On the Connection of the Cults of Historical Persons and Baojuan Storytelling: with Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages of the Changshu Area of Jiangsu Province As an Example

Rostislav Berezkin*

Abstract

This paper deals with the connection of baojuan (寶卷, precious scrolls), the texts of popular storytelling of the Changshu (常熟) area (Jiangsu province, China), and the cults of deified historical persons in this area, a subject not analyzed anywhere before. The author uses Baojuan of Small King of Thousand Sages, which is still circulated and performed in the Gangkou (港口) area of modern Zhangjiagang (張家港) city and the Shanghu (尚湖) area of Changshu city, as the main example. It deals with the life and posthumous miracles of the deity who is identified as a son of the famous historical person – Zhang Xun (張巡), and reflects a quite complex situation with the cults of Zhang Xun and his son, Small King of Thousand Sages, that existed in the former Changshu county. Baojuan analyzed in this paper is related to different forms of particular deities: these forms co-existed in this area and it was often the case that different groups of people preferred different ones. The comparison of materials from Baojuan of Small King of Thousand Sages and other related baojuan texts, with the information in local historical sources, helps us to re-construct the complex origins of these deities’ cults.

* Associate research fellow, Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies, Fudan University.

I would like to express my gratitude to Yu Yongliang, Yu Dingjun and Di Qiuyan for the help with materials used in this article, and also to Yang Yujun, Vincent Goossaert, Victor H. Mair, and the two anonymous readers for their comments and suggestions.

（收稿日期：101.10.30；通過刊登日期：101.03.14）
in Changshu. Furthermore, baojuan presents some information on the development of these cults, which is not found in other sources; thus it is a valuable material on the religious situation in Changshu.

Keywords: baojuan, popular religion, local cults, historical persons, historical legends
This paper deals with the connection of baojuan (寶卷, precious scrolls) and the cults of deified historical persons in the Changshu (常熟) area. I argue that baojuan storytelling is an important form of the expression and transmission of local beliefs. It is closely related to the cults that developed in this area for several centuries. Baojuan are the sources that contribute to our understanding of the history of these cults, especially their development on the lower level of local society. Although Chinese and foreign scholars have studied the local beliefs of the Changshu area of the late imperial period, they have not used the material of baojuan in their works. This paper is designed to fill in this lacuna.

Baojuan are texts with primarily religious content intended for oral presentation. The literary form of baojuan appeared approximately in the 13th-14th centuries and flourished in the 16th-early 20th centuries; these texts are still performed in several regions in China till now. Several schools of performers are still active in the area around modern city of Changshu in Jiangsu province. Baojuan performances there are called “telling scriptures” (jiangjing 講經), and their performers – “masters of telling scriptures” (jiangjing xiansheng 講經先生). Changshu baojuan are especially valuable for the scholars of Chinese religion, because a lot of them present hagiographies of local deities.

In this paper I analyze Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages (Qiansheng xiao wang baojuan《千聖小王寶卷》, a representative example of baojuan that deals with the deified historical and pseudo-historical figures. It tells the story of the Tang-dynasty official Zhang Xun (張巡, 709—757) and his son Zhang Tan (張倓, called Zhang Jun 張俊 in several baojuan versions). I would like to note the unique nature of this text: Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages is specific of the Changshu area and most probably was composed there. It is not included in the most up-to-date catalogue of baojuan texts by Che

1 Hamashima, Ming Qing Jiangnan nongcun shehui, pp. 14–62; Wang Jian, Li hai xiang guan, pp. 174–186.
2 Zhang Yafu 張亞夫 in the historical sources.
3 The exact time of composition is unknown, however, judging by the contents of baojuan and data about its transmission, it was most probably between 1870 and 1930.
Xilun, based primarily on the library materials. This text is still performed in the areas of Gangkou town of modern Zhangjiagang city and Shanghu town of Changshu.

Baojuan of the Gangkou area have already attracted the attention of scholars of Chinese literature. A considerable number of texts were collected by local scholars and published under the title of the Collection of baojuan from Heyang in China (Zhongguo Heyang baojuan ji). Chinese and foreign scholars have published several fieldwork reports that give general introduction to telling scriptures in the Gangkou area of Zhangjiagang. They have discussed the special features of telling scripture in Gangkou and have described different types of performances. Here I turn to the contents of performed texts. Although there have been several special studies of texts discovered in the Gangkou area, many baojuan found there have not been analyzed.

I also use materials from the town of Shanghu in the Changshu area, where the tradition of telling scriptures very similar to that of Gangkou has survived. Both areas are very close, and there is interaction between the masters of telling scriptures in these two places. I obtained these materials from a master of telling scriptures Yu Dingjun (余鼎君 b. 1942)

---

4 Che Xilun, Zhongguo baojuan zongmu.
5 It was a part of Changshu county before 1962.
6 ZHBJ. “Heyang” in the title refers to the old geographical name in the Gangkou area.
9 There are two variants of this text, called Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages (based on the manuscript copied by Hu Zhengxing 胡正興 from Zhuangjing 莊涇 village of Gangkou township in fall 2001) and Baojuan of the Small King (based on the manuscript copied by Xia Genyuan 夏根元 from Shuangtang 雙塘 village of Gangkou township), published in ZHBJ, 1. 147-149 and 266-267. The differences between them are minor: only several expressions and details differ; in my discussion I follow the first variant. I have also seen the manuscripts by the other performers in Gangkou (see fig. 1-2).
from Jianhua village (建華村) of Shanghu town, when interviewed him and observed his performances in 2011-2012. Yu Dingjun started to study telling scriptures with his brother in 2000; now he performs independently and also is noteworthy for his deliberate changes of the contents of baojuan texts, which makes him different from the majority of telling scriptures performers in Changshu. 10 At the same time he has a large collection of the traditional baojuan texts (mainly manuscripts of local performers). The tradition of telling scriptures in Shanghu has been scarcely studied so far, 11 but deserves our attention, as Yu Dingjun’s materials can complement and clarify many aspects of the Gangkou tradition. 12

Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages in the version close to those from Gangkou has been recited in the Shanghu area as well. 13

In this paper, I have used published baojuan texts, historical sources (mostly gazetteers and epigraphy of the Changshu area), and fieldwork materials. As for the structure of the paper; firstly, I provide the details of the contents of this baojuan, then I analyze its connection to the two related local cults. I compare the information provided in the baojuan text with the historical sources about the related cults, and demonstrate the connection between them as well as the difference in their portrayal of deities.

