

A Prolific Spirit: Peng Dingqiu's Posthumous Career on the Spirit Altar, 1720–1906*

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Abstract

In this paper, I explore the tension between a historical figure and his posthumous representation through the legacy of the literati-official Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719). I categorize works posthumously attributed to Dingqiu into three types. They are those which (1) internally identified themselves as products of the spirit altar, (2) claimed historical authenticity but whose claims are dubious, and (3) made demonstrably false claims regarding the involvement of the historical Dingqiu. I show that rather than being entirely distinct from one another, these three categories overlapped in a promiscuous editorial cut-and-paste culture. In 1676, Peng Dingqiu was awarded first place in both the metropolitan and palace examinations. This achievement secured his fame and helped establish the Pengs of Suzhou as one of the most eminent family lineages of scholar-officials in the Qing dynasty. Dingqiu was an enthusiastic devotee of Wenchang, the Daoist deity and divine patron of the civil examination system, and he maintained a spirit-writing altar for over forty years. Works received on this altar were included in the major mid- and late Qing anthologies of Wenchang devotion assembled by officials

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such as Huang Zhengyuan, Liu Tishu, and Zhu Gui. Immediately after his death in 1719 Dingqiu returned as a celestial official to other spirit-writing altars in the Jiangnan area. There, he bestowed the same sort of moral exhortations he had previously received from apotheosized Confucians on his own altar. The printing networks of Dingqiu's posthumous oeuvre spanned as far afield as Sichuan and Beijing. I argue that Dingqiu's own examination success was amplified by that of his grandson Peng Qifeng (1701–1784; *jinshi* 1727), who also ranked first in the metropolitan and palace examination. Combined with Dingqiu's advocacy of spirit writing, the immense “grandfather-grandson *optimi*” prestige obtained by Dingqiu and Qifeng caused the Suzhou Pengs in general and Peng Dingqiu in particular to be revered in spirit-writing milieus through the late nineteenth century. In comparing Peng Dingqiu's posthumous oeuvre to that which he wrote while living, I demonstrate the dramatic expansion of the intended audience of morality books from the early to late Qing.

Keywords: Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719), spirit writing, Wenchang, civil service examinations

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Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645–1719) passed away on the ninth day of the fourth month of the fifty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign (1662–1772) at his home in the southeastern corner of the city of Suzhou. On the fifteenth day of the third month of the following year—the night of the last full moon before the one year anniversary of his death—Dingqiu's spirit descended to a spirit-writing altar set up at the home of his disciple Wang Xun 王勳 in neighboring Songjiang prefecture. In addition to Wang, at least two other men were present; neither was related to Dingqiu, but among those present were residents of Suzhou.¹

Just as Wang sensed (*gan* 感) that his teacher (*shi* 師) was present, the posthumous Dingqiu delivered a heptasyllabic quatrain. Literary preliminaries dispensed with, the recently deceased Dingqiu got to the point. He declared, “Last year I returned to a state of perfection. I now hold the post of Secretary of the Divine Empyrian.” 吾昨歲已歸真，掌玉霄案吏矣。²

Wang was startled and bewildered (*jingyi* 驚疑) by his late master's declaration. He turned for clarification to those present from Suzhou. They testified that matters were as Dingqiu had said (*guoran* 果然). Apparently in his hometown Dingqiu's acquaintances had already received word of his appointment as a celestial official. Nevertheless, rather than a member of the Peng corporate lineage or a nonlineage resident of Suzhou, it is the testimony of Wang upon which later Pengs drew for evidence of their exalted ancestor's apotheosis.

I. The Pengs of Suzhou

Wang related the above episode in an elegy (*jiwen* 祭文) that he recited at a ritual occasion memorializing his late teacher.³ Fifty-

¹ In addition to Wang Xun himself, Wang reported that a Cheng Kaizhang 程開帳 and Wang Pugu 汪樸谷 were also present. He did not clarify whether these men were from Suzhou or others were present.

² Wang Xun, “Ji Nanyun fuzi wen” 祭南畝夫子文 (Composition on the Sacrifice to Master Nanyun), *Peng shi zongpu* 彭氏宗譜, edition of 1829, Shanghai Library exemplar (digital scan in author's possession), *j.* 8:31b. Punctuation as in original.

