

Buddhist Temples, the War Dead, and the Song Imperial Cult

Late in the spring of 1186, the prefect of Shaoxing prefecture received a visiting literatus, who presented him with an unusual request. The visitor, one Xue Chunyi 薛純一, proposed to donate 1,100 *mu* of his own paddy land to a local Buddhist monastery. The land would yield annually 1,300 *dan* of rice, Xue said, and under the terms of the gift the proceeds were to pay for rituals at the monastery celebrating the longevity of emperor Song Xiaozong 宋孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) and his father, the retired emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162). Xue remarked that under their rule he had lived in an era of peace and good government. When pressed for a further explanation, Xue mentioned Bu Shi 卜式, the shepherd who had offered half of his wealth to aid the Han-dynasty government in its struggle against the Xiongnu.¹ With the empire now at peace, however, the army had no pressing need for Xue's contribution, and so he would donate the funds to the Buddhist church.

After local and capital authorities approved Xue's bequest, the monastery's abbot asked for a commemorative text from the scholar-official Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210), best-known today for his patriotism and poetry. Lu's text noted first that Xue ranked among the nobility and had taken the *jinshi* 進士 examinations, and that one might have expected more from such an eminent man in the way of service to the dynasty. That being said, however, Lu predicted that his gift would inspire contemporaries: "It will make the greedy thrifty, the negligent energetic, and shame those who enjoy rank and salary but forget to pay back the nation."² Lu concluded by stating that the land taxes and corvée will be commuted to cash to provide funds for relief during years of poor harvests.

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¹ Bu's gift initially was rejected, but later he became a government official, eventually rising to the post of grand councilor; *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 58, pp. 2624–28.

² "Nengrensi shetian ji 能仁寺捨田記," in *Lu Fangweng quanji* 陸放翁全集 (Beijing: Beijing Zhongguo shudian, 1986), p. 107.

Through Lu, we can see that by examining gift exchanges we learn more about how the Song literati understood relations between rulers and subjects. As anthropologists since Marcel Mauss have argued, the conferring, acceptance, and reciprocation of gifts play crucial roles in the creation and continuation of social relationships.³ Gifts between unequal parties, such as that related above, may serve to confirm the ties that link the participants as well as the hierarchy that subordinates one party to the other. Giving was central in the construction and elaboration of Chinese political authority. In antiquity, the expression of the fount of legitimacy, or *de* 德 (usually translated as virtue, potency), often found its embodiment in the bestowal of gifts from lords to subjects, whether they be in the form of bronzes, sacrificial meats, or official ranks and titles.⁴ Rulers also manifested their *de* in benevolent administration, low taxes, lenient punishment, and efficacious protection. In a world where authority often assumed a savage face, literati might see as a gift any decision not to abuse the realm's subjects. Reciprocation of such generosity, which established the recipients as deserving of favor, meant submission to political authority, and the circular nature of reciprocation, as we see below, however abstract or concrete, helped create and reproduce a sense of imperial community.

Gifts served as one means by which Buddhist institutions played a key role in the construction of social ties in medieval China. As seen in studies by Jacques Gernet, Michihata Ryōshū, and Stephen Teiser, monasteries served as important nodes in the networks that bound Chinese communities.⁵

³ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York: Norton, 1990). The anthropological literature on gift exchange is too voluminous to be discussed in depth here, but a good discussion of the pertinent issues is in Maurice Godelier, *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1999). On the implications of gifts to clergy, see Jonathon Parry, "On the Moral Perils of Exchange," in Parry and Maurice Bloch, eds., *Money and the Morality of Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1989), pp. 64–93. For studies of Chinese conceptions of reciprocity, see Lien-sheng Yang, "The Concept of Pao as a Basis for Social Relations in China," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1957), pp. 291–309; Yunxiang Yan, *The Flow of Gifts: Reciprocity and Social Networks in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1996); and Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets: The Art of Social Relationships in China* (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1994).

⁴ See Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), p. 77, and Masubuchi Tatsuo 増淵龍夫, *Chūgoku kōdai no shakai to kokka* 中國古代の社會と國家 (Tokyo: Kōbunden, 1960), pp. 211–20. Using examples from *Shiji* 史記, Masubuchi argues that *de* during the Warring States became associated with the concrete dispensation of favor, salaries, and basic sustenance by rulers in expectation of future service by their retainers. Confucian notions of virtuous rule in his view represent internalized, purified abstractions of this gift-giving process.

⁵ See Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia U.P., 1995); Michihata

Gernet discussed how the "circuit of giving" bound together sangha and laity in an exchange of material goods and spiritual labor. Another well-known loop tied the sangha to the state, as the ruling house bestowed land grants, tax exemptions, new plaques, ordination certificates for new clergy, new copies of the canon, or samples of imperial calligraphy.⁶ Buddhists reciprocated with prayers and offerings for imperial family members, dead and living, and the dynasty's general well-being.

This article seeks to draw attention to a less-studied third relationship, in which Buddhist monasteries, with their access to the afterlife and the processes of transmigration, mediated an exchange of blessings between rulers and subjects. Monasteries served as spiritual clearinghouses, where favor was requested and requited for commoner and dynast alike. Almost no one questioned the propriety of Buddhism's role in this relationship; even so stalwart an anti-Buddhist as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) approved when a merchant expressed his appreciation to the Song state with a gift to a Buddhist cloister.⁷ Mere participation in this exchange offered donors the promise of favorable karmic retribution, but gifts to Buddhist monasteries appealed in other ways. Direct gifts to the government, for example, risked rejection from the authorities, as Bu Shi experienced, or theft resulting from official corruption. Donations to the sangha avoided the terrestrial state bureaucracy, as well as the Daoist celestial administrative apparatus. Dedications accompanying gifts, it might be said, did not require reciprocation from any deity: their mere performance accumulated merit for the donor.

If offerings for the imperial family constituted one current in this exchange, flowing from subject to ruler, then masses for the war dead composed another, working in the reverse direction. Death on the battlefield

Ryōshū 道端良秀, *Chūgoku Bukkyō to shakai fukushijigyo* 中國佛教と社會福祉事業 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967); Stephen Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1988). For specific analyses of the Song situation, see Huang Ch'i-chiang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., eds., *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii P., 1999), pp. 295–399, and Daniel B. Stevenson, "Protocols of Power: Tz'u-yü Tsun-shih (964–1032) and 'T'ien-t'ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung," in Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism*, pp. 340–408. These ties in late-imperial China also receive analysis in Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993).

⁶ For more on church-state ties in the Song, see T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1993), pp. 147–208.

⁷ "Xiangtan xian Yaoshiyuan Fodian ji" 湘潭縣藥師院佛殿記, in *Ouyang wenzhonggong ji* 歐陽文忠公集 (SPTK edn.) 63, pp. 15b–16b.

tore the deceased away from the familiar networks based on kin and local ties. Because war victims had died for the state and frequently were buried with government assistance, they could become representatives of the imperial body politic, and the quality of their final interment offered a benchmark with which to judge the ruling house. During the Song, the war dead became recipients of state displays of conspicuous solicitude. By regularly commissioning Buddhist monasteries to minister to those souls who could never repay this kindness, the dynasty demonstrated its generosity. To recall the war dead, moreover, was to remember dynastic history and link the present with the past. It also presented a picture of the empire as a whole, and, in particular, a hierarchy that cast the imperial house as its founder and guardian.

Literati were key players in the various displays of solicitude by the state at Buddhist temples. Their commemorative inscriptions attested to the bestowal of the imperial gift, discoursed on its worthiness, and preserved its memory for readers distant in time and space. The texts themselves also constituted a gift, a gesture of favor to clergy and laypeople who had requested the inscription and one of reciprocity to the imperial house. Their literary works sought to overwrite other visions of the monastery's functions by articulating models of public-mindedness and representing ideal relations between ruler and subject. Association with Buddhist institutions thus brought honor to the scholar-official, and his text testified to his commitment to the state and to his position as a moral actor in the political hierarchy.

Even more specifically, this article deals with the literati's syntheses of their ideas of the Song national polity with those of Buddhist institutions by the manner in which they commemorated the war-dead. At the very least, their writings illustrate how, despite the rise of Daoxue 道學 and its anti-Buddhist overtones, educated men in the Song still found Buddhist ritual and cosmology an enduring source of value and efficacy; Xue Chunyi might have donated his land for a prefectural school, for example, but did not. It will not do to see the state's ties with Buddhism in a narrowly functionalist perspective, in which state patronage simply serves as a means to incorporate the local elite and pious Buddhists in the Song body politic. These gifts and commemorations included among their main audiences eminent literati who came to know about their existence while visiting a temple or by reading the author's collected works. Moreover, while the state employed the church for its own purposes, Buddhist influences in turn shaped the Song imperial cult. It was at the local Buddhist temple that

prefects and magistrates across the empire commemorated the birthdays and deathdays of sovereigns.⁸ Monasteries also contained images of emperors and empresses, where they stood together with statues of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.⁹ These links between the imperial house and the church left their mark on the literati, who on occasion depicted their sovereigns in Buddhist terms. In texts for Buddhist sites and relics with imperial ties, emperors were likened to eminent monks and even bodhisattvas.¹⁰

On one level, therefore, the imperial cult came to be subsumed in a Buddhist rhetoric. Moreover, it was gift-giving, whether expressed through the donation of land, the furnishing of commemorative texts, the reconstruction of old facilities, or the granting of plaques and tax favors that mediated complicated relationships among literati, temple clerics, the local people, and the state. In the process, the ideas of the literati who were involved as commemorators varied by individual and time period. What had been in the Northern Song a single-minded focus on the imperial house and its glory after 1127 gave way to a need to exhortations on the necessity for reciprocity and service to the dynasty.

