

The Interaction of Zhenshan Sacrifice 鎮山祭祀 with Buddhism and Taoism in Patriarchal Traditional Religion

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ABSTRACT

About the record of Zhenshan 鎮山 has a long history, and it has gone through the establishment from a general high mountain to the layout of Twelve Zhenshan, Nine Zhenshan, Four Zhenshan, to the final establishment of the pattern of the Five Great Zhenshan. In this process, the Zhenshan Sacrifice has also been gradually developed and improved. Placing Zhenshan Sacrifice in patriarchal traditional religion can further clarify the attribution of Zhenshan Sacrifice and their position within it, which is specifically reflected in the imperial enfeoffment of Zhenshan and the activities of sending officials to offer sacrifice throughout the ages. At the same time, Buddhism and Taoism also have rich expressions and interactions with Zhenshan Sacrifice in Patriarchal Traditional Religion

INTRODUCTION

It is important to answer the question if there is an orthodox religion in Chinese history that has been accepted by all of society and has lasted for thousands of years. Mou zhongjian's answer is yes. Outside of the primitive religions and the state religions of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties, which did not speak, and the widespread and persistent secular superstition, the large religions in the two-thousand-year-long feudal society were Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam, and also included various folk religions and traditional religions of ethnic minorities. Confucianism dominated medieval Chinese thought and culture, with Buddhism and Taoism as its supporting wings, and the influence of other religions could not be compared to it. Historians used to call the three religions "Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism," but the word "religion" here is the meaning of indoctrination, not the name of religion. The basic characteristic of religion is that it is out-of-this-world, constructing an illusory world and believing that it can save people from suffering and liberate them. Confucianism's idea of heavenly orders and ghosts and gods does contain a certain religious character, but its basic tendency is to enter the world, taking cultivation of the body as the starting point and pacification of the world as the final destination, so it is not a religion in this sense. Throughout history, Confucians who attempted to religionize Confucianism by leaving this basic track, such as Dong Zhongshu, were criticized by orthodox Confucians and failed to become mainstream. Moreover, none of the religions such as Buddhism or Taoism ever became the main faith of the Chinese. Buddhism flourished during the Sui and Tang dynasties, and its influence extended far beyond monks and nuns to all cultural spheres of society, but its official followers numbered only in the hundreds of thousands and did not increase much in subsequent generations. Taoism can be said to be a major religion native to China, but its number of followers has never been comparable to that of Buddhism, and its religious activities are generally not included in the dynastic and state affairs. As for Christianity and Islam, they were mainly popular in local areas and among certain ethnic groups, and did not have a global impact on Chinese social life.

Mou Zhongjian believes that if there is a major religion in Chinese history that has been universally accepted as the authentic faith and has lasted for thousands of years, it is not Confucianism, let alone Buddhism or Taoism, but the patrilineal traditional religion, which is based on the worship of the gods of heaven and ancestors as the core, the worship of nature such as the gods of earth and grain, the sun and moon, and mountains and rivers as the wings and feathers, and the worship of other kinds of ghosts and gods as the supplements, forming a relatively solid system of Jiaoshe 郊社. It has become an important part of the sacrifice of Chinese patriarchal society, the spiritual force that sustains the social order and family system, and the spiritual source of comfort for the Chinese soul. It is important to understand this, otherwise it is difficult to correctly grasp the character traits and cultural identity of the Chinese nation and to recognize the Chinese spirit that many foreign religions have taken on after their conformity. The main system of patriarchal traditional religion can be

roughly summarized into four categories: heavenly gods, earth, human ghosts, and physical spirits. These four categories are centered on the sacrifice of heaven, ancestors, and society, forming a complete system of Jiaotian 郊天, Zongmiao 宗廟, Sheji 社稷 from high to low. Among them, the Zhenshan Sacrifice belongs to the sacrifice in the earth realm.

Nowadays, Zhenshan Sacrifice have lost its status as official sacrifice of the rulers, but the reason why the cultural circle of Zhenshan Sacrifice still remains is largely due to the circulation and inheritance of folk Zhenshan convictions. It is evident that the folk Zhenshan convictions culture will retain the legacy of Zhenshan Sacrifice for a long time to come and make it full of vitality and vigor at the folk level.

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Zhang (Zhang, 2011), as a famous mountain, Zhenshan, along with the Five Yue 五嶽, has undergone the historical evolution process from multiple Zhenshan, Four Zhenshan to Five Zhenshan, forming the present Five Zhenshan Sacrifice patterns. Under the feudal state system, the Five Great Zhenshan were no longer purely worshiped as mountains and rivers, but were injected with the core of feudal state sacrifice. The addition of Taoism and folk beliefs has greatly enriched the spiritual core of the Five Great Zhenshan ritual pattern, making it more complete and diversified.

Guo Mingming (Guo, 2015) studies the faith culture of Yishan, exploring the process of construction and the main features of Yishan faith in the context of social and cultural changes in the Ming Dynasty, and examining the state of faith in Yishan. Based on the dominance of state power, the participation of private forces and the influence of both Buddhism and Taoism, the beliefs of Yishan in the Ming Dynasty were able to continuously integrate, select and improve, and become a historical mountain with a profound humanistic heritage.

