

# An Unbreakable Thread? Preliminary Observations on the Interaction between Chinese and Taiwanese Religious Traditions under Japanese Colonial Rule<sup>1</sup>

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## Introductory Remarks

This paper examines the on-going synergy between religious traditions in China and Taiwan during the Japanese colonial era (1895-1945). While an increasing body of research is considering religious interaction in light of Cross-Strait relations since the 1980s,<sup>2</sup> far less attention has been devoted to the forms of reverberation that occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In contrast to much conventional wisdom, which assumes that cultural ties between China and Taiwan were severely disrupted after 1895, I attempt to show that extensive contacts took place between specialists and worshippers on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. Based on a broad-based approach designed to stimulate new research (as opposed to the in-depth investigation of a single case study), this paper covers a wide range of religious phenomena. Apart from the ways in which Cross-Strait links shaped the development of organized religious movements such as Buddhism and Daoism, I also consider their impact on communal religious traditions as seen in pilgrimage networks for popular deities like Mazu 媽祖, the Great Emperor who Protects Life (Baosheng dadi 保生大帝), and the Royal Lords (*wangye* 王爺). Other topics include the

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all who have provided unstinting support, both in terms of ideas and sources, including Philip Clart, Douglas Fix, Murray Rubinstein; 王志宇, 吳政哲, 吳學明, 呂明善, 李世偉, 林宗達, 范純武, 陳志豪, 陳育麒, 潘映儒, 劉文星, and 盧啟明.

<sup>2</sup> See for example Paul R. Katz and Murray A. Rubinstein, eds., *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); 林美容, 《媽祖信仰與台灣社會》(蘆洲: 博揚文化, 2006); 張珣, 《媽祖・信仰的追尋: 張珣自選集》(蘆洲: 博揚文化, 2009); 洪瑩發, 《戰後大甲媽祖信仰的發展》(台北: 蘭臺出版社, 2010). See also Kenneth Dean, "The Return Visits of Overseas Chinese to Ancestral Villages in Putian, Fujian", in Tim Oakes & Donald S Sutton, eds., *Faiths on Display: Religion, Tourism, and the Chinese State* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), pp. 235-263.

interaction between Chinese and Taiwanese vegetarian groups and other sectarian traditions, both in terms of religious leaders (including those who launched the Ta-pa-ni 噍吧嘍 (Xilai An 西來庵) Incident of 1915) and the texts that formed the core of their scriptural traditions (especially morality books or *shanshu* 善書). Taiwan's place in the transnational religious networks of that era, including Japanese and Christian (not to mention Japanese Christian) ones, will also be considered.

The above phenomena were shaped by a number of factors attributable to Japanese colonial rule. The first encompassed the overall political and socioeconomic situation of this era's different time periods. During the first decade after Japan assumed control of Taiwan, widespread unrest and banditry, as well as frequent outbreaks of epidemics, tended to inhibit Cross-Strait contacts. Similarly, the events and policies accompanying the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) disrupted religious life in Taiwan itself, not to mention any attempts to perpetuate Cross-Strait religious contacts.<sup>3</sup> The second was cultural and especially religious policies. Japan's constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, and apart from the Kōminka 皇民化 movement launched during the late 1930s the colonial authorities generally preferred not to intervene in Taiwanese customs, including religious ones. This was true even after the Ta-pa-ni Incident, when the authorities undertook a series of surveys on temples and customs without actually attempting to ban their existence.<sup>4</sup> The third phenomenon was Taiwan's growing incorporation into

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<sup>3</sup> See for example Harry J. Lamley, "Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism," in Murray Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), pp. 201-260; Caroline Ts'ai Hui-yu 蔡慧玉, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering* (London & New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Overviews of these policies and their significance may be found in Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Liao Ping-hui 廖炳惠 & David Der-wei Wang 王德威, eds., *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Philip Clart & Charles B. Jones, eds., *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); 林佩欣, 〈日治前期臺灣總督府對舊慣宗教之調查與理解(1895-1919)〉(政治大學歷史所碩士論文, 2002); 張隆志, 〈從「舊慣」到「民俗」: 日本

transnational networks, which had begun during the late Qing but continued largely unabated throughout much of the colonial era. Many Taiwanese and Chinese elites, as well as their families, friends, and employees, regularly travelled to Japan, China, and other parts of Asia, in large part for commercial purposes but also religious ones. Their activities played a key role in perpetuating and at times even expanding Cross-Strait links during the early twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

I should emphasize that this paper is merely a preliminary study designed to raise questions rather than provide definitive answers. In addition, the data derive mainly from secondary scholarship as well as newspaper sources, most notably the *Taiwan nichichi shimpō* 臺灣日日新報. Newspaper accounts are highly valuable in terms of providing important information and detailed descriptions of religious life. At the same time, however, the prevalence of such reports largely reflects what editors (and state censors) were interested in and able to publish about during that time, not the actual prevalence of the phenomena in question. In short, while we can use such texts to better understand religious activities during a specific period, it can prove more difficult to employ them as a means of measuring or quantifying religious change.<sup>6</sup>

### Buddhism

Buddhism had played an important role in Taiwanese religious life under

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近代知識生產與殖民地臺灣的文化政治》，《臺灣文學研究集刊》，第2期(2006)，頁33-58；蔡錦堂，《日本帝國主義下台灣の宗教政策》(東京都：同成社，1994)。