1. Zhang Xun and his son Zhang Tan in Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages

Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages says that Zhang Xun, an official known for his honesty and loyalty, was a native of Songchang (松常) town of Dengzhou (鄧州) county in Nanyang (南洋) 14 prefecture. Zhang Xun and his wife both are aged 46 when they give birth to their son Zhang Tan. After he grows up, he becomes accomplished both in

10 See Berezkin, “Modern performances of “precious scrolls” as a part of folk religious and social life in the Shanghu area.”
11 See Che Xilun, “Jiangsu Changshu de ‘zuohui jiangjing’”; Yu Dingjun, “Lue shuo Changshu xianzai de baojuan.”
12 Yu Dingjun has published several texts that he performs: QXB; Gao Guofan and Yu Dingjun, ed., Hexie Changshu baojuan. However, these editions cover only a small part of baojuan texts in the Yu Dingjun’s collection. There are more than 200 different texts in his collection.
13 Yu Dingjun, see QXB, pp. 3-22.
14 This place name is obviously misspelled in baojuan, it should be 南陽.
civil and military arts. Then, the text mentions briefly the story of the Tang emperor Xuanzong (玄宗 r. 712-756) and Yang Guifei (楊貴妃) in connection with the start of the An Lushan’s revolt. The emperor sends Zhang Xun and other generals to fight with An Lushan (安祿山), and after the decisive battle Zhang Xun and Zhang Tan are besieged by rebellious army in Rongcheng (蓉城). Zhang Xun asks the Tang court for help and provision, but his plea is neglected by the courtiers. Zhang Xun continues to defend the city until most of his army is starved to death, and An Lushan’s troops capture Rongcheng. Zhang Xun is killed by the enemies, while Zhang Tan dies from starvation. When the emperor learns about their loyalty, he bestows the title of the Prime Minister, King Pacifying the East (Shang xiang Dong ping wang 上相東平王) on Zhang Xun, and the [King] of Thousand Sages in charge of transmission of memorials to the Ninth Heaven (Jiu tian chuan zou qian sheng 九天傳奏千聖) on Zhang Tan.

The text then proceeds with the recent history of the cult of the Small King of Thousand Sages in the Changshu area. It does not say when the temple for this deity in Changshu was first built. However, it states that this temple existed before 1860. Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages says that a temple of the Small King of Thousand Sages in the Changshu area was destroyed by the Taiping forces when the Taiping war broke out and the rebels ravaged the Changshu area; the statue of the Small King was thrown into the lake. However, during Guangxu reign (1875-1908) this statue was discovered by a fisherman Yang Zirong (楊子榮), who became lucky in commerce after he prayed to this deity. Later on, the temple for the Small King of Thousand Sages was rebuilt by the local people on the original place, and many people went to pray there. Therefore, the association between Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages and the activities centered on the temple of the Small King in the Changshu area is made.

15 Its place is not specified. Yu Dingjun explains that there were two temples of this deity near Changshu city: the original temple was located in modern Jianhua village of Liantang (練塘) township of Changshu (on the southern shore of Shanghu lake); while another temple was built in Xiaohudian (小湖甸) on the northern shore of Shanghu lake, where the statue was found: QXB, pp. 12-14.
2. The cult of Zhang Xun and its reflection in baojuan of the Changshu area

Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages demonstrates that the cult of the Small King of Thousand Sages is connected to the cult of his father, Zhang Xun, which corresponds to historical reality of Changshu. Zhang Xun and his son were real historical persons; according to the New History of the Tang (Xin Tang shu 新唐書), Zhang Xun was a native of Dengzhou 鄧州 county in Nanyang 南陽 prefecture (in modern Henan province); and a hero of the war against An Lushan. He perished during the siege of Suiyang 睢陽, which in Baojuan of the Small king of Thousand Sages is called Rongcheng. Shortly after Zhang Xun’s death he was deified and the temple for both Zhang Xun and his companion-in-arms Xu Yuan 许遠, 709-757 was built in Suiyang. The New History of the Tang also mentions Zhang Xun’s son Zhang Yafu in the passage about awards for Zhang Xun, his companion-in-arms, and relatives.

Zhang Xun was widely worshipped in the Changshu area since around the 15th century. His cult in Changshu represents one out of several forms of his worship throughout China.

---


17 Now the district of Shangqiu 商丘 city in Henan province.


19 Ibid., p. 5541.

20 I was not able to find more information about this person in historical sources. The database of the historical sources (中國基本古籍庫) does not give any references except for quite late gazetteers of Hangzhou (see below).

21 Here I do not deal with the Zhang Xun’s cult in the areas other than Changshu. Zhang Xun as a deity had several images. His cult has been widespread in several regions of China, especially noteworthy are beliefs in Ang-kong, the Zhang Xun’s form, in Fujian and Taiwan. On Zhang Xun’s cult, see Ma Jianhua, “Putian minjian Zhang Xun”; Chen Chunsheng, “Song-Ming shiqi Chaozhou diqu de shuang zhong gong”; Huang Ting, “Minjian zongjiao xinyang zhong de guojia yishi”; Fan Chunwu, “Shuang zhong chongsi”; Fan Chunwu, “Daojiao duiyu minjian su shen”; Fan Chunwu, “Ming-Qing Jiangnan Dutian xinyang”; Wang Zhenzhong, “Ming-Qing yilai Huizhou de baoan shanhui”. Besides Zhang Xun’s popularity in folk beliefs, he was also featured in novel and drama – the fact that also contributed to the spread of his cult, see Fan Chunwu, “Shuang zhong chongsi”, pp. 54-67.
The title with which Zhang Xun is rewarded in *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* points to the deity called the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East (Dongping zhongjing wang 東平忠靖王), one of the titles of deified Zhang Xun.\(^2\) According to several historical sources, the imperial court bestowed this title on Zhang Xun during the Northern Song period (960-1127). However, I was not able to find the proof of the award of this posthumous title to Zhang Xun in the official historical sources of the Song dynasty. After consulting a number of unofficial sources that date back to the Song, Yuan (1260-1368), and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties, one can agree with Fan Chunwu (范純武), who studied different forms of Zhang Xun’s cult, that the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East became the popular title of Zhang Xun under which he was known in many places of China, including Changshu.\(^3\) At the same time the close study of local histories demonstrates that the association between the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and Zhang Xun took place at the comparatively late time.