³ Wang Xun, “Ji Nanyun fuzi wen,” *j.* 8:30a–31b. On the conventions of the genre
(Continue on next page)

three years after Dingqiu's first posthumous return, Dingqiu's great-grandson Peng Shaosheng 彭紹升 (1740–1796) closed his anthology of Dingqiu's séance transcripts, *Zhishen lu* 質神錄 (Record of Interrogating the Spirits, preface 1773), with Dingqiu's quatrain and report of his celestial promotion. Shaosheng cited Wang's elegy as the source of this passage.⁴ As Shaosheng was working some eighty years before the Peng residence was incinerated in the Taiping occupation of Suzhou (1860–1863), he presumably had access to the original transcripts of his great-grandfather's spirit-writing sessions; there are few other cases in the *Zhishen lu* in which Shaosheng cited his sources as he did with Wang Xun's elegy.

The entirety of Wang's elegy is also preserved in three out of four of the extant editions of the *Peng shi zongpu* 彭氏宗譜 (Genealogy of the Peng Clan).⁵ Considering that neither Wang nor the two other men he identified as witnesses to Dingqiu's posthumous descent were Peng lineage members, perhaps Wang's elegy was valuable to the later Peng lineage members precisely because it provided outsider testimony of their ancestor's divine appointment.

(Note 3—Continued)

of *jiwen* (which Wu refers to as “requiems”) from the Tang to the Ming, see Pei-yi Wu, “Childhood Remembered: Parents and Children in China, 800–1700,” in *Chinese Views of Childhood*, ed. Anne Behnke Kinney (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 139. I have yet to encounter a full discussion of the conventions of social performance of *jiwen* in the early Qing. For the most extensive collection of *jiwen* culled from genealogies, see Chen Jianhua 陳建華 and Wang Heming 王鶴鳴, eds., *Zhongguo jiapu ziliao xuanbian: Li yi fengsu juan* 中國家譜資料選編：禮儀風俗卷 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013).

⁴ Peng Shaosheng's anthology of Peng Dingqiu's spirit altar transcripts, *Zhishen lu* 質神錄, contains a significant variant: “incense table companion” (*xiang'an lü* 香案侶)—i.e., a fellow spirit-writing circle member—for Wang's “officialdom companion” (*luanlu lü* 鸞鷺侶). *Zhishen lu*, 1842 edition, Gest Library exemplar, 73b, and Wang Xun, “Ji Nanyun fuzi wen,” *Peng shi zongpu*, j. 8:30a. The poem and announcement of Dingqiu's celestial appointment also appear in Peng Qifeng's *Shangshu gong nianpu* 尚書公年譜 (Autobiography of the Grand Secretary, last entry 1784), under the entry for Kangxi 59 (1720). Unpaginated manuscript, Suzhou Museum exemplar.

⁵ Wang's composition is included in the *Peng shi zongpu* of 1829, 1883, and 1922. The reason for its omission in the edition of 1867 is that the Taiping Civil War (1850–1864) inflicted massive human and infrastructural damage on the Changzhou Pengs, as with all Suzhou literati-officials. Immediately following the conflict, the editors did not have access to previous editions of their own genealogy.

The Pengs of Changzhou county (roughly the eastern half of urban Suzhou and adjacent suburbs) rose to peer status within the local elite of Suzhou in the mid-Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Three of Peng Dingqiu's ancestors were presented scholars (*jinsshi* 進士), including his great-grandfather Ruxie 汝諧 (*jinsshi* 1616) and father Long 瓏 (1613–1689; *jinsshi* 1659). But Dingqiu played a pivotal role in establishing the lineage as one of the preeminent literati-official families of Qing dynasty (1644–1911) Suzhou and—due to the preeminent status of the city—in the empire as a whole. He did so by his achievement in 1676 of first place in both the metropolitan and palace examinations. The top place palace examination candidate (*zhuangyuan* 狀元) is conventionally translated as *optimus* in Western language scholarship. In order to stress Dingqiu's placement as the top graduate in the preceding metropolitan examination as well (*huiyuan* 會元), I will refer to him as a “twofold *optimus*” (*er yuan* 二元).⁶ This distinction is crucial because it brought so much fame to Dingqiu in his own lifetime and to his lineage after his death when his grandson Peng Qifeng 啟豐 (1701–1784) obtained the same twofold *optimus* distinction in 1727.⁷

