

The City-god Temples (*ch'eng-huang-miao*) of Chiangnan in the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties

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1. Introduction

Through an analysis of *ch'eng-huang* or "city gods", this essay examines the relationship between the state control of Ming dynasty and independent popular social custom. While the state attempted to suppress the autonomy of society, in fact the two co-existed. It is this distinctive characteristic of the Chinese state and society which I intend to clarify. Têng Ssü-yu and Naba Toshisada, and more recently Nakamura Tetsuo and David Johnson, have examined the history of *ch'eng-huang* (城隍), common to the cities of traditional China (Têng, 1935; Naba, 1934; Nakamura, 1976; Johnson, 1985).¹⁾ We share with them the views that 1) the *ch'eng-huang* cult emerged during the Southern and Northern Dynasties period in the Yangtse Valley, 2) the various *ch'eng-huang* are anthropomorphic deities based on specific historical figures, and 3) these *ch'eng-huang* began as the tutelary deities of cities and later developed into the patron deities of wider patron geographical areas.

Most research to date has examined the emergence and function of *ch'eng-huang* and *ch'eng-huang* temples and the history of their enfeoffment by imperial dynasties from the Southern and Northern dynasties period to the Sung and Yüan periods. Têng Ssü-yu has meticulously traced the transitions in the *ch'eng-huang* down to the Ming-Ch'ing period and has addressed the changes of the very early Ming (Têng 1935, pp. 259-61). This essay builds upon that research and sheds new light onto the following two points. The first part is an examination of the stages, significance, and background of early Ming institutional changes, changes which Teng only partially succeeded in explaining. Here I will draw upon recent scholarship on the nature of the political power of Chu Yüan-chang (朱元璋). The second part is an analysis of the emergence of township-level *ch'eng-huang* temples, a new historical phenomenon related to urbanization and commercialization in the Chiang-nan region during the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods. I have chosen to examine changes in the *ch'eng-huang* because they are tied to and concretely illustrate changes in government institutions and independent social networks. Based on my research to date, township-level *ch'eng-huang* temples seem to be restricted to the Chiang-nan delta, and I have therefore limited my comments to this region.

At least for the early modern period of Chinese history, the common understanding of *ch'eng-huang* as city-god or a protector of a city demands reconsideration. As I attempt to illustrate below, *ch'eng-huang* were not only the tutelary deities of cities, but also of wider geographical areas, as well as townships. For the sake of conceptual clarity, I have romanized the term *ch'eng-huang* throughout this article.

2. *Ch'eng-huang* Regulations in the Early Hung-wu Reign

Starting in the first year of the Wu reign (吳元年, 1367) and continuing on for more than a decade, there are innumerable accounts of the reforms of the ritual regulations recorded in the *T'ai-tzu shih-lu* (太祖實錄, hereafter abbreviated as *TTSL*).² While reform of Rites and Music (*li-yüeh* 禮樂) was common upon the founding of a dynasty, the reform of the "barbarian regulations (*hu-chih* 胡制)" of the Yüan was an especially urgent question for the Ming. A total restructuring, from daily etiquette³ to apparel⁴ to the Altar of Heaven (*t'ien-t'an* 天壇), was carried out. The reform of sacrifices, a critical element in the restructuring of the rites regulations, began prior to Chu's ascension to the throne. The completion of the Round Altar and Square Altar used in the offerings to heaven and earth in the eighth month of the first year of the Wu reign (1367) was a clear indication of Chu's decision to found a new dynasty (pp. 354–57). Paralleling these concrete offerings, ideological scrutiny and the formulation of regulation proceeded apace. Beginning in the first year of the Hung-wu (洪武) reign⁵, "the officials of rites (*li-kuan* 禮官) and various Confucian officials (*ju-ch'en* 儒臣) of the Hanlin Academy and the Court of Imperial Sacrifices" were ordered to examine the system of offerings. In the second month, the Grand Councillor, Li Shan-ch'ang (李善長), the Hanlin scholar T'ao An (陶安) and others submitted a memorial reporting on the new regulations pertaining to the offerings over which the emperor personally officiated, including the Altar of Heaven, the Altar of Earth, the spirits of the soil and grains (*shê-chi* 社稷), and the ancestral temple (*tsung miao* 宗廟) (p. 523). It was accepted. In the tenth month, local officials were ordered to compile a list of the deities of heaven and earth (*t'ien-shen ti-ch'ih* 天神地祇), famous mountains, great rivers, sacred emperors, brilliant princes, loyal ministers, martyrs, and those who had performed meritorious service and had benefitted the empire and the people (p. 632).

It was during the course of this reform that on the first day of the first month of the second year of the Hung-wu reign (1368·2·7) that *ch'eng-huang* all over the empire were enfeoffed. The *ch'eng-huang* of the capital, i.e., Nanking, Ying-t'ien Prefecture (應天府), was enfeoffed as Bright and Illuminous Prince of Rising Fortune (*shêng-fu ming-ling wang* 昇福明靈王), and the *ch'eng-huang* of the five cities of the Northern Capital of Kaifeng Prefecture (*Pei-ching Kai-fêng fu* 北京開封府), Lin-hao Prefecture (臨濠府), T'ai-p'ing Prefecture (太平府), Hê-chou (和州) and Ch'ü chou (滁州) were enfeoffed as Princes with a rank of 1a. At the same time,

the prefectural *ch'eng-huang* of the empire were enfeoffed as Duke of Power and Illuminosity (*wei-lung kung* 威靈公), grade 2a, those of the subprefectural level as Marquis Ling-you (*ling-you hou* 靈祐侯), rank 3a, and those of county level as Count Hsien-you (*hsien-you po* 顯祐伯), rank 4a (pp. 755–59; Têng, 1934, p. 259). The *ch'eng-huang* of Nanking had no official ranking as it would have been to liken the *ch'eng-huang* to the emperor. In the third year of the Hung-wu reign, the Minister of Rites, T'ao K'ai (陶愷) officiated over the ceremony placing the spirit tablet (*mu-chu* 木主) in the newly constructed temple of the Nanking *ch'eng-huang*. I call this reform the Second Year Reform (二年新制), and it is noteworthy for the following four points.

First, this was the first systematic investment of *ch'eng-huang* with titles in Chinese history. As officials of rites noted at the time, "from the Sung dynasty, offerings to the *ch'eng-huang* were widespread throughout the empire, and the emperor issued temple plaques and titles of investment (p. 765)." It was not unusual for dynasties to enfeoff on an individual basis *ch'eng-huang* which had been independently established among the people. Even the title of the capital *ch'eng-huang*, "Brilliant and Luminous Prince of Rising Fortune" was based on the Sung dynasty title "Marquis of Rising Fortune" (pp. 756–57). However, *ch'eng-huang* were not included in the national system of sacrifices. While Umehara (1986) has carried out a highly detailed textual analysis of suburban sacrifices during the Sung dynasty, *ch'eng-huang* make no appearance. As is shown in Yü Chi's (虞集) *Record of ch'eng-huang temple stele of Ta-tu* (大都城隍廟碑記) (Naba, 1934 p. 558), although there were *ch'eng-huang* temples erected in the Yüan capital of Ta-tu, they were not included in the "Treatise on Sacrifices (*chi-ssü chih* 祭祀志)" in the *Official History of the Yüan Dynasty* (*Yüan shih* 元史). In a word, this was the first time *ch'eng-huang* were systematically added to the official sacrifices.

Secondly, *ch'eng-huang* deities were institutionalized based on the idea of correspondence between the Rites and Music (禮樂) of this world and the spirits (*kui-shen* 鬼神) of the underworld. The *ch'eng-huang* emerged formulaically as local officials of the netherworld, corresponding to the local officials of a specific locality. By the Yüan dynasty, *ch'eng-huang* deities had already transcended their status as city patrons and had become the patrons of larger regions, including surrounding villages, but they had no relation to the laws of the dynasty. Additionally, while it had become customary for newly appointed local officials to make offerings at the *ch'eng-huang* temple, it was not included among their official responsibilities. During the Chih-yüan (至元) reign, the newly appointed magistrate of Lan-hsi, Chê-tung (蘭溪, 浙東) visited the *ch'eng-huang* only after being advised to do so by local clerks (Chung-chen *Lan-hsi County Gazetteer*, *chüan* 2, "Ch'eng-huang Temple" 崇禎 蘭溪志, 城隍廟). From this we can see that while by custom there was a link between the local magistrate and the *ch'eng-huang*, it was not official, and even as a custom, it was not firmly established.

Thirdly, these *ch'eng-huang* deities were pre-existing *ch'eng-huang* deities in various regions that had been perpetuated without change and granted titles of

investment. That is to say, there was no qualitative change in their nature as anthropomorphic deities. Simultaneous to this edict, standards of apparel of *ch'eng-huang* deities were fixed. This too was predicated upon the assumption that the idols of the deities already existed. It seems probable that in each of the *ch'eng-huang* temples, images of the deity remaining from the previous dynasty continued to be used.