There are records about the cult of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East in the local histories of Changshu county that date back to the Southern Song period (1127-1279); however, the earliest records do not specify that this deity was in any way related to Zhang Xun. The earliest gazetteer of Changshu county available now, *The Newly Revised Gazetteer of Qinchuan (Qinchuan zhi 琴川志)*, compiled by Sun Yingshi (孫應時, 1154-1206) in 1196 and revised by Bao Lian (鮑廉, fl. 1241-1275) and Lu Zhen (盧鎮, dates unknown) in 1254 and 1363 respectively, says that the temple for the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East (Dongping zhongjing wang ci 東平忠靖王祠) existed in Changshu during the Southern Song. It was attached to the Temple of the Eastern Peak (Taishan), called the Travel Palace of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue xing ci 東嶽行祠), located on the eastern slope of Yu mountain (虞山) in vicinity of the county seat of Changshu. This gazetteer says:

The Temple for the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East is situated on the


\(^3\) pp. 37.
east side of it (Temple of the Eastern Peak – R.B.). This King was a son of Zhang Youyan from Huaiyin. He was born on the 18th day of the 8th month of the 1st year of Kaiyuan reign of the Tang dynasty (713) and died and became a deity on the 25th day of the 7th month of the 14th year [of Kaiyuan]. Because he protected the state and rescued people he was awarded the title of the Accomplished and Benevolent Count. When the first emperor of the Song dynasty was on campaign in Taiyuan, the water in a river flooded. The emperor was worried about this, but it suddenly was frozen and the army was able to cross it [by ice] then. They saw that the deity manifested itself in the air. [The court] then added the title of the Responsive Messenger Who Guards the Sacred One. In the 5th year of Xining reign (1072) the deity was “promoted” to the Count Responsive to All Matters. The prime minister Wang Jing ordered the relevant authorities to verify the cases of the deity’s miracles and then it was awarded the title of the Loyal and Virtuous, Civilized and Calm, Martial but Peaceful Count of Benevolent Response. After the Song court moved to the South, this deity again offered [miraculous] response in Zhe province, especially remarkable his miracles were in this place. The deity was finally awarded the title of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East. The people in Changshu county worshipped him with reverence. The original temple was old, low and small, but was re-built in the 9th year of Chunxi reign (1182).

Therefore, the gazetteer does not provide a date of this temple’s building, but it says that its first rebuilding took place as early as in 1182. It was dedicated to the unnamed son of Zhang Youyan from Huaiyin (modern Huaiian 淮安 city in Jiangsu province), who was born in 713 and died in 736. He became a deity after death and performed miracles. The imperial court

---

continuously awarded him new titles during the Northern Song and the Southern Song periods till he received the final title of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East sometime after the Song court moved to the South in 1127 (the exact date is not provided). As we see, this passage does not mention Zhang Xun’s name; besides, the information in the gazetteer does not correspond to the facts that we know about Zhang Xun from historical sources. The place of birth and dates of life given for the deified person in the gazetteer do not correspond to the information about Zhang Xun in the historical sources. The date of the final title award also is not supported by the contemporary historical records.

As for the other titles of the Zhang Youyan’s son that The Newly Revised Gazetteer of Qinhuang mentions, they are not known titles of Zhang Xun either. One cannot find them in official historical sources at all. I was able to find only the title of Count of Benevolent Response in the unofficial and local sources that date back to the Song dynasty. However, these sources do not mention Zhang Xun either: Count of Benevolent Response usually appears with the name of Zhang the Commander (Zhang taiwei 張太尉), so it is not clear whether it was related to Zhang Xun in any way.25

Fan Chunwu has supposed that the passage in The Newly Revised Gazetteer of Qinhuang mentions Zhang Xun;26 however, we can see that there are no solid foundations for this conclusion. The local Changshu scholar Yao Fujun (姚福釗) in the late 19th century commented on this passage that though Zhang Xun and the supposed historical prototype of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East had the same surname, their reported...

25 These sources also insist that the deified person was a native of Huaiyin. The temple for him in Bianliang (開封) was built sometime between 1068 and 1077, and the Song court conferred the title of Count of the Benevolent Response on him sometime between 1078 and 1085. See Gao Cheng, Shi wu ji yuan, juan 7, p. 378; Li Lian, Bianjing yi ji zhi, juan 11, p. 174; et al. Besides, there is a record about the origin of Righteous and Peaceful King Pacifying the East that is very similar to the passage in Newly Revised Gazetteer of Qinhuang in the compendium of documents that presumably date back to the Song dynasty: Xu Song, Song huiyao ji gao, vol. 1, Li section (vol. 20), p. 134 (831). The source that this book cites is Gazetteer of the Linting [Prefecture] 臨汀志 that dates back to the Song dynasty. However, I was not able to find any relevant information in the modern edition of this gazetteer.

26 Fan Chunwu, “Shuang zhong chongsi”, p. 36.
miracles after deification were obviously different. Therefore, there is no firm evidence that Zhang Xun was worshipped in Changshu under this title before the 15th century. The origins of the cult of the Loyal and Peaceful King in Changshu remain obscure.

According to the gazetteer of Changshu that dates back to Wanli reign of the Ming (1573-1620) -- The Private Gazetteer of Changshu (Changshu si zhi 《常熟私志》) --, the firm association between the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and Zhang Xun took place during Hongzhi (弘治) reign (1488-1505) of the Ming dynasty and was related to the officials’ policies in regard of popular beliefs. According to this source, during Hongzhi reign the main cult of the temple for the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East was changed into that of Zhang Xun because of the campaign against the “illicit cults” (yinsi 淫祀) held by the county magistrate of Changshu. The association between Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and Zhang Xun appears in the source of even earlier time -- the gazetteer of Changshu dating back to the year 1539; however, the detail about the illicit cults is not present there. The adjacent temple for the deity of unknown origin called the Bright and Heroic King of Certain Response (Fu ying zhao lie wang 孚應昭烈王) during the Hongzhi reign was turned into the temple of Zhang Xun’s companion-in-arms Xu Yuan, who also then received the new title of the Bright and Heroic King of Certain Response.

