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College of Liberal Arts, National Central University

Morality Books and the Growth of Local Cults; A Case Study of the Palace of Guidance

Paul R. Katz*

Outline

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* Associate Professor, Institute of History, National Central University

I. Introduction

Of all the sources available for the study of local cults in Taiwan, morality books (shan-shu 善書) are among the most important yet most overlooked. Although a significant body of research has focused on these texts, most scholarship has focused on the traditional Confucian values contained in morality books as well as the histories of those groups responsible for publishing them.[1] At the same time, however, some morality books also contain valuable data which can be used for the study of local cults, especially the circumstances behind the founding of temples, the identities of temple supporters, and their motives for patronizing the temple. This paper will attempt to explore these issues through a case study of the history of one of Taiwan's oldest and most famous temples to the immortal Lü Tung-pin 呂洞賓, the Palace of Guidance (Chih-nan Kung 指南宮), founded in 1891 in the mountains of Mu-cha 木柵, one of Taipei City's southern suburbs. In particular, I will attempt to show how the information contained in two morality books produced by the Palace of Guidance can help resolve a number of controversies regarding this temple's early history. The morality books are The Golden Needle of Guidance (Chih-nan chin-chen 指南針金), composed during the years 1903-1904, and No Boundaries (Wu-chiang 無疆), composed in 1980.

In its over one-hundred years of existence, the Palace of Guidance has served as a pilgrimage site, a place for ritual healing, a hall for spirit-writing (fu-chi 扶乩, fu-luan 扶鸞) rituals, a dream divination center, a place where Buddhist monks chant scriptures, a temple promoting the study of Taoism, etc. However, despite the Palace of Guidance's age and overall importance, however, only a few brief articles on this temple have

appeared to date, and none have adequately dealt with its complex early history (Chiang 1985; Huang 1976). At present, there are essentially three different versions describing the circumstances the Palace of Guidance's founding: 1) A version circulated by the temple itself, which attempts to establish a link between it and one of Lü's most famous temples in mainland China, the Palace of Eternal Joy (Yung-lo Kung 永樂宮); 2) A version briefly touched upon by Stephan Feuchtwang, which claims the Palace of Guidance started out as a Buddhist monastery; and 3) A version circulated by a phoenix hall (luan-t'ang 鸞堂) in Yilan County, the Hall of Awakening (Huan-hsing T'ang 喚醒堂), recorded by Sung Kuang-yü and uncritically accepted by Wang Chien-ch'uan, which asserts that the Palace of Guidance was founded as a branch temple of this hall based on a "division of incense" (fen-hsiang 分香) relationship. Each claim contains its own kernel of truth, yet none supplies a comprehensive account of the factors shaping the Palace of Guidance's early history. In the pages below, I will first examine the merits of each version, following which I will show how data in The Golden Needle of Guidance and No Boundaries can help us solve this problem.

Claim # 1 -- Links to the Palace of Eternal Joy

According to the Palace of Guidance's most recent account of its own history, The Palace of Guidance (Chih-nan Kung), published in October of 1990 in order to mark the supposed 100th anniversary of the temple's founding, this temple is linked to the Palace of Eternal Joy not by division of incense but by "division of numinous power" (fen-ling 分靈). To be specific, the temple claims that a district magistrate of Tamshui County named Wang Pin-lin 王彬林 brought a statue of Lü Tung-pin from

the Palace of Eternal Joy with him to Taiwan in 1882.[2] This statue was first worshipped at a site known as the Studio of Jade Purity (Yü-ch'ing Chai 玉清齋), located in Meng-chia 艋舺 (today's Wan-hua 萬華).[3] Lü proved highly effective in combatting the ravages of epidemics, and his cult quickly spread to a number of phoenix halls in northern Taiwan, in particular the Hall of Spreading Loyalty (Hsing-chung T'ang 行忠堂) in Tamshui, and the Society of Sincere Customs (Chun-feng She 淳風社) in Ching-mei.[4] In 1890, members of the Mu-cha local elite, apparently inspired by a message transmitted during a spiritwriting ritual by the Sung-dynasty Taoist master Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (d. 1082?) urging the founding of a temple at Monkey Mountain (Hou-shan 猴山, the old place name for the site the Palace of Guidance is located at), proceeded to found the temple there (Chih-nan Kung 1991:2-3).

This account has influenced many scholars from Taiwan and mainland China who have studied the history of this temple (Cheng 1994:392-393; Ch'ing 1994:IV,282; Chiang 1985:141; Huang 1983:IV,71-72). Be that as it may, while this account is correct in noting the Palace of Guidance's links to the Studio of Jade Purity and Society of Sincere Customs, it is also full of problems. First of all, no individual named Wang Pin-lin appears to have served as district magistrate of Tamshui County, although the records for this period are somewhat incomplete.[5] Second, there is no evidence to suggest that the Palace of Guidance enjoyed connections with the Palace of Eternal Joy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Third, there is no mention of the important roles spirit-writing and dream divination played in the temple's early history.[6] Although further research is necessary before any definitive conclusions may be

reached, it seems that many aspects of this version of the temple's early history presented above were probably concocted by members of the Palace of Guidance's temple committee in order to enhance the temple's historical legitimacy. As for the claim of being historically linked to the Palace of Eternal Joy, this probably arose after representatives of the temple started to go on pilgrimages to that sacred site following the opening of mainland China to citizens of Taiwan. Looked at in this light, it is probably no coincidence that the Palace of Guidance contains an eight-page color photo spread of the Palace of Eternal Joy and its world-famous murals (Chih-nan Kung 1991:7-24).