Fourthly, with the establishment of a 5-level ranking of A) the capital, B) K'ai-fêng, Lin-hao, T'ai-P'ing, Hê-chou, Ch'u-chou, C) prefecture, D) subprefecture, and E) county, the *ch'eng-huang* deities were made to correspond to the administrative hierarchy. However, the inclusion of the cities in rank (b) impeded a straightforward ordering. K'ai-fêng was the capital of the Sung, and one of the candidates for the site of the Ming capital. Thus, according to its special ranking seems reasonable. However, though the other four all had intimate ties to the history of Chu Yüan-chang's group, they were given low rank in the administrative network of the Ming emperor's rule.⁶⁾ The particularism of rewarding those deities who had favored members of Chu's group existed side by side with the universal public rule of the Ming emperor and the ranking of A-C-D-E.

To summarize, we can say that the Second Year Reform was not marked by any decisive ideological reform; traditional belief in the *ch'eng-huang* was incorporated largely unchanged into the national system of rituals.

Shortly after the establishment of the new regulations, on the 13th day of the first month (1369·2·19), an edict was issued for the construction of an altar in the southern suburb of the capital, based on a report by the officials of rites in response to the emperor's inquiry about sacrifices to the deities of heaven and earth.⁷⁾ It was also ordered that as one of the deities of the earth, offerings also be made to the *ch'eng-huang* at the altar (pp. 766–9; Têng, 1934, p. 260, based on *Ch'un-ming mêng-yü lu* 春明夢餘錄).⁸⁾ While of course the capital *ch'eng-huang* was located in the capital of Nanking, according to this regulation, the *ch'eng-huang* deity, as one of the earth deities, was included in the suburb sacrifices of the emperor, and was to be offered sacrifices at the altar of spirits of heaven and earth. Here we can perceive the existence of an ideology that did not accord with, even stood in opposition to, the Second Year Reforms.

This clear doctrinal opposition was accentuated a year and one half later with a new set of reforms. An edict of 1370–6–29 reads:

The enfeoffment of famous mountains and great rivers began with the T'ang, and succeeding dynasties have granted ostentatious titles. We believe this to be wrong. All of these towering mountains and broad waters have been appointed directly by Heaven . . . For a ruler to add titles is to violate propriety, and it is incorrect. Henceforth, based on the ancient regulations predating the T'ang, all titles for famous mountains and great waters will be eliminated and these will be called only the original name of the mountain and water. The heavenly titles of the

ch'eng-huang of the prefectures and counties will in the same way be corrected. The *ch'eng-huang* of each prefecture, subprefecture, and county will be called the deity of the xx prefecture, xx subprefecture, and xx county. (pp. 1033-35).⁹

I call this reform the Third Year Reform. Its qualitative difference from the Second Year Reform is immediately apparent. The correction of the titles of the *ch'eng-huang* was in effect a suppression of their defining attribute, their anthropomorphic nature. We have already seen that the titles granted to *ch'eng-huang* deities by various dynasties had been codified by the Second Year Reform. Based on the doctrine that *ch'eng-huang*, like the natural deities such as T'ai-shan Mountain and the Yellow River, are deities, even without the acknowledgement of the ruler, all titles were revoked. Ideologically, this was an important turning point. With regard to the Second Year Reform, the local gazetteer of Chu's home town writes critically, "The founder still did not have a clear understanding (of the issue)."¹⁰ Additionally, this reform eliminated the systematic private repayment for support of Chu's group that was evident in the second year reforms. A logically consistent hierarchy of the *ch'eng-huang* emerged: *ch'eng-huang* were simplified into a three-tier ranking of 1) capital-2) prefecture-3) subprefecture/county which corresponded to the temporal rule of the emperor.

This pivotal ideological change demanded concrete institutional change. Following edicts ordered that the scale and lay-out of *ch'eng-huang* of the prefectural level and below match those of the corresponding yamen offices. The arrangement of utensils was also imitated, and a spirit tablet was placed in the magistrate's seat (p. 1050). Ch'iu Chün (丘濬) writes that "the old earthen idols of the deities were immersed in water and destroyed. The mud was spread on the wall behind them, and pictures of clouds and mountains were painted (Têng, 1934, p. 260 which quotes from Ch'iu's *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* 大學衍義補)."¹¹ There are also numerous accounts of the destruction of the old idols of deities in local gazetteers. In brief, the third year reform signalled an important ideological change which transformed anthropomorphic deities to deities of nature, abolished titles of investment, and destroyed the images of the deities. The characteristic of the administrative official of the netherworld of a particular administrative locality that was previously publicly fixed in the second year reform was further reinforced in the third year reform as it was determined that the lay-out of temples would imitate those of yamen offices.

3. The Background to and Implementation of Institutionalization

As mentioned above, there were four accounts related to the *ch'eng-huang* reforms in the *TTSL*. The edict of 1368. 2. 7 (henceforth designated as account A), the memorial of the official of rites on 1368. 2. 19 (account B), the edict of 1370. 6. 29 (account C), and the edict of 1370. 7. 4 (account D). Accounts B

through D all share the doctrine of a non-anthropomorphic deity and contrast sharply with account A. That they all appeared at approximately the same time indicates the simultaneous existence of contending opinions. According to account A, T'ai-tsu ordered the discussion of *ch'eng-huang* in response to the Secretariat and the official of rites (p. 755). In answer to the emperor's inquiry, the Secretariat quickly submitted a report of its own (account A). It appears that the official of rites submitted a separate report (B) which did not reflect the opinions of the Secretariat. The proposals in account A were advanced by the Secretariat, while those in accounts B through D were those of the officials of rites.

The head minister of the Secretariat at the time, Grand Councillor of the Left, Hsü Ta (徐達), was engaged in the Northern Campaign, leaving Grand Councillor of the Right, Li Shan-ch'ang, as Grand Secretary. A native of Lin-hao, Chiang-pei (江北), Li "was originally a minor clerk" who "excelled in the use of law (p. 3032)". Thus, while he may be said to have been a civil official, with his background as a clerk, he cannot be considered one of the "literati (*shih-ta-fu* 士大夫)." ¹²⁾ The assistant Grand Secretaries of the Left and Right, Chao Yung (趙庸) and Wang P'u (王溥) are listed in the table of Grand Councillors (*tsai-fu nien-piao* 宰輔年表) in the *Official History of the Ming* (*Ming-shih* 明史, hereafter abbreviated as *MS*). However, they were engaged in the management of the Northern Expedition and the newly subjugated territories. The Assistant Administrators, Wang Kuang-yang (汪廣洋) and Liu Wei-ching (劉惟敬), were appointed in the 12th month of the first year of the Hung-wu reign, but considered in terms of time, they had only a weak impact upon the formation of the *ch'eng-huang* system policy. Wang Kuang-yang was from Kao-you (高郵), Chiang-pei and after completing his studies, he ended up settling in T'ai P'ing. He joined Chu Yüan-chang as an advisor when Chu crossed the Yang-tsu river in 1345. He did not actively participate in government, "only holding a title (pp. 2035-38)." There is no biography for Liu.

During the early Ming, the Six Bureaus were under the total control of the Secretariat ¹³⁾; there was no independent avenue to voice opinions contrary to those of the Secretariat. During the 12th month of the first year of the Hung-wu reign, the Minister of the Bureau of Rites, Ch'ien Yung-jên (錢用壬), was replaced by Ts'ui Liang (崔亮). ¹⁴⁾ From Kuang-tê (廣德), Ch'ien was a literatus who placed first among the metropolitan graduates of the south and was made a compiler in the Hanlin Academy. In 1367, the Hanlin scholar T'ao An was made Director-General of the "Formulation of Ritual (*i-li tsung-ts'ai* 議禮總裁)," and was at the center of Confucian officials' discussion of the ritual regulations. He was appointed Minister of the Bureau of Rites in the first year of the reign, only to retire before the year was over. ¹⁵⁾ In 1366, his successor Ts'ui Liang of Kao-ch'êng (藁城), Ho-pei, had surrendered as a clerk in the Chiang-chê Branch Secretariat (江浙行省) and was made Secretary of the rites section of the Secretariat. "After the emperor ascended the throne, he (Ts'ui) planned all the various rites of the great offerings." "All regulations of ritual were first examined by Ch'ien

Yung-jên, and then, Ts'ui Liang, drawing upon actual precedents, confirmed them. The exactness of his textual research exceeded that of Ch'ien Yung-jên."¹⁶⁾ From this, we can infer that Li, Ts'ui and the other civil officials born in north China with backgrounds as clerks formed the core of "group A."¹⁷⁾

In contrast, the Confucian officials of the Hanlin Academy pushed for de-anthropomorphization (p. 540). Like T'ao An and Ch'ien Yung-jên, they were literati from the Chiang-nan region (江南), especially Chê-tung (浙東) and its environs. They formed a nucleus around the Chu Hsi school (朱子學派) of Chê-tung. Their social class origins stood in stark contrast to the backgrounds of Li, Ts'ui, and other civil officials from the north.