27 Yao Fujun, Zhu ding yu wen, p. 146.
28 On the illicit (or profane) cults and the government sanctions against them in the Lower Yangtze region, see Jiang Zhushan, “Tang Bin jinhui Wutong”; Hamashima, Ming Qing Jiangnan nongcun shehui, pp. 34, 64-68, 89; Wang Jian, Li hai xiang guan, pp. 187–208.
29 Yao Zongyi and Feng Laifu, Changshu si zhi, juan 6, p. 7b. Yang Ziqi 楊子器 (1458-1513) served as a county magistrate of Kunshan and Changshu in succession, and his campaigns against illicit cults are well known, see Hamashima, Ming Qing Jiangnan nongcun shehui, p. 17.
30 Deng Fu, et al., Changshu xian zhi, juan 4, 10a (357). According to this source, because on Hui mountain in Wuxi 無錫 Righteous and Peaceful King Pacifying the East was represented (or “realized” shi 實) by Zhang Xun, the officials of Changshu also followed this example and worshipped Zhang Xun at the temple on Yu Mountain. The gazetteer of the Hongzhi reign does not mention Zhang Xun: Yang Ziqi, Sang Yu, et al., Hongzhi Changshu xian zhi, juan 2, p. 79a, see also manuscript version rpt. in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, juan 2, p. 79 (90).
31 Yao Zongyi and Feng Laifu, Changshu si zhi, juan 6, p. 7b.
It is important to note that the officials of the Ming dynasty regarded the original cult of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East as an illicit one. It is well known that the policy of local elites towards popular cults in the late imperial period was quite flexible: they often patronized cults of dubious origin for different reasons. At the same time the official recognition of a deity was an important factor for the spread of a cult. The official identification of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East as a loyal statesman Zhang Xun certainly contributed to the growth of his cult in the Changshu area.

The late source, *The Revised Draft of the Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen* (Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao 《重修常昭合志稿》), later abbreviated as The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen) compiled by Pang Hongwen 龐鴻文, jinshi 1876  and others (first printed in 1904) states that the cults of Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan started to spread after the temples adjacent to the Temple of the Eastern Peak were turned into the temples of these persons during Hongzhi reign. These cults were also supported by the local elites:

> Our county is not the place where [those two] should be worshipped according to the rules. However, since Hongzhi reign of the Ming dynasty, after the temples were turned into [the places] to worship [Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan], literati started to venerate them, and built many other temples for them. Those temples where these two persons were worshipped together were called the Temples of the Two Loyal.

吾邑非秩祀之地。惟自明弘【弘】治改祀以來士人尊祀。惟謹分建廟宇甚多。其合祀兩公者稱雙忠廟。  

The literary anthology of texts from Changshu called *Haiyu wen zheng* 《海虞文徵》 includes

---

32 For the overview of evidence, see Katz, “Xifang xuejie yanjiu Zhongguo shequ zongjiao”, pp. 61-63; Katz, “Orthopraxy and Heteropraxy Beyond the State”.

33 As Fan Chunwu has demonstrated, there was a number of local deities’ cults in the Lower Yangtze region that local literati tried to substitute with Zhang Xun, see his “Ming-Qing Jiangnan Dutian xinyang de fazhan ji qi yishuo”, p. 106.

34 Pang Hongwen et al., *Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao*, juan 15, p. 834.
a text of the stele at the temple of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East\footnote{In the inscription title the deity is called by its name in use by the Daoists, see below.} on Yu mountain by Qian Renfu (錢仁夫) dated to the year of 1525 – “The stele [commemorating] the rebuilding of the temple of the Perfected Lord Jingyou Pacifying the East” (Chongxiu Dongping jingyou zhen jun shenmiao bei 重修東平景佑真君社廟碑).\footnote{According to the historical sources, Qian Renfu had a jinshi 进士 (Advanced Scholar) degree and held several official posts. He was also a quite prolific author. Pang Hongwen et al., *Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao*, juan 20, p. 1009.} It briefly narrates the story of the Zhang Xun’s exploits.\footnote{Shao Songnian, ed., *Haiyu wen zheng*, juan 6, pp. 36a-37b.} According to this text, local elites (jinshen dafu 縉紳大夫) of Changshu especially venerated Zhang Xun and his companions. The inscription also tells about the renovation of the temple with the funds donated by the family of the minister of works 司空 Cheng Zong (程宗, style name Cheng Yuanyi 程原伊).\footnote{This person was an Advanced Scholar and served as a minister of works (gongbu shangshu 工部尚書, commonly known as sikong). On him, see Deng Fu, et al., *Changshu xian zhi*, juan 6, pp. 17a-32b (643-654); Pang Hongwen et al., *Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao*, juan 20, p. 1001.} The text further links this support with the miracle tale related to the Cheng Zong’s birth. Therefore, this record testifies for the elite support of the deity’s cult. This support certainly had influence on the transmission of the Zhang Xun’s deified image in Changshu.\footnote{As the studies of the Zhang Xun’s cult in the Chaozhou area have demonstrated, that was also true for the other areas of China, though elite and popular interpretations of the cult could be very different, see Chen Chunsheng, “Song-Ming shiqi Chaozhou diqu de shuang zhong gong”, pp. 65-70; Huang Ting, “Minjian zongjiaoxing zhong de guoji yishi”, pp. 96-102.}

According to *The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen*, the temple for Zhang Xun was restored in 1720, 1759, and 1839; however, the temple was destroyed in 1860 (apparently during the Taiping war) and left abandoned since then.\footnote{Pang Hongwen et al., *Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao*, juan 15, p. 834.} At the same time, as we have seen, the worship of Zhang Xun was not limited to the spiritual center of Yu Mountain: a number of other temples dedicated to him existed in Changshu county.

*Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* mainly follows the official version of identification of Zhang Xun and the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East, as it
narrates the story of the Zhang Xun’s life. However, it also reflects another dimension of the cult of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East that also existed in Changshu, when it calls Zhang Xun the Prime minister. In Changshu both the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and Bright and Heroic King of Certain Response had the functions of the officials of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, an important deity of netherworld in China. The Private Gazetteer of Changshu County says:

According to the views of mediums, the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East is the prime minister of the Eastern Peak, Perfected Lord Jingyou. They do not call him Zhang [Xun]. [Accordingly] the minister on the right side of the Eastern Peak [Emperor] is called the King of Certain Response, Perfected Lord Zhaolie. They do not call him Xu Yuan either.