Xu Fang (Xu Fang, 2018) points out that Huoshan belief and worship went through five periods of change. The belief and esteem for the god of Huoshan in successive dynasties made Huoshan distinctly political, and Huoshan belief gradually evolved into two forms: official belief and folk belief. These two forms of belief reflect the function of Huoshan beliefs at that time and their influence on later generations, thus exploring the rich cultural connotations contained in Huoshan beliefs.

Chen Peng (Chen Peng, 2019), who studied the state sacrifice of the Beizhen Yiwulüshan, pointed out that this was a gradual process of formation and refinement. Before the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Yiwulüshan did not enter the national sacrifice. As the status of the Zhouli increased, Yiwulüshan began to appear in the official sacrifice. The frequent state sacrifice to Yiwulüshan had political connotations such as symbolizing national unity and the supremacy of kingship, the legitimacy of dynasties and the divine right of kings, strengthening the duty of guarding the northeastern frontier, and enhancing central control over localities.

Sun Zijiao (Sun, 2019) conducted a study of the Beijing temple sacrifice in the Qing Dynasty, noting that the Beijing temple sacrifice played an important role in consolidating the rule of the Qing Dynasty and its cultural development.

METHODOLOGY

The method of historical development lineage. In this paper, the development of the term Zhenshan is studied in chronological order of historical development, on the one hand, and the development of Zhenshan Sacrifice in various dynasties of history is sorted out on the other.

Contextual approach to research. The position of the Zhenshan Sacrifice in the context of the patriarchal traditional religion is viewed and given a new connotation.

RESEARCH RESULT

Firstly, in the context of the patriarchal traditional religion, the Zhenshan Sacrifice are among the High, middle and Low Sacrifice.

Secondly, Zhenshan initially referred to a tall and famous mountain that could calm a party, and there was no specific number of mountains that could be multiple Zhenshan. As the terminology of Zhenshan developed, the concept of nine Zhenshan and Twelve Zhenshan began to emerge. Later, with the improvement of the national sacrificial system, the concept of four Zhenshans, Five Zhenshans was established. Finally, the Five Zhenshan were finally established with the support of the state rulers and the system.

Thirdly, the ancient rulers' sacrifices to Mingshan Dachuan 名山大川 appeared as early as the Han and Jin dynasties. There are several key points to note in the development of the Zhenshan Sacrificial System, namely the enfeoffment of the emperor to the Zhenshan, the Qian Guan Ji Si 遣官祭祀 and the Zhu Ban Yu Shu 祝版禦署.

Fourthly, the interaction and integration between Buddhism, Taoism and Zhenshan Sacrifice in the historical stream is very important. Taoism had a significant influence on the regulation of the Zhenshan sacrifice, the management of the Zhenshan temples and the Zhenshan Sacrifice. Buddhism also had its own developmental trajectory in the Zhenshan Sacrifice area, mainly in terms of the rise and fall of Buddhist monasteries, their management and the emergence of famous monks.

DISCUSSION

Zhenshan Sacrifice in the Perspective of Patriarchal Traditional Religion

The main lineage system of patriarchal traditional religion can be roughly summarized into four categories: heavenly gods 天神, earthly gods 地神, human ghosts 人鬼, and physical spirits 物靈. The gods of heaven are Hao Tian God 昊天上帝 as the supreme god, followed by the five emperors and five gods 五帝五神, and then the sun, moon, stars, wind, thunder and lightning, and the Si Ming 司命, Si Zhong 司中, Si Min 司民, Si Lu 司祿, etc., which together form the heavenly realm. Earth. There are the Hou Tu 後土, She Ji 社稷, Shan Chuan 山川, Yue Zhen 嶽鎮, Hai Du 海瀆, Jiang He 江河, Cheng Huang 城隍, etc., together

forming the earth realm. People and ghosts have Sheng Wang 聖王, Xian Shi 賢士, emperors and sages of all generations, etc.. Material spirits have Qi Dao 旗纛, Si Hu 司戶, Si Zao 司灶, Si Ling 四靈, etc.. These four categories of sacrifice to the Tian 天, Zuxian 祖先 and She Ji 社稷 as the axis, forming a set of high to low complete system of the Jiao Tian 郊天, Zong Miao 宗廟, She Ji 社稷. The Ming Dynasty held High Sacrifice for the worship of the Yuan qiu 圓丘, Fangze 方澤, Zongmiao 宗廟, Xiannong 先農, Sun, Moon, Stars, Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Yue Zhen Hai Du 嶽鎮海瀆, Mountains and Rivers as Middle Sacrifice, and other gods as Low Sacrifice. In the early Qing Dynasty, the High Sacrifice includes Yuanqiu 圓丘, Fangze 方澤, Qigu 祈穀, Taimiao 太廟, Sheji 社稷; Middle Sacrifice includes other Gods 其他天神, earth 地, sun and moon 日月、Xianwang 先王, Xianshi 先師、Xiannong 先農; Group Sacrifice includes Xianyi 先醫, Xianliang 賢良, Zhaozhong 昭忠. During the Qianlong era, the Ascending the Yu 雩 to High Sacrifice, and at the end of the Guangxu era, Confucius was elevated to High Sacrifice as an Ancestral Teacher. Ming Dynasty to the Huanqiu, Fangze, Zongmiao, She Ji for the High Sacrifice, to the Xian Nong, the sun, moon and stars, wind, clouds, thunder and rain, Yue Zhen Hai Du, Shan Chuan for the Middle Sacrifice, to other gods for the Low Sacrifice. The early Qing Dynasty to Yuanqiu 圓丘, Fangze 方澤, Qigu 祈穀, Taimiao 太廟, Sheji 社稷 for the High Sacrifice, to other gods, earth, sun and moon, Xianwang 先王, Xianshi 先師, Xiannong 先農 for the Middle Sacrifice, to the Xianyi 先醫, Xianliang 賢良, Zhaozhong 昭忠, etc. for the Group Sacrifice; During the reign of Emperor Qianlong, Yu 雩 was promoted to the rank of High Sacrifice and Confucius was promoted to the rank of High Sacrifice during the late period of Emperor Guangxu. The scope of the High Sacrificial throughout history has generally been limited to worshipping Heaven, ancestors, and the God of Agriculture, and it is considered the most important national ceremony.