WAR MEMORIALS IN PRE-SONG CHINA

In the Song, the establishment of monasteries devoted to the war dead came as part of a long tradition. The spectacle of unburied dead, exposed to the elements and visible to passers-by, represented the transgression of proper boundaries between the dead and the living and signaled a world gone wrong.¹¹ Classical ritual texts prescribed the interment of the un-

⁸ See Mark Halperin, "Pieties and Responsibilities: Buddhism and the Chinese Literati, 780–1280" (Ph.D. diss., U. of California, Berkeley, 1997), pp. 204–18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 238–56, and Patricia Ebrey, "Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China," in *TP83* (1997), pp. 42–92. Ebrey's work generally concentrates on the imperial rituals regarding these images and the Daoist belvederes in the capital that housed them.

¹⁰ Wang Gui 王珪 (1019–1085) linked Song Taizu, Song Zhenzong, and Song Renzong with the monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in their reverence for Buddhist relics. See "Zuojie Daxiangguosi shijia Fo lingya xu" 左街大相國寺釋迦佛靈牙序, in *Huayang ji* 華陽集 (Wenyuange SKQS edn.) 46, pp. 14a–16b. In a more expansive gesture, Ge Fan 葛繁, writing in 1097 for a Hebei monastery, paired Taizu with Guanyin: "The bodhisattva of Great Compassion completed already the Buddhist Way immeasurable kalpas ago; our emperor Taizu ended the chaos and returned [the realm] to the upright way after the Five Dynasties. His saving of the people from the suffering of flood and conflagration like matching tallies joins with the bodhisattva's burden of saving sentient beings"; see "Zhending Fu Longxingsi Dabeige ji" 真定府龍興寺大悲閣記, in *Changshan Zhenshi zhi* 常山貞石志 (rpt. in *Shike shiliao xibian* 石刻史料新編 [Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1979; hereafter cited as Shike edn.]) 12, pp. 24a–27b.

¹¹ In the text of *Guanzi* a drought is attributed to the presence of unburied bodies; and

claimed dead before proceeding with important rites of state.¹² At the same time, scenes of carnage offered rulers an opportunity to demonstrate their virtue and power. Interring the unclaimed, who in their anonymity lost all social cachet, suggested disinterested compassion. Undoubtedly the earliest and most important exemplar was King Wen, who buried unclaimed corpses with shrouds and coffins. His undertaking prompted contemporaries to reason that if the dead received such favor from his rule, so much more would the living.¹³ To inter nameless skeletons, without any quid pro quo, cast the king as a figure unconcerned with the pursuit of political power and untroubled by the menace of spectral pollution, mindful only of the need to set right the world and cosmos. To show no expectation of a return favor was the mark of great *de*. Small wonder that subsequent rulers frequently referred to King Wen in their own edicts ordering the interment of unburied and unclaimed bodies.

War memorials as a separate institution occupied an ambiguous position in traditional China. In the edicts to inter the exposed, the administrative language changed little if the dead had perished in war or had succumbed to the effects of famine, flood, or plague.¹⁴ In the ancient Chinese canon, war memorials found their most extended discussion in *Zuozhuan*. After his victory at the battle of Pi, the king of Chu refused to construct a *jingguan* 京觀, or a burial mound composed of dead enemy soldiers, employed by the triumphant to flaunt their power and warn miscreants.¹⁵ Construction of such monuments, the king argued, required,

various emperors are known to have sought to elicit needed rain by clearing the ground of corpses. See J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China* (rpt; Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1989) 3, pp. 918–21. For a thorough discussion of the burial of unclaimed corpses in ancient China, see Li Jianmin 李建民, “Zhongguo gudai ‘yanzi’ lisu kao” 中國古代掩骼禮俗考, *QFHXB* NS 24.3 (1995), pp. 319–43.

¹² Their morbid ether, *sigi* 死氣, clashed with the vital ether of the living; *Liji* 禮記 (SSJZS edn. [Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1976]) 14, p. 23b, and *Zhouli* 周禮 (SSJZS edn.) 36, pp. 20a–b.

¹³ De Groot, *Religious System* 3, pp. 915–16, gives alternative versions of the King Wen narrative from *Xin shu* 新書 and *Xin xu* 新序. The first version of it appeared in *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋; Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, comp. and annot., *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋 (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984), p. 561. For later allusions to King Wen's deed by subsequent rulers, see *Hou Han shu* 6, p. 278; *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 59, p. 1616; *Wei shu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 5, p. 117; and *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) 80, p. 2732.

¹⁴ For an English translation of such earlier memorials, see Stephen Owen, ed. and trans., *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), pp. 161–62, 228–29.

¹⁵ See *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Xuan 12; SSJZS edn., vol. 6), pp. 397–98.

among other things, cessation of warfare, the protection of virtue, and harmony among the populace. Stipulating these conditions, of course, served as a roundabout means to reject his advisors' request and assert the primacy of civil, *ru* 儒, values over martial glory. Despite this well-known example, *jingguan* were part of the Chinese landscape from the Han through the Southern Song.¹⁶ They sustained the disgrace of the defeated into the afterlife, as the dead remained above ground, heaped together without any trace of repose or dignity, bereft of any geomantic considerations or sacrifices. Over time, should any next of kin wish to recover remains, they would run the risk of mixing bones of different individuals and fall short of carrying out their filial duties.¹⁷ At the appropriate mound, the kin would find a placard that denigrated the dead as evil rebels. This measure denied the dead even the protection granted by their anonymity and likened them to the corpses of criminals left exposed in the market place.

Buddhist rites for the war dead offered a powerful contrast. Their first appearance was in the reign of Sui Wendi 隋文帝 (r. 581–604), whose Buddhist patronage has received scholarly attention.¹⁸ In his struggle to gain the empire, few battles figured more prominently than the triumph at Ye 鄴, where he eliminated his Northern Zhou rival, Yuchi Jiong 尉遲迥. Wendi later ordered a monastery built at the battleground, meant specifically to serve the souls of the war dead.¹⁹ In an effort to reconcile the defeated and victorious, the construction rescript juxtaposed religious sites with *jingguan*, saying, “... [We hope that] the monuments to monstrous predators be transformed into subtle and marvelous terraces.” Remaking the landscape into a Buddhist idyll meshed with Wendi's larger aim to cast

¹⁶ Wang Mang 王莽 wiped out the family of an official and constructed a burial mound composed of the clan's new and old corpses, even commissioning an official to watch over it; *Han shu*, p. 3439. Tang generals built them after subduing rebels at the fringes and center of the empire, as did their Southern Song counterparts after victories against the Jurchens; *Jiu Tang shu* 19B, p. 714; 93, p. 2979; 122, p. 3500; 131, p. 3639; and Bi Yuan 畢沅, *Xu zizhi tongjian* 續資治通鑑 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, n.d.) 124, p. 680A; 162, p. 748B–C; and 156, p. 866C.

¹⁷ If the remains of the dead were left alone, there always remained in theory the chance that next of kin would discover and claim them. Finding one's father's bones on the battlefield and providing them with proper burial earned fame and admiration for at least one filial son; *Jiu Tang shu* 188, p. 4921.

¹⁸ See Arthur F. Wright, “The Formation of Sui Ideology,” in Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, pp. 71–104.

¹⁹ See “Sui Gaozu yu Xiangzhou zhanchang lisi zhao” 隋高祖於相州戰場立寺詔, in Daoxuan, comp., *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (Tno. 2103, vol. 52), p. 328B. This measure proved inadequate, for Yuchi's spectre continued to menace local officials until the mid-eighth century; see Glen Dudbridge, *Religious and Lay Experience in Tang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's Kuang-i chi* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1995), pp. 117–36.

himself as the *cakravartin* king, a benevolent Buddhist protector and sovereign of universalistic scope.