Claim #2 -- Former Buddhist Monastery

The only scholar I know of who has made such a claim is Stephan Feuchtwang, both in his masterful ethnography of Mountainstreet (= Shih-ting 石碇), and an important article on the history of popular temples in Taipei. In the former work, while describing the spread of Lü Tung-pin's cult to Mountainstreet during the early years of the Japanese Occupation era (1895-1945), he states that the Palace of Guidance "had been a monastery" (Feuchtwang 1974a: 96).[7] In the article, he claims that the Palace of Guidance was founded as a monastery late in the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) but converted to a temple for popular worship (Feuchtwang 1974b). To what extent may we accept Feuchtwang's arguments? It is certainly true that Buddhism and Buddhist monks have played an important role in the early history of the Palace of Guidance, and continue to do so today. However, the evidence I will present below indicates that this temple did not arise as a Buddhist monastery but as a site for worship of Lü Tung-pin featuring first spirit-writing and later

dream divination. In fact, the Palace of Guidance's current temple for Buddhist deities appears to have grown out of a phoenix hall built at the site in 1933, which was convered into a Buddhist temple during a campaign to suppress Taiwanese temples conducted as part of the Japanization (Kominka 皇民化) movement (1937-1945).

In addition, if we examine the temple's management, we also see that Buddhist monks have played a very limited role. Since its founding in 1891, the Palace of Guidance has been consistently run by a committee of managers (tung-shih 董事) working alongside an individual alternately referred to as a chu-ch'ih 住持, chu-jen 主任, chu-shih 主事, or shih-shih 士事. While the former term is commonly used to refer to the head monk of a Buddhist (or Taoist) monastery, only one of the fifteen managers to have served at the temple was a Buddhist monk, named P'u-hua 普華, who occupied the office from 1925-1927. Most of the managers at the Palace of Guidance were spirit-mediums (luan-sheng 鸞生)[8] and members of the elite from various areas in and around Taipei. There is no evidence that any of these men had converted to Buddhism (Chiang 1985:141-143). One autobiographical account of a man who had a healing experience at the temple in 1929 and later converted to Buddhism preserved in No Boundaries also reveals the presence of Buddhist monks at the temple, although I have yet to determine whether they simply performed rituals there or actually resided on the premises (Li 1980:48-63).[9] In addition, it is not certain whether they were ordained monks belonging to recognized Buddhist sects such as the Lin-chi 臨濟 and Ts'ao-tung 曹洞, or whether they belonged to that class of irregular monks frequently associated with lay Buddhist and/or sectarian move-

ments. Whatever the case may be, it seems clear enough that the Palace of Guidance, despite its links to Buddhism, has never functioned as a Buddhist monastery.

Claim #3 -- Division of Incense Link to the Hall of Awakening

The spread and acceptance of this claim first occured at the end of 1994, when Sung Kuang-yü reported that the Hall Vice-chairman (fu t'ang-chu 副堂主) of the Hall of Awakening told him that the Palace of Guidance and other temples in northern Taiwan were linked to it by the division of incense relationship (Sung 1994:187,190). Sung correctly describes this claim as one individual's opinion, refusing to pass judgement on its veracity. However, Wang Chien-ch'uan, in an important article on the growth of phoenix halls in northern Taiwan, not only treats the Hall's claim as credible, but attempts to use a passage from a morality book entitled A New Book To Awaken the World (Hsing-shih hsin-p'ien 醒世新篇), a text produced in 1901 during spirit-writing sessions at the Hall of Blessings and Goodness (Fu-shan T'ang 福善堂) in Shih-ting, to support the Hall of Awakening's claim. The passage in question reads as follows (the Chinese version of the text as produced in Wang's essay follows immediately thereafter):

> Wu (Ping-chu) 吳炳珠 , the head (pu-ssu 部司)[10] of the Hall of Awakening, and his disciples, produced a number of books before Wu's death ("literally return to perfection"(kuei-chen 歸真)). These were subsequently transmitted to the Hall of Spreading Loyality, where Li Hsi-ch'ou compiled the Collection of Loyalty and Filial Piety (Chung-hsiao chi).

[Similar cases] are like (ju 如) that of Manager Wu (Wu Chu-jen 吳主任) and Hall Chairman (t'ang-chu 堂主) Cheng Kuan-san of the [Hall of] Propogating Transformations (Hsüan-hua [T'ang] 宣化堂 ; in Hsin-chu),[11] who compiled a work entitled The Immortal Vessel for Saving the World (Chi-shih hsien-chou). Or like Old Man Lü [Tung-pin's] establishing the Palace of Guidance at Monkey Mountain, and founding the Hall of the Orthodox Heart (Cheng-hsin T'ang 正心堂) in the eastern part of Keelung 基隆 city,[12] where The Golden Book for Restoring the World (Wan-shih chin-p'ien) was written. [Lü's cult] later spread northwards (to Shih-ting's) Hall of Blessings and Goodness, where the text entitled A New Book to Awaken the World was written (Wang 1995a:60).

……喚醒堂皆因吳部司小徒未歸真之前，集書數部。後傳行忠堂，時逢李錫疇，集《忠孝集》一書。如宣化吳主任，堂主鄭冠三，集《濟世仙舟》一部。如呂翁開指南於侯（猴）山，到隆東設正心，著成《挽世金篇》，後臨北地，堂曰福善，集著《醒世新篇》一書。

In analyzing the contents of this text, Wang Chien-ch'uan concludes that: "This passage is sufficient to show that the Palace of Guidance derived from the Hall of Awakening by means of a division of incense relationship" (這段記載充分說明指南宮是由喚醒堂分香而來 ; Ibid.) In fact, it says nothing of the kind. All it does is compare the spread of Lü's cult in Keelung and the Taipei basin to the spread of the Hall of Awakening's teachings to Tamshui and Hsin-chu. In addition, the Palace of Guidance

was founded before the Hall of Awakening. Even if this text had asserted that the Palace of Guidance was related to the Hall of Awakening, the fact remains that the historian must also exercise extreme caution when dealing with any claims to historical precedence made by members of religious organizations. Therefore, the assertion that the Palace of Guidance was linked to the Hall of Awakening by division of incense cannot be accepted as valid until further corroborative evidence has been found.[13]

Each of the three claims discussed above provides helpful information which can help us understand the early history of the Palace of Guidance. Claim #1 records a number of important events marking the temple's founding, even though the allusion to a local official named Wang Pin-lin appears unfounded. Claim #2 reveals the role Buddhist specialists ended up playing the in the temple's subsequent growth, although the founding members of the Palace of Guidance do not appear to have included any monks. Finally, Claim #3 directs our attention to the importance of spirit-writing in the temple's early growth, despite its shaky assertion that the Palace of Guidance was linked to the Hall of Awakening by division of incense. However, none of the above claims reveals the identities of the key patrons of the Palace of Guidance, nor their motives in supporting the cult of Lü Tung-pin. To answer these questions, we must turn to a new source of the data, the morality book known as The Golden Needle of Guidance.

