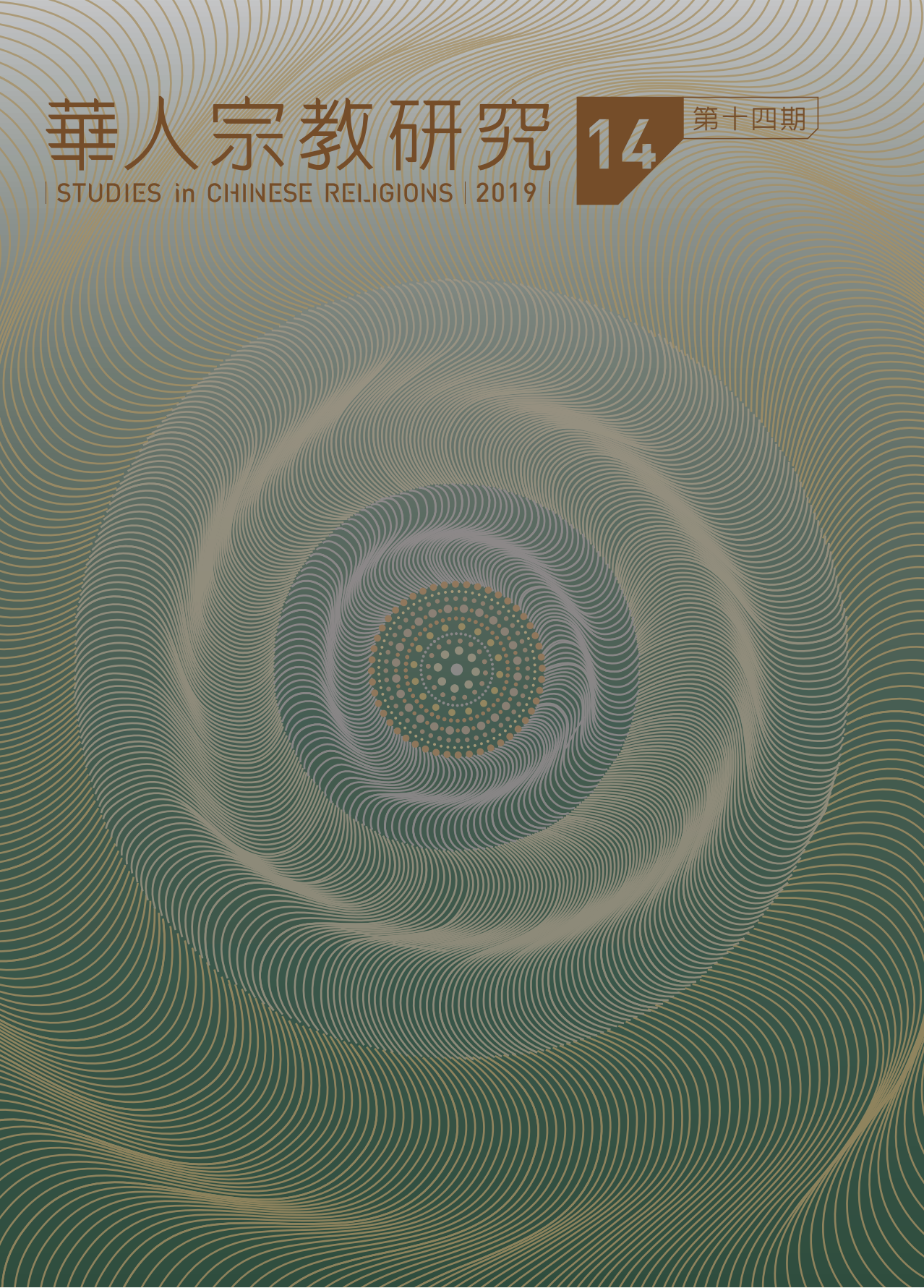


華人宗教研究

| STUDIES in CHINESE RELIGIONS | 2019 |

14

第十四期



華人宗教研究

Studies in Chinese Religions

第十四期

國立政治大學 華人宗教研究中心

西元 2019 年 7 月

華人宗教研究 第十四期 2019 年
Studies in Chinese Religions No.14 2019

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從天妃的朝封與道封思考國家與道教 對於地方宗教的一陽一陰的雙重治理