Wendi's measures were adapted and expanded by Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 627–649), who won the throne only by deposing his father, Tang Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–627), and slaying his brothers.²⁰ Soon after taking power, Taizong decreed monasteries constructed at no fewer than seven battlefields where he had defeated enemies in the wars attending the Sui collapse.²¹ In addition, *jingguan* throughout the empire were ordered leveled and their remains interred. Even burial mounds on the Korean frontier, built by the Koguryō victors after turning back the Sui invasion, were destroyed by a Tang expedition, and the dead brought back for burial in China.²²

In seeking to pacify the ghosts of the defeated and incorporate them in state ceremonies, these earlier monarchs continued their quest to unify all subjects of the empire under their rule, even unfortunate souls who had perished on the battlefield. Gestures of mercy spoke to their virtue, which presumably distinguished them from their ruthless and vindictive predecessors and competitors. To give offerings for all war dead announced the end of antagonisms; conflict had ceased and so too any possible resentments. None were to be regarded as enemies, as the national polity came to be recreated under a powerful new unity.

²⁰ For a summary of this coup, known as the Xuanwu Gate Incident, see Denis Twitchett, in idem, ed., *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 3: Sui and Tang China, Part One* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1979), pp. 182–87.

²¹ See *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990) 4, pp. 24b–25a; 5, pp. 3b–4a; and *Guang Hongming ji*, pp. 328c–29a. For discussions of Taizong's gesture and his policies in general toward the Buddhist church, see Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1987), pp. 12–13, 155, n.8, 12–15, and Arthur F. Wright, "Tang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism," in Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the Tang* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1973), pp. 265–306. Weinstein, among other scholars, views Taizong's acts as guided exclusively by political aims. The Buddhist church in general drew his suspicions, not his devotion.

²² The memory of Tang Taizong and his use of Buddhist practices to relieve the suffering of the war dead endured for centuries. An early-Ming diarist wrote,

I carried out my orders and held a banquet for the troops in Ningxia. . . I saw the eunuch hold strings of several jewels. Their appearance resembled ivory and bone, which had been soaked in crimson. I asked why they had been made. He said, "At Taizong's great battle at Baigou River, the accumulated bones of fallen ranks and warriors filled the plain. The emperor lamented it and ordered the collection of heads and bones. They were measured and made into several jewels. They were divided and bestowed upon the eunuchs to chant the Buddha's name in hopes of [their souls'] rebirth." There were also deep and large skulls. These were used to carry pure water as offerings to the Buddha and were named Heavenly Efficacy Bowls (Tianling wan 天靈碗). These are all teachings of foreign monks.

See Lu Rong 陸容, *Shuyuan zaji* 菽園雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 3.

Seven commemorative inscriptions were commissioned by Taizong, and two survive, to the best of my knowledge.²³ Written quickly after Taizong won the throne, both works stress the new sovereign's glory. Perhaps because their writers grasped the political intentions behind Taizong's act and knew well his wary attitude toward the sangha, neither text elaborates on the relationship between church and state. All commemorations for these monasteries (written before 649) celebrate the feats of a living sovereign. The surviving corpus of Tang prose contains no works for these monuments written after Taizong passed from the scene.²⁴ By contrast, Song writers supplied their commemorations for the war dead long after the events had occurred, sometimes well out of living memory. These texts for Buddhist monasteries can be found scattered among various wenji and local gazetteers, to which we now turn.

THE NORTHERN SONG: IMPERIAL GIFTS AND THEIR GLORY

Historians of the Northern Song have concentrated on the expansion of the central state and the Confucian resurgence, but few have examined the sustained importance of religious conceptions of imperial authority. The Song founding followed shortly after the demise of Shizong 世宗 (r. 954–959) of the Later Zhou, orchestrator of the final state-led proscription of the Buddhist church in Chinese history. Founding emperors Song Taizu (r. 960–976) and Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–998) relaxed the anti-Buddhist measures. The new policies won the sangha's gratitude and appealed to prominent clergy eager for royal sponsorship. Early Song rulers actively patronized the church, ordaining thousands of clergy, promoting monastery construction and printing of the canon, and reestablishing the sutra

²³ See Zhiban 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T edn., no. 2035, vol. 49) p. 363a. Seven inscriptions were furnished, but by the early-12th c., only four remained. See "Tang Hongjisi bei" 唐弘濟寺碑, in *Jinshilu* 金石錄 (SKQS edn.) 23, pp. 10a–b. The extant inscriptions are "Dengcisi ta jiming" 等慈寺塔記銘, written by Yan Shigu 顏師古, in *Quan Tangwen* 148, pp. 1b–5a; *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 (Shike edn.) 42, pp. 3a–17a; and "Binzhou Zhaorensi bei" 邠州昭仁寺碑, by Zhu Zishe 朱子奢 (*Quan Tangwen* 135, pp. 6a–11b, and *Jinshi cuibian* 42, pp. 17b–30b).

²⁴ After putting down a mutiny in Sichuan in 805, Tang generals held services to console the dead, but the subsequent commemoration makes no reference to Taizong's example; see Zheng Zongjing 鄭宗經, "Deyang Guishengshan Daochangji" 德陽龜勝山道場記, in *Quan Shu yiwenzhi* 全蜀藝文志 (SKQS edn.) 38, pp. 23b–25a. Paul Demiéville reviews a similar case among the Dunhuang materials (P. 2449), dated about 800, which also does not cite Taizong. After a bloody campaign against the Chinese, the Tibetan governor of Guazhou sought to expiate his sins of violence and impiety by enlisting Dunhuang clergy to conduct a ritual confession on his behalf; *Le concile de Lhasa* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France, 1952), pp. 240–47.

translation bureau.²⁵ The Song founders appear in commemorations for Buddhist monasteries as benevolent patriarchs whose virtue ended political division, endemic lawlessness, and religious persecution. Written long after their deaths, these texts demonstrate the institutionalization of imperial charisma, which assumed concrete expression in the gift-exchange process. The inscriptions focused attention on the giver, the imperial house, and the efficacy of their blessing. Such a vision became a ready means for literati to elaborate on a national polity composed of hierarchies linking rulers and subjects, the center and periphery, and the living and the dead.

An early example of an inscription linking the Song emperors with the war dead is a 997 commemoration written by Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001) for a Yangzhou monastery, Jianlongsi 建隆寺. Originally, the monastery's site had been the field headquarters for Song Taizu when he moved south late in 960 to stamp out a rebellion led by a member of the imperial clan of the Later Zhou. After the rebellion was quashed, Taizu ordered the headquarters made into a monastery. In the subsequent decades, however, it had lacked an inscription recording its origins, history, and purpose. Local monks prevailed on Wang, then the Yangzhou prefect, to furnish an appropriate text.

Wang Yucheng's role in elaborating the links between the imperial cult and the Buddhist church illustrates the widespread acceptance of these ties. Wang ranks as one of the most prominent precursors of the Confucian revival and the ancient-prose movement, and studies usually characterize him as anti-Buddhist.²⁶ Only a month after finishing this inscription, he submitted a long, well-known memorial to the new emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 998–1023), in which he drew on Han Yu's famous finger-bone memorial and suggested means of eliminating the sangha from China.²⁷ However, he also wrote several commemorations for Buddhist monasteries. These works present Buddhism as a civilizing force in the hinterland, praise clergy for their industry, honor the devotion of disciples to their mas-

ters, and sometimes display an extensive familiarity with Buddhist soteriology.²⁸

Wang Yucheng also produced a preface for Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), the eminent monk-historian, who won his full admiration.²⁹ Explaining these works as the products of noblesse oblige, written in a pro forma fashion, offers one solution. At the same time, however, the memorial might be explained as another type of performance, as Wang sought to emulate his model literatus, Han Yu, and assumed the role of a seasoned official counseling the young emperor. To search for any "genuine" Wang Yucheng, then, ultimately will prove fruitless. Broad learning and multiple responsibilities made scholar-officials into complex men of strong, at times clashing, commitments, which frequently remained unresolved. His example underscores the difficulties in characterizing Song literati and privileging one genre over another in intellectual history.

Wang Yucheng's Yangzhou inscription strives to reconcile Buddhist soteriology, state power, and his own commitment to classical ideals. He first invokes Tang Taizong's battlefield monasteries and the commemorations that recorded them. Taizong's measures, in his view, reflect the general desire of the sage never to waste lives or land and to recompense the righteous and loyal. Moving to the situation at hand, Wang observes that posthumous honors and stipends for the war dead may encourage the next of kin but cannot help the dead. He sketches the Buddhist conception of reincarnation and proposes that clerical devotion will free the unfortunate ghosts of the war dead and facilitate their rebirth in the human and heavenly realms. Thanks to the new monasteries, land defiled by combat now acquires a new purpose, and warriors can give their lives without regret, attesting to the shared values of past and present emperors and kings. Wang apparently senses, however, that some literati will question the efficacy of these measures, and he challenges these imagined, skeptical colleagues:

Although there are those who dress in *ru* caps and practice the teaching of names (Confucians who would doubt the Buddhist teachings of karma),

²⁵ See Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, "Sōsho no seiji to shūkyō" 宋初の政治と宗教, in Tsuyoshi Kinugawa, ed., *Collected Studies on Song History Dedicated to Professor James T.C. Liu in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 179–95, and Huang Qijiang 黃啟江, "Song Taizong yu Fojiao" 宋太宗與佛教, "Bei Song di yijing runwenguan yu Fojiao" 北宋的譯經潤文館與佛教, and "Bei Song Bianjing zhi siyuan yu Fojiao" 北宋汴京之寺院與佛教, in *Bei Song Fojiaoshi lunqao* 北宋佛教史論稿 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1997), pp. 31–67, 68–92, 93–132.