This passage testifies for the fact that the mediums in Changshu worshipped two ministers of the Eastern Peak at the beginning of the 17th century; significantly, mediums remain very important religious figures in this area now (see below). At the same time, the association of deified Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan with the bureaus of the Eastern Peak is not limited to Changshu. Sources that come from different places of China (the earliest dating back to the 12th century) also represent Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan as the functionaries of the Eastern Peak. They say that two heroes were appointed as underworld officials as a reward for their loyalty. The roles of Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan as the functionaries of the Eastern Peak and hence exorcists of demons were accepted by Daoists of different schools in the late imperial period. As we saw above, in the Song period the temples for the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and Bright and the Heroic King of Certain Response were attached to the Temple of the Eastern Peak on Yu Mountain. This Temple of the Eastern Peak had the

41 Yao Zongyi and Feng Laifu, Changshu si zhi, juan 6, p. 7b.
Daoist orientation and was serviced by Daoists, so the temples affiliated with it were
certainly also operated by Daoists. When these two deities under question were associated
with Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan, their connection with the deity of the Eastern Peak was
preserved and even intensified.\(^{44}\) It is obvious that not only mediums, but Daoists in
Changshu also presented the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and the Bright and
Heroic King of Certain Response as the “perfected lords” (a common term for a Daoist deity)
and subordinates of the Eastern Peak,\(^{45}\) therefore, we term this form of their cult as a
“Daoist” one.

On the basis of this historical evidence, though it is quite scarce, we can see that ritual
specialists of different levels, including Daoists and mediums, referred to the two deities
under question as the underworld functionaries, ignoring their “historical” identity as Zhang
Xun and Xu Yuan. The “Daoist” form of the two cults was also quite prominent in Changshu,
as we can find its presence in several written sources. For example, the stele inscription by
Qian Renfu (see above) also uses the title of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East
as a “perfected lord”. Therefore, we can see that this form of the deity’s cult was also
accepted by the scholars-officials. The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen also
notes that along with the “Temples of the Two Loyal,” where Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan were
worshipped together, there were rural temples around Changshu dedicated to the first and
second ministers (xia xiang 下相) of the Eastern Peak.\(^{46}\) Furthermore, there were baojuan in
Changshu that dealt specifically with the two ministers of the Eastern Peak.

According to the Yu Dingjun’s information, there were two baojuan in the Changshu
area dedicated to the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East and the Bright and Heroic
King of Certain Response — Baojuan of the First Minister [of the Emperor of the Eastern
Peak] King Pacifying the East (Shang xiang Dong ping wang baojuan 《上相東平王寶卷》)
and Baojuan of Heroic King of Certain Response (Fu ying zha lie wang baojuan 《孚應昭

\(^{44}\) On the connection of their cults with the Eastern Peak in Changshu, see Yao Fujun, Zhu ding yu wen, p. 89.
\(^{45}\) Note also the interpretation of Small King of Thousand Changes by the Daoists (see next section).
\(^{46}\) Pang Hongwen et al., Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao, juan 15, p. 834.
烈王寶卷》 with the alternative title of [Baojuan of the Second Minister [of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak] (Xia xiang 下相). Interestingly enough, the stories narrated in these baojuan are not related to Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan. Instead, they tell the stories of pseudo-historical persons Zhang Jishan (張繼善) and Xu Yuan (許淵) set in the remote past – the Shang (ca. 1600-1046 B.C.E.) and Zhou (1046-256 B.C.E.) dynasties respectively. These baojuan demonstrate that not all baojuan performers accepted the “historical” identity of the two deities as Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan. These two texts preserve the original association of the two deities with the cult of the Eastern Peak, and are related to the cults of the deities in their “Daoist” form.

How does this “Daoist” form entered baojuan in Changshu? One should connect this fact with the influence of mediums and Daoists on telling scriptures in Changshu. Masters of telling scriptures often cooperate with both these groups now. Mediums, who consult local believers on different matters, often prescribe a session of telling scriptures or/and a Daoist service as a cure. Therefore, three groups are in constant contact. Masters of telling scriptures even borrowed several texts and rituals from the local Daoist priests. It is probable that the contents of narrative baojuan about deities were also influenced by their representations by mediums and Daoists that are quite old and may be traced back to the historical sources.

Yu Dingjun considered baojuan texts devoted to the ministers of the Eastern Peak unreliable and inappropriate for performances, after he consulted local gazetteers that associate these two deities with the cults of historical Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan. Being an educated person (in comparison of other masters of telling scriptures, whose educational level is quite low), he values the sources compiled by the scholars-officials of the past. Therefore, for him the identity of two deities as the historical figures appears the “true” one. For this reason and in order to correct the contents of telling scriptures, in 2008 Yu Dingjun

47 Yu Dingjun, “Changshu Shanghu Yuqingtang Yu Dingjun cang baojuan mulu”, p. 10. I have not found the texts with similar titles in the Gangkou area.
48 About these interactions of the three groups, see Yu Yongliang, “Daojiaohua de Heyang baojuan”; Qiu Huiying, “Jiangsu Changshu Baimao diqu xuanjuan,” pp. 201-202.
composed *Baojuan of the Two Loyal (Shuang zhong baojuan)* that deals with the lives of Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan,\(^{49}\) which he uses in his performances of telling scriptures. Yu Dingjun based his new text on the biographies of Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan in the dynastic histories. The facts about the traditional texts of baojuan related to the ministers of the Eastern peak and their transformation in the Yu Dingjun’s tradition of performances demonstrate the complex lines of connections of telling scriptures with the related cults of the Changshu area.

We can see that baojuan texts in Changshu included different images of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East that existed in this area. This situation is related to the process of substitution of local cults of obscure origin with deified historical persons that started quite long ago and originally was related to the activities of scholars-officials who promoted the “appropriate” cults. However, it continues till now as the revision of baojuan texts by the literate performers such as Yu Dingjun takes place.

3. The cult of Zhang Xun’s son, the Small King of Thousand Sages, and its reflection in baojuan

Now I would like to turn to another historical person who is featured in *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* – in fact he is the main character of the text -- and his cult in Changshu. The cult of the Small King of Thousand Sages existed in Changshu since the beginning of the 17\(^{th}\) century at latest, as *The Private Gazetter of Changshu County* written at that time mentions the temple of the Small King of Thousand Sages (Qiansheng xiao wang ci 千聖小王祠) near the Temple of the Eastern Peak.\(^{50}\) However, this source does not say that this temple was associated with the deified son of Zhang Xun, Zhang Yafu. This association appears in *The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen* that mentions another temple related to this cult, called the Temple of the Small King of Thousand Victories (Qiansheng xiao wang miao 千聖小王廟), which was built during Jiaqing reign.