During the first half of the third year, Li Shan-ch'ang was ill, and the Secretariat was without a leader. During the fourth month, Wang Kuang-yang finally returned from his post as the Administration Vice-commissioner of the Branch Secretariat of Shan-hsi (陝西) to his position of the Grand Councillor of the Left, serving as acting Grand Councillor. However, Yang Hsien (楊憲) (a member of the anti-Li Shan-ch'ang faction) serving as the Grand Councillor of the Right, had seized actual control of the Secretariat during the ninth month of the previous year. Clandestine in-fighting continued between Wang and Yang until the sixth month, when Wang fell from power on charges of lacking filial piety towards his mother (pp. 2035–36). The next month, Yang was executed on charges of conspiracy. Thus, the Secretariat lacked a stable leadership (p. 1069). We can infer that this weakening of the Secretariat leadership provided the necessary political conditions for the implementation of the fundamentalist third year reform, a reform based on orthodox Chu Hsi Confucianism.

In addition to this conflict between the "popular custom" faction of the north and the ideological faction of the south, there was also a conflict between Taoism and Confucianism. During the summer of 1368, Li Shan-ch'ang of the popular custom faction invited the Taoist monk Chou Hsüan-ch'u (周玄初) and offerings for rain were carried out (Shiga, 1963b, p. 35). Yu Chi writes of the metropolitan *ch'eng-huang*, that there was Taoist temple constructed next to the *ch'eng-huang* temple which the Taoist monk Tuan Shih-hsiang (段志祥) was ordered to look after in perpetuity (Naba, 1934, p. 558; Têng, 1935, p. 270). As the Hung-wu edition of the *Hu-chou Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Hu-chou fu-chih* 湖州府志) notes of the *ch'eng-huang* temple of Chang-hsing county (長興縣), "in previous gazetteers, it was listed under the heading of Taoist temples," *ch'eng-huang* temples were traditionally classified as Taoist temples. During the Southern Sung, *ch'eng-huang* temples were under the jurisdiction of the Celestial Master Chang (張天師), and Taoist monks were responsible for their supervision (Matsumoto, 1982, pp. 344–45). The anthropomorphic deities of the *ch'eng-huang* were Taoist.

The Chu Hsi faction was critical of the very existence of *ch'eng-huang* temples. The memorial of the official of rites mentioned above relates that "previous Confucians said that with the spirit of the soil and grains there is no need for *ch'eng-huang*." In response to the questions of his disciples, Ch'êng I (程

頤) responded that “*ch’eng-huang* are not the tutelary gods of territory. Only the spirit of the soil and grains are.” Further, as magistrate of Kui-lin (桂林), Ch’êng’s disciple, Ch’ang Nan-hsien (張南軒), destroyed heterodox temples (*yin-ts’u* 淫祠). He was asked by students, “There were *she* previously. Do you not consider *ch’eng-huang* necessary?” He responded, “*ch’eng-huang* are a useless duplication.” Ming Confucianists praised both stories.¹⁸⁾ One can contrast the popular custom faction, which had perpetuated unchanged the popular *ch’eng-huang* as favoring Taoism, with the fundamentalist ideological faction, which advocated passively subsuming *ch’eng-huang* into the national system of offerings, as being based on fundamentalist Confucianism. During the eighth month of the first year of the Hung-wu reign, the title of the patriarch of the sect of the Celestial Master, long close to the Chu Yüan-chang group and given the most important position among the Taoists, was changed by Chu from “Celestial Master (天師)” to “Pure Man (真人)” because Chu believed that “the title Teacher of Heaven (天師) is insolent in the extreme (*TTSL* p. 601).” The same ideal lay at the root of the third year reform.

The duality of the formative period of Chu’s rule also reflects Chu Yüan-chang the individual. On one hand, he moved Sung Lien (宋濂) when he said, “Ch’in Shih Huang-ti (秦始皇帝) and others futilely fatigued themselves with their fondness for spirits and the pursuit of longevity. They should have applied this effort to governing. A ruler who stabilizes the livelihood of the people with a pure heart and few desires is a deity. Having one’s achievements recorded in the annals of history and having one’s name remembered, that is longevity (p. 596; Shiga, 1963, p. 34).”¹⁹⁾ On the other hand, Chu often called for Chou Hsüan-ch’u to hear stories of ghosts and thunder. Thus, he was appointed Superintendent of the Imperial Music Office responsible for rituals and religious instruction (Shiga, 1963b, p. 36–7). While the Ming dynasty prohibited Buddhist and Taoist monks from participating in national offerings, at the same time, the Taoist monk Ch’iu Hsüen-ch’ing (丘玄清) of the Wu-tang (武當) sect was appointed for many years as Chief Minister of Court of Imperial Sacrifices, responsible for ceremonial propriety (Shiga, 1963b, pp. 41–42). The rivalry between Taoism and Confucianism existed against this contradictory background. Especially in the area of court ritual, the Taoists were able to clearly establish dominance in the actual performance of ceremonies.

For example in 1367, Chu Shêng (朱升), as a Hanlin scholar one of the ranking Confucian officials, was unable to differentiate the five tones, and Chu Yüan-chang lamented that “there are few present-day Confucians who understand the learning of music (*TTLC* pp. 347–8).” Even in this fragmentary episode, we can see the tension between Taoism and Confucianism at the heart of Chu’s political power.

How much of this Confucian reform was actually implemented? The Hung-wu edition of *Hu-chou Prefectural Gazetteer* writes in detail about the changes in the *ch’eng-huang* at the prefecture and county levels. The prefectural

ch'eng-huang (enfeoffed *Ling-hui hsieh-shun t'ai-wang* 靈惠協順大王 in 1316, third year of the Yen-you (延祐) reign of the Yüan) became the Duke of Power and Illuminosity (*wei-ling kung* 威靈公) in the second year of the Hung-wu reign. During the third year, however, in accordance with the new regulations, the temple was changed to correspond with the office of prefectural yamen. The earthen images of the deities were removed, the mud spread upon the wall, and landscape scenes were painted upon the main wall. A spirit tablet was placed in the center of the temple, and a desk placed in front of the spirit tablet, just as things would have been arranged in a yamen office. While there are no records for Wu-ch'êng (烏程) and Kui-an (歸安), there was only one *ch'eng huang* located in the prefectural seat of Hu-chou during the early Hung-wu period. Since *ch'eng-huang* were the tutelary deities of cities, it is natural that there would have been only one. While listed in old gazetteers under the heading of Taoist temples, in the third year of the Hung-wu reign, the *ch'eng-huang* of Ch'ang-hsing county was moved and a spirit tablet bearing only the inscription "deity of *ch'eng-huang* (城隍之神)" was installed. In the counties of Wu-k'ang (武康) and An-chi (安吉) too, earthen idols were removed, spirit tablets installed, and titles changed, all in accordance with the new regulations.²⁰⁾

Since the T'ang dynasty, there had been a *ch'eng-huang* temple which held a festival for Lord Ch'un-shen (春申君) in Su-chou.²¹⁾ With the second year reform, it became a formal prefectural *ch'eng-huang* temple. With the third year reform, the prefectural *ch'eng-huang* was newly constructed in another area. Similarly, in Wu-chiang (吳江), the old *ch'eng-huang* temple was replaced, and in the third year of the Hung-wu reign, another constructed. Additionally, new temples were constructed in the counties of Ch'ang-chou (常熟), K'un-shan (崑山), and Chia-ting (嘉定).²²⁾ There are no county *ch'eng-huang* in Wu and Ch'ang-shou counties (吳, 長洲) recorded in the gazetteers for the Hung-wu and Chêng-tê (正德) periods, but in 1595, the *ch'eng-huang* of Wu county was established separately,²³⁾ as was the case with Ch'ang-chou.²⁴⁾ In Sung-chiang prefecture (松江府), too, the old temple was replaced with a new one in the third year of the Hung-wu reign.²⁵⁾ In Ch'ang-chou prefecture (常州), the titles of the early Hung-wu reign were dropped and the earthen idols replaced with spirit tablets. The prefectural seat, Wu-chin county (武進) had no *ch'eng-huang*. One was rebuilt in Wu-hsi county (無錫) during the third year of the Hung-wu reign, and in I-hsing (宜進) Chiang-yin (江陰), the temples were moved and or constructed anew.²⁶⁾

Looking at only these accounts, it seems as though the third year reform was thoroughly carried out. Yet, other sources indicate that the implementation may not have been so widespread.