The patriarchal traditional religion's sacrifice implies a close integration with kingship, clan power and patriarchal power, and are an important part of the political, family and spiritual life of society. Religious divine power was held by the state, and the rulers made religious sacrifice an important part of state activities. After acquiring the supreme ruling power, successive kings had to perform ritual sacrifices to heaven and ancestors to society and grain in order to show that they had inherited the authentic Chinese divine political and ritual unity.

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Patriarchal traditional religion is closely related to traditional rites and customs. The ancients mostly dealt with religious sacrifices from the perspective of sacrifice, and therefore attached importance to the establishment

of altars and sacrifice, and neglected the construction and deepening of religious beliefs and religious theories, and were satisfied with the general idea of the heavenly order of ghosts and gods. Although Confucianism's idea of the providence of ghosts and gods and its discourse on auspicious rites and bad rites are the theological theories of patriarchal traditional religion, there is a crossover between the two. However, Confucianism is a theoretical academic culture, while traditional patriarchal religion is a physical and practical social thing centered on sacrifice; Confucianism is based on reason, pursuing sainthood and sagacity, and peace for the people, while traditional patriarchal religion is based on faith, expecting the blessing of gods and ghosts. In terms of sacrifice and customs, the religious sacrifice of the upper nobility gradually influenced the low folk customs, such as Jizu 祭祖, Jishe 祭社, Laji 蠟祭, etc.; and some folk religious customs were also absorbed by the nobility and turned into official state sacrifice, such as Jizao 祭灶, Jihu 祭戶, Ji Guandi 祭關帝, etc. This upward and downward exchange made patriarchal traditional religion has the social foundation of folk customs, and thus were able to flourish without replacement.

In addition, the patriarchal traditional religion relies excessively on the state power and the clan power of each class, and they do not have any organizational independence, nor do they have the boundary between believers and non-believers. On the one hand, it is conducive to the existence and continuation of patriarchal traditional religion, which needs to be supported and protected as long as the patriarchal hierarchy exists; on the other hand, it is difficult for such religions to have the ability to transcend the patriarchal hierarchy, as Buddhism and Taoism have done, and continue into modern times, and once the medieval society collapses, such patriarchal religions will die out. Thus, when China transitioned from medieval to modern society, patriarchal religion collapsed as a whole due to the lack of imperial support, leaving only the lingering sounds and the continuation of folk customs.

At the same time, although Buddhism and Taoism are not official religions throughout the history of the Chinese nation, their interaction and intermingling with patriarchal religions is obvious. They are both important parts of the traditional Chinese culture, and cannot be separated. Exploring the involvement of Buddhism and Taoism in the Zhenshan Sacrifice can both see that the Zhenshan Sacrifice belong to the category of patriarchal religion rather than Buddhism and Taoism, and help to sort out the involvement and influence of Buddhism and Taoism in the development of the Zhenshan Sacrifice.

The Origin of the Zhenshan Sacrifice Pattern

The earliest record on the Zhenshan is in the Zhouli, which puts forward the phrase of "Jiuzhou Zhenshan" and "Wu Yue Si Zhen 五嶽四鎮". Zheng Xuan's explanation of the "Zhen" of "Kyushu Zhenshan" is "鎮，名山，安地德者也。四鎮，山之重大者。" (Zheng Xuan, 1999) (Zheng Xuan, 1999) In "Shang Shu-Shun Dian", there is a record of "肇十有二州，封十有二山", which is explained by Kong Yingda of Tang as "每州之名山殊大者，以為其州之鎮" (Kong Anguo, 1990), this is the saying of the twelve Zhenshan. Therefore, the

Zhenshan is different from the modern sense of the Zhenshan category, its original scope is broader, that is, to be able to calm the side of the tall and famous mountains. At this time, Yueshan also belongs to the category of Zhenshan, until after being given a special meaning, only from the town of mountains in a separate list, and above the status of Zhenshan. In this way, the four towns and five mountains were later revealed on the basis of the nine towns and mountains. Zheng Xuan's commentary on the Rites of the Zhou reads, "四鎮山之重大者，謂揚州之會稽、青州之沂山、幽州之醫無閭、冀州之霍山。" (Zheng Xuan, 1999).