II. The Early History of the Palace of Guidance

The Palace of Guidance's oldest surviving morality book, The Golden Needle of Guidance was produced during spirit-writing sessions conducted

jointly by members of the Palace of Guidance and the Hall of the Orthodox Heart at the Hall's location in Keelung during the years 1903-1904.[14] The entire work consists of four scrolls (chüan 卷) or sections (pu 部),[15] of which only the first and third have survived. These sections contain aphorisms (hua 話), commands (yü 諭), songs (ke 歌), and poems (shih 詩, tz'u 詞) written by the deities who descended to the spirit-writing rituals held at the Hall of the Orthodox Heart, longer prose passages encouraging people to adhere to traditonal standards of morality (e.g. Chieh sha-sheng ch'iu-shou wen 戒殺生求壽文, Ch'üan-hsiao wen 勸孝文, Chieh-se wen 戒色文, etc.), as well as narratives (hsing-shu 行述) of actual events designed to demonstrate the certainty of divine retribution. We know from the work's preface that its contents were meant to be transmitted through public lectures (hsüan-chiang 宣講), and that five members of the Hall of the Orthodox Heart had served as expositors (hsüan-chiang sheng 宣講生) in 1901 (Wang 1986:120). However, it is not certain whether such lectures were actually given after The Golden Needle of Guidance was completed in 1904, or how many people they might have reached.

However, in addition to containing all manner of texts encouraging the reader (or maybe even the listener) to pursue a path of traditional morality, The Golden Needle of Guidance also contains important data relating to the history of the Palace of Guidance. First of all, it lists the members of the Palace of Guidance who contributed to the production of this text, both in terms of time and money (see Table 1). We know from other sources composed during the Japanese Occupation era that many of these men, specifically Liu T'ing-yü, his brothers Liu T'ing-fan and Liu

Table 1 -- Members of the Palace of Guidance who Participated in the Spirit Writing Sessions at the Hall of the Orthodox Heart

Hall Chairman	Liu T'ing-fan 劉廷藩
Hall Vice-Chairman and Manager of Internal Affairs (nei-wu 內務)	Liu T'ing-hsien 劉廷獻
Chief Proofreader (cheng chiao-cheng sheng 正校正生)	Liu T'ing-yü 劉廷玉
Manager and Master of Incense (tsung-li chien ssu-hsiang 總理兼司香)	Kao T'ing-ch'i 高廷齊
Director of Hall Affairs(nei-t'ang li-shih 內堂理事)	Liu Lung-mo 劉隆謨
Chief of Contributions(yüan-shou shih 緣首事)	Liu Chih-san 劉智三
Assistant Chief of Contributions (pang-li yüan-shih 幫理緣事)	Liu Lung-ts'ai 劉隆材
Master of Proclamations(hsüan-kao sheng 宣誥生)	Kao Shui-yan 高水炎
Master of Tea (ssu-ch'a sheng 司茶生)	Ch'en Hsing-wang 陳興旺
Master of Fruit (ssu-kuo sheng 司果生)	Liu Tsung-mien 劉宗綿
Master of Inviting [the Gods](ssu-ying sheng 司迎生)	Lin Jui-hui 林瑞會
Master of Sending Off [the Gods] (ssu-sung sheng 司送生)	Liu Tsung-kuo 劉宗國
Master of the Bell (ssu-chung sheng 司鐘生)	Kao Chien-hu 高鑑湖
Master of the Drum (ssu-ku sheng 司鼓生)	Chang Te-ming 張德明
Master of Cleaning the Hall (ching-t'ang sheng 淨堂生)	Liu Lung-ching 劉隆經
Helpers (hsiao-lao sheng 效勞生)	Huang Tsu-tao 黃祖濤 Cheng T'ien-tz'u 鄭天賜 Wang Chih-shih 王志士

Source: Chih-nan chin-chen, 20a-22a.

T'ing-hsien, Huang Tsu-t'ao, Cheng T'ien-tz'u, and Chang Tê-ming were members of the Palace of Guidance's founding temple committee back in 1891 (Chiang 1985:141; Miyamoto 1988:261; Suzuki 1978 (1934):435-436; Shaji byōū no kansuru chōsa: Taihoku chō 1916). In addition, we are fortunate to have detailed biographical information on two of the Palace of Guidance members who helped found the temple in 1891 and participated in the spirit-writing rituals held from 1903 through 1904: Liu T'ing-yü and Chang Tê-ming.

Liu T'ing-yü was born in P'ing-lin 坪林 (a town southeast of Mu-cha) in 1843, the son of a farmer who eventually started a business in Meng-chia.[16] Liu studied under some of the leading literati of Ta-lung-t'ung 大龍峒 (in Taipei), and soon gained a reputation for his literary abilities. He was later admitted to the prefectural school in Tainan, and taught for a while at a school in Hai-shan 海山, only to resign a few years later. He appears to have become interested in spirit-writing at this time, and helped lead efforts to found the Palace of Guidance. He also assisted Governor Liu Ming-ch'uan 劉銘傳 during the French attack on Keelung in 1884, and later took part in an on-going effort to "sinify" the aborigines at Wu-lai 烏來 (located in the mountains south of Taipei) by setting up a school for aboriginal children. He also went into the tea business, assisted by his older brother Liu T'ing-fan and his nephew Liu Lung-tê 劉隆德. After the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, he went to Jung-ch'eng 榕城 (in Min-Hou 閩侯 County, near Foochow), where he was selected as a "tribute student of special merit" (yu-kung-sheng 優貢生). He soon returned to Taiwan, however, setting up a private school in his old hometown and winning great renown among his neighbors for his efforts (T'ai-pei hsien-chih 1959-1960:5180-5181; Huang 1983:1100).

chih 1959-1960:5180-5181; Huang 1983:1100).