When Peng Dingqiu's cousin Ningqiu 寧求 was awarded third place in the palace examination of 1682, it proved that Dingqiu's twofold *optimus* achievement was not an anomaly. From Dingqiu's day on, the Changzhou county Pengs became what modern historians have dubbed a “superlineage”: all told, the lineage produced sixteen presented scholars, thirty-six raised scholars (*juren*

⁶ See Benjamin A. Elman's remarks on what he translates as “two firsts” (*er yuan*) and “three firsts” (*san yuan* 三元; i.e., first place in the provincial examination as well) in his *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 385–388.

⁷ Peng Dingqiu and Qifeng's distinction of grandfather-grandson twofold *optimi* appears to be a unique configuration in history. The one possible exception also occurred in Changzhou county, in the Tang dynasty. See the discussion in Li Jiaqiu 李嘉球, *Suzhou zhuangyuan* 蘇州狀元 (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1993) and *Suzhou zhuangyuan* 蘇州狀元 (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue chubanshe, 1997). Despite the identical titles, Li's two works are not identical, though they do contain much overlapping material.

舉人), and 175 lesser degree holders from 1511 to the end of the examination system in 1905.⁸

In addition to the prestige Dingqiu bestowed to his descendants through his twofold *optimus* distinction and cultural projects such as his editorship of the imperially-mandated *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 (Complete Poetry of the Tang dynasty, 1706), Dingqiu was an active lineage organizer. He edited a new edition of the clan genealogy in 1703 and built their first ancestral shrine in his family compound in 1710. Indicative of the active role Dingqiu took in the education of his heirs, his scholarly works exhibited a consistent interest in elementary education (*mengxue* 蒙學). In works such as the primer *Rumen fayu* 儒門法語 (Oral Instructions of the Classicist School, 1697), Dingqiu's textbook for his own clansmen became a textbook for thousands of students in the centuries to come.⁹ The pedagogical shadow cast by Dingqiu was a dynamic element in the attribution of spirit-written works to him after his death.

As the most direct socially sanctioned inheritors of Dingqiu's legacy, Dingqiu's familial descendants had a great stake in his posthumous representation. They were thus hardly passive observers in his apotheosis. Within a year of Dingqiu's death his descendants filed petitions with local officials for the construction of shrines where Dingqiu's spirit could receive the spring and autumn sacrifices at both the Changzhou county and the Suzhou prefectural schools. Both petitions were successful, and the shrines endured into the late nineteenth century. On the more intangible level of fame and literary reputation, for centuries after his death

⁸ On the Changzhou county Pengs, see Peng Wangci 彭望慈, Gan Lanjing 甘蘭經, and Zhang Xuequn 張學群, "Yuan zi Ganjiang de Suzhou Peng shi" 源自贛江的蘇州彭氏, in *Suzhou mingmen wangzu* 蘇州名門望族 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2006), 232–251. See also Wu Jianhua 吳建華, *Peng xing shi hua* 彭姓史話 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2002). On the concept of "superlineage," see Benjamin A. Elman, *Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: The Ch'ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1990).

⁹ *Rumen fayu* was published in at least twelve distinct editions in the Qing and Republican periods. On the ideological project evident in the work, see Peng Guoxiang 彭國翔, *Jinshi Ruxue shi de bianzheng yu gouchen* 近世儒學史的辨正與鉤沉 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2013), 587–612.

generation upon generation of Dingqiu's descendants would publish and republish his works. Further examples are available. Although outside the scope of the present article, the reader should bear in mind that the spirit-writing compositions explored in this article are only one element in a complex of posthumous projects related to Dingqiu's perception and memory.