張珣*

摘要

在帝制中國時期，朝封與道封互相協調，前後搭配，賦予一位神祇的政治合法性與宗教神聖性，二者相輔相成，是中國神祇的靈力與權威來源。而朝封與道封也使國家與宗教互相證成，一方面，道教是國家政權合法性來源，另一方面，朝廷也是道教神聖權威的合法性來源。朝廷與道教共同完成人民對於帝國的想像與順從。其次，道教與地方宗教之間有競合關係，道教賦予地方宗教神聖性，而地方宗教賦予道教靈驗性。

本文以媽祖林默娘在明朝所獲封號說明朝封（陽）與道封（陰），一陽一陰先後攜手合作完成對媽祖的承認。亦即，除了帝國對於神鬼加以誥封或取締的治理，還有道教對於民間信仰神鬼的馴服。此一陰陽雙重的宗教治理，在當代臺灣仍可見，文末以臺南玉二媽為例。

關鍵字：朝封、道封、帝國隱喻、媽祖、天妃

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The Need for Both the State and Liturgical Daoism to Complete the Imperial Metaphor: A Case Study of the Cult of Mazu 媽祖

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Abstract

In imperial China, state canonization and Daoist canonization bestowed political legitimacy and religious sanctity on a local god. These two bureaucratic canonization processes were mutually complementary, and were the source of local deities' spiritual efficacy and authority. The two processes mutually conveyed charismatic authority, with the state guaranteeing the Daoist clergy's role as the arbiters of orthodox Daoism, and the Heavenly Master Zhang 張天師 recognizing the emperor as the true Son of Heaven. The imperial state and liturgical Daoism thus worked to ensure subjects' belief in and obedience to the imperial state. Furthermore, both competition and cooperation existed between liturgical Daoism and local religion. Liturgical Daoism conferred sanctity on local cults, while local deities ensured the efficacy of Daoism.

In this paper, I take the canonization of the local deity Mazu as an example to demonstrate the dual process of the acknowledgement of a new deity. The goddess Mazu was granted several dozen honorary titles by imperial decree, and thus had an intimate relationship with the state. In addition, in the fifteenth century, the goddess received the title of Tianfei 天妃, and was given her own scripture composed by the Daoist clergy. Many anthropologists have already discussed how Chinese folk religion helped to maintain the bureaucratic system in imperial China. Here, I would like to go further by elaborating how Daoism supported imperial ideology. Mazu was granted both political authority and religious legitimacy, which has made her the most popular goddess in the Chinese world. In present day Taiwan, as the final part of the paper shows, the results of Mazu's canonization are still valid.

Keywords: State canonization, Daoist canonization, imperial metaphor, Mazu 媽祖,
Tianfei 天妃

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六朝道教文獻的道士稱號*

廣瀨直記**

摘要

本文通過全面收集和梳理六朝道教文獻中所見的道士稱號(頭銜),嘗試理清上清經、靈寶經、正一經等經典群的背後存在何種道士群體的問題。首先,本文指出六朝道教文獻中的稱號可以分為如下四種:(A)江南道士的基本稱號「嶽帝稱號」;(B)隨著上清經、靈寶經等經典之傳授而得到的「受經稱號」;(C)天師道的基本稱號「籙戒稱號」;(D)與天師道的治職有關的「治職稱號」。其次,指出六朝中期以前的文獻中,只是單獨的(A)、(B)、(C)、(D)或(AB)、(CD)組合出現,但是到了六朝後期的文獻,開始出現(AB)群和(CD)群相結合的「複合稱號」。我們認為,這是六朝中期以後持(AB)群稱號的江南道士和持(CD)群稱號的天師道道士之間進行了交流,使得雙方的自我認識逐漸開始交錯。以往的六朝道教研究,總是用「上清派」、「靈寶派」等模糊的流派概念進行討論,然而通過如上梳理和分析,可以基於文獻的現實基礎,更加精確地把握經典群背後存在的道士們,這也是本文的意義所在。