---

\(^{49}\) Published in QXB, pp. 23-38.

\(^{50}\) Yao Zongyi and Feng Laifu, *Changshu si zhi*, juan 6, p. 7b.
(1796-1821), burned down in 1861 and rebuilt in 1870.\(^{51}\) This source refers to *The Hangzhou Gazetteer (Hangzhou zhi 《杭州志》)* by Chen Shan (陳善), which says that Zhang Xun’s son named Zhang Yafu was famous for his military accomplishments during the siege of Suiyang and then was commemorated under the title of the General of Thousand Victories (Qiansheng jiangjun 千勝將軍) together with his father in the Zhang Xun’s temple in the capital Bianliang (Kaifeng) during the Northern Song; then during the Southern Song the temple for him was built in the new capital Lin’an (臨安) (Hangzhou 杭州).\(^{52}\) One should note that in standard Mandarin the second character in the title of the General of Thousand Victories is pronounced in the same way as that in the title of the Small King of Thousand Sages. Therefore, baojuan and *The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen* certainly refer to the same deity. If one believes the information of gazetteers of the Hangzhou area, the history of the cult of Zhang Xun’s son (General of Thousand Victories) in the Lower Yangtze region can be traced to the 12\(^{th}\) century. At the same time I do not have any other evidence about the authenticity of General of Thousand Victories title\(^{53}\) and the early existence of Zhang Xun’s son (General of Thousand Victories) cult.

*The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen* also says that there were other temples to this deity, in that case called temples of the Small King of Thousand Sages, in the rural areas of Changshu, and the prince (taizi 太子) Small King of Thousand Sages was worshipped there. It also quotes *The Abbreviated Gazetteer of Yuxiang (Yuxiang zhi lüe 《虞鄉志略》)*,\(^{54}\) according to which, in the Daoist view this deity was the eldest son of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak with the title of the Small King of Thousand Sages in charge of

\(^{51}\) This passage may refer to the temple mentioned in baojuan edited by Yu Dingjun (see note 15 above), however, one cannot assert that it is the same temple with the use of gazetteer’s information.

\(^{52}\) Pang Hongwen et al., *Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao, juan* 15, p. 844. There are indeed very similar passages in the gazetteers of the Hangzhou area dated to the Ming dynasty, see: Shen Chaoxuan, *Jiaqing Renhe xian zhi, juan* 7, 19a; Liu Bojin, *Wanli Hangzhou fu zhi, juan* 47, p. 23a-b.

\(^{53}\) It contradicts official sources: according to the dynastic history, the Emperor awarded to Zhang Yafu the title of the commander-in-chief of the imperial guards (jinwu jiangjun 金吾將軍): Ouyang Xiu, et al., *Xin Tang shu, juan* 192, p. 5541.

\(^{54}\) Compiled in 1840 by Deng Lin 鄧琳.
transmission of memorials to the Ninth Heaven. However, the authors of *The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen* doubted the veracity of this saying and termed it as a recent speculation. We can see that the Small King of Thousand Sages, same as the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East, had multiple forms in the Changshu area; and local baojuan also reflect this situation. We can see it in several aspects of these texts.

Firstly, there are several versions of the origin of the Small King of Thousand Sages presented in the texts of telling scriptures in Changshu. According to Yu Dingjun, there are five different versions of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* in this area that he collected. They name different pseudo-historical persons as the prototypes of this deity: (1) Yin Chujun (印儲君), a companion-in-arms of the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East; (2) Liu Sheng (劉聖), a winner at the palace examinations; (3) Liu Zu (劉祖), or Deity Liu (劉神); (4) Zhang the Number One Scholar (狀元); (5) Zhang Tan, the son of Zhang Xun. Yu Dingjun favored the last version of the story (especially as it corresponds to the information of *The Combined Gazetteer of Changshu and Zhaowen*), so he has edited it and used in his performances.

Secondly, in modern situation, the association of the Small King of Thousand Sages with both the Eastern Peak and Zhang Tan (or Yafu) can appear. The version of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* from Gangkou calls this deity both the Imperial Heir Apparent (*huang taizi* 皇太子), which certainly hints at his connection with the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, and the King of Thousand Sages in charge of transmission of memorials to the Ninth Heaven. In the version of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* edited and published by Yu Dingjun, Zhang Yafu is said to be the reincarnation of the eldest son of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak.

---

55 Pang Hongwen et al., *Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao*, juan 15, pp. 844-845.
56 This story is related to the cult of Fierce General Liu (Liu Mengjiang 劉猛將), very popular in the Changshu area, for this cult, see Berezkin, “An Analysis of “Telling Scriptures” (jiangjing) during Temple Festivals,” p. 29, n. 18.
57 Yu Dingjun, “Changshu Shanghu Yuqingtang Yu Dingjun cang baojuan mulu”, p. 11.
58 ZHBJ, 1. 148-149.
59 Yu Dingjun, ed., *Qiansheng xiao wang baojuan*, pp. 5-7.
The Small King of Thousand Sages remains an important deity in both Gangkou and Shanghu areas; there were temples for him in Tianzhuang (恬莊) (田莊) township in the Gangkou area and Jianhua village of Shanghu. According to my informants, the Small King of Thousand Sages in present-day Changshu is worshipped by mediums, who play an important role in the organization of telling scriptures (see above). He is one of the most popular deities associated with mediums along with the Liu Deity, a local variant of Fierce General Liu, and “the Virtuous and Good [Person] of the West Lake” (Xihu xian liang 西湖賢良, the water spirit of the Shanghu lake).

The Small King of Thousand Sages and the Loyal and Peaceful King Pacifying the East both had multiple forms in Changshu. Certain forms of the cults of these two deities appealed to different groups of population. For example, elite emphasized the loyalty of the historical Zhang Xun, while religious specialists (Daoists and mediums) favored the images of Zhang Xun and Xu Yuan as the functionaries of the Eastern Peak and presented the Small King of Thousand Sages as a Prince of the Eastern Peak. The controversy concerning the forms of these deities also found its expression in baojuan texts that have been related to the worship of these deities. At the same time the fact that at certain point of time both these deities became associated with the historical persons was an important factor that influenced the art of telling scriptures: we saw that several versions of Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages from the Gangkou and Shanghu areas feature a historical person Zhang Xun and his pseudo-historical son Zhang Tan.

4. The special features of the deities’ cults found in Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages

Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages also reveals some aspects of the cults that one cannot find in the local historical sources: gazetteers and literati’s notes.