As for Chang Te-ming, he was less a scholar than a local strongman and power broker. His rise to leadership positions began in the waning years of the Ch'ing dynasty, when he served as a squad commander (pa-tsung 把總 ; rank 7a) in the Ch'ing army. During the Japanese Occupation era, he served as mayor of Mu-cha and Shen-k'eng 深坑 (a town northeast of Mu-cha), and was later elected to the Taipei Prefectural Council. He also wielded considerable economic clout, occupying the post of chairman for both Mu-cha's credit cooperative and tea company. He was also a prominent supporter of local temples. In addition to serving on the Palace of Guidance temple committee, he also contributed a placard to Mu-cha's Temple of Combined Righteousness (Chi-ying Miao 集應廟)[17] in the year 1894 ("Mu-cha ch'ü ch'i-lao tso-t'an-hui chi-lu" 1985:16,17,18).

We can see from the above information that although Liu and Chang had rather different backgrounds, both rose to become leading figures in the social and religious life of the people living in the suburbs south of Taipei during the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. Although their responses to the Japanese occupation of Taiwan differed dramatically (Liu briefly fled to the mainland and shunned political life upon his return to Taiwan, while Chang stayed in Taiwan and cooperated with his new overlords), both were devout and active members of the cult surrounding Lü Tung-pin which they had helped establish in Mu-cha during the late Ch'ing. Both also played major roles in the creation of The Golden Needle of Guidance, particularly Liu and his relatives. Therefore, it seems likely that any texts they and their peers played a significant role in producing would reflect some of their concerns, including their worldview and

desire to create or reaffirm a sense of social identity.'[8]

In addition to providing us with data on those patrons of the Palace of Guidance, The Golden Needle of Guidance also revals the temple's situation at the time this morality book was produced. By the time members of the Palace of Guidance began to take part in the spirit-writing sessions which led to the production of The Golden Needle of Guidance, the temple appears to have been without any mediums (luan-sheng) who could wield the stylus used in spirit-writing rituals. As can be seen from Table 1, all members of the Palace of Guidance who participated in these spirit-writing sessions held either administrative or liturgical positions; all the spirit-mediums involved were members of the Hall of the Orthodox Heart (Chin-nan chin-chen, 1:20a-23a). Whether this is because the Palace of Guidance's first medium, Kao Piao-wang 高標旺, had died without training any disciples, or whether he and his followers had left the temple due to some sort of schism similar to those described by David Jordan and Daniel Overmyer (Jordan & Overmyer 1986:149-181) has yet to be determined. Whatever the case may be, a number of passages in The Golden Needle of Guidance indicate that all was not well with the Palace of Guidance at that time. They include a text transmitted by Lü Tung-pin during the Hour of the Dog (7:00 - 9:00 p.m.) on the 29th day of the 6th lunar month, 1903, part of which reads as follows:

> I [Lü] had originally intended to compose this text at the Palace of Guidance, but the number of people there was in sufficient (jen-shu pu-ch'i 人數不齊). For that reason, I [ordered] that the Hall of the Orthodox Heart be converted

into a temporary shrine (hsing-t'ai 行臺)[for the performance of spirit-writing rituals] (Chih-nan chin-chen, 1:36b).[19]

A statement alluding to the (then) isolated location of the Palace of Guidance and how this influenced Lü Tung-pin's decision to have the spirit-writing sessions held at the Hall of the Orthodox Heart may be found in a preface to The Golden Needle of Guidance composed by Lü Tung-pin (Ibid., 1:10a-b). The above evidence indicates that the Palace of Guidance had fallen on hard times by the early twentieth century, a fact confirmed by Wang Chien-ch'uan in his recent research (Wang 1995b:20). However, as we shall see below, all this was to change following the publication of The Golden Needle of Guidance.

Finally, The Golden Needle of Guidance can help us learn something about the motives of men like Liu T'ing-yü and their peers for supporting temples like the Palace of Guidance and contributing to the morality books they produced. The evidence presented below indicates that such support may have been motivated by two related goals: the need to express or reconfirm a sense of social identity, and the desire to accumulate what Pierre Bourdieu has defined as "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1977:171-183). In considering these issues, it is important to first consider the medium these men chose to express their agendas. Despite recent claims by Taiwanese scholars to the contrary,[20] it is clear that the practice of composing morality books containing statements transmitted by deities during spirit-writing rituals developed in China and spread to Taiwan from its southeastern coastal provinces (Jordan & Overmyer 1986: 46-69; Lang & Regvald 1993; Lien 1988; Ma & Han 1992:653-689, 706, 779, 1379; Seidel 1970; Wong 1988a:61-120 & 157-182; 1988b). Even