²⁶ See, e.g., Huang Qifang 黃啟方, *Wang Yucheng yanjiu* 王禹偁研究 (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1979), pp. 27–30.

²⁷ See Li Tao 李燾, *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 4, pp. 896–901.

²⁸ See "Jizhou Zhongdengsi xinxiu dadian bei" 濟州眾等寺新修大殿碑, and "Shangzhou Fushou tianwangdian bei" 商州福壽寺天王殿碑, in *Xiaoxu ji* 小畜集 (SKQS edn.) 16, pp. 20a–21b, 23a–25b; and "Da Song Yanzhou Longxingsi xinxiu sanmen ji" 大宋兗州龍興寺新修三門記, in *Shanzuo jinshi zhi* 山左金石志 (Shike edn.) 15, pp. 5a–7b. The last text, an early work brimming with piety, interestingly enough does not appear in Wang's collected works.

²⁹ See *Fozu tongji*, p. 402B. For an examination of Zanning and his links to literati culture, see Albert Welter, "Buddhist Response to the Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over Wen in the Early Sung," in Gregory and Getz, *Buddhism*, pp. 21–61.

how do they know that the fruits [of Buddhist practices] will not be like this?³⁰

The text then moves to the particulars of the commemorated place. Originally, the site had been Song Taizu's temporary lodging during his campaign. Later, the court ordered it made into a Buddhist monastery, bestowing it with a sizable land grant.³¹ The clergy responded with offerings made on Taizu's deathday. The prose section ends with a reprise of his earlier point:

Alas! Where warfare had laid waste, the human bones have already rotted. Using these surpassing fruits [of monastic devotion], [the dead souls] have all left the dark paths [of the afterlife]. How do we know they will not again serve the court and become its subjects?³²

Monks clearly would not need arguments about the plausibility of transmigration, and the tenor of these pleas, along with the text's unadorned ancient-style prose, lead one to hypothesize that Wang sees himself as writing for an audience of stalwart Confucians. The inscription does not so much commemorate the monastery as present a case for the entry of Buddhism into the imperial cult and ask that the reader accept the writer's complicity in this relationship.

Wang supports the use of Buddhist ritual in this case because of the benefit to the dynasty itself. Periodic services would ensure that the slain would be reincarnated as Song subjects. In providing offerings for the dead, the state substitutes itself for the families of the deceased. Unlike next of kin, who are often prompted by obligation and self-interest, the state acts out of disinterested compassion. The selfless quality of institutional mourning and the massive scale of its offerings earn the dynasty merit for its liberation of the suffering from torment after death and prevention of their reincarnation in some dire existence. The imperial house thus extends its power beyond the terrestrial bureaucracy and into the afterlife. This extension bears out the classic notion in gift theory that the gift never truly leaves the possession of the giver. The Song state returns the gift of life to the dead, but those lives, in an important sense, remain those of the state.

The type of gift giving as just described, and the grace it confers, allowed the court and literati to superscribe the imperial cult at Jianlongsi

³⁰ "Yangzhou Jianlongsi bei" 揚州建隆寺碑, in *Xiaoxu ji* (SKQS edn.) 17, pp. 1a-4a.

³¹ See Nian Chang 念常, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (T edn., no. 2036, vol. 49), p. 656b.

³² "Yangzhou Jianlongsi bei" 17, pp. 1a-4a.

and similar sites during the Northern Song.³³ The state sought to draw on the authority and prestige of these temples and put its stamp on them, but not to the extent of completely expunging their fundamental religious meanings and associations. Abetting this process at Jianglongsi was the addition of imperial images in 1005. Other temple complexes, both Buddhist and Daoist, also saw the installation of imperial likenesses, as discussed in a recent study by Patricia Ebrey. Images usually were displayed on the complex grounds in their own separate temple, known as *shenyudian* 神御殿. Such figures marked a Song innovation in the imperial cult, not seen since the *taimiao* 太廟 of the Western Han. These images materialized the stock metaphor of sovereign as Buddha, found earlier in the Scripture for Humane Kings and other sutras, and marked a new level in the identification of sovereign as religious deity.³⁴ Granted his own temple, like the various Buddhas and bodhisattvas, the imperial visage in some ways became the object of awe and divine worship. In this respect, the *shenyudian* reflected the Buddhification of the imperial cult.

Other literati readily exploited the sovereign-deity resemblance in commemorative texts for similar monasteries. Some writers went well beyond Wang Yucheng in their willingness to portray imperial power and the ruler-subject tie in Buddhistic terms. Liu Bin 劉攽 (1023-1089) furnished one such text in 1079 for a Buddhist monastery in present-day central Shanxi. Located in Taiyuan, the monastery Zisheng Chanyuan 資聖禪院, like Jianlongsi, had served as a field headquarters for a Song emperor while on a military expedition. In this case, the emperor was Song Taizong, who stayed there in 979 while suppressing the Northern Han, a late tenth-century statelet.³⁵ With its frontier location and amicable ties with the neighboring Liao state, this kingdom represented a serious threat, resisting a

³³ I draw here on Prasenjit Duara's study of the Guan Di myth, in which Buddhists, Taoists, local communities, and the Ming and Qing states employed this myth story (and the cult's temples) for their own advantage. Duara notes, "the very mechanism of superscription necessarily requires the preservation of at least some of the other voices that surround the symbol. ... It is precisely because of the superscription over, not erasure of, previous inscriptions that historical groups are able to expand old frontiers of meaning to accommodate their changing needs"; "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," in *JAS* 47.4 (1988), pp. 778-95, esp. 791.

³⁴ On "Humane Kings" (*Renwang huguo boruo boluomiduo jing* 仁王護國般若波羅密多經 [T edn., no. 246]), see Charles Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, Penn.: Penn State U.P., 1998).

³⁵ The campaign took place in early 979. At its conclusion, Taizong sent officials to make offerings for the dead and give compensation to their descendants. He also left behind an inscription at the temple, whose contents apparently are lost. For an account of the campaign and its particulars, see *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 24, pp. 422-53.

large-scale siege in 969 and constant pressure from the Song before succumbing. Upon its defeat, the Song destroyed the city walls and transported tens of thousands of local prominent families and local clergy to Luoyang. Liu Bin, an expert in Han-dynasty history, would have deeply understood the significance of Taizong's success. During Western Han, the Xiongnu had occupied the area during Han Xin's revolt, and it remained a border region throughout the period.³⁶ Unlike Wang, Liu wrote the text not for the local monks but for the local prefect, Han Jiang 韓絳, for whom he had supplied a funeral inscription concerning his wife.

In contrast to Wang Yucheng, whose earlier text was already discussed, Liu Bin did not seek to justify imperial support of Buddhist rituals for the dead but rather to exalt past sovereigns, specifically the heroic effort of the Song pacification of Shansi, completed a century earlier. Using a dual focus, Liu explained the Song successes through both classical and Buddhist ideas. Song Taizong appears as a master of two separate forms of knowledge. The emperor correctly understands the concept of *shi* 時, or proper time, and his victory invites comparisons with kings Wen and Wu. In Liu's view, the vanquishing of the Northern Han was a reenactment of the ancient Zhou conquest. Alternatively, Taizong's understanding of *yin* 因, or primary cause, is seen by Liu as knowledge of cause and effect, analogous to that evinced in Buddhist teachings. This point presumably refers to the order making the headquarters into a Buddhist temple complex.

In Liu's writing, the pairing of the establishment of the temple with the triumph over the Northern Han serves to naturalize the Buddhist aspect of imperial might. It enables the monastery to represent dynastic authority, along with its devotion to Buddhist teachings. Imperial images clinch this linkage, and Liu portrays their presence as evoking awe and devotion: "At the numinous majesty of the kiosks and terraces, one is fearful as if [the emperor] were there. At the paradise of Indra and Brahma,³⁷ row after row, [the devoted] present themselves in front [of the images]."³⁸

Having placed these figures in such a highly religious setting facilitated their identification as divine objects. However, it did not only deify them. The worship of portraits of dead ancestors ordinarily took place within the family household, and critics of *shenyudian* objected to them as unnec-

³⁶ See *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 93, p. 2633; 110, p. 2894.

³⁷ Lit., "dīfān jīlè 帝梵極樂"; I am unclear about exactly to what Liu refers.