關鍵字: 道教史、流派(宗派)、法位制度

* 本文基於2018年7月政治大學的「道教週」會議的報告。會議當天以及本文投稿後,輔仁大學張超然教授和幾位匿名審查員指出了多處筆者忽視的問題,給與了十分中肯的建議,在此衷心表示感謝。

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Titles of Daoist Priests in the Daoist Texts of the Six Dynasties Period

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Abstract

Through a comprehensive collection and analysis of official titles of Daoist priests seen in Six Dynasties Daoist texts, this paper attempts to clarify the question of what kind of Daoist communities existed behind the collections of Shangqing 上清 (Upper Clarity), Lingbao 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure), and Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) scriptures. This paper indicates that the titles of Daoist priests in Six Dynasties Daoist literature can be divided into four groups: (A) titles of “Thearchs and Marchmounts (yuedi 嶽帝), the basic titles of Daoist priests in the Jiangnan 江南 region; (B) titles of “Receiving Scriptures” (shoujing 受經) obtained upon receipt of transmitted Shangqing and Lingbao scriptures; (C) titles of “Registers and Precepts” (lujie 籙戒), the basic titles for Celestial Masters Daoists (Tianshi dao 天師道); (D) titles of “Parish Posts” (zhizhi 治職) related to the parishes of Celestial Masters. Next, the paper points out that in texts prior to the middle period of the Six Dynasties, we only see titles appear independently from categories A, B, C, or D, or in combinations of AB or CD. However, in texts from the later part of the Six Dynasties, “compound titles,” in which categories AB and CD are combined, begin to appear. I argue that, after the middle period of the Six Dynasties, there was interaction between Daoist priests of the Jiangnan region (AB) and Celestial Masters (CD), and the self-identities of the two groups gradually began to mesh. The article discusses the previous usage of vague concepts of schools such as “Shangqing school” and “Lingbao school” in studies on Daoism in the Six Dynasties period. But by combing through textual sources and analyzing the use of titles as noted above, we can, based on an actual textual foundation, gain a more

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accurate grasp of the Daoist priests behind these bodies of Daoist texts. This is also the significance of this paper.

Keywords: History of Daoism, Daoist schools, Daoist Ordination Ranks

Pre-Song Daoist Exorcism (道教法術) and its Relationship with Heavenly Masters Daoism

Florian C. Reiter *

Abstract

This article challenges common assumptions concerning Song 宋 (960–1279) and Yuan 元 (1279–1368) Daoist exorcism called *Wulei fa* 五雷法, also referred to as Thunder Magic rituals, and Divine Empyrean Daoism (Shenxiao dao 神霄道) that suggest these traditions introduced a new Daoism in the Song-period or augmented Daoism by adapting to folk-traditions of healing practices and other magic competencies. The author argues that, contrary to assumptions, Daoist exorcist practices were a religious phenomenon that always was associated with Heavenly Masters Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道). The article explains that Daoist exorcism was conceived as a crucial part of liturgical Daoism in the Heavenly Masters tradition. The author also considers potential reasons for the late inclusion of exorcist rituals in the *Daozang* 道藏 and their further documentation therein. Arguments are mainly based on canonical biographical sources and expert statements by high ranking Daoists of the Tang 唐 (618–907). Such sources refer to the purposes of Heavenly Masters Daoism and claim the presence and practical reality of Daoist exorcism to be genuine elements of Daoist religious culture.

Keywords: Daoist exorcism (*Wulei fa* 五雷法), Heavenly Masters Daoism (*Tianshi dao* 天師道), Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), Ye Fashan 葉法善 (631–720), Ye Qianshao 葉千韶 (fl. 9th cent.)