the attacks on opium smoking in morality books published by members of phoenix halls in Taiwan during the years 1896 to 1901, largely effective until the summer of 1901 when the Japanese authorities launched a crackdown against such groups and their texts due to the severe impact they were having on the colonial opium monopoly (Wang 1986: 124-134), derived from similar practices popular in parts of Kwangtung before and after the Opium War (Ibid.:125). Although The Golden Needle of Guidance does not contain any critical comments about opium (the members of the Palace of Guidance and Hall of the Orthodox Heart temple committees being well aware of the consequences of such rhetoric), one can see considerable evidence of the ways in which beliefs and practices in China influenced the text and its authors. The deities appearing most frequently in the text -- Lü Tung-pin, Wen-ch'ang ti-chün 文昌帝君 (also referred to as Tzu-t'ung ti-chün 梓潼帝君), and Kuan Kung (Kuan-sheng ti-chün 關聖帝君)[21] -- were also among the most popular deities among members of spirit-writing sects in late nineteenth and early twentieth century China. In addition, the calligraphy for the prefaces and postfaces appended to the book (also composed during spirit-writing sessions) was done by members of the Fukien elite, and the wooden blocks used to print the text were stored in a publishing house for morality books in Ch'üan-chou (the Ch'eng-wen T'ang Shan-shu Chü 成文堂善書局), perhaps as a means of preventing their being confiscated by the Japanese should a new crackdown on morality books in Taiwan be launched. Most importantly, few of the stories about divine retribution for good or evil deeds are set in Taiwan. The majority describe events occuring throughout north and south China during the Ch'ing dynasty, and may even have been copied from earlier morality books.[22] Apart from some references to China as "T'ang-

shan 唐山 ", and occasional mention of "Taiwan", there is little to suggest that the composition of this text represents an attempt by members of the spirit-writing sects mentioned above to establish some form of a Taiwanese identity based on a sense of difference between Taiwan and China.[23]

However, this does not mean that The Golden Needle of Guidance is devoid of claims or "statements" of identity by the men responsible for its creation.[24] For Liu T'ing-yü and his relatives in particular, the production of this text seems to have represented a means of confirming their authority in communal life, perhaps even of increasing their status and influence in the eyes of their peers, in other words the "symbolic capital" referred to by Bourdieu. This may seen in the numerous laudatory statements about the Liu's made by various deities throughout the text, particularly its prefaces. For example, in the opening preface to The Golden Needle of Guidance, Tzu-t'ung ti-chün praises the Liu's for their devotion to goodness (Chih-nan chin-chen, 1:1b), while Kuan-sheng ti-chün expresses similar sentiments in a later preface (Ibid., 1:7b). During a spirit-writing session held on the 30th day of the 6th lunar month in 1903, one of Kuan Kung's sons transmitted the following message concerning the men who were helping create this morality book:

> Today, Lord Kuan [Kuan Kung] has memorialized [to the Jade Emperor] that this [morality] book be composed by members of the Palace of Guidance at the site of the Hall of the Orthodox Heart. This is due to your perfection and sincerity (chen-ch'eng 真誠), particularly on the part of the Liu family (Liu chia 劉家) ... You should choose an [auspi-

> cious] day to invite the perfected deities and various sages (chu-chen lieh-sheng 諸真列聖), as well as the gods of the five marchmounts and three mountains to help compose [morality] books to persuade the [people of the] world to correct their perverse customs. The day this work is finished, the merit of you men of the Hall of the Orthodox Heart will not be less than that of those of the Palace of Guidance (Ibid., 1:39a).

In addition to these claims of social importance, one can also detect a current of resistance to the Japanese, particularly in the frequent references to calamities in the form of epidemics and warfare sent by celestial spirits as a form of punishment for evil behavior. The interpretation of epidemics as a form of divine retribution can be traced back to at least the Han dynasty, and has persisted up to the present day (Katz 1995d). Morality books and spirit-writing could also expressed such beliefs, as can be seen in spirit-writing texts by Kuan-sheng ti-chun and Huang Ta-hsien 黃大仙 which circulated throughout Kwangtung and Hong Kong during the plague pandemic of 1894 and described the plague as a divine response to the sinful behavior of the masses (deGroot 1910:1302-1306; Lang & Regvald 1993). The Golden Needle of Guidance also refers to epidemics as a form of divine punishment, but adds a new wrinkle in terms of mentioning warfare as well. Take for example the following passage:

> [Because of people's evil deeds], heavenly calamities descended repeatedly, and the end of the world seemed at hand. Armed soldiers arose everywhere, while famines

> afflicted the people...[The Jade Emperor] also commanded the Five [Commissioners of] Epidemics to descend with all their destructive vengeance (Chih-nan chin-chen, 1:3b).

Another passage also refers to "epidemics and armed soldiers" (wenyi tao-ping 瘟疫刀兵) (Ibid., 1:12b).

We know from Japanese Occupation sources that epidemics proved especially devastating to the people of Taiwan during the years 1895-1904 (Fan 1994; Katz 1995c), so it is not surprising that The Golden Needle of Guidance frequently mentions their impact and attributes their appearance to immoral acts by the people of Taiwan. The references to armed soldiers are more striking though, inasmuch as these are not prominently featured in morality books published in China. I would therefore hypothesize that such statements may be a form of tacit resistance[25] to the Japanese occupation by the leading members of the Palace of Guidance, although further data must be found to confirm this hypothesis.

The above analysis has demonstrated that while a strong sense of identity on the part of Taiwan's elites finds expression in The Golden Needle of Guidance, it is not an identity grounded in a feeling of separation or difference from China. Rather, this morality book and other contemporary works appear to represent an attempt by a segment of Taiwan's elite to assert or reaffirm its leadership role in local society following the traumatic events marking the decline of the Ch'ing and the occupation of the island by the Japanese in 1895. In other words, the type of identity most clearly displayed in The Golden Needle of Guidance is not an ethnic one but rather a social one. Such an identity did not necessarily contribute to the creation of a community-wide sense of iden-

tity, based as it was on the interests of the elite and the effects of intra-elite competition. While considerable energy has been expended (and wasted) on attempts to find Taiwan's "oldest" morality book (Wang 1995b: 7,9,14,15), it is clear that a huge quantity of such texts were produced during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and that these texts as a whole represent an elite response to the many drastic changes affecting the island (Ibid.: 3-4). This response included the search for a new identity which suited Taiwan's unique conditions, but such an identity was also based on historical precedents in China.