In the Kuang-hsü Draft Gazetteer of Ch'ang-shou and Chao-wen Counties (光緒, 常昭合志稿 *chüan* 15,²⁷⁾ in addition to the "Altar of the Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Mountains, Rivers and *ch'eng-huang* (風雲山川城隍神壇)," and the "Temple of the Defender of the Dynasty *ch'eng-huang* (護國城隍神廟)," the "Temple of the Grains and Soil *ch'eng-huang* (社稷城隍神廟)" was also listed.²⁸⁾ The reason is given

as follows:

During the Hung-wu reign there was an edict ordering that earthen idols and wooden statues in the *ch'eng-huang* were to be removed and that only spirit tablets were to be constructed. People moved the idols of the *ch'eng-huang* from the city and placed them in a small hut next to the "Altar of the *ch'eng-huang* deity of wind, clouds, thunder, rain, mountains, and rivers (風雲雷雨山川城隍神壇)" located outside the southern gate. It was called the "Little *ch'eng-huang* Temple (小城隍廟)." Afterwards, the restrictions became lax, and because new idols were made for the *ch'eng-huang* temple in the city, the Little *ch'eng-huang* Temple became known as the "*ch'eng-huang* of grains and soil (社稷城隍)." In effect, people recognized the Altar of the Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Mountains, Rivers and *ch'eng-huang*, as the Altar of the Soil and Grains, and because the temple was close to the altar, it was so named.²⁹⁾

The temples which had grown up independently among the people and which had enjoyed long-standing devotion were suddenly transformed by the authorities, completely unbeknownst to the people. In violation of the imperial edict to destroy the idols, the faithful "and probably Taoist monks" preserved and continued to worship them. Even Yang Tsu-ch'i (楊子器), who as magistrate of Ch'ang-shu and K'un-shan had completely eradicated heterodox temples during the Hung-chih reign, while protesting that there "should not be two temples in the *ch'eng-huang*," compromised with the elders who argued for the extreme efficacy of the *ch'eng-huang* of the soil and grains and wrote in a commemorative account, "I wish everlasting fortune for the elders of the county."³⁰⁾

When we look at what actually happened, we can reaffirm that the third year reform was based solely on the concepts of Confucian officials and had no basis whatsoever in social reality. If the second year reform systematically incorporated popular beliefs into the national system of sacrifices without change, the third year reform can only be described as the wresting away of popular beliefs through the power of the state. If this is the case, it is not difficult to imagine the actual results of the reform. While the Regulations of the Founding Emperor (祖制) should, in theory, have been continued, the actual conditions of *ch'eng-huang* in the latter half of the Ming, as related in historical documents, were quite different. First, there was a revival of idols, that is of anthropomorphic gods. Second, these images were constructed by local officials and gentry in many areas. Third, there were Taoist monks who acted as caretakers for temples. Fourth, the titles of deities were preserved (See Têng 1934, pp. 270–72 for all four points). A native of K'un-shan, Yeh Shêng (葉盛, 1420–1474), Grand Coordinator of Liang-kuang (兩廣) during the last half of the 15th century, writes:

In the early days of the empire, the Confucian Temple and the

ch'eng-huang all made offerings to the spirit tablet. Now, even in the National University, idols are common. I do not know when it started, but it is not the responsibility of the people alone. From what I have heard, the *ch'eng-huang* temple of Kuang-chou (廣州) formerly had a spirit tablet, but during the Ching-t'ai (景泰) reign, the Supreme Commander of Liang-kuang, Wang Ao (王鏊) (now Minister of the Board of Personnel) replaced it with an earthen idol.³¹⁾

Again, in the T'ien-ch'ih (天啓) work, *Fêng shu* (鳳書) (*chüan* 4), the section "Ch'eng-huang of the Middle Capital (中都城隍廟)" contains the following passage:

As soon as the third year reform was implemented, the backward mean customs were completely reformed. But alas, most local officials now do not comprehend this. They construct idols with raiment, sometimes even constructing idols of their wives, too. It is difficult to prohibit the customs of the people, and it is difficult to persuade the ignorant masses. For reducing the Injunctions of T'ai-tsu to empty words, local officials should be punished.

The author lamented not only the customs of the people, but also the fact that government officials had openly violated the regulations of the founding emperor.

In 1499, the Taoist monk caring for the *ch'eng-huang* of Su-chou petitioned the prefectural magistrate Ts'ao Huang (曹鳳) to refurbish the deity's palace and idol. The magistrate wrote "the deity and I jointly administer Su-chou. The harmony of the myriad things is a gift from the deity." He collected donations and appointed an honorary official (*i-kuan* 義官) as trustee.³²⁾ After Ts'ao Huang completed his term, the next magistrate, Lin Shih-yüan (林世遠) finished the project, and requested Wang Ao to write a commemorative account. The literatus Wang Ao was not at all critical of the connection between the construction of idols and the magistrate.³³⁾ In Ch'ang-shu in 1442, the county magistrate Kuo Nan (郭南) repaired the temple, and because it is reported that the idols were removed at this time, the statues of the deities must have previously been revived.³⁴⁾ Later, in 1467, the county magistrate, Kan Tsê (甘澤) refurbished the idols.³⁵⁾ It seems that the idols did exist. The commemorative account by the provincial candidate, Ch'ien Jên-fu (錢仁夫) (metropolitan graduate in 1499), for restorations in 1494 by the county magistrate Wang Lun (王綸), writes openly of the existence of Taoist monks and the renovation of the idols.³⁶⁾ During the Ch'ing dynasty, the enlargement of the *ch'eng-huang* temples of the two counties was largely overseen by the caretaker Taoist monks.

Further, *yang-fêng yin-wei* (陽奉陰違), the coexistence of what is supposed to be and what actually is, was apparent in many aspects of the administration of traditional China. Bearing no relation to social reality of the times, the third year reform was perpetuated by the Ch'ing dynasty. In 1868, the following edict was

issued:

The offerings to the *ch'eng-huang* are those of the earth deities, that is deities of nature, and are definitely not those of the ancients, that is anthropomorphic deities. Henceforth, the titles duke, marquis, and earl are not to be used (Teng 1935, p. 261)."

When, in their capacity as literati, it was necessary to speak of what should be, this principle would appear. In 1726, when Yüan-ho (元和) county was founded, the people suggested that the pre-existing Chang Ming (張明) Temple serve simultaneously as the *ch'eng-huang* of the county. The magistrate conferred with the provincial candidates and government students.³⁷⁾ He concluded:

There should of course be offerings for the *ch'eng-huang*. However, other deities should not be included. The image of Chang Ming will be moved to the left-hand corridor of the Chang Ming Temple, and an image of the *ch'eng-huang* of Yüan-ho will be set up in the main temple. It is appropriate that "the god of Yüan-ho county *ch'eng-huang*" be written on the gate.

His superiors approved his decision.³⁸⁾ While unable to prevent the establishment of *ch'eng-huang* idols from becoming universal during the Ch'ing dynasty, the local Confucian elite could not help but protest the idea of the transformation of anthropomorphic deities into *ch'eng-huang* deities. However, in spite of this policy of compromise, the fact is that in reality the *ch'eng-huang* deity of Yüan-ho county was seen as Chang Ming, just as Ku Chên-t'ao (顧震濤) writes in *Wu-mên piao-yin* (吳門表隱): "It is a temple devoted to the Han Dynasty Duke Chang of Loyalty and Filial Piety (漢忠孝張公)... It was changed to the *ch'eng-huang*. The deity's surname is Chang, his personal name, Ming."

While privately compiled gazetteers largely recorded actual conditions, government compiled gazetteers continued to write:

Ch'eng-huang in Chiang-nan are now given the names of ancient worthies; images are sculpted and offerings are made to them. There is nothing more despicable than this. We should reform this evil custom based on the regulations of the Hung-wu reign.³⁹⁾

While the third year reform, based solely on Confucian ideals, continued to exist to the end of the Ch'ing dynasty as a standard of what should be, in reality it had long since become a hollow form.

4. The Emergence of Township *Ch'eng-huang*

The reduction of national regulations into empty forms is again seen in the emergence of township-level *ch'eng-huang*. According to official regulations, these should not have existed at all.

First, there was the emergence of *ch'eng-huang* deities which corresponded to each level of the local administrative apparatus. By law, there were *ch'eng-huang* temples for the capital, prefectures, subprefectures, and counties. However, in Ch'ing dynasty Su-chou, there existed *ch'eng-huang* for the Grand Coordinator, the Provincial Administration Commission, the Surveillance Commissioner, the General Surveillance Circuit, the Director-General of Grain Transport, and even for the Superintendent of Imperial Silk Manufacturing in Nanking.⁴⁰⁾ It also seems likely that there was a *ch'eng-huang* for the Salt Distribution Commissioner of Liang-chê (兩浙).⁴¹⁾ In other words, *ch'eng-huang* deities which may be characterized as specialized bureaucrats of the underworld appeared.

Second, countless numbers of *ch'eng-huang* temples emerged in rural villages below the rank of county seat. Most of these settlements were market towns with no special administrative designation. Almost all lacked city walls, having nothing more than a wooden stockade (*cha* 柵) for protection. For example, in *chüan* 17 and 18, "Treatise on Altars and Temples," of the Chia-ch'ing *Sung-chiang Prefectural Gazetteer* (嘉慶, 松江府志), in addition to *ch'eng-huang* temples in county seats listed under the heading of "*ch'eng-huang* temples in various county seats," the section "Other Temples," lists four *ch'eng-huang* temples in Hua-t'ing (華亭) county, four in Lou (婁) county, six in Ch'ing-p'u (青浦) county, five in Nan-hui (南匯) county, and five in Chin-shan (金山) county.⁴²⁾ While there were no records for Shang-hai county in the *Sung-chiang Prefectural Gazetteer*, *chüan* 29, "Temples," of the Republican period *The Supplementary Shang-hai County Gazetteer* (上海縣續志) notes *ch'eng-huang* temples in nine towns. Again while there are no records for Fêng-hsien (奉賢) county in the *Sung-chiang Prefectural Gazetteer*, it is apparent from the later Ch'ien-lung *Fêng-hsien County Gazetteer* that by the Ch'ien-lung period, *ch'eng-huang* temples already existed in many townships.