During the period of Three Kingdoms, Two Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Zhenshan culture as "stability and suppression" lacked a background for development and was relegated to the famous mountains for sacrifice. Our ancient suburban sacrificial system formally began in the Western Han Dynasty, and the earliest appearance of Zhenshan in the northern suburbs was in the Wei and Jin Dynasties. In the late Northern and Southern Dynasties, the country became unified and the development of Zhenshan Sacrifice was restored, and the new four major Zhenshan systems emerged, and Zhenshan began to appear as a whole in the northern suburbs. In the sacrifice of Northern Qi and Northern Zhou, the distinction between mountains and towns began to appear in the sacrifice, and the words "Yi Zhen 沂鎮", "Kuaiji Zhen 會稽鎮" and "Yiwulüshan Zhen 醫巫閭鎮" appeared in the national sacrifice of Northern Qi. This trend developed in the Sui Dynasty.

This trend continued in the Sui Dynasty, resulting in the Four Zhenshan of the Sui Dynasty. "開皇十四（594 年）年閏十月，詔東鎮沂山，南鎮會稽山，北鎮醫無閭山……並就山立祠；東海於會稽縣界，南海於南海鎮南，並近海立祠。及四瀆、吳山，並取側近巫一人，主知灑掃，並命多蒔松柏。其霍山，雩祀日遣使就焉。十六（596 年）年正月，又詔北鎮於營州龍山立祠。東鎮晉州。霍山鎮若修造，並准西鎮吳山造神廟。" (Wei Zheng, 1973) The establishment of the ancestral temple mentioned here is particularly significant, as a fixed place of worship, marking the formation of the Zhenshan Sacrificial Pattern, before the Sui Dynasty, the establishment of the five mountains and four temples of ancestral temple was attached importance, the establishment of the Zhenshan temple was not attached to the marginal position, this situation to the Sui Dynasty was changed. Not only make it enjoy a fixed place of sacrifice with the Yue 嶽 Hai 海 Du 瀆, and the corresponding Zhenshan temple management system also came into being.

In the Sui Dynasty on the basis of Four Zhenshan, the Tang and Song dynasties further developed the Zhenshan pattern, so that the Zhenshan completely correspond to the Five Zhen, gradually formed a Five Zhenshan Pattern including the south, east, north, west. But the early Tang Dynasty still follow the Sui Dynasty Four Zhenshan Pattern, "諸嶽鎮每年一祭，各以五郊迎氣日祭之……東鎮沂山祭於沂州界……南鎮會稽山祭於越州界……西鎮吳山祭於隴州界……北鎮醫無閭山祭於營州界。" (Xiao Song, 2000) Although Huoshan 霍山 is not included in the ranks of the Zhenshan, but also has its special status. For one thing, Li Yuan and his sons rose from Taiyuan to rebel against Sui and achieved national unification with Hedong as their base, and Huoshan as a

famous mountain in the Hedong area is naturally known for its location in the land of Longxing 龍興. In addition, it is said that the god of Huoshan also “appeared” to help Tang at the beginning of Li Yuan’s uprising. This laid a solid foundation for its entry into the Zhenshan Sacrifice pattern. However, although sometimes debated, there is no mention of “Zhong Zhen” or “Wu Zhen” in historical records throughout the Tang Dynasty and even the Five Dynasties, and the four towns remained the official term in the national sacrifice.

To the Song Dynasty, the early national sacrifice appeared Wu Zhen, “乾德六年（968年），有司言祠官所奉止四嶽，今按祭典請祭……東鎮沂山於沂州、南鎮會稽山於越州、西鎮吳山於隴州、中鎮霍山於晉州……北鎮醫無閭山在營州界，未行祭享從之。” (Ma Duanlin, 2000) But at this time, the Four Zhenshan did not categorically disappeared, and the Five Zhenshan coexisted. In the Song Dynasty of Emperor Huizong compiled the “Zheng He Wu Li Xin Yi 政和五禮新儀” formally included the five towns of the mountain into the national sacrificial system. Thus, the four towns basically disappeared during the reign of Emperor Huizong, and the five towns were fully established, and the Five Zhenshan pattern was formally formed.

The development and perfection of Zhenshan Sacrifice

The ancient rulers’ practice of worshiping famous mountains, rivers, and temples dates back to the Han and Jin dynasties. “宣帝時，始有使者持節祠嶽瀆之禮。由魏及隋，嶽鎮海瀆，即其地立祠，有司致祭。” (Zhang Tingyu, 1974) It is important to note the Enfeoffment of the Zhenshan 鎮山冊封, Qian Guan Ji Si 遣官祭祀, Zhu Ban Yu Shu 祝版禦署 in Zhenshan Sacrifice.