<sup>5</sup> For more on these elites and their networks, see 吳文星，《日據時期在臺「華僑」研究》(台北：臺灣學生書局，1991)；吳文星，《日治時期臺灣的社會領導階層》(台北：五南，2008)；許雪姬，〈日治時期台灣人的海外活動—在「滿洲」的台灣醫生〉，《臺灣史研究》，第11卷第2期(2004)，頁1-75；謝國興，〈1949年前後來台的上海商人〉，《臺灣史研究》，第15卷第1期(2008)，頁131-172；朱德蘭，〈近代台灣包種茶商(Powchong Tea Merchants)的興起與商業糾紛(1895-1945)〉，收入Angela Schottenhammer, ed., *Taiwan -- A Bridge Between the East and South China Seas* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), pp. 95-115. See also Lo Ming-cheng, *Doctors within Borders: Profession, Ethnicity, and Modernity in Colonial Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Steven E. Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> 王見川，〈西來庵事件與道教、鸞堂之關係〉，《台北文獻》，第120期(1997)，頁71-92；宋光宇，〈霞海城隍祭典與台北大稻埕商業發展的關係〉，收入宋光宇，《宗教與社會》(台北：東大圖書公司，1995)，頁103-163。

Qing-dynasty rule. Local gazetteers list a total of 102 “Buddhist” temples (some may have been vegetarian halls (*zhaitang* 齋堂) belonging to the lay Buddhist groups discussed below), while Chinese monks (including some from Putuo Shan 普陀山) had begun to visit Taiwan as early as the 1840s (one was even indicted for smuggling salt).<sup>7</sup> Cross-Strait ties between Buddhist practitioners continued unabated under Japanese colonial rule. The situation was further complicated by the undeniably strong impact of Japanese Buddhism, yet there was also extensive interaction with Chinese Buddhists during the colonial era, with such ties never being fully forbidden.<sup>8</sup> Recent research by Li Shih-wei 李世偉 has convincingly demonstrated that Taiwanese Buddhist monks regularly went to China to undergo ordination (*shoujie* 受戒) and study the *dharma* at Chinese Buddhist academic institutions. Eminent Buddhist monks came to Taiwan as well, especially to transmit the *dharma*, preside over ordination ceremonies (*chuanjie* 傳戒) and lecture on the scriptures (*jiangjing* 講經). Prominent examples include Taixu 太虛 (1887-1947), who visited Taiwan in 1917, and Yuanying 圓瑛 (1878-1953), who visited in 1923.<sup>9</sup>

### Daoism

Contacts between Daoist masters in Taiwan and China proved far less extensive, despite the fact that initiated members of the Heavenly Master (Tianshi 天師) movement were supposed to go on pilgrimage to Longhu Shan 龍虎山 (in Jiangxi 江西) in order to receive registers of deities (*shoulu* 受籙) that confirmed their legitimacy as practitioners from the Heavenly Master Zhang (Zhang Tianshi 張天師).

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<sup>7</sup> 王見川，〈光復前新竹市的佛寺、齋堂與普陀山〉，《漢人宗教、民間信仰與預言書的探索王見川自選集》（蘆洲：博揚文化，2008），頁 236-244。

<sup>8</sup> See for example the following pioneering studies by 江燦騰：《日據時期臺灣佛教文化發展史》（台北：南天書局，2001）；《聖域踏尋：近代漢傳佛教史的考察：江燦騰自選集》（蘆洲：博揚文化，2008）；《臺灣佛教史》（台北：五南，2009）；See also Charles B. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan. Religion and the State, 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> 李世偉，〈日治時期臺灣佛教的認同與選擇 – 以中、臺佛教交涉為線索〉，《臺灣佛教、儒教與民間信仰：李世偉自選集》（蘆洲：博揚文化，2008），頁 2-32。

The reasons for this situation have yet to be fully determined, but appear to involve the decline of Heavenly Master Daoism in China during this period of time, as well as the relative weakness of institutionalized forms of Daoism in Taiwan. For example, not a single Daoist master from Jiayi 嘉義 is known to have visited China prior to 1949.<sup>10</sup> The question that has yet to be answered is whether the lack of such interaction was more pronounced under colonial rule, or whether such contacts remained infrequent throughout *both* the Qing and Japanese colonial eras.

Daoist masters from religious centers like Tainan 台南, Xinzhu 新竹, and Taibei 台北 occasionally did undertake such pilgrimages. For example, members of Tainan's Chen 陳, Zeng 曾, Huang 黃, Wu 吳, Shi 施, and Yan 嚴 lineages did so as early as the Qing, with notable instances featuring Wu Huishan 吳輝山, Zeng Yanjiao 曾演教, and Chen Tinghong 陳廷鎡 (1838-1908). This was also the case for the renowned Xinzhu Daoist Lin Rumei 林汝梅 (?-1894) of the Hereditary Altar of Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi sitan 正一嗣壇). Examples can also be found for the colonial era, including He Jianran 何鏗然 (1898-?) from Shilin 士林 (Taibei), who received his registers at Longhu Shan in 1928. Perhaps the most important colonial-era case featured Liu Chaozong 劉朝宗 (1886-1957), a native of Shimen 石門 Township (in today's New Taibei City), who spent nearly two months on pilgrimage to Longhu Shan (March 27 – May 17, 1925), and kept a diary to record his travels. The friendship he established with the 63<sup>rd</sup> Heavenly Master Zhang Enpu 張恩溥 (1904-1969) proved instrumental in Zhang's decision to come to Taiwan in