During the Kuang-hsü reign, while the *ch'eng-huang* temple in Huang-tu township (黃渡鎮) (straddling K'un-shan county) was no longer listed in the gazetteer, three other township *ch'eng-huang* temples were added. Further, during the Republican period a total of 17 temples were listed.⁴³⁾ Among the various townships of Ch'ing-p'u, the *ch'eng-huang* of the neighboring Lou County existed in Shen-kang (沈港) and Ch'i-pao (七寶).⁴⁴⁾ The section of Chu-chia chiao (朱家角) township north of the township canal was part of K'un-shan county during the Ch'ing (now the entire region is part of Ch'ing-p'u county). It had *ch'eng-huang* temples for both Ch'ing-p'u and K'un-shan counties.⁴⁵⁾

Chang-yen (張堰) township of Chin-shan county has records for the following three temples:⁴⁶⁾

A. The deity previously offered sacrifices was Hê Fang (何芳) (enfeoffed by the reigning Celestial Master) and is presently Li Hung-ju (李宏儒), native of Wan-p'ing (宛平), provincial candidate, magistrate of Chin-shan county. He was given the title "Earl of Pacifying the Seas, Inspecting Censor of Coastal Defense of Chin-shan, Officer of *ch'eng-huang* (寧海侯巡視金山防海城隍司). Year unknown. Renovated during the Kang-hsi reign. Has appended temple, Ch'ang-ch'un Temple (常春廟).

B. (no record of name of deity worshipped). Given title "Duke of Power and Luminosity of Chiang-chê (江浙威靈公)" by the reigning Celestial Master during the K'ang-hsi reign.

C. Popular name is Eastern *ch'eng-huang* Temple, in Hua-t'ing county area. Deity worshipped is Li Chih-an (李之安), native of Têng-chou (登州), Prefectural Magistrate of Chia-hsing (嘉興) prefecture during the Sung dynasty. Enfeoffed as "Duke of Power and Luminosity of Sung-chiang prefecture" by Ming T'ai-tsu.

There are four points worthy of note here. First, the deities worshipped at the township *ch'eng-huang* corresponded to the *ch'eng-huang* deities of the prefectures and counties under which they fell. Second, as was apparent with the large-scale market towns of China, township areas often fell under the jurisdiction of more than one county (as was the case with Chin-shan county and Hua-t'ing county). These areas responded by having multiple *ch'eng-huang* deities and temples. Third, in the salt district of the Liang-chê (兩浙都轉鹽運使) area with its many subsidiary salt fields, there was a *ch'eng-huang* based on the Salt Controller of Liang-chê (which like Nan-hui county was related to the existence of salt households (竈戶)). Fourth, the reigning Celestial Master bestowed titles of investment, which confirms that the township level *ch'eng-huang* deities were organized according to the system of the sect of the Celestial Master.

There are four temples recorded for Fêng-ching (楓涇) township (located between Hua-t'ing and Chia-shan (嘉善) counties):⁴⁷⁾

Temple A is located south of the town. It was built during the Wan-li reign of the late Ming, and rebuilt in the seventh year of the Yung-chêng period by the county magistrate of Chia-shan county, Shao Huang (邵黃). Temple B is north of the township, built during the late Ming. Temple C is in Fang-chia Hsia (方家疇) in Êrh-pao (二保). Temple D is in Ch'êng-huang (城隍) village in San-pao (三保).

Temple D can be seen in the prefectural gazetteer of Sung-chiang, and along with temple C may be assumed to have been in one of the small townships in the Fêng-ching township region. While temples A and B were located in Fêng-ching township itself, if Temple A was a part of Chia-shan county, then Temple B was

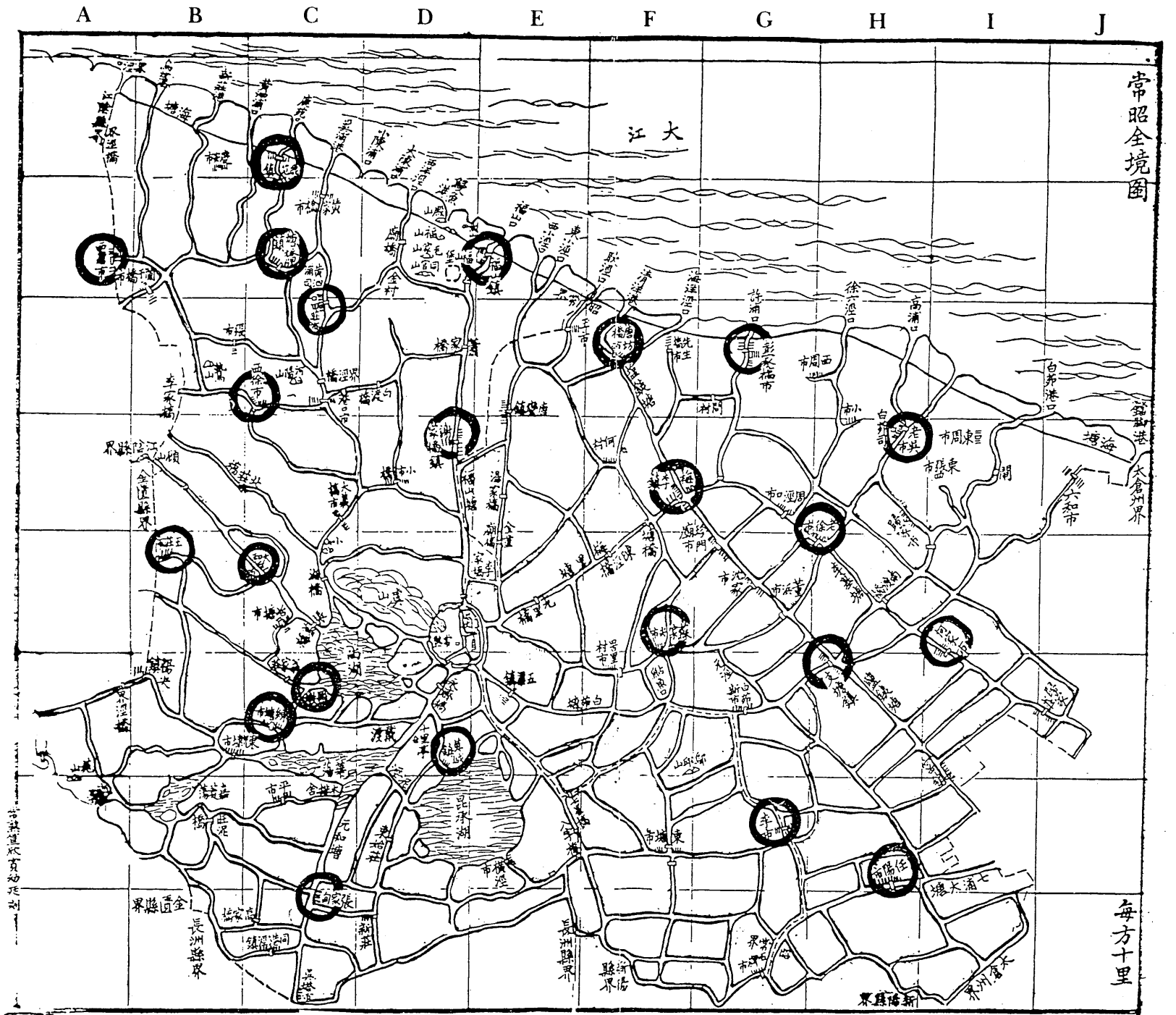


Diagram A: The chen-ch'eng-huang-miao 鎮城隍廟 in Ch'ang-shu County 常熟縣

probably a temple of Hua-t'ing county. Here, too, we can assume the existence of two *ch'eng-huang* temples corresponding to the administrative order. The direct participation of the magistrate in the construction of temple A is noteworthy. That temple B was built during the late Ming period is a basis for assuming that township-level *ch'eng-huang* developed during the late Ming and early Ch'ing period.

Straddling the counties of Ch'ing-p'u and Chia-ting, Huang-tu township had "travelling temples (行祠)" from the *ch'eng-huang* of both counties, and the temple fairs for each took place on different days.⁴⁸⁾ There were seven township-level *ch'eng-huang* temples in Nan-hui county during the Ch'ien-lung period,⁴⁹⁾ and the temple in I-t'uan (一團) township was called the "*ch'eng-huang* deity of the salt field region." During the Tao-kuang reign, there were nine *ch'eng-huang* temples, including Kuang-fu *tu-ch'eng-huang* (光福都城隍) Temple, in the villages around Su-chou.⁵⁰⁾ Of the 25 townships of early Republican period Chia-ting, twelve, or nearly half, had *ch'eng-huang* temples.⁵¹⁾ In the counties of I-hsing and Ching-hsi (荆溪) in Ch'ang-chou prefecture during the Kuang-hsü reign, there were fifteen township level *ch'eng-huang* temples.⁵²⁾

From *chüan* 15, "Treatise on Cities and Townships," of the Kuang-hsü *Ch'ang-Chao Joint Gazetteer*, we can confirm that *ch'eng-huang* temples existed in a number of townships. They are shown in Diagram A based on a map as found in the beginning of the book. From this, it is clear that townships that had township-level *ch'eng-huang* temples were evenly dispersed. I will examine the significance of this phenomenon in the next section.