The emperor’s enfeoffment of the Zhenshan. Wu Zetian began the precedent of the canonization of the gods of the mountains and rivers, “中宗嗣聖五年七月丁巳，改洛水為永昌洛水，封其神為顯聖侯，加特進，禁漁釣。改嵩山為神嶽，封其神為天中王，太師使持節大都督。案：山川之神加以人爵封號，蓋始於此，非禮之端肇之者則天也。”（秦蕙田，2005）唐玄宗延續了這一做，完成對嶽山的冊封之後，鎮山也相繼得到了冊封。”（天寶）六載（747年，河瀆封為靈源公，濟瀆封為清泉公，江瀆封為廣源公，淮瀆封為長源公。會稽山為永興公，嶽山為成德公，霍山為應聖公，醫巫閭山為廣寧公。八載（749年）閏六月，封太白山為神應公，其九州鎮山除入諸嶽外並宜封公。” (Qin Huitian, 2005) Tang Emperor Xuanzong continued this practice, and after completing the canonization of Mount Yue, Mount Zhen was also canonized one after another. “（天寶）六載（747年），河瀆封為靈源公，濟瀆封為清泉公，江瀆封為廣源公，淮瀆封為長源公。會稽山為永興公，嶽山為成德公，霍山為應聖公，醫巫閭山為廣寧公。八載（749年）閏六月，封太白山為神應公，其九州鎮山除入諸嶽外並宜封公。” (Du You, 1984) The title conferred upon Zhenshan during the Tang Dynasty was Duke, ranking below the title of prince held by the Yueshan, but there were exceptions. During a specific period of time, Xi Zhen Wushan 西鎮吳山 temporarily held the same status as the Five Yue. The Song Dynasty basically continued the enfeoffment of Zhenshan established during the Tang Dynasty, with the title of Zhenshan during the Song Dynasty

remaining the same as during the Tang Dynasty. However, Emperor Shenzong of the Song Dynasty changed this pattern by altering the enfeoffment of Xizhen Wushan, while the other Zhenshan received the title of king during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong of the Song Dynasty. The enfeoffment of the Five Zhenshan established during the Song Dynasty was basically inherited by the Jin and Yuan Dynasties that followed, and the conferred titles did not change. However, there were slight changes to the titles during the Yuan Dynasty, which ultimately solidified the enfeoffment titles for Zhenshan. During the Ming Dynasty, significant reforms were made to ritual ceremonies, including the abolition of the enfeoffment titles for Zhenshan. “（洪武）三年（1370年），詔定嶽鎮海瀆神號……嶽鎮海瀆之封，起自唐、宋。夫英靈之氣，萃而為神，必受命於上帝，豈國家封號所可加？瀆禮不經，莫此為甚。今依古定制，並去前代所封名號……五鎮稱東鎮沂山之神，南鎮會稽山之神，中鎮霍山之神，西鎮吳山之神，北鎮醫無閭山之神。” (Zhang Tingyu, 1974) Overall, with a summarizing perspective, the enfeoffment of Zhenshan began in the Tang Dynasty, was promoted to the level of a marquisate in the Song Dynasty, and was ultimately refined during the Yuan Dynasty. In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, it was known as a divine title without any prefix or suffix.

Zhenshan's Qian Guan Ji Si. Zhenshan's Qian Guan Ji Si consists of two parts, one part is the sacrifice during the Wu Jiao Ying Qi Ri 五郊迎氣日, and the other part is the irregular national Qian Guan Ji Si. “大唐武德貞觀之制，五嶽四鎮四海四瀆年別一祭，各以五郊迎氣日祭之……東鎮沂山祭於沂州……南鎮會稽山於越州……西鎮吳山於隴州……北鎮醫無閭山於營州……其牲皆用太牢，祀官以當界都督刺史充。” (Du You, 1984) It can be seen that the ritual of Wu Jiao Ying Qi Ri is a regular ceremony for Zhenshan Sacrifice. The Wu Jiao Ying Qi Ri, which correspond to the south, east, north, west, and central Five Zhenshan, are the days of the beginning of spring, summer, autumn, winter, and the day of the earth king. In addition, the sacrificial animal is the Tailao 太牢, and the sacrificial officials are the local governors and prefects. During the Tang Dynasty, the Zhenshan Sacrifice became a fixed system, and there were no significant changes from the Song Dynasty onwards. The irregular time and official hierarchy of the Qian Guan Ji Si had no fixed pattern, but its main purpose was similar, to seek blessings and inform the country of major events. However, the Qian Guan Ji Si did not receive complete recognition from future generations. The retro trend and ritual changes in the middle and late Tang Dynasty broke the tradition of Qian Guan Ji Si, which was not surprising. However, out of respect, the emperors of the Tang Dynasty did not completely abolish the Qian Guan Ji Si to Zhenshan. They adopted a compromise plan, which was to replace central officials with local officials where the Zhenshan was located. The Yuan Dynasty pioneered the system of Fendao Qian Guan Ji Si 分道遣官祭司. The Yuan Dynasty divided Yue Zhen Hai Du into Five Dao based on their orientations, and sent officials to sacrifice. Soon, a relatively stable and formal system of Zhenshan Sacrifice was established. “至元三年（1266年），定歲祀嶽鎮海瀆之制……祀官以所在守土官為之，皇帝登寶位遣官致祭，降香幡盒如前。” (Liu Yong, 1984) This combines the local officials' main sacrificial ceremonies with the central government officials' delegated