II. A Posthumous Oeuvre

In this article I negotiate the bibliographic and historiographical complexities raised by the propensity of Qing dynasty literati spirit-writing enthusiasts to continue composing poetry and exhortations after abandoning their physical form. Such a study necessitates attentiveness to the particular circumstances in which the name and reputation of the dead was activated and made to serve the interests of the living. In this sense, it is a straightforward reception history through a religious studies lens. Yet I also wish to assert that, however much of an oxymoron it may initially appear to be, the posthumously manipulated object maintained a degree of control over his posthumous image. In the case of Peng Dingqiu, acts in which he deliberately and consistently engaged in his lifetime laid the groundwork for his posthumous return. The control of the historical Dingqiu over the forms of the posthumous Dingqiu diminished over time and space, as those who had known the historical Dingqiu personal died off and as his name circulated in circles beyond those social ties to his descendants. Yet reliable depictions of the historical Dingqiu stayed in continual circulation and impacted what could be claimed about him.

In this article I explore a spectrum of malleability of Dingqiu's posthumous image. Factors that impacted the claims that could be made by the latter-day manipulators of Dingqiu's image included presence or absence of the historical Dingqiu's writings on a given topic; the presence or absence of claims to socially recognized familial or scholarly descent from Dingqiu on the part of the manipulator; spatial distance from Suzhou; and temporal distance from the lifetime of the historical Dingqiu. These factors notwithstanding, I argue that Dingqiu's spirit exercised an agency

akin to that science studies pioneer Bruno Latour has attributed to microbes and other nonhuman actors: it constituted a “third party” in human exchanges.¹⁰ The contours of what the posthumous Dingqiu could be made to declare on the spirit altar were informed—though not dictated—by the past choices of the historical individual himself.

III. Establishing a Baseline of Authenticity for Works by the Historical Peng Dingqiu

Establishing a baseline of works reliably attributable to the historical Dingqiu is a more complicated task than simply considering dates of woodblock carving. As alluded to above in considering the circumstances of Peng Shaosheng’s compilation of *Zhishen lu*, the Changzhou county Pengs held a major collection of books and images from the early through the mid-Qing dynasty, and they shared access to these works with fellow local elites.¹¹ The existence of this collection and other nonprinted sources of the historical Dingqiu’s writings means that we can not apply a mechanical standard for “historical” or “posthumous” works such as whether or not a particular piece was or was not published in Dingqiu’s lifetime. Yet, despite the clear existence of an intralineage means of material transmission of spirit-altar works and other writings, it is crucial that we subject clan members’ claims regarding their own ancestors to the same scrutiny as claims by nonlineage members. This is to say, just because descendants

¹⁰ As developed in *The Pasteurization of France* and subsequent works. See Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France*, trans. Alan Sheridan and John Law (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

¹¹ For example, Seugyun Han noted that the Pengs were a major source of the images of former worthies in Gu Yuan 顧沅, ed., *Wujun mingxian tuzhuan zan* 吳郡名賢圖傳贊 (Illustrated Biographies with Commemorative Poems of Celebrated Worthies from Suzhou, preface 1873). Gu’s work, in turn, was the basis for the shrine to five hundred local worthies at the Azure Waves Pavilion (Canglang ting 滄浪亭). See Seugyun Han, “Shrine, Images, and Power: The Worship of Former Worthies in Early Nineteenth Century Suzhou,” *T’oung Pao* 95 (2009): 181.

appeared to have endorsed a certain text as having been by their ancestor Dingqiu, this endorsement is not sufficient for present-day scholars to accept to historical authenticity of the text. Descendants' accounts of their ancestors were no less self-interested than those who could not claim a familial tie with Dingqiu or a social tie to his descendants.

In the discussion that follows I read works reliably authored by Peng Dingqiu against later works that were not reliably authored by Dingqiu. The latter category consists of explicitly spirit-written works and potentially more confusing works attributed to the historical Dingqiu by later editors that were either likely to have been spirit-written or—as in the case of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (Recarved Essentials of the Daoist Canon, 1906)—falsely attributed without a posthumous authorial function having been at work. (For a summary of works discussed in the article and their relation to the historical Peng Dingqiu, see Table 1.)