In Diagram A, T'ang-shih (唐市, that is 東塘市), 15km southeast of the county seat, despite being one of the "Four Great Townships," has no township *ch'eng-huang* temple.⁵³⁾ Actually, soon after it was established, it met the following fate:⁵⁴⁾

During the T'ien-chih reign, there suddenly sprang up talk of the "Flying *Ch'eng-huang* (飛來城隍)," and a temple was built in T'ang-shih. Supplicants flowed ceaselessly from all directions. If one was disrespectful towards the deity, disaster struck immediately. However, the temple was extremely small. When the son of the government student Hsü Yen-yün (許彥雲) caught smallpox, he went to the temple and took an oath, "If my son recovers, I will construct a large temple, and my descendents will make offerings generation after generation. If he does not recover, I will destroy the statue of the deity and raze the temple." Three days later when the son died, Hsü hacked the statue of the deity with an axe and threw the pieces into the fire. He razed the building and leveled the ground. Hsü encountered no disaster.

There are few materials which clearly state the founding date of township-level *ch'eng-huang* in Chiang-nan, but this folktale seems to support the view that they were established during the late Ming and early Ch'ing periods.

The establishment of most deities and temples in the villages of Chiang-nan is closely related to the tales of miracles, told by witches (巫婆) and warlocks (巫師), who may be considered the possession type of shaman (see Hamashima, 1982b for a detailed explanation). In the case of late Ming T'ang-shih too, the miraculous tale of the "Flying *ch'eng-huang* deity" was probably spread by witches. Not only residents of the township, but also peasants from the surrounding area gathered to make offerings, resulting in the first stages of the development of the township *ch'eng-huang* temple. That the temple failed to become firmly established and grow, and that the function of the core temple reverted to Tung-yüeh Temple (東嶽廟)⁵⁵⁾ was the result of the actions of one government student of the late Ming. It was by random chance that the miracle tales, that is the authority of the deity, failed to become firmly established. Hsü was of one of the powerful lineages (大姓) in T'ang-shih.⁵⁶⁾ Additionally, at that time there was a strong tendency for the upper gentry, with higher status than even government students with official status, to relocate to the county capital. Hsü Yen-yün, being a government student from a powerful lineage, was thus a member of the very highest level of local society. It was because he possessed such social power that he dared to destroy a temple so devotedly worshipped by the people. It follows that conversely, if his son had by chance recovered from smallpox, it is possible that the temple, with the enthusiastic backing of someone powerful, would have in turn become firmly established and developed into a core temple (Hamashima, 1992).

From the examples above, one can see that the deities worshipped in township *ch'eng-huang* were the *ch'eng-huang* deities of the prefecture, subprefecture, and county to which they belonged. In addition, many of the various townships of Wu-chiang county had the *ch'eng-huang* deity of the same county, Li Ming (李明).⁵⁷⁾ It is recorded of one of the two *ch'eng-huang* temples in T'ung-li (同里) township⁵⁸⁾ that when the Reigning Celestial Master petitioned the throne and Li Ming was entitled Prince Kuang-yu (廣佑) in the 25th year of the K'ang-hsi reign, a temple was also built in this township. Thus, the township *ch'eng-huang* took shape in last half of the 17th century. It is now reported that one of the temples was established during the Yung-chêng reign, but this is more likely related to the division of Yüan-ho county during the Yung-cheng reign. While Li Ming was also the *ch'eng-huang* deity of Li-li (黎里) county, it was originally a Taoist temple built during the Chia-ching reign.⁵⁹⁾ In Shêng-tsê (盛澤) township, too, there were two temples, the Eastern Temple and the Western Temple. Both made offerings to Li Ming, yet the date of construction of the Eastern Temple is unknown and the Western Temple "was built in the X0 year of the K'ang-hsi reign."⁶⁰⁾ In the Tao-kuang *Gazetteer of Huang-hsi* (道光, 黃溪志) *chüan* 2, the treatise on "Temple," notes that Li Ming was the *ch'eng-huang* deity, and that the temple was constructed during the K'ang-hsi reign. In Chou-chuang (周庄) township of Yüan-ho county, there was one township-level *ch'eng-huang* temple that made offerings to the *ch'eng-huang* deities of both the prefecture and county. There was also an extremely efficacious temple in Ch'in-p'u (寢浦),⁶¹⁾ at the edge

of Ch'en Hu (陳湖) lake, northwest of the township (judging from the map of the town in the beginning of the book, we can conclude that it was part of Wu-chiang county). From the fact that Kuang-hsü *Chou-chuang Town Gazetteer* (chüan 4, "Local Customs") relates that the "Ch'in-p'ü *ch'eng-huang* visits" the temple fair of the *ch'eng-huang* temple on the first day of the tenth month, it is clear that this was a *ch'eng-huang* temple.

In Lu-chih (甬直) township (bordering K'un-shan county), Ch'ang-chou county, in addition to a temple which made offerings to the prefectural *ch'eng-huang* deity Lord Ch'un-shên, there was also a temple which made offerings to the *ch'eng-huang* deity of K'un-shan county. From the map, one can distinctly see both the *ch'eng-huang* temple and the county *ch'eng-huang* temple.⁶²⁾ In Wei-t'ing (唯亭) township, first part of Ch'ang-chou county and later made part of Yüan-ho county, there were two temples constructed during the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng reigns,⁶³⁾ however, they were related to the division of Yüan-ho county during the Yung-cheng reign.⁶⁴⁾

While most *ch'eng-huang* temples made offerings to county *ch'eng-huang* deities to which they were administratively subordinate, there were exceptions. The *ch'eng-huang* temple of Yang-shê (楊舍) township, Chiang-yin county, Ch'ang-chou prefecture is reported to have been built on the former site of the altar of the local tutelary spirit (*li-shê tan* 里社壇) during the late Ming,⁶⁵⁾ and the *t'u-ti* temple (土地廟) became the *ch'eng-huang* temple. When the "Travelling Palace of the *Ch'eng-huang*" in Chiang-wan (江灣) township, Pao-shan county was built during the Shun-chih reign, it was known as the "Residence of the Envoy of the *ch'eng-huang* of Tung-yüeh Temple."⁶⁶⁾

The design and interior arrangement of the prefectural, subprefectural, and county *ch'eng-huang* were modeled upon local yamen offices. One can fully imagine that township *ch'eng-huang* temples had similar layouts. The diagram of the layout of the large *ch'eng-huang* temple in Huang-ti (廣棣) township, Wu county,⁶⁷⁾ is a valuable datum showing the design of a township *ch'eng-huang*. It reveals that the arrangements were similar to those of a yamen office.

As was the case with the previously mentioned *Chang-yen Gazetteer* and *T'ung-li Gazetteer*, this *ch'eng-huang* deity was enfeoffed (敕封) by the Celestial Master. It was enfeoffment not by the emperor of the dynasty, but by the Yellow Emperor (玉皇上帝) through the patriarch of the Taoist order, the Celestial Master. It is said that during his visit to Chiang-nan, the Celestial Master who succeeded in the K'ang-hsi reign enfeoffed the *ch'eng-huang*.⁶⁸⁾ Chüan 8 (Miscellaneous Accounts) of the Tao-Kuang edition of the *Huang-hsi Gazetteer* relates that one day in the fourth month of the ninth year of the Chia-ch'ing reign, "the Celestial Master, 59th patriarch of the *Chêng-i ssü* sect (正一嗣教), presented the *ch'eng-huang* with an edict investing it as the Prince of Power and Luminosity of the Prefecture of the Perfected Man (*chên-jên fu fêng wei-ling wang ch'ih-wên* 真人府封威靈王敕文)." Further, it related "that the *T'ai-yüan tu-shêng* (泰元都省) respectfully presented the imperial order (*yü-chih chin-shu* 玉旨金書)" enfeoffing

him.