³⁸ "Taiyuanfu Zisheng chanyuan ji" 太原府資聖禪院記, in *Pengcheng ji* 彭城集 (Wuying-dian juzhenban edn.) 32, pp. 14b-17a.

essary, illegitimate replicas of the ancestral temple, or *zongmiao* 宗廟.³⁹ By putting these portraits in public, the court incorporated its subjects into the imperial clan, familializing its rule over the empire, and projecting itself as the ancestors of Song commoners. The presence of images thus at once emphasized the distance between rulers and commoners and underscored their connection.

As the transfer of (fabricated) imperial bodies consolidated links within the Song body politic, so did it also reinforce the subordination of frontier region to capital. Perhaps because of Taiyuan's far greater strategic importance compared with Yangzhou, Liu elaborated on Song rule in terms highly specific to Shanxi. In his portrayal, the monastery serves as the gift that not only clinches the region's incorporation into the empire but also its transformation from a savage periphery into a civilized area.

Thus the monastery uses the presented offerings and pure blessings to assist in the completion of the great transformation. How could it only be that customs of profound concern and farsighted consideration [have caused local people] increasingly to know to use ritual, or that the varied, artful gentlemen [of Shanxi] shed their karmic bonds?⁴⁰ Or perhaps [like] Shishen 實沈 in Kuang forest,⁴¹ they regretted their misdeeds of war, and like Fuer 負貳 bound to the great boulder,⁴² they have cast off the suffering of the prison shackles.

Liu's references to the legendary miscreants Shishen and Fuer root the violent, intractable traits of Shanxi and the northwest in high antiquity. The

³⁹ See the memorials by Ouyang Xiu, Liu Chang, Sima Guang, Liu Shu, and Chen Guan in Zhao Juyi 趙汝愚, comp., *Songchao zhuchen zouyi* 宋朝諸臣奏議 Beijing daxue Zhongguo zhonggushi yanjiu zhongxin 北京大學中國中古史研究中心 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999) 88, pp. 952-56. For a stimulating account of how portraits of abbots were treated in the Chan context, see T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 7 (1993-1994), pp. 149-219.

⁴⁰ Sima Qian wrote, "The three Jin have many artful gentlemen. If we speak of those who created alliances to check the Qin, they were all men of the three Jin"; *Shiji* 70, p. 2304.

⁴¹ This passage refers to Jin's place in the *fenyé* 分野 system, in which Chinese regions corresponded with astral constellations. In Jin's celestial kingdom, the mythical figures Yubo and Shishen lived together in Guanglin, but their incessant squabbling forced Yao to separate them. Shishen was moved to Jin, or Shanxi. See *Zuozhuan* (Zhao 1), p. 705.

⁴² Legend has it that Erfu, a mythical figure, had his minister Wei kill the man-eating monster Yayou. Rather than killing Erfu, the Yellow Emperor punished him by dispatching him to a mountain, where his hands were bound behind his back, his left foot tied chained to a boulder, and his person fastened to a tree. Commentators suggest that the mountain, Shushu, is located in Shanxi, which reinforces the regional specificity of Liu's allusion. See Yuan Ke 袁珂, ed., *Shanhaijing jiaozhu* 山海經校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), pp. 285-89. I can only speculate that a copyist of Liu's text mistakenly reversed the characters for Erfu.

Northern Han appears as only the most recent expression of these features. Significantly, Shanxi's domestication, in Liu's view, comes about only through the grace bestowed by the court, not by the efforts of local people. Agency is reserved for the dynastic house, and secondarily for the clergy, which acts as its instrument. With the images' presence, the monastery remains Taizong's palace and Taiyuan his capital. The consciousness of these particular ties can be seen in very different circumstances, when Taiyuan fell under siege to the invading Jin army in 1125. Pressed by the Jurchens to cede the region, Yuwen Xuzhong 宇文虛中, commander at the scene, refused, because "Taizong's palace [the temple] is in Taiyuan."⁴³ Thus nearly 150 years after its conversion into a Buddhist temple, the site retained its political resonance.

Throughout most of the text, Liu keeps a balance between Buddhist and classical imagery. In the course of making claims for the glory of the monastery and its images, however, this equilibrium becomes expendable, leading him to compare past and present in unusual ways. Turning to circumstances of Shanxi's political and cultural incorporation in antiquity as related in *Zuozhuan*, Liu finds these ancient accomplishments hardly a match for the grandeur of the monastery granted by the Song.

The kingdom of Jin was first enfeoffed to Shuwei. The borders were made with Rong measures, and it was founded with the rule of the Xia;⁴⁴ how can they compare with the [Buddhist] pristine and tranquil extinction, reaching no-strife? The parsimony of enfeoffment articles, Quegong's 闕鞶 stirrups and Mixu's 密須 drums⁴⁵ – how can they compare with the manifested numinous relics (*lingji* 靈蹟; probably a reference to the imperial images), resolute and durable? The meanness of the region's people, with the nine clans and five officers⁴⁶ – how can it compare with the monasteries of the sangha from the four directions, extending to the ten quarters without obstruction?

In Liu's vision, the monastery's spiritual power represents the incorporation of Shanxi into a world of unparalleled brilliance. Next to the sumptuous glories promised in Buddhist soteriology, the modest institutions of antiquity appear primitive and threadbare. As in Wang Yucheng's work, here again Buddhist soteriology succeeds through its depth and complexity, which surpass the classical imagination and gain the religion entry into

the imperial cult. Consequently, by enlisting these resources to serve its purposes, the Song is seen as surpassing even that most hallowed of Chinese dynasties, the Western Zhou. This view reverses the traditional historical trajectory, which saw post-Zhou China as hopelessly mired in a fall from grace.

In pairing the gifts offered by the Zhou with the monastery, Liu has implied that the temple site should also be viewed as a gift. At the very least, it marked an improvement on a mere common graveyard (or *jing-guan*) that Taizong might have left to warn others who would defy the Song. In the monastery, the ghosts of the slain would have received offerings, and fears of their next of kin would have been propitiated. Yet we cannot credit the release of the war dead from suffering entirely to the sangha and Buddhist rites. The Song royal images also played a part. Sacrifices for local dead had become inextricably tied with the honoring of dynastic sovereigns. Death rituals become inseparable from a celebration of the Song order.

One might conclude that the monastery thus bound together conquerors and conquered, and the center and periphery, serving also as a catalyst in the restoration of national community. Whatever the universalistic qualities inherent in Buddhist practice, Zisheng Chanyuan bore the mark of the Song dynastic house, and worshiping the Buddha inevitably involved worshiping Song Taizong. As at Jianlongsi, the gift of a temple and its rites for the dead never truly left the hands of the giver; the monastery instead would stand as a monument to the ties that helped to preserve the Song order.

Northern Song commemorations share common traits, which set them apart from texts written after 1127. Writers direct their reverent gaze, in one fashion or another, to the giver in this gift exchange, the imperial house, and its munificence. Wang Yucheng speaks mainly to his Confucian colleagues. Liu Bin assumes a passive populace, grateful for the tangible manifestation of the imperial presence. Neither raises the issue of the gift's efficacy, and they apparently assume an automatic reciprocation from the recipients, in the form of unquestioning, energetic loyalty to the imperial house. Their inattention to the gift's reception drew, presumably, from a strong confidence in the political and moral order of the Northern Song.

THE SOUTHERN SONG: EXHORTATIONS TO THE UNGRATEFUL

That order suffered a cataclysmic defeat in the collapse of the Northern Song in 1127, but the state-church relationship endured. During the

⁴³ See *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985) 33, p. 11528.

⁴⁴ *Zuozhuan* (Ting 4), p. 949, which relates the Zhou enfeoffment of Jin.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* (Zhao 12), p. 794.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* (Ding 4), p. 949.

fourteen years of war with the Jin dynasty that began the Southern Song, the Song court repeatedly turned to the sangha for assistance.⁴⁷ No fewer than seventeen separate edicts in the 1127–1136 decade ordered officials to summon ordained clergy and novices to inter the unburied.⁴⁸ Cooperating monasteries received government ordination certificates for new clergy, with the going rate varying between 100 to 200 cadavers for the admission of a novice into the clergy. Daoist establishments occasionally participated too, performing the Yellow Register rituals, but most edicts specify Buddhist management and the use of Water and Land Masses to aid the dead. According to grand councilor Zhao Ding 趙鼎 (1085–1147), these measures would fortify the loyalties of the Song military and the readiness of its soldiers to give their lives.⁴⁹ The policy later fell victim to its own success, as Gaozong in 1141 halted new ordinations and the sale of certificates.⁵⁰ The ban on new clergy continued until 1161, when renewed hostilities with the Jurchens forced the state to request aid from the sangha.⁵¹ Resumption of the exchange reflects a persistent confidence among state officials in the efficacy of Buddhist ritual to stiffen the resolve of fighting men.

