is unwise to mess with him and his martial Lords. Those lords and their underlings come across as ambivalent, a feature that is nowhere more apparent than in stories connected with the Wutong.

5. The Wutong

It may seem that the Wutong have been the tree hiding the forest of modern Jiangnan "popular religion," as they have caught the lion's share of scholarly attention among the cults that flourished there. But, even that tree has had its hidden side. The three best pieces of research, namely those of Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, Richard von Glahn, and Jiang Zhushan,[42] have explored in great detail the history of the cult. Their story is that the cult emerged during the Song period as that of powerful and malevolent nature spirits—by contrast, Ned Davis has argued that they were never malevolent but merely described as such by elite

[41] Zhang Qi, "Wei tianjun ganlingji," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 221-25.

[42] Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, "The Cult of the Wu-t'ung/Wu-hsien in History and Fiction: The Religious Roots of the Journey to the South," in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies,* ed. David Johnson (Berkeley, Calif.: Chinese Popular Culture Project, 1995), 137-218; Richard von Glahn, "The Enchantment of Wealth: The God Wutong in the Social History of Jiangnan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51, no. 2 (1991): 651–714; von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), chaps. 6-7; Jiang Zhushan 蔣竹山 , "Tang Bin jinhui Wutong-shen: Qingchu zhengzhi jingying daji tongsu wenhua de ge'an 湯斌禁毀五通神 —— 清初政治菁英打擊通俗文化的個案 ," *Xinshixue* 新史學 6, no. 2 (1995): 67–110.

writers who despised the cult and its lower-class followers.[43] The Wutong were gods of sudden and undeserved wealth, who granted money to husbands in exchange for their wives' favours. The cult evolved through a series of attempts at moralization, with "orthodox" versions of the cult being granted titles, but none of these attempts succeeded at eradicating or taming the less acceptable aspects of the gods. As a result, Tang Bin 湯斌 (1627–1687), the governor of the province of Jiangsu, undertook the destruction of the Wutong and Liu Mengjiang temples in Suzhou, the provincial capital, and then throughout the entire province, with an aim to reform local customs and practices. Upon becoming governor in 1685, Tang Bin immediately went to the major temple of Shangfangshan 上方山 near Suzhou (which by the sixteenth century had become the cult's focal point in the Suzhou area)[44] to destroy the Wutong statues in person (the wooden effigies with fire and the terracotta statues with a club) and to drive away the spirit-mediums and Buddhists, as the Wutong temple at Shangfangshan was part of a monastic complex.

Yet shortly before the Tang Bin suppression, Shi Daoyuan had actually turned the Wutong into proper Daoist gods. Shangfangshan is about half way between Qionglongshan and Suzhou city and is associated with Shi Daoyuan; Daoist lore has it that after the fall of the Ming, Shi retired to Shangfangshan to practise self-cultivation. He later on visited Qionglongshan (then inhabited by a Buddhist monk), found the place to be superior, and talked the monk into swapping places.

The gazetteer of Qionglongshan has quite a lot to say about the Wutong spirits. In a story entitled "Fushen xianhua 福神顯化 ,"[45] relating events that happened

[43] Edward Davis is currently working on a book manuscript devoted to a new interpretation of the history of the Wutong.

[44] von Glahn, *Sinister Way*, 229.

[45] *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 231-33.

in 1666, we hear about a young lady who is possessed by the third of the Wutong brothers 上方三相公 . Her father writes to Master Shi who in turn petitions the Wutong's mother 上方聖母 (now colloquially known as Taimu 太姥). The lady is healed as a result, and proclaims with the voice of a divine emissary 王差官 (who asks for wine money!) that the Wutong's mother has fulfilled Master Shi's request and that the third brother will never come back. He goes on to explain that the Wutong's mother's birthday is on 9/28 (the date of the major Wutong festival in Jiangnan since the Song period) and that she should now be celebrated only with vegetarian offerings. Just the year before, she and her five sons had obtained a canonization from the Jade Emperor through the Heavenly Master 天師教主 ;[46] they are now divine gods 天神 , no longer mere earthly spirits.

So, a gazetteer of a highly official Daoist centre (where a good proportion of the local officials are listed as lay disciples of Master Shi) uses a spirit-medium to explain that the Heavenly Master has promoted these so-called local demons to the rank of high deities. The idea of a Daoist redemption and promotion of local demons[47] is not new—indeed the Wutong have been reinvented as a Daoist martial deity, Marshal Ma 馬元帥 , in various ritual texts of the Yuan and Ming period, and even been granted their own scriptures[48]—but the specifics here fly in the face of what current historiography tells us the local politics of Qing-period Jiangnan ought to have been like.