ceremonies. Given the ethnic policies of the Yuan Dynasty, the selection and composition of the sacrificial officials also reflects the Mongol officials or Taoist priests as the main sacrificial officials, while Han officials can only assist. During the Ming Dynasty, the Zhenshan Sacrifice became increasingly perfected, and the ritual procedures had become customary. In addition to major ceremonies or political affairs, the Ming Dynasty's Zhenshan Sacrifice also sent officials to pray for blessings in the event of natural disasters or the emperor's illness, seeking the protection of the Zhenshan. During the Qing Dynasty, the Zhenshan Sacrifice was further strengthened, and the system of combining the emperor's personal sacrifices with the delegation of officials was more complete. (Sun Zijiao, 2019).

An indispensable part of the Zhenshan Sacrifice is the Zhu Ban 祝版, which carries the important task of communication between gods and humans. The benediction on the Zhu Ban was written in the name of the Son of Heaven and should be signed in the name of the Son of Heaven, which was not disputed in the early Tang Dynasty. “舊儀嶽瀆已下祝版禦署，訖北面再拜。” (Liu Xu, 1975) This method of Zhu Ban Yu Shu reflects the Emperor's respect for the Gods of Zhenshan who are higher in status than himself. However, during the Tianbao period, rulers began to bestow titles upon the mountain gods, which reduced them to mere “enfeoffed subjects.” As a result, the hierarchical order of the “bowing again” ceremony in the congratulatory placards was challenged, and it was eventually abolished during the reign of Tang Suzong amidst much opposition. However, this did not seem to fully reflect the lofty status of the imperial emperor. “自上元元年（760年）中祠小祠一切權停，自後因循不請禦署其祝版。” (Ma Duanlin, 2000) The Zhenshan is considered part of the Middle Sacrifice, but has lost its eligibility for imperial recognition. However, the practice of not using the emperor's name was restored during the reign of Emperor Dezong of the Tang Dynasty, known as the “Shu Er Bu Bai 署而不拜” system. The Song Dynasty continued the regulations of Emperor Dezong's reign concerning the Zhenshan Sacrifice. However, the Jin Dynasty once again abolished the Zhu Ban Yu Shu in Zhenshan Sacrifice. “祝版惟五嶽、宗廟、社稷禦署，餘則否。” (Tuo Tuo, 1975) During the Yuan Dynasty, the custom of “Shu Er Bu Bai” was brought back and continued on in the Ming and Qing Dynasties with slight modifications.

The Interaction with Buddhism and Taoism in the Zhenshan Sacrifice

Regarding the establishment of Zhenshan Sacrifice, such as the elevation of the position of Wushan. “及上元二年（761年）聖躬不康，術士請改吳山為華山，華山為泰山；華州為泰州，華陰縣為泰陰縣。” (Liu Xu, 1975) Additionally, there is the matter of the title bestowed upon Zhenshan. “明昌間，從沂山道士楊道全請，封沂山為東安王，吳山為成德王，霍山為應靈王，會稽山為永興王，醫巫閭山為廣寧王。” (Wang Yun, 2005).

The rulers relied on Taoism to manage the Zhenshan Sacrifice. “延祐四年歲次丁巳十二月癸醜廿有六戊午，本廟提點賜紫仁和虛一大師張德祥等建。” (Wang Yun, 2005) In the Tai Ding Dai Si Ji 泰定代祀記, the Tidian 提點 of Zhenshan temples include Yang Tianchu, Zhang Dekou, Feng Daoan, etc..

These Tidian serve as the highest officials responsible for the daily management of the Zhenshan temples, but the government will also install officials for regulation at certain times. During the Yuan and Ming dynasties, Taoism reached its peak in the management of Zhenshan temples, and at this time, all major Zhenshan temples were managed by Taoist superintendents appointed by the nation. (Zhang Mu, 2012).

The Taoism has contributed to the perfecting of the Zhenshan Sacrifice. The advantages of the Taoist Keyi 科儀 system, combined with the rulers' attention, have led to the full incorporation of Taoist rituals, such as She Jiao Tou Long 設醮投龍, into Zhenshan Sacrifice. “投龍致祭乃是道教科儀，它源於道教的天、地、水三官信仰，劉宋時已初步形成儀式，其一般方式是將寫有願望的文簡和玉璧、金龍、金鈕用青絲捆紮，舉行醮儀後，投入名山大川、嶽瀆水府作為升度之信，以奉告三元。” (Lei Wen, 2009) In addition, Taoist priests were also appointed by the ruler to become members of the sacrifice, “至元九年（1273年）冬，朝廷以郡邑鎮山大浸，載諸典秩者所司三載一祀。霍嶽在河東實為靈鎮，故事每歲以仲夏土極之日用信報禮昭虔度也。明年癸酉夏六月北二日，憚行縣北走霍邑，前次洪洞，雨不克邁越。翼日抵趙城，適嚴祀省牲之夕……陪祀者府兵曹解禎、縣佐史高政、稅監張承慶、邑人薛畱齡、嶽廟道士李志真、興唐寺僧普光、執事者吏王庭玉等一十五人。” (Wang Yun, 2005) Moreover, Taoist priests during the Yuan Dynasty had a status higher than Han officials in Zhenshan Sacrifice. In the Ming Dynasty, particularly in its early years, Taoism had numerous opportunities to participate in these sacrifices. “於茲每望祭神於京師……予當親至近郊而望祀，奈國為新造，民為初安，是不得親臨所在而祀神也。特遣開國功臣某道士某，以如予行奉犧牲祝帛於近郊，設壇以報效靈。” (Yao Shiguan, 1991).