In terms of the oeuvre of the historical Peng Dingqiu, two works published in or near his lifetime are useful for understanding his devotional commitments. These are his twenty-seven *juan* poetry anthology *Nanyun shi gao* 南昫詩藁 (Preliminary Draft of Nanyun's Poetry, preface 1708) and twelve *juan* prose anthology *Nanyun wen gao* 南昫文藁 (Preliminary Draft of Nanyun's Essays, preface 1726).¹² In addition, Dingqiu wrote a significant autobiography titled *Shijiang gong nianpu* 侍講公年譜 (Chronological Autobiography of the [Hanlin Academy] Sub-Expositor, including a

¹² For an initial study of Inner Alchemical motifs in *Nanyun shi gao*, see Xu Jianxun 徐健勳, “Qingdai shiren Peng Dingqiu yu daojiao yinyuan chutan 清代士人彭定求與道教因緣初探,” *Hunan keji xueyuan xuebao* 湖南科技學院學報 34, no. 2 (2013): 75–77. A Kangxi edition of *Nanyun shi gao* is reproduced without the cover leaf in *Qingdai shiwenji huibian* 清代詩文集彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe), 167:1–249; the Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Tushuguan exemplar of the Yongzheng edition of the *Nanyun wen gao* is in 246:615–830 (hereafter NYWG). The most common edition of these works is that sponsored by Peng Dingqiu's eighth-generation descendant Peng Zuxian 祖賢 (1819–1885; *juen* 1855) in 1881, while Zuxian was Governor of Hubei (1880–1885). Digital facsimiles of the Harvard-Yenching exemplars of these works are available on Google Books, though Google's pretensions of providing searchable text are risible.

eulogy authored circa 1720). Never published, this manuscript has previously been overlooked by scholars.¹³

As for spirit-written works and other compositions of dubious or false authenticity, the following survey includes all the relevant works that I have encountered. However, Dingqiu's name was so pervasive in the spirit-writing milieu from the early Qing on that it is likely further works exist. The material I have assembled thus far is sufficient to demonstrate a recognizable posthumous oeuvre attributed to Dingqiu. The existence of this oeuvre has not previously been considered as a unified body of work by spirit-writing practitioners or by present-day scholars. Although hagiography is far from my goal, I am aware that by drawing attention to these materials as a related body of work I am inevitably engaged in an act of canon formation.

Regarding the texts discussed below that were neither circulated in Dingqiu's lifetime nor expressly identified as spirit-written, I propose that the burden of demonstrating plausibly must be on those who wish to link a work to the historical Peng Dingqiu not found in his own voluminous writings from his lifetime. This is to say, in light of Dingqiu's posthumous popularity among his descendants and in broader spirit-writing circles, his name alone on a mid-Qing to Republican work is simply not enough to claim its contents as evidence of an early Qing worldview or practice.¹⁴

My primary motivation in identifying a posthumous oeuvre is exclusionary: that is, clarifying which texts were *not* composed by

¹³ The exemplar held by the Suzhou Museum is the only one of which I am aware. For a recent biographical profile of Dingqiu that relied exclusively on biographies in official histories and the abridged "autobiography" prepared by Peng Zuxian, see Huang Aming 黄阿明, "Kangxi shiwu nian zhuangyuan Peng Dingqiu shengping shishi shulüe" 康熙十五年狀元彭定求生平史實述略, *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 4 (2013): 80–86.

¹⁴ Consistent with this standard, I accept as plausible two compositions claiming to be received at Dingqiu's spirit altar but which are not extant in published form until several decades after his death. I do so because their contents and internal dating fit with Dingqiu's account in his autobiography. I make my case at greater length in my forthcoming dissertation "Terrestrial Reward as Divine Recompense: The Self-Fashioned Piety of the Peng Lineage of Suzhou, 1650s–1870s" (PhD diss., Princeton University).

the historical Peng Dingqiu so as to be able to write with greater accuracy about the early Qing charitable milieu in which he operated. My secondary motivation is less traditional. In the spirit in which Makita Tairyō,¹⁵ Robert Buswell,¹⁶ Michel Strickmann,¹⁷ and other scholars approached Buddhist “apocrypha” (or indigenous Chinese scriptures) and Frances Yates explored the Hermetic Corpus,¹⁸ there is much that we can learn in the posthumous oeuvre of Peng Dingqiu about the prevailing worldview in the milieu in which they were produced. Dingqiu’s posthumous oeuvre provides a concise overview of long-term trends in the morality book milieu in which elite individuals were iconized and appropriated by a diverse range of actors in diverse locales.