III. The Rapid Growth of the Palace of Guidance

Regardless of the type of identity reflected in The Golden Needle of Guidance, the completion and publication of this morality book in 1904 coincided with a period of intense activity at the temple. The Palace of Guidance's first reconstruction project was undertaken in that year, with Liu T'ing-yü, Liu T'ing-fan, Liu T'ing-hsien, Chang Tê-ming, Kao Ch'i 高齊, and nine other worshippers contributing 100 yen each towards its completion. The Palace of Guidance's first placard (pien-o 匾額), reading "Taiwan's Supreme Mountain" (T'ai-shan ti-yi 臺山第一) and written during a spirit-writing session by Lü Tung-pin, was also placed in the temple in that year. Just over a decade later, local gazetteers had begun to describe the throngs of people who went on pilgrimage to the temple (Taihoku chōshi 1919:715).[26]

The temple's fortunes appear to have dramatically improved beginning in 1920, following a major reorganization of the temple committee and a massive outpouring of support on the part of mine bosses who

struck gold following dreams revealed by Lü Tung-pin. One such individual, Huang Te-lung 黃德隆, was a member of the temple committee who at the time was mining for gold in Chiu-fen 九份 (in the northeast part of Taipei County). So moved was he by the efficacy of the dream Lü granted him that he subsequently donated 10,000 yen to the Palace of Guidance, which was used to finance the construction of its Earth God (T'u-ti Kung 土地公) shrine and first true phoenix hall in 1933 (this hall was converted into a temple for Kuan-yin during the Kominka ("Japanization") Movement (1938-1945)). Huang also presented a placard reading "Pointing out Stones which Turn to Gold" (tien-shih ch'eng-chin 點石成金; an allusion to Lü's divine support of his success in the gold mining industry) to the Palace of Guidance. Huang and other members of the temple committee also voted to institute a set of temple rules (miao-kuei 廟規), and led efforts to finance a major reconstruction and expansion project. A total of over 60,000 yen was raised, and the project, begun in 1921, was completed in 1928. A three-day offering (chiao 醮) ritual was then held to mark the project's successful conclusion. These members of the temple committee also headed efforts to build the ferries, roads, bridges, and bus lines which made the Palace of Guidance more easily accessible to worshippers from beyond Mu-cha (Chiang 1985:141-142; Katz 1995a; Suzuki 1978 (1934):436-437). Contemporary sources provide vivid descriptions of the scale of the new temple complex (Bunsan gun kannai yōran 1927:19, 1931:177; Masuda 1935:16-17,19). Official surveys compiled during the Japanese Occupation[27] contain detailed information on the temple's property, finances, worshippers, scriptures, and ritual activities during the 1930s and 1940s (Miyamoto 1988: 260-262).

The Palace of Guidance has continued to thrive during the post-war era (Feuchtwang 1974b), largely due to the continuing support of miners and their relatives. The temple's third and arguably most important chairman of the board (tung-shih chang 董事長) during this period was Li Chien-ho 李建和 (served from 1955 to 1971), one of northern Taiwan's most famous mine bosses (Huang 1995; T'ai-wan k'uang-ye hui-chih 1991: 798-799). The current chairman, Kao Chung-hsin 高忠信 (1971-present) is related to the Li family through marriage to one of Li's daughters. In addition to leading temple expansion projects, Kao has also served as a KMT representative in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan. The site today features the main hall (pen-tien 本殿) for Lü Tung-pin (founded in 1891), a temple dedicated to Confucius (the Ta-ch'eng Tien 大成殿, converted from a meditation hall for one worshipper into a temple during the period covering 1945-1951), a temple for Taoist deities (the Ling-hsiao Pao-tien 凌霄寶殿, completed in 1966), a temple for Buddhist deities (the Ta-hsiung Pao-tien 大雄寶殿; the former hall to Kuan-yin, this was completed in 1984 and housing a famous statue of the Buddha donated by a Thai Buddhist monk), and the above-mentioned shrine to the Earth God. In addition to these buildings, the Palace of Guidance also has its own restaurant and tea plantation.

Many of the major events in the Palace of Guidance's history which occured following the publication of The Golden Needle of Guidance, as well as key factors behind the temple's growth process, are described in No Boundaries, a morality book published in 1980. For example, the text contains seven stories regarding miraculous experiences resulting from dream divination rituals (Li 1980:10-15).[28] In addition, it also features a

description of spirit-writing rituals held at the temple in 1980, as well as the poems produced during such rituals from 1978-1980 (Ibid.:16-31). An account of a miraculous healing at the temple in 1978 due to Lü Tung-pin's powers is also prominently featured (Ibid.:39-41), as is an autobiography of a man healed at the temple during the Japanese Occupation who went on to become a Buddhist monk (Ibid.:42-47). The text also contains hagiographical accounts of Lü Tung-pin (Ibid.:1-9,42-47), as well as the texts of morality books circulating at the Palace of Guidance (although not necessarily printed by the temple committee; Ibid.:32-38). Finally, stories of the construction of the Temple of Confucius and the donation of the gold statue of Buddha to the temple in 1977 are also presented (Ibid.:64-70).

We can see from the above description that No Boundaries is a very different morality book from The Golden Needle of Guidance in terms of both structure and contents. Records of spirit-writing rituals occupy only a portion of the contents of No Boundaries, and the texts themselves have been transmitted by Lü Tung-pin and/or the Eight Immortals, not (with the exception of Lü himself) the Three Benevolent Ones and related deities. While both works contain stories of divine retribution, those in No Boundaries are all set in modern Taiwan, and have nothing to do with events occuring in China. In addition, certain stories deal with problems related to Taiwan's modernization and urbanization beginning in the 1960's. For example, dream divination story #1 is about a student named Ts'ai who sought guidance from Lü in 1971 while preparing for the university entrance exams (Li 1980:10; Thompson 1988:77-78), while story #3 concerns a family who moved from the hills outside Tamshui to

Taipei to start a business in 1961 (Ibid.:13; Ibid.:79). Story #7 describes a man who in 1963 sought advice from Lü concerning what type of equipment would be most suitable for starting a factory (Ibid.:14-15; Ibid.:81). According to the text's postface:

> It is said that people accustomed to living in cities today are frequently disturbed by common things (su-shih 俗事). If they can set all that aside, and come here [to the Palace of Guidance] to reflect (shen-ssu 深思) amidst this dignified religious atmosphere, the immortal patriarch (hsien-tsu 仙祖; = Lü Tung-pin) will stimulate their self-confidence (tzu-wo hsin-hsin 自我信心). This will certainly increase their productivity on the job. At the very least, it will be of benefit to them individually; at most, it will help strengthen the nation and the people (Li 1980:73-74).