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<sup>10</sup> Valuable background information may be found in Vincent Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in late-Qing China." *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 17(2), 2004, pp. 121-159; Vincent Goossaert, "Republican Church Engineering: The National Religious Associations in 1912 China," in Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (楊美惠), ed., *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 209-232. See also 劉枝萬,〈台灣的道教〉,收入福井康順等編,朱越利等譯,《道教》(上海:上海古籍出版社,1990),第1冊,頁116-154.

1947, when the end of Nationalist rule over China was imminent.<sup>11</sup>

Other Taiwanese Daoist practitioners of interior alchemy (*neidan* 內丹), including those with links to Perfect Realization (Quanzhen 全真) Daoism, also went on spiritual journeys to China. One notable example can be found in the case of He Maosong 何茂松 (1916-2002), one of the founders of the Daoist bi-monthly periodical entitled *Xiandao* 仙道 in 1982, who journeyed to Jiangxi's Mount Lu (Lushan 廬山) in 1941 (during wartime!) and studied self-cultivation under the tutelage of a mysterious being (*yishi* 異士) he encountered amongst the falling snows atop the mountain.<sup>12</sup> One should also not overlook those Daoist masters who also worked as marionette puppeteers (*kuileishi* 傀儡師), some of whom studied under Chinese masters, particularly Hakka from Tingzhou 汀州 (Western Fujian).<sup>13</sup> Another topic meriting further exploration is the identity of artisans from China who not only helped adorn Taiwanese temples but also crafted the robes and other artifacts used in Daoist rituals.

### Pilgrimage networks

One of the most fascinating yet perhaps also most controversial facets of Cross-Strait religious links involves pilgrimage networks. This is because some advocates of the indigenization (*tuzhuhua* 土著化, *bentuhua* 本土化) of Taiwanese culture have asserted that the Japanese colonial era witnessed a significant disruption of previously active pilgrimage links between Taiwan and China, which further

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<sup>11</sup> See 李麗涼,《弑代天師：張恩溥與臺灣道教》(unpublished manuscript, 2008), and Michael Saso, *The Teachings of Taoist Master Chuang* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1978). See also 王見川、高萬桑(Vincent Goossaert)合編,《近代張天師史料彙編》(蘆洲：博揚文化，出版中)。

<sup>12</sup> <http://taiwan.shien-dao.com.tw/mktalkdetail.php?ID=144> (李麗涼,〈臺灣解嚴前的兩種仙道刊物—《仙學》與《仙道》〉)。For more on these periodicals and the practitioners who supported them, see Liu Xun 劉迅, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> 宋錦秀,《傀儡、除煞與象徵》(台北：稻鄉出版社，1995)，頁 95-98。

contributed to Taiwan's cultural distinctiveness.<sup>14</sup> The indigenization of Taiwanese religion is an indisputable fact (albeit hardly unusual, since such processes shaped the growth of religious traditions throughout China, which could vary from one locale to another), and Taiwan's status as a Japanese colony could pose difficulties for pilgrims in terms of coping with the necessary red tape. Nonetheless, one should not overlook the fact that improvements in maritime technology, enhanced economic development, and largely successful campaigns against piracy did make it easier for pilgrims who chose to attempt the journey across the Taiwan Strait.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, the *Taiwan nichu-nichu shimpō* and other colonial-era sources regularly contain accounts of pilgrimages from Taiwan to Meizhou 湄洲 (the reputed site of Mazu's home and earliest temple).<sup>16</sup> Of particular interest is the fact that while these events did feature renowned Taiwanese sacred sites like the Zhenlan Gong 鎮瀾宮 in Dajia 大甲,<sup>17</sup> more often than not they were initiated by important yet lesser-known temples, most likely in order to augment their "incense power" (*xianghuo quanwei* 香火權威).<sup>18</sup>

One example involves the Qing'an Gong 慶安宮 in Jilong 基隆. In early May of 1914, a dozen or so members of that city's elite organized a pilgrimage to Meizhou as a means of marking a successful temple restoration project. Upon their successful return with a 200 year-old statue of the goddess only a few days later, hundreds of worshippers lined the streets, which had been lavishly decorated for a procession to celebrate this event, which was said to have brought great blessings to the city:

基隆媽祖宮新築，將舉落成，諸紳董乃乘此機，前往湄島傳香一節，

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<sup>14</sup> Detailed discussions of this issue may be found in Katz and Rubinstein, *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities*.

<sup>15</sup> Occasional pirate attacks persisted into the 1920s, as can be seen in one story from the May 29, 1922 edition of the *Taiwan nichu-nichu shimpō*.

<sup>16</sup> 王見川、李世偉，《台灣媽祖廟閱覽》(蘆洲：博揚文化，2000)，頁 49-51.

<sup>17</sup> 洪瑩發，《解讀大甲媽：戰後大甲媽祖廟信仰的發展》(台北：蘭臺出版社，2010)，頁 38-39.