Firstly, it provides some facts about the miraculous origin of two deified historical

---

60 Pang Hongwen et al., Chongxiu Chang-Zhao he zhi gao, vol. 153. 1, juan 2, p. 182.
61 The second one still exists.
62 On their hagiographies in baojuan, see ZHBJ, 1.194-208; 2.888-890; 992-996.
figures. It says that Zhang Xun was the reincarnation of the Star of Pestilence (*wen xing* 瘟星). According to *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages*, when the warriors of Zhang Xun were starving in the city while besieged by rebels, Zhang Xun dug up tubers of shanyu（山芋 sweet potato）from the hill inside the city and offered them to his warriors as food. Those tubers were originally poisonous, but after Zhang Xun ate the first one of them, he neutralized this poison, and people would not be harmed by them anymore.63 Because Zhang Xun had absorbed the poison of sweet potato, his face is said to have turned purple. The association of Zhang Xun with the gods of pestilence also appears in other regions of China, including several areas of Jiangsu and Anhui provinces, which are close to Changshu.64 However, we cannot find this association in the gazetteers of Changshu. Furthermore, the legends about Zhang Xun being a star reincarnation and his neutralizing of poison can be found only in the *baojuan* texts.

Secondly, *baojuan* provides important information about the forms of worship of the Small King of Thousand Sages in the Changshu area. An important form of the worship were temple festivals. *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* describes temple festivals in honor of this deity: it says that festivals in the temple of the 4th lane (Sixiang 四巷) were organized twice a year, on the 20th day of the 2nd lunar month and the 24th day of the 7th month. On those dates ceremonies of worship took place in the temple of the Small King of Thousand Sages.65 On the 20th day of the 2nd lunar month there was also a parade of Dragon boats, so this day was referred to as “the assembly of Dragon boats” (Long chuan hui 龍船會). The text says: “Friends and relatives from every village and lane and each household came to watch the contest of the Dragon boats, people gathered in big crowds, and it was especially lively celebration. When they watched the contest of the Dragon boats, they invited the famous masters of martial arts, who placed 18 kinds of weapons on the boats and performed all types of martial arts. One of the masters was sitting on the boat that

63 ZHBJ, 1. 147-148.
64 Fan Chunwu, “Ming-Qing Jiangnan Dutian xinyang de fazhan ji qi yishuo”, pp. 102-103; Wang Zhenzhong, “Ming-Qing yilai Huizhou de baoan shanhui”, p. 23.
65 Unfortunately the details of them are not specified.
carried the deity’s image, he sailed it safely, and was not allowed to rush. Furthermore, the sounds of gongs and drums were so loud that they reached heaven, people set firecrackers on fire, and there was also exquisite music of trumpets, pipes, and flutes. Therefore, this text gives a vivid description of temple festivals associated with the Small King of Thousand Sages; while there are no mentions of them in historical sources.

Baojuan texts (and *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* in particular) were also recited during these celebrations. The tradition of telling scriptures during temple festivals is still thriving in the Gangkou area; *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* is often recited during the temple festivals there. Those are not necessarily related with the temple of this particular deity. For example, I witnessed the performance of this baojuan during festival at the temple of Deity Liu in Shuangtang village of Gangkou town on April 16, 2009 (see fig. 3 and 4). Yu Dingjun also mentions that the masters of telling scriptures are often invited by the locals to perform during temple festivals, including that of the Small King of Thousand Sages in Jianhua village of Shanghu town. Baojuan played important role in the transmission of the cult among commoners, as these texts in vernacular were recited for lay and illiterate audience. The appearance of folk literary pieces during temple festivals was not a unique feature of Changshu: for example, during the “benevolent assemblies granting peace” in Dameikou (大梅口) of Shexian (歙) county of Anhui province, related to the cult of Zhang Xun, participants also recited verses dealing with the story of Zhang Xun’s and Xu Yuan’s defense of Suiyang. Therefore, the tradition of the recitation of the deity’s hagiography during temple festivals is not limited to Changshu, but appears in other areas close to this place as well. However, Changshu appears to be unique in terms of use of baojuan recitation during the community celebrations.

Thirdly, as was already noted, different versions of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* give some information about the recent history of the cult in the Changshu

66 ZHBJ, 1. 148.
67 *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* is also performed during the religious assemblies in private houses in both the Gangkou and Shanghu areas.
68 Wang Zhenzhong, “Ming-Qing yilai Huizhou de baoan shanhui”, p. 48.
area. All of them narrate the legend about the miracles performed by the deity during Guangxu reign that explains the revival and spread of this cult. One cannot find this information in the historical sources either.

**Conclusion**

*Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* is an important part of cultural heritage of the places that formerly belonged to Changshu county. This baojuan reflects the religious situation in this area. The comparison of materials from baojuan with the information in local historical sources – mostly records left by literati – helps us to re-construct this complex situation with the cults of several local deities. Baojuan text analyzed in this paper invokes different forms of particular deities’ cults: these forms co-existed in the area and were related to different groups of population. The cult of a historical person – a loyal official Zhang Xun -- enjoyed popularity of the elite and was adapted by the ritual specialists for their purposes. It also co-existed with the cult of another local protective deity the Small King of Thousand Sages who is presented as the Zhang Xun’s son in local sources, but about whom almost nothing is known from the official history.

The ideas of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages*, which features local popular deities Zhang Xun and the Small King of Thousand Sages as historical persons, correspond to the late stage of the development of the local cults and conform to the views of elites as the comparison with the historical sources demonstrates. At the same time, many details in this baojuan cannot be found in other sources. This text contains unique details of the popular hagiographies, local temples’ history and related temple celebrations; these complement other materials. In this perspective, it appears to be an important source on local religious life. It provides rare information on the history of several cults and their present situation in Changshu. In this locally composed baojuan, we can observe the interplay of the written and oral, elite and popular traditions, which appear inseparable in this kind of performative literature.
Figures (All pictures are taken by the author)

Fig.1 A manuscript of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* by a master of telling scriptures Di Jianxin from the Gangkou area, cover.

Fig.2 A manuscript of *Baojuan of the Small King of Thousand Sages* from the Gangkou area, first page.

Fig.3 Telling scriptures during festival at the temple of Deity Liu in Shuangtang village of Gangkou town on April 16, 2009.