As Anthony Grafton stressed in his monograph *Forgers and Critics*, since antiquity the quest to expose inauthentic works has been a dialectical motor driving the development of scholarly technique.¹⁹ There is thus a well-developed range of vocabulary to discuss the textual issues addressed in this paper in both the Western tradition and the East Asian one (particularly within Buddhism). I do not entirely rule out the possibility of forgery of work attributed to Peng Dingqiu by his descendants and view Peng Shaosheng as particularly deserving of scrutiny in this regard. But for the bulk of the material covered in this paper I reject the term forgery on the following basis. A “rogue Classicist” (in Bruce Rusk’s phrasing) such as the mid-Ming figure Feng Fang 豐坊 (1493–1566)²⁰ or a European counterpart such as Annius of Viterbo (born Giovanni Nanni; 1432–

¹⁵ Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, *Gikyō kenkyū* 疑經研究 (Kyoto: Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1976). Makita is also the author of an important study of Peng Shaosheng: “Koji bukkyō ni okeru Hō Saisei no chii,” 居士佛教における彭際清の地位, in *Chūgoku bukkyō shi kenkyū* 中國佛教史研究 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1981), 232–251.

¹⁶ Robert E. Buswell Jr., ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1990).

¹⁷ Michel Strickmann, “The Consecration Sūtra: A Buddhist Book of Spells,” in Buswell, *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 75–118.

¹⁸ Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

¹⁹ Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

²⁰ Rusk characterized Feng as “the most prolific forger of classical texts in the Ming dynasty.” See Bruce Arthur Rusk, “The Rogue Classicist: Feng Fang (1493–1566) and His Forgeries” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1974).
(Continue on next page)

1502)²¹ deliberately falsified texts, consciously leaving behind the forgers' own personal signatures in a manner that betrayed a perverse challenge to would-be discoverers.

In contrast, the deliberate element of deception is generally alien to the spirit-writing process. Dingqiu and others in his milieu aspired in their lifetimes to become celestial officials (*tianguan* 天官) after their passing. For this reason, “forgery” would be a flat-footed way of understanding this complex process. Dingqiu—by the actions of his descendants, disciples, and believers to whom he had no familial or social connection—achieved his goal of immortality by posthumous contact with the living in a socially validated manner. He did so within a year of his death, as evinced Wang Xun's record of the events of 1720 in his elegy to Dingqiu.

As we will see below, with the passage of sufficient time explicitly spirit-written material could, however, be incorporated back in to material attributed to the historical figure. In Dingqiu's case, the historical personage had wished for his ideas and persona to stay active in the world of men after he was gone. That ideas that would be attributed to him after his death were unthinkable in his lifetime was the price he paid for staying “alive” without a corporeal form.²²

The category of pseudepigrapha is less accusatory than “forgery” and more accommodating of divine inspiration, but is already taken to indicate Jewish revelations between 300 BCE and 300 CE and Jewish and Christian ones in the later end of that time frame. On the model of works attributed to early Greek philosophers one could speak of a “pseudo-Peng Dingqiu,” but the stress on inauthenticity again distracts from the way in which,

(Note 20—*Continued*)

Angeles, 2004), 19. For a study of the legal concept of forgery contemporaneous with Peng Dingqiu, see Mark Peter McNicholas, “Forgery and Impersonation in Late Imperial China: Popular Appropriations of Official Authority, 1700–1820” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2007).

²¹ On whom see Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 76–103.

²² On “unthinkability” in evaluating past religious environments, see Lucien Febvre's classic study *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais*, trans. Beatrice Gottlieb (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

within the worldview of Dingqiu and his spirit-writing successors, existence as a celestial official would have been elevated over mortal existence. The opposite is implied by the prefix “pseudo.”²³ For these reasons I have opted for the adjective “posthumous” as the most value-neutral way of describing this body of work.