<sup>18</sup> For more on this concept and its significance, see 黃美英，《台灣媽祖的香火與儀式》(台北：自立晚報文化出版部，1994). See also P. Steven Sangren, *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

經誌前報，一行十餘人，已於去六日午前乘撫順丸輪船，無事抵基，並請到湄為本廟，二百餘年之舊金身一尊，大可尺許，色相莊嚴，比近時庸工雕塑，迥別天淵。著港時，市民等，預備旗鼓神輿，到棧橋迎接，市內各舖戶，點燈掛彩，大表歡迎。上陸後，先在市街遠行一匝，輿後隨香善信數百人。因落成期日，尚在舊曆來十七日，廟內設備未周，將金身暫供奉於城隍廟，廟外演落馬戲。一時市內人氣，增旺幾分，市民等以諸紳董遠涉重洋，親到聖母化身靈迹，傳來香火，無非為地方謀幸福。<sup>19</sup>

Another case, this time involving the Jiuzu Gong 舊祖宮 in Lugang 鹿港 (Zhanghua 彰化), is recorded for early 1917. The lengthy article describing these events (reproduced in full in the Appendix), lauds this temple's venerable history and links to Meizhou, said to date back to Shi Lang 施琅 (1621-1696)'s campaign to wrest control of Taiwan from the descendents of Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功; 1624-1662). The temple's status had been challenged by a newer Mazu temple, prompting the goddess to descend during a spirit-writing (*fujū* 扶乩) session and request that a pilgrimage to Meizhou be held. As in the case of the Qing'an Gong, the actual journey was made by a small group of elites, while much larger numbers of worshippers were waiting to welcome them on their return.<sup>20</sup>

Other temple cults did not hesitate to organize pilgrimages as well, including those held to reaffirm division of incense (*fenxiang* 分香) networks for the deity Baosheng dadi 保生大帝, whose cult was said to have originated in the Tong'an 同安 area of southern Fujian.<sup>21</sup> In the Spring of 1926, for example, a group of worshippers belonging to the Lai 賴 surname group from Beitun 北屯 (Taizhong 台中) organized a pilgrimage to Zhangzhou 漳州, most likely including if not centering solely on the cult's home temples in Qingjiao 青礁 and Baijiao 白礁 (the

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<sup>19</sup> *Taiwan nichī-nichi shimpō* (1914.5.8, p. 6), as well as article in the April 21, 1918 edition.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* (1917.1.7, p. 6); see also article in the December 19, 1916 edition.

<sup>21</sup> These networks and their sociocultural importance are examined in Kristofer M. Schipper, "The Cult of Pao-sheng ta-ti 保生大帝 and its Spreading to Taiwan—A Case Study of *fen-hsiang* 分香," in E.B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1990), pp. 397-416.



sources do not specify their exact destinations).<sup>22</sup> Just four years later, in 1930, representatives of Taipei's famed Bao'an Gong 保安宮 undertook their own pilgrimage to Baijiao.<sup>23</sup>

Another highly popular pilgrimage for the Revered King of Broad Mercy (Guangze zunwang 廣澤尊王) had flourished during the Qing but dropped off significantly during the early years of Japanese rule over Taiwan. However, as the account below shows, Taiwanese worshippers made unstinting efforts to revive the practice by the late 1900s after the long years of banditry and epidemics had begun to subside, and in some cases their efforts could prove successful.

廣澤尊王臺南市南勢街郭氏之祖佛也。清時，三年一回往清國閩泉南安縣鳳山寺進香，名曰謁祖，改隸後此調不彈久矣，本年始再舉行。前月回臺抵南，循例擇定陰曆十一月十日連十一日兩日間迎王，出為城廂內外繞境，其郭姓自備格閣番檯，（俗謂蜈蚣棚）蠟戶壹陣一百零八名，皆以十二三歲之小孩裝飾之，武裝盔甲及兵器，皆用新，其餘各宮廟神佛，與聖王有交誼者，亦皆準備詩意數十檯。聞衣服及一切棚飾，俱各爭奇鬪巧，以耀人耳目，到時必有一番可觀云。<sup>24</sup>

As for Taiwan's Royal Lords (*wangye* 王爺) cults, most accounts of colonial-era Cross-Strait interaction describe plague boats arriving on Taiwan's shores after having been launched from China. However, the 1997 gazetteer of the Fumei Gong 富美宮 in Quanzhou 泉州 does contain a record of worshippers from the Xiantian Gong 先天宮 in Jiayi's Dongshi 東石 Township making a pilgrimage to this Quanzhou temple in 1924.<sup>25</sup>

One other form of "pilgrimage" or at least return to a sacred site in China

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<sup>22</sup> *Taiwan nichì-nichì shimpō* (1926.4.28 & 1926.5.3).

<sup>23</sup> 廖武治(監修)，王見川、范純武、李世偉(撰文)，《新修大龍峒保安宮志》(台北：台北保安宮，2005)，頁 52。

<sup>24</sup> *Taiwan nichì-nichì shimpō* (1917.12.11); see also articles in the April 8, 1909 and May 28, 1909 editions. For more on the historical development of these two cults, see Kenneth Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>25</sup> 《泉郡富美宮志》(1997)，頁 67-79. See also 康豹，《台灣的王爺信仰》(台北：商鼎文化出版社，1997); 劉枝萬，《台灣民間信仰論集》(台北：聯經出版社，1983).

meriting further study involves Taiwanese ancestral cults, but such a topic lies outside the scope of this article.