[46] On canonizations of Jiangnan local gods by the Heavenly Master, see Vincent Goossaert, "The Heavenly Master and the Daoist Construction of Local Religion in Late Imperial Jiangnan," where I repeat some of the data discussed here.

[47] Mark R. E. Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2006).

[48] Cedzich, "The Cult of the Wu-t'ung/Wu-hsien," 180-92.

But our gazetteer does not stop here. In a subsequent text,[49] we are told that the eldest of the Wutong brother, marquis Yongfu 永福侯 ,[50] was known to observe the "Heavenly Master's rules" 天師戒 and was recently discovered to have been promoted to the upper levels of the pantheon. This came about through a lay devotee, a Mr. Xu, who regularly communicated in dreams with the marquis. One day, the latter summoned him to Shangfangshan to tell him that he and his whole family (presumably, marquis Yongfu's mother and four brothers) were now observing the "Heavenly Master's rules," kept to a vegetarian diet and were regularly going to Qionglongshan to recite the *Yuhuangjing* 玉皇經 . Xu made this widely known and as a result Master Shi Daoyuan asked the Heavenly Master to petition the Jade Emperor to secure the god's promotion, which was done on Kangxi 3/12/25 (9 February 1665). Barely six weeks later, Xu was again summoned by the god on Shangfangshan, was informed that the god had just been promoted to Censor in the Eastern Peak's administration 東嶽侍御 , and was witness to the mother and five sons in full official regalia awaiting the nomination edict. The text ends with a note deploring that in spite of this, people were persisting in bringing meat offerings to Shangfangshan.[51] This canonization process is repeatedly alluded to in various parts of the gazetteer, making it clear that it was considered an important part of Shi's saga as told in Suzhou society.[52] It is also emphatically confirmed by the Wutong's mother herself, with a text signed by her,[53] which heaps

[49] Xiang Qiu 向球 and Xu Shi 徐式 , "Shangfangshan diyi dian Yongfuhou jinque tianshen shiyan 上方山第一殿永福侯進爵天神實驗 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 243-45.

[50] Yongfuhou was indeed one of the titles (granted in 1174, and not the highest one, interestingly) successively granted by the Song state to the first of the five Wutong brothers: *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 li20.157b-158b (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1962).

[51] Von Glahn, *Sinister Way*, 230, notes that the vast amounts of offerings 肉山酒海 at Shangfangshan were a contentious point with local authorities.

[52] In Zhang Qi 張圻 , "Laihelouji 來鶴樓記 " (1662), *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2:269-73, the gods are called *wu wenshi* 五瘟師 .

[53] Shangfang shengmu Zhou Zong 上方聖母周宗 , "Qionglongji 穹窿記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 1: 81-83.

extravagant praise on Shi Daoyuan, presumably revealed by spirit-writing (there are a number of spirit-writing texts, as well as discussions of spirit-writing in the *Qionglongshanzhi*).

A total of thirteen different texts discuss the Wutong in the *Qionglongshanzhi*.[54] All stage a negotiation between Shi Daoyuan and the Wutong, sometimes in a very direct way. One of them, dated 1661, shows Shi explaining to one of the five brothers that allowing the massive sacrifices to continue will eventually ruin their accumulated merits; the god asks Shi to tell people that they do not want meat anymore, but Shi replies that they have to tell people directly, whereupon they communicate with various mediums in various parts of Jiangnan.[55] Apart from these "conversion accounts," the Wutong also appear in the capacity of divine generals assisting Shi's exorcisms. In one story, Shi is asked to intervene in a family where the wife is possessed; Shi sends written orders to both the City God and the Wutong of that family 家堂五聖 . The fourth brother then possesses a medium and chases away the evil spirit who was causing harm, thus acting as an upright and reliable orthodox spirit.[56] Shi also cured a young boy with the help of both the Wutong and the Lord Wang 都雷府王天君 , both summoned with written petitions.[57] And in a stele inscription we learn of the Wutong's mother's collaboration with Lord Zhu 朱

[54] Shi Daoyuan's dealings with the Wutong must have become Suzhou lore, as we find more traces of them, e.g. "Taguai 獺怪 ," *Zibuyu quanji*, xu2: 470-71.

[55] Li Biao 李標 , "Fushen ruzhai xiaoji 福神茹齋小記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 189-93.

[56] Gao Tang 高鎕 , "Qionglong Shangzhenguan Shi fashi qiansui jishi 穹窿上眞觀施法師遣祟紀事 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 209-12. Very interestingly, at the end of this episode, the Merit Officer on duty at Qionglongshan 穹窿山值日功曹 possesses the woman and requests a signed written receipt attesting that she has been successfully cured!

[57] Tang Zhuanhuan 湯傳桓 , "Shengong jishi 神功紀實 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 265-68. Yet another similar exorcism can be found in Song Jiting 宋既庭 , "Shi dushi zhanyaotazhi 施度師斬妖獺志 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 323-32.