IV. Peng Dingqiu's Twofold *Optimi* Prophecy

As related above, the crucial element of Peng Dingqiu's fame in his lifetime and in death was his achievement in 1676 of the twofold *optimus* distinction. While this achievement alone would have been sufficient to bring glory to Dingqiu, the Changzhou county Peng lineage, and Suzhou, in this article I am particularly concerned with an additional element that made Peng Dingqiu the symbol of the terrestrial rewards of devotion to Wenchang 文昌—the so-called “God of Literature”—for the remainder of the Qing dynasty and on in to the Republican period (1911–49). This element is Dingqiu's reception on his own spirit altar and subsequent of a prophecy predicting his twofold *optimus* distinction in the precise year in which he did in turn fulfill the prophecy.

By Dingqiu's telling, in 1674, shortly after obtaining the raised scholar degree and failing the metropolitan examination, he claimed to have received a divine prophecy via the spirit altar of his twofold *optimus* achievement in 1676. While I have yet to discover a source that can corroborate Dingqiu's prophecy in the approximately eighteen months between its delivery and his success in the capital, other Suzhou residents with close ties to the Pengs, such as the literatus You Tong 尤侗 (1618–1704), recorded visiting Dingqiu as a spirit-altar supervisor before 1676.²⁴

²³ For an example of a bibliography of works falsely attributed to a classical author in the Western tradition, see Charles B. Schmitt and Dilwyn Knox, *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus: A Guide to Latin Works Falsely Attributed to Aristotle before 1500* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1985).

²⁴ On You Tong and spirit-writing, see Goyama Kiwamu 合山究, “Minshin no bunjin to okaruto shumi” 明清の文人とオカルト趣味, in *Chūka bunjin no seikatsu* 中華文人の生活, ed. Arai Ken 荒井健 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994), 492–500, and Judith Zeitlin, “Spirit Writing and Performance in the Work of You Tong 尤侗 (1618–1704),” *T'oung Pao* vol. 84 (1998): 102–135. Neither of these excellent articles discusses You Tong's involvement in Dingqiu's spirit altar.

Dingqiu related in his autobiography that established spirit altar participants of his father's generation initially rejected the validity of the prophecy. In response, Dingqiu had transmissions from both the Dipper Mother (Doumu 斗母/姆) and Wenchang carved and displayed in front of the Cultural Star Pavilion (Wenxing ge 文星閣), a tower devoted to Wenchang affiliated with the Changzhou county school. He identified these works, in which the deities praised Dingqiu's devotion and admonished his detractors, as "Doumu quanshi wen yi pian" 斗姥勸世文一篇 ("The Dipper Mother's Exhortation to the World" in one folio) and "Wenchang dijun xunshi wen sanpian ming" 文昌帝君訓士文三篇命 ("The Thearch Lord Wenchang's Instructions to Scholars in Three Folios").²⁵ Works surviving by these names, and whose internal dates are consistent with those Dingqiu provided in his autobiography, were incorporated into Wenchang canons and other morality book compendia. The first such appearance was in 1737, less than two decades after Dingqiu's passing.²⁶

²⁵ Peng Dingqiu, *Shijiang gong nianpu*, 14b.

²⁶ As far as I have been able to discern, the first printed appearance of the Wenchang dictates was in the *Di jun jie shizi wen* 帝君戒士子文 (The Thearch-Lord's Admonitions to Scholars; preface 1737) of Huang Zhengyuan (on whom see below). Dingqiu's revelations were not titled in this work: *incipit*: 康熙甲寅秋日, *zhen* 貞 8a–11a. In the itemized principles (*fanli* 凡例) of the *Yinzhuiwen tushuo* (on which see below) Huang referred to Wenchang's revelation to Dingqiu as "Peng Ningzhi xiansheng jia jiangbi sanpian" 彭凝祉先生家降筆三篇 (Descent-by-brush to the Residence of Master Peng Ningzhi in three folios): *yuan* 元 4b.