### Sectarian religious groups

When we turn our attention to various lay Buddhist and other vegetarian groups generally referred to by the colonial authorities and subsequent scholars using the exonym “vegetarian religions” (*zhaijiao* 齋教), we find that Cross-Strait interaction also took place on a regular basis during the colonial era, but seems to have decline over time. This may in part have to do with the interdependence of Taiwanese and Chinese vegetarian traditions dating back to at least the eighteenth century, especially when it came to the performance of rituals marking the initiation of new leaders or their rise in the ranks, but Taiwan’s own economic development may have played a role (practitioners had more money for travel between Taiwan and China). Be that as it may, there are numerous records of vegetarians going from China to Taiwan and *vice versa*, especially during the 1910s. In 1911, for example, Lin Shi 林石 (d. 1932), a leader of Taiwan’s Dragon Flower (Longhua 龍華) movement with the ritual name (*faming* 法名) Pudo 普多, travelled to Fuzhou 福州 in order to take part in a ritual known as “transmitting the lantern decree” (*chuandeng chi* 傳燈敕).<sup>26</sup> Just three years later, in 1914, another leader named Xu Lin 許林 made a journey to China with two other vegetarian elites (Shi Pao 施炮 and Lin Zhu 林柱) for the same reason. Before returning to Taiwan, they also visited the Tiantong Si 天童寺 in Ningbo 寧波 to discuss Buddhist doctrine with Yuanying 圓瑛 (perhaps this was

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<sup>26</sup> Lin also served for 23 years as abbot (*zhuchi* 住持) of the renowned vegetarian hall (*zhaitang* 齋堂) in Zhanghua 彰化 County known as the Chaotian Tang 朝天堂. For more on this sacred site, see 林美容、祖運輝,〈在家佛教：台灣彰化朝天堂所傳的龍華派齋教現況〉,收入王見川、江燦騰主編,《台灣齋教的歷史觀察與展望》(台北：新文豐出版社,1994),頁191-253. See also <http://buddhisticinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/taiwanbudgis/searchRes.php?id=500F21>.

one factor underlying his decision to visit Taiwan in 1923?).<sup>27</sup> Members of one of northern Taiwan's leading vegetarian halls (*zhaitang* 齋堂), the Zhaiming Si 齋明寺 in Daxi 大溪, also made frequent trips to vegetarian and Buddhist sacred sites.<sup>28</sup> This was also the case for a number of vegetarian halls in the Xinzhu area.<sup>29</sup>

The links between vegetarians in Taiwan and China can also be seen in the Ta-pa-ni 噍吧嘰 Incident of 1915.<sup>30</sup> One of the uprising's most important leaders, Luo Jun 羅俊 (1854-1915), fled to Amoy (廈門) in southern Fujian China after having taken part in a failed rebellion in 1900, where he made friends with many other Taiwanese rebels who had fled there, including members of various vegetarian groups (Luo also practiced vegetarianism, as well as Chinese medicine and geomancy (*fengshui* 風水)). Some scholars claim that the flames of Luo's anti-Japanese sentiments were further stoked by Sun Yat-sen's 1911 Revolution, but he does not seem to have begun to plan any acts of resistance until August 1914, when was visited by his old friend Chen Jinfa 陳金發, a Tainan native who had journeyed to Amoy. Chen told Luo of plans to overthrow the Japanese, and on October 26, 1914 Luo sailed from Amoy to Danshui 淡水, accompanied by four men and two women said to be experts in rituals to empower amulets (referred to as *fufa* 符法). On January 9, 1915, Luo returned to Amoy in search of two supposedly powerful allies, a renowned Buddhist monk and a woman known as the "Red-haired Maiden" (Hongfa gu 紅髮姑). He never located these individuals, but was able to recruit other Taiwanese living in Fujian, including Li Jingcheng 李境成 and Wang Wufan 王烏番. Apart from Luo, a 50 year-old rice and tea merchant from Danshui named Xie Cheng 謝成 had

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<sup>27</sup> 王見川,《台灣的齋教與鸞堂》(台北:新文豐出版社,1996),頁162.

<sup>28</sup> 陳清香,〈大溪齋明寺的傳承宗風〉,《中華佛學學報》,第13期(2000.07),頁307-322.

<sup>29</sup> 王見川,〈光復前的一善堂、證善堂與新竹大家族—兼談周維金的《大陸遊記》〉,《竹塹文獻》,38(2007),頁70-89.

<sup>30</sup> Paul R. Katz, *When Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005; Chinese version = 康豹,《染血的山谷——日治時期的噍吧嘰事件》(台北:三民書局,2006).

planned to bring over a group of eight conspirators from China, but stopped when one leader of their group fell ill.