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宋代以前的道教法術和天師道之間的關係

常志靜*

摘要

研究道教法術的一般學者重視宋代和元代時的法術是因為這些時代的材料很豐富，譬如道法會元和法海遺珠那兩套類書。作者認為宋代以前天師道的傳統就已經包容各種道教法術，只因為唐代高官和高道在編道藏沒編入這種法術的書籍。明朝清微派的高道編正統道藏時才把道教法術的書籍編入。文中引用唐代兩位天師張修和張士元的列傳以分析他們的法術和內修文化。並以高道葉千詔和葉法善的列傳為材料描寫他們求雨祈晴和治療病況的法術。他們主要的法具是各種道符和咒語以及天師道的香案。本文特別提到木郎咒和天蓬神咒兩個大咒語。因為它們在早期上清派到宋元代的五雷法裡重複地出現，就能證明宋元以前和以後法術共同的傳統和來源。宋代的道士如林靈素、王文卿等使用內丹和天文把自古傳流下來的道教法術理論化。他們用他們的學術修養和意旨把古代的法術編成書籍。這個發展是基於宋徽宗對天師道和道教理論的重視和提倡。本文也提到唐代一個很特殊的新發展道教靈寶派法術，因受唐代密宗很深的影響而發展成一種新的關於吉事的法術。作者引讀者注意到宋代以前的道教法術，使用這些法術的人們代表漢代天師道、道士的文化和職業的傳統。

關鍵字：五雷法、天師道、王文卿、葉法善、葉千詔

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規模與取捨： 近世黃籙齋儀變遷與明初儀式改革*

張超然**

摘要

基於長期的調查成果，我們已能了解當代台南道士通過增減、替換不同儀節，提供大小規模不一的拔度齋儀，用以滿足不同地方社會階層的需求。只是，這並不是道教齋儀興起之初便已存在的做法，更多是為了因應兩宋時期齋儀規模異常擴增，以致明初官方有意介入道教儀式發展的結果。為了具體說明這個過程，本文以明初官方主導的道教儀式改革方案——《大明玄教立成齋醮儀範》為中心，考察宋明之際黃籙齋儀的變遷情形，尤其是不同規模的齋儀規劃，及其因應時間限制而做的儀節調整。簡單地說，明初官方介入道教儀式發展的主要考量在於經濟層面，希望能夠藉此有效抑制過度發展的拔度齋儀，但又同時希望提供一般家庭能夠負擔的齋儀項目，用以維持社會教化功能。當時受命管理道教的中央道官各自以其配合方式，程度不一地落實這樣的政策。其中，如何同時兼顧齋儀典型並對政策有所回應的處置之道，則與當代台南做法相近：當規模受限，無法維持典型齋儀結構時，儀式實踐將側重於亡者祭煉之上，作為架構齋儀的主要儀節則被漸次捨去。

關鍵字：道教、齋醮、功德、儀式規模、儀式改革

* 本文初稿發表於2018年7月16-18日由輔仁大學宗教學系、國立政治大學華人宗教研究中心合辦之「歷史與當代地方道教研究國際學術研討會」，期間多得與會學者提供寶貴意見。投稿本刊時，除得審查人多所勉勵，亦蒙指摘多項修訂意見。特此致謝！

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Scale and Choice: The Transformation of Yellow Register Retreats (*huanglu zhai* 黃籙齋) in Early Modern Times and Ritual Reform in the Early Ming

Chang Chao-jan*

Abstract

Based on the results of long-term fieldwork investigations, we already understand that Daoists in contemporary Tainan 台南 offer *zhai* salvation rituals of varying scale, by adding, subtracting, and substituting different rites, and do so in order to satisfy the demands of different local social classes. However, this was not the existing method when *zhai* rituals first arose; many changes to the ritual took place in response to the exceptional expansion of the scope of *zhai* rituals during the Northern and Southern Song. The expansion was so extensive that officials intended to intervene in the consequences of this Daoist ritual development in the early Ming. In order to concretely explain this course of events, this paper takes a case of early Ming officials directing Daoist ritual reforms—*Ritual Protocols of the Great Ming for Daoist Retreats and Offerings* (*Da Ming xuanjiao licheng zhajiao yifan* 大明玄教立成齋醮儀範)—as its central focus to examine the changing circumstances of the Yellow Register Retreat between the Song and Ming, especially with regard to *zhai* ritual programs of different scale and the adjustments in rites in response to time limitations. Simply put, the primary consideration for early Ming officials' intervention in the development of Daoist ritual was economic factors, in the hope that they could effectively check the excessive growth of *zhai* salvation rituals. But at the same time, officials also hoped to offer ordinary households a way to bear the financial cost of the ritual, so as to preserve the ritual's capacity for social education.