These comments clearly link proper moral behavior and ritual efficacy to individual needs arising from the modernization and urbanization processes affecting Taiwan. Thus, the Palace of Guidance is presented as being of benefit to individuals beset by personal problems. At the same time, the postface also presents Lü's cult at the Palace of Guidance in an almost patriotic light, claiming that it can aid the nation as well as individuals.

The sense of identity presented in No Boundaries is also very different from that in The Golden Needle of Guidance. For one thing, No Boundaries represents accounts of events affecting Taiwanese people recorded by Taiwanese worshippers for a Taiwanese audience. At the

same time, however, we also see significant evidence to indicate the sense of Taiwanese identity expressed in this text continues to emphasize Taiwan's cultural links to China. For example, both hagiographical accounts of Lü in No Boundaries contain numerous stories about Lü's life and deeds in China, and are based on source materials found in China. The same is true for a hagiographical steel inscription about Lü erected at the Palace of Guidance in 1959 (Chiang 1985:146-147). It is therefore clearly no coincidence that the temple gazetteer Chih-nan Kung, published on the supposed 100th anniversary of the temple's founding, claims that the Palace of Guidance is linked to the Palace of Eternal through a division of incense relationship. This indicates that for at least some worshippers at the Palace of Guidance asserting a Taiwanese identity does not conflict with attempts to establish historical legitimacy through fictional links with religious traditions in China.

As for the poems and prose texts written during spirit-writing sessions, these are very conservative in tone, centering on the traditional values of filial piety and loyalty to the state. Particularly interesting are exhortations by the immortals Chung-li Ch'uan 鍾離權 in 1978 and Li T'ieh-kuai 李鐵枴 in 1979 to be "patriotic" (ai-kuo 愛國), as well as numerous other expressions of loyalty to the KMT government and its policies by other members of the Eight Immortals. This may be due to the fact that the chairman of the board Kao Chung-hsin and other members of the temple committee were members of the ruling KMT and played important roles in local politics. All in all, while it seems unlikely that the production of No Boundaries in 1980 contributed to the Palace of Guidance's growth, the contents of this work prove invaluable to the

historian attempting to understand how this temple grew in the twentieth century and why.

IV. Conclusion

The evidence presented above has attempted to show the importance of morality books in researching the history of local cults and their temples in modern Taiwan. While the above account of the Palace of Guidance's history is admittedly all too sketchy, the data I have gathered so far does allow us to reach a number of tentative conclusions. First of all, the contents of The Golden Needle of Guidance and No Boundaries reveal that popular temples like the Palace of Guidance attracted large numbers of supporters by relying on a wide range of ritual services and the ability to meet the needs of a broad base of worshippers.[29] In this context, the publication of morality books like The Golden Needle of Guidance and No Boundaries may be viewed as a means of attracting new patrons and worshippers. In addition, these two texts also reveal the types of rituals which contributed to the growth of the Palace of Guidance. When The Golden Needle of Guidance was composed in 1903-1904, the Palace of Guidance appears to have solely performed spirit-writing rituals. However, by at least the 1920's the Palace of Guidance had become a sacred site featuring all manner of rituals, especially those involving dream divination and ritual healing. The morality book No Boundaries, with its accounts of how such rituals attracted new supporters during the Japanese Occupation and post-War eras, supplies key data which explain how this temple to Lü Tung-pin, once on the verge of collapse at the beginning of the twentieth century, grew into one of Taipei's best known

sacred sites just a couple of decades later.

Secondly, morality books like those described above can provide critical information in the form of the identities of those members of the elite who supported the cult of Lü Tung-pin at the Palace of Guidance. The evidence disucssed above indicates that these men tended to be scholar-officials and rich tea farmers from Mu-cha and Ching-mei during the late Ch'ing dynasty and early Japanese Occupation periods. Beginning in the 1920's, however, mine bosses and local merchants appear to have played an ever more influential role in the cult. Women were obviously key cult supporters, but until recently rarely had the ability to contribute large sums of money to the temple and did not occupy positions on the temple committee. However, the list of donors produced at the end of No Boundaries indicates that a number of women contributed money towards its publication, while others appear to have helped compose parts of the works contained in it.

Finally, The Golden Needle of Guidance and No Boundaries can help us determine the nature and historical significance of the Palace of Guidance compared to other major temples in Taipei. Regarding this point, I would agree with Stephan Feuchtwang that the Palace of Guidance appears to belong to a class of newer temples which do not fit the traditional typologies of compatriot, commercial, or territorial temples. Such temples, which also include the Hsing-t'ien Kung 行天宮 and the Chüeh-hsiu Kung 覺修宮, are relatively young, with histories generally only covering the twentieth century. Feuchtwang also shows that such temples tend to be characterized by "syncretistic beliefs, followers organized into congregations, a strong governmental orientation, and a lack in most cases

of any specific affiliations with a locality" (Feuchtwang 1974b:263-264, 296-297, 300 & 301). The Golden Needle of Guidance and No Boundaries provide much evidence to support Feuchtwang's observations, although I would argue that the term "eclectic" might be more appropriate than "syncretistic."[30] Both morality books contains elements of the Three Religions (Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism). Both works also feature strong governmental orientation, especially No Boundaries, with its spirit-writing poems urging worshippers to be more patriotic. As for affiliations with the Mu-cha area, Feuchtwang seems correct in that the Palace of Guidance does not sponsor its own procession or impose a ritual levy on the area (Feuchtwang 1992). In addition, the data in the two morality books discussed above shows that the temple's leadership has consisted of people from different part of northern Taiwan, not just Mu-cha and its neighboring towns. Therefore, although the Palace of Guidance clearly functions as a type of public space, it cannot be classified as a "public temple" (kung-miao 公廟).