Of course, according to the principles of orthodox doctrine, the countless township-level *ch'eng-huang* deities which appeared in the Chiang-nan area during the late Ming and Ch'ing would fall under the category of "heterodox temples." Unlike township-level gazetteers, prefectural, subprefectural, and county gazetteers criticized this violation of regulation, as in the following:

According to the former regulations (pre-T'ang), each village had its own local shrine (土地祠), where the people prayed . . . Now the townships like Chuang-hsing etc., all have built *ch'eng-huang* temples, the grandeur of which dare to rival the temples of county seat. This is not proper. They should be referred to as local shrines (鄉土地祠) as they were of old.⁶⁹⁾

5. Township Temples and Local Tutelary Gods

How is the historical phenomenon of township *ch'eng-huang* related to the marked development of market towns in Chiang-nan from the second half of the Ming dynasty onwards? The argument that the qualitative development of local villages (the elevation of the core level) in violation of regulations led to the possession of temples which had originally been limited to the county-seat level is attractive, but does not correspond to historical reality. The township *ch'eng-huang* deity commonly corresponded to the *ch'eng-huang* deity of the prefecture and county to which it was administratively subordinate. Thus, a township that was part of several subprefectures or counties would correspondingly have several temples. The township *ch'eng-huang* is not a symbol indicating the founding of a horizontally independent city. It is, instead, an indication of the self-assertion internal to the vertical system of control (with the emperor at the apex), a hierarchy reaching down by stages, capital to provincial seat, to prefectural seat to subprefectural county seat. (This is not strange considering the characteristics of China's bureaucratic society). The temple fairs of various townships organized in directions contrary to the wishes of the literati and officials.⁷⁰⁾ There were more than a few instances of conflict with the system of control. Perhaps it is possible to view this as a will towards the development of "the city" as a "autonomie und autokephalie" kind of Verband,⁷¹⁾ not oriented towards the system of control of national power. However, at least in the case of township *ch'eng-huang* temples, there is no sign of this intention.

The social basis for the establishment of township *ch'eng-huang* also existed in this verticality. The township *ch'eng-huang* expanded to the village level the system of control which extended downward, stage by stage from the emperor. This can be seen widely in this area during the Ch'ing dynasty. It is shown in the following religious custom:

In the sixth or seventh month, offerings are made to the t'u-ti temple.

During the Shun-chih reign, commoners started the idea of submitting taxes to the celestial realm. During the fourth or fifth month, various *t'u-ti* deities are carried out and put in the home of the *hui-shou* (會首). It is called "Collecting Taxes" (*ch'eng ch'ien liang* 徵錢糧). Each household from the region pays a small amount of paper or copper money. During the festival for the spirit of the soil in the sixth or seventh month, various images of deities are carried to the *ch'eng-huang* temple, where the money is presented together and called "Remitting Taxes (*chieh-ch'ien liang* 解錢糧)." The copper money is used for the expenses of the festival for the spirit of the soil (*shê-hui* 社會).⁷²⁾

This is a simile for the state collection of taxes, where the *ch'eng-huang* temple is given a superior position to those of the various *t'u-ti* temples and receives the taxes, just as payment and shipment of taxes from taxpaying households is carried out by the tax captain and community heads. Thus, we can conclude that this custom began in the Shun-chih reign, that is in the late Ming or early Ch'ing period. Late Ch'ing Ch'ang-shu county had a similar custom:

In the middle of the third month, all the village fairs occur . . . The people of the village send money and various fees to the deity's temple. It is called "tax money (錢糧)," and there is a fixed amount every year.⁷³⁾

The author coined the name "Remitting Taxes (解錢糧)" to describe the practice created independently by the commoners. This kind of practice can be seen in many of the local gazetteers of the Ch'ing dynasty.

In the Ch'ien-tun (千墩) region of K'un-shan county, during the eighth month, farmers hold the Green Sprouts Festival (青苗社), make offerings to the spirit of the village, and present money to the township temple. It is called "Tax Collection (取錢糧)".⁷⁴⁾ On the 18th day of the third month, village temples collect one hundred *wên* (文) from each household and submit it to the Lord San Mao Temple (三茅君廟) in Hui-shan (惠山), Wu-hsi county. It is called "Remitting Taxes (解錢糧)."⁷⁵⁾ In Li-li township, Wu-chiang county, starting on the 18th of the third month and continuing for five days, offerings are made to the *ch'eng-huang* deity⁷⁶⁾ and the Grand Accompanying Prince *t'u-ti* (隨糧王土地); the images of the deities of each village temple also assemble during the three days in Li-li township.⁷⁷⁾ In the southern section of Pao-shan (寶山) county, submitting payment to the temple is called the "Celestial Taxes (天餉)."⁷⁸⁾ In the area Huang-ching (璜涇), T'ai-tsang county, during the third and fourth months every year, offerings are made at the Tung-yüe Temple, and the village deities are carried out to visit the temple directly. It is called "Remitting Taxes (解黃錢)."⁷⁹⁾ During the temple fair of the *ch'eng-huang* deity in Chih-t'ang (直塘) township, T'ai-ts'ang subprefecture, on the fifth day of the third month, all the nearby villages temples "remit money for expenditures (解費錢)."⁸⁰⁾ On the birthday of

Tung-yüe Temple on the 28th day of the third month in Hsi-ching (茜涇) township, T'ai-ts'ang subprefecture, the images of deities from the village temples assemble and paper money is presented; it is called "Remitting Taxes (解黃錢)."⁸¹ The *t'u-ti* temples surrounding the Temple of the Fierce General (猛將廟) in Chung-ku (重固) township, Ch'ing-p'u county have been fixed into a "Temple Region (廟界)", and each presents a votive lantern to the Temple of the Fierce General in Ch'ung-ku after the autumn harvest; it is called "Sending the Lanterns (解燈)."⁸² In Kuang-fu township in Wu county, they have a custom called the "Tax Remittance Festival (解會)."⁸³ In Hsiang-ch'êng (湘城) township in Wu county, during the last ten days of the third month, "sending Provisions" to Tung-yüe Temple occurs and during the seventh month, the deities from Hsing-an (辛安) village, Ch'ang-shu come "remitting autumn taxes (解秋餉)."⁸⁴

Despite the admonitions and scoldings of his parents, as a youngster, Yang Chi-t'ao (楊繼陶) (born in Shêng-tsê (盛澤) township, Wu-chiang county, in 1923 and now chairman of the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Musicians Association) had a passion for the performing arts of travelling performers, who were then held in low esteem. He writes:

When I was a child, there were very few professional performances in small towns like Shêng-tsê, but there was a rich variety of popular performing activities, in which I already had a great interest. For example, every year during the middle of the seventh lunar month, there was a temple fair for the birthday of the *ch'eng-huang* lord. All kinds of lines of business and peasants from neighboring villages strove to show off their strength. They organized into string and wind instrument bands and marched to the fair. The long line of carriages and colored boats crowded into every street and alley of the town. I would follow along all the way from South Main Street to North Main Street where the parade broke up.⁸⁵

In essence, groups from the same line of business and commerce from the township would line up at the temple fair for the *ch'eng-huang* deity of Shêng-tsê township. Villages from the surrounding area, too, would participate in a systematic way. Shêng-tsê township *ch'eng-huang* had become a dominant core temple of this region.

In villages in various regions of the Chiang-nan delta, township and village temples established dominant-subordinate relations. The custom of several subordinate temples "sending taxes" to one dominant temple was widespread. The development of the township-level *ch'eng-huang* from the late Ming onwards was also closely linked to this custom. As is seen in Diagram A, the distribution of township *ch'eng-huang* in late Ch'ing Ch'ang-shu is not uneven, but spaced with appropriate gaps, lending strong support to the idea of the existence of a "sphere of belief", the boundaries of which were defined by which subordinate temples

“remitted taxes” to which dominant temples. As Fei Hsiao-t'ung has said of Chen-tsê (震澤) township, “the township was not only the economic center for surrounding villages, it was also the religious center (Fei, 1939, p. 103).”

Accompanying the commercialization of this area from the mid-Ming onwards (Hamashima, 1989), with the sale of agricultural products and handicraft items and the purchase of raw materials, the ties between the small-scale peasant economy and the market deepened. Daily life came to be managed at a scope of territory that transcended the village and had a specified township (market town) at its center. The “village community” characteristics lingered on, yet just as in the case of the *hsiang-chiao* (鄉脚) first noted by Professor Fei (See Fei, 1984), the sphere of livelihood (生活圈) which had become important to the reproduction of small peasant families is related to the emergence of spheres of belief in which the township *ch'eng-huang* was central. Though Honda has analysed the functions of the market town in the Sung (Honda, 1987) in great detail, the *ch'eng-huang* temple did not appear among the various institutions of the market town, in sharp contrast to the widespread township *ch'eng-huang* of Ch'ing dynasty Chiang-nan. Township *ch'eng-huang* temples may be understood as a religious reaction to the social and economic changes of commercialization and urbanization that the agricultural villages of Chiang-nan had undergone in the late Ming dynasty.

6. Conclusion

The Chu Yüan-chang regime was the first in the history of China to allot *ch'eng-huang* a position in the national system of offerings in a systematic way. Doctrinal opposition, with the conflict between Taoism and Confucianism as background, can be seen in its content and process. In the end, tradition was completely rejected, and an extreme Confucian version of the *ch'eng-huang* system was established. The characteristic of anthropomorphic deities was wrested away, and it was ordered that the images of the idols be destroyed. In principle, this system continued through the Ch'ing.

However, this system, based solely on the concepts of Confucian officials from the Chiang-nan region (used in a broad sense in contrast to the Chiang-bei and Hua-pei region) was not widely adhered to by the populace. In reality, as Taoist temples, the *ch'eng-huang* temples with images of deities based on specific individuals were widespread. Officials and literati de facto acknowledged this. The reduction of conceptual norms of power to mere form by autonomous folk logic, a phenomenon so commonly seen in Chinese history during the pre-modern and modern periods, may also be seen here in the case of the *ch'eng-huang* temple. In the late Ming, the *ch'eng-huang* cult, which ignored norms, produced a completely new variety of *ch'eng-huang* temple at the township level. It was a religious transformation related to socioeconomic change, the development of market-towns, of which the commercialization of Chiang-nan villages was one

part.