On the other hand, Taoism has also absorbed many factors from the Zhenshan Sacrifice and incorporated them into the Taoist system. Firstly, the Zhenshan Temple has become a famous Taoist temple. This is closely related to the management function assigned to Taoism in the Zhenshan Temple after the Sui and Tang dynasties. On the one hand, the Zhenshan Temple is part of the patriarchal traditional religion's temples that follow the system of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. On the other hand, it gradually became Taoist and became a member of the Taoist observatory system. From the Song Dynasty to the end of the Qing Dynasty, more Taoist activity centers around the East Zhenshan Temple were established, such as the “Yuhuang Pavilion 玉皇閣”，“Bixia Temple 碧霞祠”，“Guan Di Temple 關帝廟”，“Sanyuan Temple 三元廟”，and more. This shows that Taoism's absorption of the Zhenshan Temple has also enriched Taoism's own vitality. Secondly, Taoism's concept of Dongtian Fudi 洞天福地 has included Zhenshan. For example, the Nanzhen Kuaijishan is included in the list of Thirty-Six Small Dongtian. “第十會稽山洞，周回三百五十裏，名曰極玄大元天……仙人郭華治之。”（張君房，2003）不僅如此，道教還吸納了整個鎮山體系，《道藏》載，“乾坤既辟清濁，肇分融為江河，結為山嶽。或上配辰宿，或下藏洞天，皆大聖真主宰其事……大天之內有洞天三十六……七十二福地、二十四化、四鎮諸山，念總一山。” (Du Guangting, 1988) Thirdly, the Taoist story absorbs the legend of Zhenshan. “戒牙郎將宋老生屯霍邑以拒義

師，會霖雨積旬，口運不給。高祖命旋師，太宗切諫乃止。有白衣老父詣軍門曰：餘為霍山神太上老君使。謁唐公曰八月雨止，路出霍邑東南，吾當濟師。高祖曰：此神不欺趙元豐，豈負我哉。八月辛巳，高祖引師趨霍邑斬宋老生，遂平霍邑。” (Xie Shouhao, 1988).

The rise and fall of Buddhist temples. During the Yuanhe period of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Fayun Temple 法雲寺 was built on the eastern foot of Yishan. For the Qingzhou Prefecture 青州府 at that time, it was a large Buddhist temple and gradually became the center of Buddhist activities in the area. From the end of the Western Han Dynasty to the Eastern Jin Dynasty, Buddhism developed and flourished, attracting many faithful followers, and the Fayun Temple could no longer fully meet the demand. Therefore, in the first year of Xian'an in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, the Mingdao Temple 明道寺 was built on the north bank of the Hanshui 漢水 at the eastern entrance of Yishan Waterfall Valley. During the Northern and Southern Dynasties, due to the rulers' belief and favor, Buddhism experienced unprecedented development, and the Mingdao Temple was repaired and expanded several times. During the reign of Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty, many temples were also newly built, such as Liuquan Temple 柳泉寺 and Chaoyang Temple 朝陽寺. However, Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou Dynasty, Yuwen Yong, ordered the prohibition of Buddhism and Taoism, and during the “Jiande persecution 建德法難”, the temples suffered severe damage. During the Sui Dynasty, due to the change in the attitude and policies of the rulers, Buddhism was able to revive, and the Baiyu Temple 白雲寺 was rebuilt, the Mingdao Temple was expanded, and the Longwan Temple 龍灣寺 was newly built. During the Tang Dynasty, Buddhism was extremely prosperous. Emperor Gaozong built the Fengyang Temple 鳳陽寺 in the fifth year of the Xianheng era (674 AD), and in the fourth year of the Chang'an era (704 AD) Wu Zetian sent envoys to repair the Yishan Temple 沂山寺 and expand the Qingzhu An 青竹庵. However, at the end of the Tang Dynasty, in August of the fifth year of the Huichang era (845 AD), Emperor Wuzong Li Yan ordered the demolition of more than 10,000 Buddhist temples throughout the country, in what became known as the Huichang Persecution 會昌法難. The Mingdao Temple, Chaoyang Temple, Fengyang Temple, Liuquan Temple 柳泉, and Guang'en Temple 光恩, as well as the Baiyu Temple and Qingzhu Temple 清竹寺, were all destroyed, leaving only the Fayun Temple 法雲寺. Although Buddhism in Dongzhen Yishan was later revived, it never returned to its previous glory. In addition, there were also temples built in the Yiwülü area of Beizhen in the Liao Dynasty, such as Yixian 義縣 Dafengguo Temple 大奉國寺 (called Xianxi Temple 鹹熙寺 in the Liao Dynasty, later changed to Dafengguo Temple), Beizhen Chongxing Temple 崇興寺雙塔, Yixian Guangsheng Temple 廣勝寺塔, Yixian Eight Pagoda 八塔子塔, East Tashan Pagoda 東塔山塔, Tashan Pagoda 塔山塔, etc. (Guo Mingming, 2015).