Defeat led to changes in how state officials represented the dynasty. Unlike the Northern Song, Southern Song writers had no decisive, stirring victories with which to celebrate their regime. The Lin'an court's inability to recover the north China heartland, the establishment of a northern puppet Han Chinese state, and constant rebellions in the hinterland, as well as in the capital, undercut the new dynasty's claims to a "Mandate of Heaven." Unlike the Sui, Tang, and Northern Song, the Southern Song court did not wait for the conflict's end to issue orders to the sangha to help inter the dead. In the midst of war, the state eagerly sought to demonstrate its virtue, testifying to its need to muster immediately all of its resources, both moral and martial.

The most extended interpretation of court policy comes from Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), who directed the clergy in 1131 in its collec-

tion and burial of massacred civilians in Jiankang, now Nanjing. Ye likened Song Gaozong to King Wen and compared him with passages drawn from *Mencius* and *Shangshu*, which grounded true political legitimacy in the leader's desire to protect the innocent and cherish human life. Ye hoped that Gaozong's act would have other consequences as well.

Since the caitiffs (the Jurchens) have invaded China on repeated occasions, they have seized what heaven favors and savaged it.⁵² I dare say [the number killed] is incalculable. Our emperor has just extended [the virtue] that prizes life, and one by one has gathered [the dead]. Later heaven will certainly accept [these offerings]. There now will certainly be those who hear [the cries of] injustice of these myriad innocent people. How can there never be a day that the caitiffs will not be exterminated?⁵³

Like Zhao Ding, Ye anticipates that state burial will result in battlefield success. For Ye, however, the primary audience for court-sponsored Buddhist masses is not the military but a righteous "heaven," which will then favor the Song. Gifts to the dead will help the dynasty accumulate merit, which will be translated into martial prowess. Displays of compassion will arm the dynasty with demonifugal powers, with which the Song may drive away the Jurchens. Ye's vision also reverses earlier depictions of imperial power, where the Song first appeared as vanquishers of demons and later as dispenser of mercy. As the dynasty's political fortunes shifted, so did its appropriation of Buddhist models of authority.

Ye Mengde's close attention to the consequences of the imperial gift, as well as to the gift itself, found echoes in other Southern Song commemorations. Post-1127 texts make explicit references to the gifts' recipients and the issue of their reciprocation. This new emphasis illustrates the intense concern about the loyalty and morale of Song subjects. While the initial conflict with the Jin dynasty had ceased in 1141, the north remained occupied. A second round of hostilities early in the 1160s left the Lin'an court no closer to recovering the Yellow River plain. Political stalemate, many literati feared, could breed complacency and apathy. These anxieties are expressed in an 1172 inscription for a monastery near Lin'an's West Lake, written by Wang Xilü 王希呂, best known as an outspoken

⁴⁷ A few monks also actively participated in the military defense of the Song against the Jurchens and later the Mongols. See Paul Demiéville, "Le Bouddhisme et la guerre," in *Choix d'études Bouddhiques* (1929–1979) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 366–67.

⁴⁸ See *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1977; hereafter cited as *SHY*) 68, sect. "Shihuo," pp. 120a–23a; sect. "Daoshi" 1, p. 32b.

⁴⁹ *SHY* 68, p. 122a.

⁵⁰ See Chikusa Masaaki, "Sōdai baichōkō" 宋代寶曆考, in *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中國佛教社會史研究 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1982), pp. 17–82, esp. pp. 38–50.

⁵¹ *SHY* 68, pp. 125b–26a.

⁵² I.e., "human life."

⁵³ "Jiankang ange ji 建康俺銘記, in *Jiading Jiankang zhi* 嘉定建康志; see *Song Yuan difang zhi sanshiqi zhong* 宋元地方志三十七種 (Taipei: Guotai wenhua, 1980) 43, pp. 44a–45b. For a partial English translation of this text, see Silvia Freiin Ebner von Eschenbach, "Public Graveyards of the Song Dynasty," in Dieter Kuhn, ed., *Burial in Song China* (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 1994), pp. 216–18, 234, 238, 240, 247–48.

court official.⁵⁴ The monastery had been built on the court's order in 1146 to oversee a burial ground for slain Song soldiers.

In Wang Xilü's work, the West Lake temple's true patron is said to be its abbot, Faqian 法千, a refugee from the north like Wang Xilü himself. Wang informs us that high officials have ignored the site, and the monastery decades later still lacked imperial plaque and inscription. These deficiencies worry the abbot, who reflects, "If there is nothing to renew the flock and inform posterity, the court's virtuous intentions will fall short of completion and be only superficial."⁵⁵ The abbot manages to obtain the plaque from the court and then turns to Wang for a commemoration. Thus, apart from his commitment to Buddhist teachings, Faqian exerts himself to aid the dynasty's fortunes. For Wang, the clergy has assumed the role of stalwart loyalist, in stark contrast to negligent, apathetic officials. In the Southern Song, as the international situation remained unchanged and the dynasty's position imperiled, several other writers dissatisfied with the bureaucratic infighting and lethargy of the day joined Wang in casting the sangha as models for the laity.⁵⁶

Like Ye Mengde, Wang Xilü lauded the Southern Song for its benevolence. As a steadfast official serving a dynasty manifestly unable to defend its territory, Wang made a virtue out of necessity. His account of historical precedents for war dead burial inevitably touched on Tang Taizong, but Wang avoided an unflattering comparison of this paragon of martial success with the present regime. He condemned Taizong for wasting innocent lives and praised the Southern Song for its peaceful rule and generosity, especially toward its fighting forces. Readers find a peacetime idyll, as an army at rest basks in the care of an indulgent state.

The men of the six armies (the emperor's troops) reside in security and eat their fill, as they live in comfort. The court bestows them with burial land, protects [their souls] with Buddhist temples and honors them with glorious titles. [It is] a profound grace [like] an overflowing spring – a virtuous benefaction without end.

The defeats and frustrations of the previous half-century go unmentioned, and in Wang's formulation, compassion completely replaces conquest as the foremost expression of imperial power.

⁵⁴ See his biography in *Song shi* 388.11900–1.

⁵⁵ See "Puxiang yuan ji" 普相院記, in *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志; see *Song Yuan difangzhi sanshiqi zhong* 79, pp. 22b–23b.

⁵⁶ See Halperin, "Pieties and Responsibilities," chap. 4.

Wang, however, has not forgotten recent history nor the army's purpose. In his conception, the court's good works entailed a quid pro quo relationship with its beneficiaries. Immediately after praising the dynasty's magnanimity, he concludes with a challenge to his readers and recipients of the court's gift.

Now the rites esteem reciprocity.⁵⁷ Affairs have their giving and repayment. In this world, there is no pattern of giving without repayment, or going without coming. Now for those who enter this temple and read this text, they will clearly know the emperor's immense virtue, while imperceptibly they will have what develops their loyal and generous hearts and what deepens their righteous sense of reciprocity. On another day, when cities are destroyed and armies subdued, there certainly will be those who perform extraordinary works of merit to repay this extraordinary grace.⁵⁸

What other writers left unsaid, Wang has made explicit. Gestures embodying official virtue no longer must elicit the automatic requital. Obligations now must be elaborated clearly, as gifts alone have lost their earlier power to move people. The conclusion's opening statement, which cites a *Liji* passage chiding the elite for selfishness and parsimony, indicates that Wang sought to move the civilian elite as well as military figures. Protracted internecine policy struggles had eroded a common set of understandings about the national community, prompting Wang to place the temple in a larger discourse involving defense policy and the construction of the Han Chinese political order. With the stunning evocation of violence at the conclusion's end, we see a literatus seeking to bring various scholar-officials, who favored a policy that preserved their conception of the Song as a benevolent, peaceful state, even at the cost of the Central Plain, to his irrendentist position. In Wang's portrayal, the monastery serves as a war memorial, which looks to the future as well as the past, and the dynasty takes on a Buddhist cast, in which displays of mercy are tied intimately to demonstrations of might.

Ye and Wang wrote in Jiankang and Lin'an, the former and present capitals of southern dynasties, and their immediate audiences were drawn from the metropolitan elite. Proper fulfillment of moral debts to the imperial house and recovery of north China were no less pressing for scholar-officials serving in the hinterland, as evinced in an inscription for a Buddhist monastery in Quzhou 衢州 prefecture, in present-day southern Zhejiang. The text was written by Yuan Fu 袁甫, who served as Quzhou prefect in

⁵⁷ See *Liji*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ "Puxiang yuan ji" 79, pp. 22b–23b.

the mid-1220s. Yuan found himself appalled at the lack of attention to learning and national affairs among local educated men: "None," he said in another work, "recognize the great righteousness in serving their lord. How can the country rely on such people?"⁵⁹ At the same time, however, Quzhou natives apparently had a vital sense of community, enthusiastically patronizing their local gods and Buddhist images. Yuan participated in their endeavors, providing many inscriptions for the area's landmarks and financial contributions for their renovation. Quzhou, in Yuan's portrayal, in fact takes on many of the features noted by Robert Hymes in his work on Fuzhou, a similar hinterland prefecture in neighboring Jiangxi.⁶⁰ Put in very simple terms, Hymes argues that the Southern Song rural elite, unlike those in the Northern Song, eschewed national politics and the quest for positions in the capital and concentrated their energies on local problems, local institutions, and local centers of power. For Yuan Fu, this seeming indifference to national issues by local literati boded ill for the dynasty's future.