Notes

1 See the important review articles by Sung Kuang-yü 宋光宇 and Wang Chien-ch'uan 王見川 (Sung 1995; Wang 1995b).

2 Wang Chien-ch'uan has argued that Wang Pin-lin may in fact have been a local official from Anhui named Wang Pin-lin 王斌林, who served in Hsin-chuang 新莊 (Wang 1995a:20). However, he has yet to provide convincing evidence to prove his argument. In addition, Huang Tê-shih does not mention Wang Pin-lin in his 1976 essay (Huang 1976).

3 This site apparently no longer exists.

4 The Hall of Spreading Loyalty still flourishes today, but the Society of Sincere Customs seems to have disappeared.

5 See for example the list of district magistrates of Tamshui County in (Huang 1983:I,810).

6 For more on the role played by dream divination, see (Katz 1995a).

7 Many of the most important sections of this work, including a detailed description of Lü's cult in Mountainstreet, may be found in Professor Feuchtwang's recent book (Feuchtwang 1992).

8 Literally "disciples of the phoenix". Men and women known as luan-sheng are responsible for performing the spirit-writing rituals leading to the creation of morality books.

9 Professor Laurence G. Thompson has discussed this morality book and translated its accounts of dream divination in his article on dream divination (Thompson 1988).

10 This does not seem to be a formal title, but merely a reference to Wu's high rank in the Hall's hierarchy. Wu served as Chief Wielder (cheng-luan sheng 正鸞生; see (Wang 1995a)).

11 The history of these halls is treated in detail in (Wang 1995a).

12 This phoenix hall was founded in 1899 by members of the local elite who had visited a phoenix hall in Ching-mei (perhaps the Society for Sincere Customs?). They may also have studied spirit-writing techniques there (Wang 1986:115,120-121,124; Wang 1995a:60).

13 In a recent article, Wang Chien-ch'uan has modified his position, arguing that only the Palace of Guidance's method of spirit writing (luan-fa 鸞法) may have been influenced by the Hall of Awakening (Wang 1995b:16).

14 What appears to be the sole surviving copy of this work is currently in the library of the Institute of Taiwan History (Preparatory Office), Academia Sinica, representing one part of a collection of rare materials belonging to a Mu-cha family which was purchased by Academia Sinica in 1993 (Hsü 1994:121).

15 Each section is designated by a Chinese character. In succession, they read: "Cross to the other shore [paradise] together" (pi-an t'ung-teng 彼

岸同登).

16 This might in part explain Liu's connection with the Studio of Jade Purity, which was located in Meng-chia.

17 Numerous temples of this name are located in northern Taiwan. They are dedicated to deities known as Ang-kung 尪公 (the T'ang martial heroes Chang Hsün 張巡 and Hsü Yüan 許遠). For more on this cult, see (Feuchtwang 1992).

18 For more on the problem of morality books and the creation or reaffirmation of identity, see (Katz 1996).

19 The term hsing-t'ai refers to both temporary residences for officials as well as temporary shrines for deities who had left their own temples.

20 See for example Ch'ung-hsiu T'ai-wan sheng t'ung-chih, chüan 3, chu-min chih, tsung-chiao p'ien, pp. 952-953.

21 These deities are frequently referred to by members of spirit-writing cults as the Three Benevolent Ones (san en-chu 三恩主).

22 I have yet to begin the process of tracing the spread of all these stories, but hope to do so in future research. One story about a filial son who survived numerous epidemics in Jung-ch'eng during the T'ung-chih reign (1862-1874) (Chih-nan chin-chen, 3:54b-56a) may have become known to Liu T'ing-yü when he took refuge in Jung-ch'eng following the Japanese occupation of Taiwan.

23 For more on the problem of Taiwanese identity, see (Bosco 1992; Cohen 1994 (1991); Dean 1993; Hong & Murray 1994; Rubinstein 1993, 1995; Sangren 1995; and Wachman 1994).

24 For more on the process of making "statements" in Taiwanese religion, see (Rubinstein 1995:191-194).

25 For more on religious forms of resistance in China and Taiwan, see (Weller 1994).

26 For more on these sources, see (Lin 1993).

27 For more on these sources, see (Katz 1995b; Liu 1994).

28 These have been translated in (Thompson 1988:77-81).

29 See for example (Watson 1985).

30 An important analysis of this problem may be found in (Brook 1993).

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由善書看台灣寺廟的發展
以指南宮的兩善書爲例

康　　豹*

本文是以台北市木柵區指南宮 (1891 年創建) 的兩本善書--《指南金針》 (1903-1904) 及《無疆》 (1980)--來探討這座寺廟的早期發展 (1891 至 1945 年) 。指南宮的主神爲呂洞賓，而其信仰是台灣最盛與的信仰之一。爲了進一步研究這個信仰在台灣的發展，本人乃進行有關指南宮的個案研究，以參考相關史料及從事田野調查爲主要的研究方法。

本文先探討過去學者關於指南宮的歷史的錯誤看法及其背後原因。接著，透過上述兩本善書來研究當時支持指南宮的重要信徒的社會背景及其動機。這些史料告訴我們，指南宮早期的支持者包括了木柵地區的地方紳士與地方精英，而這些人也透過善書來表達他們的心態及地方認同。總而言之，善書能夠對於台灣寺廟的發展史提供不少寶貴的訊息。不過，學者必須同時利用其他的史料 -如地方志、檔案、碑文等…--才能夠進一步地了解這種歷史問題。

* 國立中央大學歷史研究所副教授