The monk official system in Buddhist temples was established during the flourishing and development of Buddhism in China, which was brought over during the Western Han Dynasty. As rulers faced the issue of managing

numerous temples and monks, the management of Buddhist affairs underwent a continuous process of institutionalization. Initially, as preachers were foreigners, the imperial court treated them with the customs due to foreign guests, and the Honglu Temple 鴻臚寺, an official agency responsible for handling foreign affairs and the reception of foreign guests, took on the responsibility of reception and management. During the Sixteen Kingdoms Period of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, Buddhism experienced great development, and Buddhist activities spread from the upper classes of society to the people. The number of monks and nuns quickly increased. Buddhist leader Shi Daoan 釋道安 felt that the precepts and manners of the time were incomplete, so he formulated relevant regulations to standardize and institutionalize Buddhist practices. By the Northern and Southern dynasties, a relatively complete monk official system had been formed. During the Sui Dynasty, some new additions were made to the existing structure of the monk official system, and during the reign of Emperor Wen of Sui Dynasty, foreign monks, twenty-five major masters, and five major masters were added. During the early Tang Dynasty, the monk official system was based on the practice of the Sui Dynasty, composed of central and grassroots monk officials. The central agency was the Honglu Temple, which was under the supervision of the Ministry of Rites, and the central monk officials added the position of "Da De 大德" to the original list of official titles. After the founding of the Northern Song Dynasty, Emperor Taizu changed the policy of suppressing Buddhism that had been implemented during the Later Zhou Dynasty and provided support for it. During the Yuan Dynasty, Buddhism was regarded as the national religion, and its position far exceeded that of previous dynasties. During the Ming Dynasty, religious power was once again placed under the Cibu 祠部 of Libu 禮部 (later renamed the Cijisi 祠祭司), which was responsible for managing national religious affairs, including the registration of monks, issuance of permits, appointment and removal of monk officials, and temple construction. During the Qing Dynasty, the monk official system changed little compared to previous dynasties, except that during the reign of Emperor Qianlong, the central monk recording office introduced the position of chief and deputy seals, which superseded that of the Left and Right Shanshi 左右善世, overseeing all monk affairs. During the reign of Emperor Daoguang, Bacheng Xieli 八城協理 were established, which served as outpost agencies for Senglusi 僧錄司. From the management of Buddhist affairs at the beginning to the establishment and development of the monk official system, the affairs of Buddhist temples in the Zhenshan area have been constantly changing over time.

The appearance of some famous monks. As far as Dongzhen Yishan is concerned, the earliest introduction of Buddhism to Yishan was recorded in the "Dongzhen Shuyi Jizha 東鎮述遺記劄" written by Zhao Shoushen, a Taoist priest of Yangyi in the Qing Dynasty. Buddhism was widely disseminated, attracting many believers to convert. In addition, there is a monk named Zhida in Yiwulüshan in Beizhen. In the year of Daozong (1100), he was ordered to come to Beijing to open an altar to give lectures. There is also Master Miaoxing, whose lay name is Xiao Zhizhi, who is the grandson of Liao Shengzong. Master

Miaoxing concentrated on cultivating Buddhism and was not disturbed by foreign affairs, even refusing to accept the title of Taoist sect and the bestowal of purple. In addition, Chongxian Temple 崇先寺 presided over Master Quanwei, and the imperial court wrote an epitaph for him after his death, and buried him in Baodeshan 報德山. Master Lü Zhou, whose lay name is Xiao Shaoye, was originally a son-in-law and married the daughter of the Emperor Shengzong. After Shengzong's death, the Empress Dowager Fatian of the Liao Dynasty came to power. Xiao Shaoye was accused of rebellion due to the power struggle of the court, but in the end he was able to become a monk instead of being given death. Master Lü Zhou converted his home into a temple and became the famous Xiao Temple 蕭寺.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Viewing the Zhenshan Sacrifice from the perspective of patriarchal traditional religion clarifies its position. From the emergence of the concept of Zhenshan to the evolution of multiple Zhenshan, Four Zhenshan, and Five Zhenshan, the Zhenshan Sacrifice system has continuously developed and improved in this historical process. At the same time, Buddhism and Taoism also participated in this process, and interacted and blended with the Zhenshan Sacrifice. However, due to the excessive reliance of patriarchal traditional religion on the state and the clan power of various classes, it has no independent organization, making it difficult for this type of religion to have the ability to cross the patriarchal hierarchy society, and it disappeared along with the collapse of medieval society. Therefore, when China transitioned from medieval to modern society, patriarchal traditional religion collapsed overall due to the lack of support from the imperial system, and the Zhenshan Sacrifice, which took refuge in it, only left echoes of lingering sounds and occasional folk customs.

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