Like most of the individuals Luo recruited in Fujian, Li and Wang escaped the Japanese dragnet following the uprising, and only two Chinese nationals ended up being arrested. The first was Chen Sheng 陳生, who resided in Tong'an 同安 County; the second was Lin Yuan 林元, who resided in Amoy. We know almost nothing about Chen, but the archives reveal that Lin had been a bandit in Taiwan and had fled to China in 1898, where he set up opium business in Amoy. Lin was executed with Luo on September 6, 1915, while Chen was sentenced to 12 years penal servitude. The colonial authorities also arrested 40 women. Most came from rural areas of Nantou 南投 County and Muzha 木柵 Township in Gaoxiong 高雄 County, but the two vegetarian women from China who came with Lo to instruct members on empowering their amulets were never caught.

Conventional wisdom maintains that Taiwan's vegetarian groups had fewer contacts with their Chinese counterparts after the Ta-pa-ni Incident, when they attempted to maintain a low profile while also courting the approval of the colonial authorities.<sup>31</sup> This is generally correct, but there were some exceptions as well, including a Dragon Flower leader named Chen Su 陳漱 (Chen Puci 陳普慈) who visited Mount Putuo along with a group of friends and relatives and wrote a detailed account of their travels in his diary.<sup>32</sup>

Far less interaction appears to have taken place between Taiwanese and Chinese members of religious groups that tended to identify themselves using various autonyms for the term "Confucian" (most notably "Rujiao 儒教", "Kongjiao 孔教", and "Kongdao 孔道") while also practicing spirit-writing rituals (*fujī* 扶乩, *fuluan*

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<sup>31</sup> 王見川,《台灣的齋教與鸞堂》,頁 143-168.

<sup>32</sup> 王見川,〈光復前新竹市的佛寺、齋堂與普陀山〉,頁 244-258.

扶鸞, *feiluan* 飛鸞).<sup>33</sup> Although members of some Taiwanese spirit-writing groups, including renowned leaders like Yang Mingji 楊明機 (1899-1985), often reprinted religious works that had been transmitted to Taiwan from China (especially *shanshu* 善書; see below),<sup>34</sup> direct contact seems to have been minimal. The reasons for this have yet to be fully determined, but may be due to the fact that many such groups (often referred to as “phoenix halls” or *luan tang* 鸞堂) arose during the 1890s and 1900s, when Cross-Strait religious ties were at a low ebb and similar groups in China were most active in the Jiangnan 江南 area.<sup>35</sup>

At the same time, however, Taiwanese elites who were active in a wide range of transnational networks helped transmit Confucian ideals from China to Taiwan. One example was Huang Chunqing 黃純青 (1875-1956), who was profoundly impressed by the New Life Movement (Xinshenghuo yundong 新生活運動) and published a number of newspaper articles on Confucian liturgy.<sup>36</sup> Another case involved Guo Chunyang 郭春秧 (1860-1935), a leading merchant whose travels encompassed not only China and Japan but also Southeast Asia (most notably Indonesia). Guo advocated strongly for the formation of groups dedicated to the study and practice of Confucianism, and lectured on this topic at the Dadaocheng Girls Elementary School (大稻埕女子公學校) in 1920 (ironically, this school was renamed Penglai Elementary School (蓬萊國小) during the postwar era).<sup>37</sup> Other elites founded a

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<sup>33</sup> For more on the religious features of these groups, see Philip Clart, “Confucius and the Mediums: Is there a ‘Popular Confucianism’?”, *T’oung Pao*, 89.1-3 (2003), pp. 1-38 (Chinese version = 柯若樸, 〈「民間儒教」概念之試探：以臺灣儒宗神教為例〉,《近代中國史研究通訊》,第34期(2002),頁31-38).

<sup>34</sup> 王見川,《台灣的齋教與鸞堂》,頁172,191-192.

<sup>35</sup> David K. Jordan & Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix. Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Chinese version = 焦大衛、歐大年(著),周育民(譯),《飛鸞》,(香港:中文大學出版社,2005); Paul R. Katz, “Spirit-writing Halls and the Development of Local Communities -- A Case Study of Puli 埔里 (Nantou 南投 County),” *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝, 174 (2011): 103-184.

<sup>36</sup> *Taiwan nichichi shimpō* (1923.10.9, 1934.10.4 & 1934.10.5).

<sup>37</sup> 李世偉,《日據時代台灣儒教結社與活動》(台北:文津出版社,1999)頁348-368; *Taiwan nichichi shimpō* (1918.12.4, 1919.4.11 & 1920.5.1).

Kongjiao hui 孔教會 in Jilong, which was extremely active during the 1920s, especially in terms of holding lectures (*xuanjiang* 宣講) to elucidate the contents of morality books and Confucian texts that were circulating throughout China.<sup>38</sup>

### Christianity<sup>39</sup>

Another important form of religious reverberation that can only be briefly considered here (mainly due to my own lack of expertise on the topic) involves Christianity. Like Buddhism, Christianity was shaped by both Japanese and Chinese influences. One example of at least indirect influence from Japan may be found in the Holiness Church, which spread to Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century before being transmitted to Taiwan during the 1920s.<sup>40</sup> The impact of Christian groups originally based in China (especially Presbyterians from Amoy) was far greater, however, since they had begun to shape Taiwanese religious life during the second half of the nineteenth century. Many Christian leaders stayed in Taiwan following the advent of Japanese colonial rule, and utilized the networks established during the Qing.<sup>41</sup> There were also instances of Christianity spreading from China to Taiwan during the colonial era, particularly the True Jesus Church (真耶穌教會), which made its way across the Taiwan Strait in the 1920s.<sup>42</sup> As was the case with most of the other religious movements described above, Christianity suffered severe

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<sup>38</sup> See for example *Taiwan nichu-nichu shimpō* (1925.11.14 & 1926.6.5).