Fig.4 Decorations during festival at the temple of Deity Liu in Shuangtang village of Gangkou.
論歷史人物崇拜與寶卷講唱的關係—以中國江蘇省常熟縣的《千聖小王寶卷》為例

Abbreviations:


Works Cited


---. “Jiangsu Changshu de ‘zuohui jiangjing’ he baojuan jianmu” (江蘇常熟‘做會講經’和寶卷簡目). In his Zhongguo baojuan yanjiu, pp. 401-415.

Chen Chunsheng (陳春聲). “Song-Ming shiqi Chaozhou diqu de shuang zhong gong chongbai” (宋明時期潮州地區的雙忠公崇拜). In Zheng Zhenman (鄭振滿) and Chen Chunsheng (陳春聲), ed., Minjian xinyang yu shehui kongjian (《民間信仰

289
Chen Yiyuan (陳益源) and Li Shuru (李淑如)。“Heyang xijian baojuan ‘Niulang zhinü’ de faxian ji qi jiazhi”（《河陽稀見寶卷〈牛郎織女〉的發現及其價值》）。Minjian wenxue niankan （《民間文學年刊》2 (additional series, 2009.02): 101-116.
Deng Fu (鄧敦)，et al. Changshu xian zhi （《常熟縣志》）。Rpt. in Zhongguo shixue congshu （《中國史學叢書》）。Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1965, 32 (1).
論歷史人物崇拜與寶卷講唱的關係—以中國江蘇省常熟縣的《千聖小王寶卷》為例

Li Shuru（李淑如）. “Jiangsu diqu Tongli, Zhangjiagang baojuan liuchuan xianzhu diaocha yu shili” 《江蘇地區同里、張家港寶卷流傳現況調查與實例》. Yunhan xuekan 《雲漢學刊》 21 (2010.06): 133-146.
---. Heyang baojuan yanjiu 《河陽寶卷研究》. PhD dissertation; Tainan: Chenggong daxue, 2011.
Liu Bojin （劉伯縉）. [Wanli] Hangzhou fu zhi 《萬曆杭州府志》. Photocopy of the woodblock edn. of the Wanli reign period (1573-1620) of the Ming dynasty in the digital database of gazetteers Zhongguo fangzhiku 《中國方志庫》.
Ma Jianhua （馬建華），“Putian minjian Zhang Xun xinyang yanjiu: Jiaoweizhen Zhilinggong, Meiyanggong Yuanxiao qinian miaohui ge an fenxi” 《莆田民間張巡信仰研究——郊尾鎮至靈宮、梅洋宮元宵祈年廟會個案分析》. Minjiang xueyuan xuebao 《閩江學院學報》 29. 3 (2008. 6): 16-23.
Ouyang Xiu（歐陽修）(1007-1072), et al., Xin Tang shu 《新唐書》 in Ershishi shi 《二十四史》.

Shao Songnian (邵松年), ed. *Haiyu wen zheng* (《海虞文徵》). [Changshu?]: Hongwen shuju, 1905.

Shen Chaoxuan (沈朝宣). *Jiaqing Renhe xian zhi* (《嘉清仁和縣志》) (photocopy of the woodblock edition of The Wulin zhanggu (《武林掌故》) series of the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing dynasty in the digital database *Zhongguo fangzhiku*).


Yang Ziqi (楊子器) (1458-1513), Sang Yu (桑瑜), et al. *Hongzhi Changshu xian zhi* (《弘治常熟縣志》). Ming dynasty woodblock edition in the possession of Tōyō bunko, microfilm at the Fu Ssu-nien Library of Academia Sinica, Taiwan, ROLL 3318.

Yang Ziqi, Sang Yu, et al. *Hongzhi Changshu xian zhi*. Undated manuscript rpt. in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* (《四庫全書存目叢書》): Shibu 史部, dili lei 地理類; 185.

Yao Zongyi (姚宗儀) and Feng Laifu (鳳來父). *Changshu si zhi* (《常熟私志》). Woodblock edition of 1617 in the possession of Tōyō bunko, microfilm at the Fu Ssu-nien Library of Academia Sinica, Taiwan, ROLL 3314–3317.
論歷史人物崇拜與寶卷講唱的關係—以中國江蘇省常熟縣的《千聖小王寶卷》為例


Yu Dingjun （余鼎君）. “Lue shuo Changshu xianzai de baojuan yu xuanjiang” （《略說常熟現在的寶卷與宣講》）. In QXB, pp. 153-167.

---. “Changshu Shanghu Yuqingtang Yu Dingjun cang baojuan mulu” （《常熟尚湖餘慶堂余鼎君藏寶卷目錄》）, unpublished manuscript.


論歷史人物崇拜與寶卷講唱的關係
——以中國江蘇省常熟縣的《千聖小王寶卷》為例

白若思* 

摘 要

昔屬常熟縣的港口鎮（現屬张家港市）及今常熟市尚湖鎮的周圍地區，寶卷作為講唱藝術“講經”的底本，相關講經活動歷史悠久，它們成為當地的一種習俗，至今仍在民間存續。當地的地方保護神信仰（其中一部分是被神化的歷史人物）相當流行，而講經一般跟祭祀這些神靈的活動有密切關係，一部分的寶卷就是敘述有關這些人物的生平及其被神化後發生靈驗的傳說。本文的重點是對敘述這種傳說《千聖小王寶卷》的內容研究。本文試圖補充有關常熟縣近現代地方保護神崇拜的研成果。

本文介紹《千聖小王寶卷》中的歷史人物形象：被神化的唐代忠臣張巡（709-757）與他兒子張倓「千聖小王」（在《新唐書》為張亞夫「金吾大將軍」。本文也解釋這些歷史人物在寶卷這種通俗講唱文學中的神化現象及相關故事的演變過程，同時也透過將寶卷與當地的歷史資料（以歷代地方志為主）進行比較，分析相關歷史人物的寶卷和當地民間信仰之間的關係。這兩個保護神在常熟縣以幾個不同的形象出現，而常熟地區的寶卷反映這種情況。通過這種比較研究，本文也解釋寶卷中有關地方保護神傳說的特點，并指出寶卷文本及其講唱方式在普及當地民間信仰時發揮的作用。

關鍵詞：寶卷、民間信仰、地方保護神、歷史人物、歷史傳說

* 上海復旦大學文史研究院副研究員。
在此特別鳴謝虞老先生、余鼎君先生、狄秋燕女士提供寶貴資料；也鳴謝楊玉君、高萬桑、梅維恒教授與兩位匿名審查老師指正。