In his commemoration for a Quzhou temple, Yuan seeks to extend the local commitment to the empire at large. The site had been strongly tied to the ruling house for over a century. In the late Northern Song, shortly after Song Huizong's 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125) accession to the throne, the monastery was renamed Tianning 天寧, or Heavenly Tranquillity, the same name adopted for the rituals that celebrated Huizong's birthday. In 1139, after the Jurchens had taken Huizong prisoner, the temple numbered among the many that received the name Baoen guangxiao 報恩廣孝, or The Great Filial Piety that Requires Blessings. The court specially charged these temples to provide offerings for Huizong's welfare.⁶¹ By the 1220s, a third change of plaque had left the spot with the name Guangxiao 光孝, or Brilliant Filial Piety. For Yuan Fu, the temple's enduring, close identifications with Huizong provided him an opportunity to extol imperial virtue, remind Song subjects of their obligations to their rulers, and reaffirm the imperative to retake north China. He lists the changes in the site's name, as is commonly seen in the commemoration genre, but turns then to evoke

⁵⁹ "Zhi Quzhou shi zou bianmin wushi zhuang" 知衢州事奏便民五事狀, in *Mengzhai ji* 蒙齋集 (Wuyingdian juzhenban edn.) 3, p. 3b.

⁶⁰ See Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1986). For a different interpretation of Song local society and the origins, character, and significance of this apparent rift between center and periphery, see Beverly J. Bessler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960–1279)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1998).

⁶¹ *Fozu tongji*, p. 425b.

Han Chinese living under foreign occupation:

The infants of the Central Plain have long suffered amid the beacon fires of day and night. The territories 版圖 have yet to be returned, and the consequent shame has yet to be wiped clean. Sleeping on firewood and tasting bile,⁶² we urgently consider vengeance to console the spirits of our ancestors in the heavens.⁶³

Yuan has cast the temple as a war memorial. Its plaques inextricably link it with Huizong, the final Northern Song emperor and the most notable war casualty. In this equation, to understand the temple's purpose is to remember Huizong. Recalling his tragic demise in foreign captivity in turn demands that readers be ever mindful of the similar hardships of Chinese in the north and the necessity of preparing for their liberation.

Complementing this call to arms is a demonstration of imperial benevolence, as was seen in Wang Xilü's commemoration. Unnecessary construction projects, Yuan notes, were forbidden in an edict of 1137 in order to spare commoners from financial burdens. In restoring the temple, the authorities observed the edict's spirit, by ensuring that government funds paid for all expenses and that any monies from the people were collected without any coercion. Yuan presents Guangxiao temple as an imperial gift to the people of Quzhou, and his commemoration transforms a religious site in the Zhejiang backwaters into a monument of dynastic memory and compassion.

In this work, Yuan Fu sought to bring to bear the power of filial piety to convince his audience of its duty to its sovereigns. Filial piety received particular attention from Yuan, who wrote a commentary on the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety (Xiaojing)*, now lost. Ordinarily, parents would be the object of filial piety, and Buddhist temples served as a site where children and descendants could express their devotion.⁶⁴ In the commemoration Yuan insisted, however, on reserving the temple for exclusive devotion to Huizong.⁶⁵ Contemporaries, in his view, have forgotten the site's pur-

⁶² A reference to Gou Jian 句踐, the king of Yue during the Spring and Autumn period, who after meeting defeat at the hands of Wu never ceased to plot his revenge and eventually succeeded; *Shiji* 31, p. 1742.

⁶³ "Quzhou Guangxiaosi ji" 衢州光孝寺記, in *Mengzhai ji* 12, pp. 11b–13b.

⁶⁴ For a recent treatment of filial piety and Buddhism as seen in apocryphal sutras, see Alan Cole, *Mothers and Sons in Chinese Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1998).

⁶⁵ Interestingly, Yuan's father, Yuan Xie 袁燮 (1144–1224), also commemorated a Baoen Guangxiao temple and, like his son, sought to transform it into a dynastic monument. In his view, the site stood apart from other Buddhist establishments, because it was where "the lofty emperor's unbounded filial thoughts had erected images of fine adornment to trans-

pose and misremembered the proper focus of filial devotion – the imperial house. In one of his poems, Yuan's effort to extend this most cherished of virtues to national service had recalled for him a *Liji* passage, which branded those who lack courage in combat as unfilial.⁶⁶ Superscribing the monastery with the state's agenda required considerable erasure of its local significances, and Yuan took up the task by asking, in his commemoration of the temple, "How could [we treat the monastery] only like vulgar people, to simply mourn our ancestors and seek good fortune from the Buddha?"⁶⁷

One might expect that temples graced with the imperial presence, such as Guangxiao, possessed a greater sense of efficacy, which would draw local people to use it for their own personal ends. Yuan's question, in light of this, lumps filial next of kin with selfish devotees, a group roundly despised by Confucian literati, and forces educated readers to make a difficult choice. They can continue to use the temple for their welfare and that of their families and so be associated with their social inferiors. Or they can they forgo any immediate spiritual gain from the temple, cede Guangxiaosi to the imperial house, and thus confirm their own social class and grasp of literati culture.

Yuan did not spare the clergy in his challenge to the Quzhou natives to fulfill their obligations to the national community. Despite his commitment to the Learning of the Way, Yuan did not join other, like-minded, contemporary officials in actively condemning the Buddhists and their influence on Chinese society. While serving in Quzhou, he commissioned clergy to help restore and maintain an important bridge and furnished a devotional commemoration for a local Buddhist image.⁶⁸ In writing for Guangxiaosi, however, his text completely ignored the site's Buddhist affiliations and named none of its monks. Wang Xilü had cast an abbot as model subject, but Yuan portrayed the clergy in this case as unmindful, ungrateful recipients of imperial blessings. Despite their great responsibility to preserve Huizong's memory and take measures against fires in neighboring districts, they took no precautions against disaster, and the temple

form it into a place to seek good fortune for his illustrious father"; "Shaoxing Baoen guangxiao sizhuang ji" 紹興報恩光孝四莊記, in *Jiezhai ji* 繫齋集 (Wuyingdian juzhenban edn.), to, pp. 14a–15b.

⁶⁶ See *Liji*, p. 821, cited in Yuan's "Zhongxiao shi" 忠孝詩 (*Mengzhai ji* 19, p. 14a).

⁶⁷ "Quzhou Guangxiaosi ji," pp. 11b–13b.

⁶⁸ "Quzhou Shitang qiaoji" 衢州石塘橋記 and "Quzhou Shengzhe ge ji" 衢州聖者閣記, in *Mengzhai ji* 12, pp. 14b–17a.

fell victim to conflagration. The monks in this sense might be seen as representing subjects ignorant of the perils facing the national community and heedless of their obligation to offer reciprocation to the throne. In this respect, they appear as clerical counterparts to the Quzhou literati who in another work drew Yuan's condemnation. No local people win the author's praise; in Yuan's presentation, he stands apart, ready to restore through his zeal a sense of responsibility and attachment to the dynasty.

CONCLUSION

Yuan Fu's perspective lies at great remove from that of Wang Yucheng and Liu Bin. Northern Song writers offered their undivided attention to the imperial house and its munificence. To intercede for the war dead suffering in the afterlife, to rescue peripheral regions from their benighted, half-savage condition, and to enlist the Buddhist church on behalf of commoners all served to recreate the national community brutalized and broken in the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods. These gifts, and their giver, commanded such reverence as to make reception and reciprocation moot issues. Post-1127 texts that took up the war dead, whether they refer to soldiers or emperors, suggest a markedly different relationship between writers and audiences. Commemorating the slain now not only aimed to remember past conflicts but also explicitly sought to prepare readers for the inevitable future struggles. Invocations of imperial glory and benevolence alone, apparently, could not be counted on to inspire Song subjects. Writers felt the need to enunciate clearly their readers' duty to the imperial house. Reciprocation had ceased to be a reflex.