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At that time, the central Daoist officials appointed to supervise Daoist affairs had their respective coordinating methods and implemented policies to varying degrees. In this, how did Daoists of the Ming simultaneously balance *zhai* ritual models with a way to respond to the policies? In fact, their management of the situation was quite similar to practices in Tainan; when ritual scale is restricted, and there is no way to preserve the model ritual framework, ritual practices will emphasize the ceremonial salvific refinement of the dead, and those principal rites that serve as the framework of the *zhai* ritual are then excised one by one.

Keywords: Daoism, retreat (*zhai* 齋) and offering (*jiao* 醮) rituals, merit (*gongde* 功德) rites, ritual scale, ritual reform

帝國晚期京城的水火記憶 ——清末民初的火神廟與水會組織*

孫美子**

摘要

本文通過歷史文獻、民間傳說、口述訪談相結合的方式，從「火」與「水」兩條線索追溯北京城火神廟的信仰風貌。論述北京火神信仰及火神廟在儒家祭祀和五行風水系統層面之於城建的努力、民間信仰脈絡中的祠廟性格，以及商業行會、市井生活中消防巡緝的功能性意義。隨著商業發展及科學技術的變革，晚清時期的北京城市生活形態已發生了很大變化。伴隨煤油使用的普及，火災時有發生。慎火帶動了火神信仰的昌盛，另一方面，這一精神努力也在紳商的動員下落實為京城的民間消防組織——水會。火神信仰與水會組織因商業的繁榮而連接到一起，火神廟代表的神治中心、水會及水窩子代表的水治中心以及商會行會代表的資本中心三股勢力凝結到一起，作為舊時京城非常重要的地方權力自治中心，發揮著極其重要的作用。

關鍵字：火神廟、水會組織、商業行會

* 本文遵田野倫理對報導者進行化名處理，同時感謝審稿委員為本文提出的指導性意見。

** 政治大學宗教研究所碩士，社會科學文獻出版社責任編輯。

Memories of “Water and Fire” in Late Imperial Beijing: A Study of the Fire God Temple (Huoshen miao 火神廟) and the Organization of the Water Association (Shuihui 水會) in late Qing and Early Republic Period China

Sun Mei-zi*

Abstract

This article attempts to trace, through the two themes of “fire” and “water,” the aspects of belief pertaining to the Fire God Temple in Beijing by examining historical documents, folk legends, and oral reports. It discusses the power of Fire God beliefs and the Fire God Temple in Beijing on urban construction at the level of Confucian sacrifices and Five Phases (wuxing 五行) and Fengshui 風水 systems. In addition, the article addresses the nature of shrines and temples in the context of popular religious beliefs, as well as the functional significance of fire patrols within commercial guilds and marketplace life. Following the developments in business and transformations in science and technology, the shape of urban life in Beijing during the late Qing period experienced significant changes. With the widespread use of kerosene, fire disasters happened occasionally. Cautious awareness of fires spurred burgeoning Fire God beliefs. Moreover, these conscious efforts also led to the establishment, mobilized by gentry and merchants, of a fire prevention organization among the people--the Water Association (Shuihui 水會). Fire God beliefs and the organization of the Water Association became linked together because of commercial prosperity. The Fire God Temple represented the heart of the deity’s sphere of influence, while the Water Association and the Water Nest (Shui wozi 水窩子) represented the heart of water’s sphere of influence. The chamber of

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commerce and guilds represented the center of capital. When the power of all three came together, they served as an extremely important center of local authority and self-governance in old Beijing, one that played an exceedingly significant role.

Keywords: Fire God Temple, Organization of the Water Association, Commerce Guilds