The above observations have been based largely upon local gazetteers and other documentary materials. Henceforth, research should be through the discovery and use of on-site historical materials, more specific than folklore, commemorative accounts of stele, and records of temple fairs.

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Notes

- 1) This article is based on two of my previous articles (Hamashima 1988a and 1988b). Recently Kojima Tsuyoshi has published an important work on this subject for the Sung period (Kojima, 1990).
- 2) Citations for the *Veritable Records* of *Tai-tsu* (hereafter abbreviated as *TTSL*) are the page number for the Academia Sinica, History and Language Research Section edition of the Ming *Veritable Records*.
- 3) Hung-wu, 5th year, 3rd month, *hsin-hai* (1372.4.7), pp. 1335–37.
- 4) Hung-wu, 1st year, 12th month, *hsin-wei* (1369.1.13), pp. 709–10.
- 5) See especially the "Regulations for the Prohibition of Heterodox Temples (禁淫祠制)" of Hung-wu, 3rd year, 6th month, *chia-tsü* (1370.6.30) which recognized the offerings permitted commoners as for the ancestors and kitchen gods of each household, and limited the activities of Buddhist and Taoist monks related to rites (*TTSL* p. 1037).
- 6) Hung-wu, 1st year, 8th month (1368, mid-September-mid-October) Chin-ling was made Nanking and K'ai-fêng was made Peking (p. 599). Chu Yüan-chang gave special consideration to Kaifeng as a candidate for the capital. Further, Chu Yüan-chang used the reign name Lung-fêng of the White Lotus regime until the year *Ping-wu* (1366). There was a time when this regime had its capital in K'ai-k-fêng.
 Lin-hao, i.e., Fêng-yang, was the site of Chu Yüan-chang's birth, and T'ai-p'ing was the first base established after crossing the Yang-tsu River in 1355. Ho-chou was his base just before the crossing, and Ch'u-chou was the first city occupied during the winter of 1353 when Chu's group took shape. They were all at the core of Chu's political power, and, especially in the case of the leading military officials, areas which called to mind the bitterness of the early days.
- 7) *T'ien-shen* (天神) refers to *t'ai-sui* (太歳, that is 木星), wind and clouds and thunder and rain; *ti-ch'i* (地祇) refers to Yüe-chen (嶽鎮, that is great mountains), and Hai-tu (海濱, that is great waters). In all cases, they referred to non-anthropomorphic deities.
- 8) The implementation of this provision and its continued existence into the Ch'ing can be confirmed by the existence of the "Altar for the Wind and Clouds, Thunder and Rain, Mountains, Rivers and *ch'eng-huang*," seen so frequently in late Ch'ing dynasty gazetteers.
- 9) Têng Ssü-yu bases himself on the Hung-chih *Ta Ming hui-tien* (大明會典), p. 260. One of the original stele may be found in the Nan-hai Temple (南海神廟) in the eastern suburbs of Canton city.
- 10) T'ien-ch'ih *Fêng-shu* (鳳書), *Chüan* 4.
- 11) Is not recorded in *TTSL*. The Hung-chih *ch'ang-shu County gazetteer* (常熟縣志), *chüan* 2 quotes the stele account by Wu Na (吳訥) which says that "the form was distributed."
- 12) Miyazaki Ichisada, 1969, writes that Li Shan-ch'ang and Wang K'uang-yang had backgrounds as clerks. See Miyazaki, 1976, p. 132.
- 13) *MS*, *chüan* 138, the biography of Ch'en Hsiu (陳修). Additionally, Sakakura infers the weakening

- of the Secretariat and the changes in the relation between the boards and the secretariat beginning from around the third year of the Hung-wu reign.
- 14) *MS, chüan* 136, biography of Ts'ui Liang.
 - 15) *MS, chüan* 137, biography of T'ao An, appended biography of Ch'en Yung-jên.
 - 16) *MS, chüan* 136, biography of Ts'ui Liang.
 - 17) While Noguchi Testuro (野口鐵郎) assesses Li Shan-ch'ang and Fan Ch'ang (范常) as "Confucian intellectuals (Noguchi, 1972, p. 20)", I cannot agree. Li was closer to a clerk. Fan participated in the formulation of ritual policy in the process of establishing political power. In his biography by Wang Wei (王禕) (a member of the Chê-tung Chu Hsi faction, and an official of ritual), the roughness of his poetry is mockingly noted, as Wang suggests that if this Confucian education, it is that of a village teacher. See *Kuo-ch'ao hsien chêng-lu* (國朝獻徵錄), *chüan* 20, "Ch'i-chu chu Fan chun chang chuan (起居注范君常傳)."
 - 18) Yeh Shêng. *Shui-tung jih-chih* (水東日記), *chüan* 20, *Ch'eng-huang* deity.
 - 19) *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-chêng lu*, included in *chüan* 20. Cheng K'ai (鄭楷), in Sung Kung Lien hsing-chuang (宋公濂行狀), says this was a statement by Sung Lien, not by Chu.
 - 20) *Yung-lê ta-tien* (永樂大典) 2881, see *Hu-chow Prefecture Gazetteer*, "Temples," pp. 7-16.
 - 21) Shao-hsi (紹熙), *Wu-chun chih* (吳郡志), *chüan* 12; Hung-wu, *Su-chou fu-chih* (蘇州府志), *chüan* 15.
 - 22) Hung-wu, *Su-chou fu-chih*, *chüan* 15.
 - 23) Chung-chen (崇禎), *Wu hsien-chih*, *chüan* 19.
 - 24) *Wu-mên piao-yin* (吳門表隱), *chüan* 3.
 - 25) Chêng-tê (正德), *Sung-chiang fu-chih* (松江府志), *chüan* 15.
 - 26) Ch'êng-hua (成化), *P'i-ling chih* (毘陵志), *chüan* 27.
 - 27) In the Taipei gazetteer series, (Ch'êng-wên Publishers, Taipei), it is listed as *Ch'ang-chao hê-chih* (常昭合志). This is mistaken.
 - 28) After the battles of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, both were given the title "Protector of the Dynasty."
 - 29) Têng Lin (鄧林), *Yü-hsiang chih-lüeh* (虞鄉志略), *chüan* 3. A native of Ch'ang-shu. A privately compiled gazetteer of the Tao-kuang reign frequently quoted in the Kuang-hsu *Ch'ang-shao hê-chih kao*. The Shanghai Library holds the original which has recently been published in a photostat edition. During the summer of 1991, on my first trip to the coast of Chê-tung, I saw from the train window, a number of people making offerings at a temple named Little *Ch'eng-huang Miao* (小城隍廟), near the railroad tracks east of Hsiao-shan (蕭山) Station. It was clear that it was outside of the old city. It may be thought to have a history similar to that Ch'ang-shu.
 - 30) Recorded in the Kuang-hsü *Chang-Shao hê-chih k'ao*, *chüan* 15, "Shê-chih *ch'eng-huang* shen-miao (社稷城隍神廟)," "A Brief Account of Stele Accounts (碑記略). This is not recorded in Ming dynasty gazetteers.
 - 31) *Shui-tung jih-chih*, *chüan* 27, "Hsüan-fu ju-hsüeh shêng-hsiang (宣府儒學聖像)."
 - 32) See Hamashima 1982, pp. 72, 78-9 on honorary officials in the Chiangnan region during the Ming.
 - 33) *Su-chou fu ch'ung-hsiu ch'eng-huang-miao pei* (蘇州府重修城隍廟碑), Wang Ao, *Chen-tsê chih* (震澤集), *chüan* 21.
 - 34) Wu Na. "Stele Account," in Hung-chih *Ch'ang-shu hsien-chih*, *chüan* 2.
 - 35) Ch'ien P'u (錢溥) Stele Account in Hung-chih *Ch'ang-shu hsien-chih*, *chüan* 2. Further, *Yü-tung hsü-lu* 餘冬序錄 by Hê Meng-ch'un (何孟春), quoted in the Kuang-hsü *Ch'ang-shao hê-chih kao*, mistakenly claims that the earthen figure was made by Mr. Kuo (郭君) during the Ch'êng-hua reign.
 - 36) Hung-chih, *Ch'ang-shu hsien-chih*, *chüan* 2.
 - 37) On the custom of the local magistrate "conferring (公議)" with the local elite and government students on the major events in the county, see Hamashima, 1982, 480-41; 1983, p. 8.
 - 38) Ch'ien-lung, *Yüan-ho County Gazetteer*, *chüan* 6.
 - 39) Ch'ien-lung, *Ch'ang-chou County Gazetteer*, *chüan* 6.
 - 40) Ku Yün-t'ao, *Wu-mên piao-in*, *chüan* 3. Except for the Prefectural *ch'eng-huang* deity which was "without surname," all were based upon specific figures. The Nanking Superintendent of Imperial Silk Manufacturing was supervised by eunuchs during the Ming and by Bannermen during the