天君 .[58]

Some of the stories feature the Wutong somehow straddling the thin line between possessing and expelling. In one account, the third brother possesses a sick female servant (it is unclear whether he caused the illness in the first place) and explains that, since he is following Shi Daoyuan's instructions 法戒 , he is now vegetarian; he cures the woman, while requesting a temple and a stele inscription (this is written in 1668 with words of praise for the Wutong, by a Suzhou native who was a county magistrate).[59] Another story has Shi Daoyuan successfully requesting the Wutong to expel a demon who was possessing an official's concubines, in a situation where it looks very much as if it was the Wutong doing the possessing (the Wutong are worshipped by the official who was keeping tax money in their temple!).[60] In one story, a possessed woman fingers the Wutong as culprits, but they eventually turn out not to be, since the possessing ghost is a dead woman seeking vengeance—and she is eventually promoted to the rank of servant in the Wutong family.[61]

To sum up, Shi Daoyuan integrates the Wutong, a major and established spirit-medium cult at the time he arrives on the scene, into the Daoist pantheon alongside canonical martial Lords. Like the Lords, they remained somewhat ambivalent, but were now supposedly mostly devoted to restoring law and order. What impact did this canonization have on the cult? Apparently not much, as repression at the hands of Tang Bin came some twenty years later—and shortly after Shi Daoyuan's (possibly controversial) death—a sign that the cult had failed to find its place in

[58] Song Shiying 宋實穎 , "Zhu tianjun dianbeiji 朱天君殿碑記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 1: 111-16.

[59] Ma Yunju 馬雲舉 , "Shangfangshan Sandian Yongjiahou jie xingquanji 上方山三殿永嘉侯戒牲牷記 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 227-29.

[60] Zhu Jiacheng 朱嘉成 , "Shi dushi Huguan quxie jilüe 施度師滸關驅邪紀略 ," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 307-9.

[61] Wang Bian, "Jieshi sanshi yuandui shoufu linggui jilüe," *Qionglongshanzhi*, 2: 349-60.

the socio-political order. Yet I would not brush it aside as irrelevant. The Heavenly Master was apparently called upon to exorcize one of the Wutong during yet another possession incident in 1685 that caused Tang Bin to act.[62] And, according to a much later source, Tang Bin himself is reputed to have requested the help of the Heavenly Master in his campaign against the Wutong.[63]

In any case, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Wutong apparently evolved into a more "orthodox" cult as gods of wealth, under the name Wulu caishen 五路財神 . What role Daoists played in that process is unclear, but Shi Daoyuan's project to include them within the fold of Daoism lived on. Its continued relevance is further confirmed by a remarkable painting representing a vast Daoist pantheon of the Suzhou area that was on show at the 2008 Hong Kong Daoist art exhibition.[64] This pantheon features Daoist pure deities on its upper level, and local gods on the lower level, including the Suzhou area City Gods, various other well-known local deities, and the Wutong, under their Daoist titles, as well as their five spouses. It is noteworthy that the titles listed are not of the Wutong's classical "orthodox" form (the Wuxian 五顯), but specifically the contentious group worshipped at Shangfangshan:

上方永康侯歐野四靈公
上方永寧侯花果二靈公
上方永福侯通靈大靈公
上方永嘉侯財帛三靈公
上方永庥侯風雅五靈公

[62] Jiang Zhushan, "Tang Bin jinhui Wutongshen," 87.

[63] Wu Zhichang 吳熾昌 (19th c.), *Kechuang xianhua* 客窗閒話 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chuban-she, 1988), 8: 216-18.

[64] Yau Chi-on 游子安 and Yau Hok Wa 游學華 , eds., *The Studio and the Altar: Daoist Art in China* 書齋與道場道教文物 (Hong Kong: The Centre for the Studies of Daoist Culture and Art Museum, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2008), cat. IV: 18.

As one of the canonization titles (for another god) found on this document was granted in 1788, the painting can be dated after 1788 and confirms that for Suzhou Daoists, the Wutong continued, over a century after the Tang Bin repression (and half a century before another repression at the hands of governor Yuqian 裕謙, 1793-1841), to be considered as bona fide Daoist gods.[65]

Contemporary Daoists in Suzhou reluctantly recognize that the Shangfangshan Wutong and the Wulu caishen are the same gods, but insist that the latter are orthodox (elite Daoists were running a Wulu caishen temple just opposite the Xuanmiaoguan until the 1950s), while the former are not. The cult at Shangfangshan is operating without Daoists, but with spirit-mediums and *xuanjuan xiansheng*; some of them perform rituals for "borrowing money from the other world" 借陰債, using memorials in pure Daoist form. This was described by an ethnographic report in the 1980s,[66] and is confirmed by my own observation in April 2011: the cult is thriving. Do we then have clearly distinct Daoist and "popular" versions of the same gods? No. One wedding ritual, apparently unique to the Suzhou area, and colloquially called "Flower banquet" (*huayan* 花筵), invokes the Wutong among other protective deities called to bless the new couple. In the liturgical manual, they are invoked under their title as Lords of Shangfangshan, exactly as in the painted scroll discussed above.[67] The Wutong had already been granted Daoist scriptures of their own before the time of Shi Daoyuan,[68] but here