This shift relates to other changes that characterize the Southern Song. As time passed, memories of the Central Plain dimmed, and recovery of the north, after countless military setbacks, appeared to grow more difficult. More compelling were the immediate tasks at hand. Charting one's own future in the examination system, in the webs of kin and marriage ties, and in bureaucratic life all could make considerations of national community remote. Behind the pleading, hortatory quality of Wang Xilü's and Yuan Fu's works, one can posit an elite readership, slow to respond to their appeals. Their entreaties thus could act as foils for the localist, inward-looking literati of the period. At the same time, however, their confrontational tone took a place within the combative Song rhetorical style, formed over the course of decades of polemic and struggle over Wang Anshi's domestic programs, Qin Gui's foreign policies, and the Learning of the

Way. These debates, which produced scores of victims, helped give rise to a new literati voice: self-righteous, defiant, and frequently at odds with the prevailing tide, which was utterly unaware of the right way to govern.⁶⁹ Under such circumstances, it fell to the writer to hector his contemporaries about the parlous state of contemporary affairs and their responsibility to correct it.⁷⁰

The role of Buddhist temples and rituals in the imperial cult persisted at the same time as the emergence and blossoming of the strongly anti-Buddhist polemics of the Learning of the Way. In the light of the power of this movement to fire the imaginations of committed literati, what accounts for Buddhism's sustained appeal? Part of the attraction, I believe, lay in its ability to offer a vision of a strong moral authority, supported by steadfast devotees. The ubiquity of Buddhist institutions and their close links with neighboring commoners distressed some scholar-officials but offered a compelling model of order and cohesiveness to others.⁷¹ To insert the imperial presence among bodhisattva images and large temple complexes throughout the empire cast the dynasty as a generous patron of unbounded power. Moreover, the constant process of an unbalanced exchange of gifts probably resonated among the elite, where transactions of favor and fealty helped organize political life and kinship ties. The examination system, sometimes considered an impartial test of intellectual and literary ability, remained in the Song an arena where gifts made an important difference. As John Chaffee has shown, literati in increasing proportions made their initial entrance into the bureaucracy through kin ties to high-ranking officials, by dint of an institutionalized patronage system.⁷² Others took advantage of special examinations with markedly more generous rates of success.⁷³ Even apart

⁶⁹ Wm. Theodore de Bary has referred to the "paranoid style" found in the School of the Way. The high seriousness and contentiousness found in some Daoxue proponents, I would argue, should be seen in the context of the larger political atmosphere. See Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1981), pp. 13–17.

⁷⁰ Strikingly, Southern Song Buddhist temple inscriptions that refer to gifts of imperial calligraphy and the commemoration of imperial birthdays and deathdays, also stress much more the need for reciprocity in comparison with similar texts from the Northern Song.

⁷¹ See Halperin, "Pieties and Responsibilities," pp. 322–43.

⁷² This system of privilege for entering officialdom, known as "yin 蔭," came to be employed so often that by the early thirteenth century, nearly forty percent of the entire civil bureaucracy owed their posts to kin ties to men of high position. See John Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Song China: A Social History of Examinations*, new edn. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), pp. 25–30.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 101–13.

from these distorting factors, success in the palace examinations was represented in state ritual as a gift from the emperor. Ties revolving around exchanges of gifts were thus readily accepted by literati as legitimate.

Turning to the perspective of social practice, the commemoration of war dead at temples illustrates Buddhism's dominant role in the management of death and burial during the Song. As souls who perished in a violent, untimely manner, war victims required the utmost care, lest their ghosts disturb the living. While standard-bearers of the Confucian revival probably would have preferred classical rituals, the state found monks to be more effective in aiding the unfortunate slain. The Buddhist church prevailed also when the government constructed public cemeteries for the indigent and unburied. This effort sought to provide a final resting place for encoffined but unburied corpses, whom next of kin frequently lodged in Buddhist monasteries but never interred. This policy began in piecemeal fashion in the 1070s and was formalized on an empire-wide basis when the Song state established an agency charged with the burial of uninterred cadavers – the Louzeyuan 漏澤院.⁷⁴ As with the war dead, the state desired to project its authority into the afterlife but found necessary the assistance of the sangha. A commemoration for one cemetery in Honan, written by a local official, demonstrates how state policy again saw the clergy mediating between the state and its dead:

Upward, [this cemetery] expands the blessings of the court's benevolence and mercy; downward it ends the suffering of the remaining bones' exposure. We will build a Buddhist palace at this [place?]; daily will be heard the dharma sound expounded in its infinite meaning. It will cause all the sunken *hun* 魂 and hidden *po* 魄 souls to experience good causes, and the abandoned and wronged in the miasmatic vapors will proceed to birth in the land of bliss. With their sons and grandsons bearing heaven and treading the earth without limit, the merit extended to the dead and the living will be incalculable, and the realized benefit [as] inexhaustible, incomparable even if [one] exhausted the sands of the Ganges.⁷⁵

Significantly, the writer of this commemoration represents the bene-

⁷⁴ For a brief account of this institution, see Wang Deyi 王德毅, *Songdai zaihuang di jiuji zhengce* 宋代災荒的救濟政策 (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1970), pp. 95–100, and Patricia Ebrey, "Cremation in Song China," *American Historical Review* 95.2 (1990), pp. 406–28, esp. pp. 423–24. For an archeological account of one site, see Sanmenxia shi wenwu gongzuo dui 三門峽市文物工作隊, eds., *Bei Song Shanzhou Louzeyuan* 北宋陝州漏澤院 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

fits of the state's burial policy in Buddhist terms. As treating the dead properly means adopting the Buddhist perspective, the lines between state and church become almost completely blurred. Like those killed in battle, these souls did not receive offerings from their kin and thus also numbered among the "unquiet dead."⁷⁶ Famine and drowning victims also belonged to this category, and local officials similarly called on the Buddhist clergy for assistance.⁷⁷

The ties between Buddhist monasteries, war dead, and the imperial cult, as brought out in the above discussions, can be seen as part of the Song state's attempts to enhance its spiritual power. The dynasty demonstrated remarkable ambition in amassing and controlling resources in the supernatural realm, perhaps in response to its political weakness. As Valerie Hansen has shown, the Song government showered titles on local deities in great profusion, incorporating them into a national framework.⁷⁸ This step has been seen as part of Wang Anshi's manifold policies to strengthen the state's presence in the hinterland. Early in the twelfth century, similarly statist policies pursued under Huizong included a massive project to codify and promote Daoist rituals.⁷⁹ This effort served to arm Southern Song officials with new, potent exorcistic techniques in their struggles with malevolent spirits and demons. In similar joint ventures between the state and religious authorities, Song officials frequently drew on Buddhist clergy to assist in hospitals, pharmacies, and famine relief. Whatever the precedents found in ancient history, by Tang times these roles came to be assumed by Buddhist monasteries and temples. Expediency might have driven some of these alliances, especially since some officials in these efforts won reputations for anti-Buddhism. The rhetoric in inscriptions for Buddhist monasteries and public cemeteries seen above, however, suggests otherwise. Literati, including Confucian stalwarts such as Wang Yucheng,

could imagine the state in Buddhist terms, and the Buddhist church, in its service to the unfortunate and its management of gifts and favor, helped officials imagine the character of the state's ties to its subjects. These practices took their place as part of the standard operating Song ritual procedure, independent of the accomplishments, charisma, or religious interests of the emperor. The "religious commitment," which David Keightley used to describe Chinese political culture during the ancient Shang period, also applies, albeit in different ways, to Song conceptions of power and authority.⁸⁰

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Shike edn. *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編
 SHY *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿

⁷⁶ Most people buried at the Honan site, interestingly, were soldiers; *ibid.*, pp. 385–86.

⁷⁷ See Zhao Jun, "Huangcheng yizhong ji" 隍城義塚記, in *Hubei jinshi zhi* 湖北金石志 (Shike edn.) 12, pp. 29b–30a; Du Zheng, "Huazang yizhong ji" 華藏義塚記, in *Xingshan tangao* 性善堂稿 (SKQS edn.) 11, pp. 16a–17b; Lu Jun, "Congzhong" 叢冢, in *Zhiyuan Jihe zhi* 至元嘉禾志 (Song Yuan Difangzhi sanshiqi zhong edn.) 24, pp. 9b–10b.

⁷⁸ See Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China 1127–1279* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1990), chap. 4.

⁷⁹ Michel Strickmann, "The Taoist Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," unpub. ms., prepared for the Third International Conference of Taoist Studies, Unterageri (Switzerland), September 1979; Judith Magee Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural," in Ebrey and Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society*, pp. 241–305; and Edward Davis, "Society and the Supernatural in Song China" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1994).

⁸⁰ David N. Keightley, "The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture," *History of Religions* 17.3–4. (1978), pp. 211–25. The next Chinese dynasty did not continue Song practices. At the founding of the Ming, the Hongwu emperor sought to placate the souls of deceased soldiers, but did not employ Buddhist clergy. Instead, capital and local officials thrice annually throughout the empire conducted blood sacrifices for the war dead at city-god shrines. In Hongwu's zeal to bind fast ruler and subject, Buddhist mediation apparently had become unnecessary. See *Qinding xu wenxian tongkao* 欽定續文獻通考 (*Shitong* edn.; Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1963) 79, pp. 3497a–b, cited in Richard Von Glahn, "The Enchantment of Wealth: The God Wutong in the Social History of Jiangnan," *HJAS* 51.2 (1991), pp. 651–714, esp. p. 679, n. 92.