<sup>39</sup> Many thanks to Murray Rubinstein and Wu Hsueh-ming 吳學明 for their guidance and assistance.

<sup>40</sup> William Jerome Richardson, "Christianity in Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945" (Ph.D. thesis. St. John's University, 1972).

<sup>41</sup> Murray A. Rubinstein, *The Protestant Community on Modern Taiwan: Mission, Seminary, and Church* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991); see also Edward Band, *Working His Purpose Out: The History of the English Presbyterian Mission, 1847-1947* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing, 1972); Hollington K. Tong, *Christianity in Taiwan: A History* (Taipei: China Post, 1961). It should also be possible to find much more data in *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (the 《教務雜誌》, published between 1868 and 1941. Further details on Qing contacts may be found at [http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search?coll\\_id=938&inst\\_id=4&keyword=China](http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search?coll_id=938&inst_id=4&keyword=China), as well as the Formosa Index ([http://academic.reed.edu/formosa/formosa\\_index\\_page/formosa\\_index.html](http://academic.reed.edu/formosa/formosa_index_page/formosa_index.html)).

<sup>42</sup> 吳學明,《從依賴到自立：終戰前台灣南部基督長老教會 研究》(臺南：人光出版社，2003)，頁 16-37, 112-119.

setbacks in both Taiwan and China during the wartime era.

### Religious publishing

Finally, it is essential to note that religious interaction did not always require a personal touch; beliefs and practices could spread just as easily by means of the written word. One example is the Illuminating Goodness Publishing House (明善書局), which published religious texts out of Shanghai but distributed them through a series of distribution outlets (各埠分銷經售處).<sup>43</sup> Of these, the Shanshu liutongchu 善書流通處 located in Quanzhou 泉州 (at 中山南路 509 號) was especially important for the religious history of modern Taiwan, with leading publishers like the Yuzhen shuju 玉珍書局 and Lanji shuju 蘭記書局 reprinting Publishing House works and including them in their own catalogues.<sup>44</sup> For example, the founder of the Yuzhen shuju (located in Jiayi), whose name was Chen Yuzhen 陳玉珍 (1897-1972), dedicated himself to publishing all manner of Chinese works when he opened for business in 1926, including Publishing House religious texts.<sup>45</sup>

This was also the case for the Lanji shuju, which was established in 1925 by another Jiayi elite named Huang Maosheng 黃茂盛 (1901-1978). Huang was deeply committed to both preserving traditional Chinese culture and transmitting moral values, not only inviting Chinese elites to take part in literary contests but also reprinting a wide variety of Chinese religious works and periodicals and distributing them free of charge.<sup>46</sup> The following account from the *Taiwan nichì-nichì shimpō*

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<sup>43</sup> Paul R. Katz, "Broadcasting the Tao: Religion and the Mass Media in Modern China", presented at the 「回首百年民國」學術研討會, 中央研究院近代史研究所, 2012/01/11~2012/01/13.

<sup>44</sup> See <http://shanshu.im.nanya.edu.tw/blog/348> (世界宗教博物館蒐藏的善書、寶卷與民間宗教文獻), as well as 王見川、李世偉等主編, 《民間私藏臺灣宗教資料彙編: 民間信仰·民間文化》, 第一輯 (臺北: 博揚文化, 2009); 第二輯 (臺北: 博揚文化, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> This account is based on research done by Fan Chun-wu 范純武 included in 顏尚文編, 《嘉義市志》, 卷十〈宗教禮俗志〉(嘉義市: 嘉義市政府, 2005).

<sup>46</sup> See <http://almanac.nmtl.gov.tw/opencms/almanac/almanacList.html> (台灣文學年鑑檢索系統) for more data on contacts between Taiwanese and Chinese literati.

effectively summarizes Huang's ideals and methods:

嘉義街黃茂盛氏，所創小說流通會，近日已由上海配到詩文小說雜誌千餘種，汗牛充棟，而入會借覽圖書書者，已達百餘名。氏鑑世風日下，道德淪亡，為挽回風化，補救人心，特辨名人格言、遷善改過諸善書類數十種，欲為贈送一般，不取分文。好善之家，可函知嘉義總爺街蘭記店內，則為郵贈云。<sup>47</sup>

Huang's efforts attracted the support of Chinese religious elites, including the renowned Shanghai businessman, philanthropist, and religious practitioner Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867-1938). Wang wrote a preface for a morality book entitled *Jingshen Lu* 精神錄 compiled by the renowned Donggang 東港 physician and philanthropist Chen Jiangshan 陳江山 (1899-1976), which was published by the Lanji shuju in 1929. Wang also composed a calligraphic couplet for this work reading “諸惡莫作，眾善奉行”. The *Jingshen Lu*, which also includes a preface by Huang himself, subsequently spread back across the Strait to Shanghai, with five editions totaling 6,700 copies being produced in both Taiwan and China prior to the outbreak of the Second World War.<sup>48</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

The evidence presented above, while admittedly of a highly preliminary nature, nonetheless does indicate a general sense of continuity in Cross-Strait religious ties between the late 1900s (when Taiwan's internal chaos during the initial phase of Japanese colonial rule had come to an end) and the late 1930s (the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War). Moreover, it seems that members of some Taiwanese religions (most notably Buddhism and vegetarianism) frequently interacted with their

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<sup>47</sup> *Taiwan nichì-nichì shimpō* (1924.4.14); see also articles in the April 7, 1934 and March 31, 1937 editions.