[65] Guo Qitao discusses an 1875 painting of a Huizhou local pantheon that also features the Wutong under City Gods. Guo Qitao, *Exorcism and Money: The Symbolic World of the Five-Fury Spirits in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2003), 65-67.

[66] Cai Limin 蔡利民, "Shangfangshan jieyinzhai: Suzhou minjian xinyang huodong diaocha 上方山借陰債：蘇州民間信仰活動調查," *Zhongguo minjian wenhua* 中國民間文化 6 (1992): 239-256.

[67] *Huayan yaosheng jiejia* 花筵邀聖接駕. This ritual can be performed by ordinary *daoshi* 道士 and does not require an ordained *fashi* 法師.

[68] Cedzich, "The Cult of the Wu-t'ung/Wu-hsien," 186-92.

they are included in the roster of local protective deities. So, the Shangfangshan Wutong have found their way to the heart of bona fide Daoist tradition.

6. Conclusion

The development of local cults, especially spirit-medium cults, catering to individual needs and outside the territorial organization, is always a challenge to the established order of local society. In Jiangnan as elsewhere, it is dealt with through complex mechanisms of internal regulation. While state efforts to contain or repress such cults have been discussed by historians,[69] we know less about how other actors such as Daoists worked at integrating such cults into local systems. Scholars have pointed out that Daoists do turn demons into gods, and that Daoist ritual is a key tool in this process of the "normalization" 合法化 of gods with a shady origin (which many, if not most, gods have). However, the present case is unique in providing a rich body of material that shows in detail and in historical and local context how this happened.

To sum up, in cases such as the Wutong and Liu Mengjiang, which are fundamental, universal features of social life in modern and contemporary Jiangnan, elite Daoists beginning with Shi Daoyuan and up to the present day, have (1) integrated these deities into their pantheons of martial deities under the authority of established bureaucratic gods such as the Eastern Peak and the City Gods; (2) found them a role in their liturgy; (3) worked together with spirit-mediums and scripture-chanting masters to convey a "reformed" image of the deities. The prestige and charisma of Daoist leaders such as Shi Daoyuan was instrumental in effecting this process. But, the rich historical material, as well as fieldwork observation, allow us to observe that the process is not a full success: the Wutong still eat meat (the

[69] Vincent Goossaert, "The Destruction of Immoral Temples in Qing China," in *ICS Visiting Professor Lectures Series*, 2 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2009) (*Journal of Chinese Studies* Special Issue, 131-153).

favourite offering nowadays at Shangfangshan is a pig's head) contrary to what they promised Shi Daoyuan. And, whereas Liu Mengjiang, first repressed by Tang Bin in 1685, was canonized by the imperial state in 1724, the Wutong underwent several more bouts of repression. Furthermore, the Daoists were by no means alone in working at "normalizing" these gods. The Wutong scriptures (which are now routinely chanted on Shangfangshan) were not written by Daoists; they are *baojuan*, in Buddhist-influenced form.[70] Yet, at least one version of this scripture[71] (like the *Qionglongshanzhi*, and in contrast to actual practice) describes them as having been converted to strict vegetarianism—and complaining about it.[72] The centuries-long negotiations about the local cults between Daoists, spirit-mediums, storytellers, and villagers continue, as intense as ever.

[70] For the Wutong scripture, entitled *Taimu baojuan* 太姥寶卷 (or *Taijun baojuan* 太郡), see Zhou Kaiyan 周凱燕, "*Taijun baojuan* he Wutongshen xinyang de bianqian《太郡寶卷》和五通神信仰的變遷," *Changshu Ligong Xueyuan xuebao* 常熟理工學院學報（哲學社會科學）3 (2009): 120-122; Qiu Huiying 丘慧瑩, "Jiangsu Changshu Baimao diqu xuanjuan huodong diaocha baogao 江蘇常熟白茆地區宣卷活動調查報告," *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 169 (2010): 195-214. I am grateful to Rostislav Berezkin for discussing Wutong scriptures with me.

[71] *Heyang baojuanji* 河陽寶卷集, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2007), 1: 68-75, esp. 71.

[72] In the late Ming novel *Nanyouji* 南遊記, the hero's (Huaguang 華光, an avatar of the Wutong) mother was also finally converted to vegetarianism.

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