<sup>48</sup> Information about the 《精神錄》 may be found in the online version of the *Encyclopedia of Taiwan* (臺灣大百科全書; <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=4188>). For more on Wang, see my paper entitled 〈一個著名上海商人與慈善家的宗教生活 -- 王一亭〉, 收入巫仁恕、林美莉、康豹合編, 《從城市看中國的現代性》(南港: 中央研究院近代史研究所, 2010), 頁 275-296.



Chinese counterparts, while such contacts occurred less often among members of other religions (such as Daoism and phoenix halls). Christianity also played a role in Cross-Strait religious interaction, but the details have yet to be fully determined. This also appears to be the case for Confucianism, which may not have functioned as a large-scale organized religion but was at the heart of interaction between some Taiwanese and Chinese elites.

Cross-Strait religious reverberation during the Japanese colonial era differed not only in terms of its intensity but also its underlying motivations. Based on the data collected so far, it seems that members of organized religious movements (Buddhism, Daoism, and sectarian groups) journeyed between Taiwan and China in order to obtain religious knowledge, ensure the legitimacy of their religious practices, and strengthen lines of affiliation and transmission. This contrasts with temple cults, the members of which appear to have been more concerned with creating or augmenting their temples' incense power, as well as their roles in Cross-Strait cultural networks of power and mutual assistance (particularly as part of *fenxiang* 分香 systems).

The above conclusions merely represent tentative hypothesis, and much more needs to be done in terms of data collection and analysis. Nonetheless, it does appear that during the colonial era Taiwanese religion hardly existed in isolation; instead, it flourished as one component of transnational religious networks that extended throughout much of East Asia.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> For more on these networks, see Thomas D. DuBois (杜博思), *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Thomas D. DuBois, ed., *Casting Faiths: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

## Appendix

### 鹿港媽湄洲進香

鹿港舊祖宮，即天后宮也，崇祀天上聖母神像，歷今二百數十載，神靈顯赫，疊見奇異，廟中香火，旦夕不絕，四方善信，入廟祈禱者，時有擁擠不開之狀。故自昔至今，世俗相傳，全臺聖母神像，傳自湄洲祖廟者，唯此鹿港為最先，而登錄於湄洲之傳香寶冊以外在臺諸神像，俱傳自鹿港，或直接，或間接，以香傳香，若非鹿港為開臺之媽祖，而肇自湄洲，其宮名之稱曰舊祖者，蓋欲示臺人以木本水源之義也。雖然鹿之地方，尚有一新媽祖宮焉，溯其創建之初，系出自前清福建安督師渡臺，平定林爽文時之倡建。而此舊祖宮，其神像之渡臺，實繫前清靖海侯施琅曩時督師，欲渡臺平定鄭克塽，因屢屢為風浪所阻，舟師不得濟。後有閩海軍人，為告以神靈。施乃詣湄洲祈禱，並叩請神像，偕舟師渡臺。由是順水行舟，得神默佑，因風鼓浪，全師渡臺，不轉瞬間，果得鄭氏納款歸誠。臺灣平定，由南部而巡察中部，幟帷暫駐仔港時，族親施世榜父子，亦隨來鹿，開墾中部土地圳務。適鹿仔港附近，時有癘氣流行，人民愁苦殊甚。施乃帶在行臺之神像，許令患病者祈禱，於是所求皆安，如嚮斯應，在鹿官軍兵民，皆稱之曰平安媽祖。施欲奏凱班師，急於去鹿，而鹿之人民，挽留不得，因懇請隨軍之媽祖神像，長留鹿港，以庇佑全臺官軍人民，待萬年香火之緣，永沐神庥。施許之，共叩筓于神，果得神諾有三，而聖母遂駐于鹿，長為鹿地方之福神。故當地官紳商民，僉議立廟崇祀。會值施世榜家建在鹿，踴躍募金創建，不日告成，歷今二百數十年，施世榜之長生祿位，依然春秋致祭，在此舊祖宮內也，是神聖之英靈，由來遠矣。所以近年以來，屢屢降乩，欲往湄洲進香謁祖，而鹿之紳商，再三計議，遂定於去年冬十二月十六日舉行。斯時隨神進香之紳商王君年外數人，由鹿登程，而四方善信，素仰神靈者，俱皆齋戒，恭肅衣冠，送至彰化鐵道驛內，旌旗鼓樂，勢若潮湧，以送神駕之登車，而各昭其敬。神駕一到臺北，艋舺各街紳商人民，爭先迎接，恭留數天，演劇賽願。厥後神輿抵廈，廈門紳商人民，並全臺僑民，早已聞風設備，共乘小艇，歡迎上陸，且恭留神駕六七天，各郊商祭宴畢，始往湄洲謁祖云。

錄自 1917 年 1 月 17 日《台灣日日新報》，第六版