The same text appeared in three articles (*tiao* 條) as "*Ming* Peng Dingqiu *xuanshi*" 命彭定求宣示 (Commands for Peng Dingqiu to Promulgate) in *Wendi shuchao* (preface 1768), ed. Zhu Gui 朱珪. In the *Wendi shuchao* Zhu selected 14 of the 24 *juan* of the "inner case" (*nei han* 內函) of Liu Tishu's 劉體恕 (or Qiao 樵) anthology *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書, thirty-two *juan*, 1743. Scholars have not as yet identified an extant exemplar of the 1743 *Wendi quanshu*. On the authority of Zhu's testimony that he only subtracted from but did not add to the collection, the Peng Dingqiu material should have been in Liu's original 1743 *Wendi quanshu*. See Zhu's preface: *xu* 序 1a. I consulted the Waseda University exemplar of Zhu's *Wendi shuchao*, which is itself a recutting (*chongke*) from 1882. The 1882 edition, as with Zhu's initial edition of 1768, is 14 *juan*. In their prefatory material those who prepared the recutting did not indicate that they had added any material to the body of the work. The three missives said to have been received by Peng Dingqiu appear in *juan* 11:19a–23a.

(Continue on next page)

(Note 26—Continued)

An expanded fifty-juan edition of the *Wendi quanshu* appeared in 1775, and was itself subsequently reprinted in 1876. I have examined both the 1775 edition and the 1876 reprint, the first in the digital facsimile of the Waseda exemplar, the second in the Gest Library exemplar. Both include further material tied to Peng Dingqiu, such as a subscript commentary attributing to him the *Dadong jing* 大洞經 (Great Cavern Scripture; on which see Kim Jihyun's contribution in this issue); the biographical information on Dingqiu discussed above (as well as biographical information on You Tong which mentioned Dingqiu); and the *Yuju Xinchan* 心懺 (Heart-Mind Penance Liturgy of the Jade Bureau).

A consideration of the distribution of the above material within the fifty-juan *Wendi quanshu* demonstrates the way in which material related to Peng Dingqiu marbles the entire canon. The locations for the 1775 edition are as follows:

(1) Biography of Peng Dingqiu in *Lingyan shi ji* 靈驗事蹟 (Records of Numinous Proofs), *j.* 1:29b. Dingqiu is also mentioned in one of the three biographical anecdotes regarding You Tong: *j.* 1:40b. The table of contents specified that the Dingqiu anecdotes was in the previous edition of 1743, while those of You Tong were 1775 additions.

(2) Dingqiu's preface to the *Wenchang Xiaojing*, *j.* 5a–6a.

(3) *Yuju xinchan, wai han* 外函, *j.* 38; *Zhishen lu* (divided in two *juan* [上下] but identical in content to the single *juan* 1842 edition), *wai han j.* 46–47. In the 1876 edition of the *Wendi quanshu* the *Xinchan* liturgy appeared in an appendix following the *wai han* in *ce* 17. (The *Wenchang xinchan* in the *Zangwai daoshu* is an 1859 hand copy of the core nine chapters [*zhang* 章] of the liturgy signed a Han Yinglu 韓應陸: 4:314–318. It corresponds to *ce* 17:3a–33b in the 1876 *Wendi quanshu Yuju xinchan*.)

The Dipper Mother text, titled “Yuanming Doudi quanshi wen” 圓明斗帝勸世文 (Text to Exhort the World by the Dipper Empress of Perfected Brightness), is preserved in the *Jingxin lu* 敬信錄 (Record of Reverent Faith), which was reportedly first published in 1749, though I have not located this edition. The expanded (*zengding* 增訂) 1831 edition of the *Jingxin lu* appears in *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺, vol. 5, itself reprinted in ed. Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian jicheng bianzuan weiyuanhui 中國宗教歷史文獻集成編纂委員會 *Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian jicheng* 中國宗教歷史文獻集成 (Hefei: Huang Shan shushe, 2005), vols. 51–70. “Yuanming Doudi quanshiwen” is also included in the *Dangui ji* 丹桂集 (Collection of the Cassia Fragrance [Palace]), among other collections. As far as present-day scholars have been able to discern, no known independent edition of the Dipper Mother text circulated as a woodblock print; Dingqiu's account indicates that it would have circulated as a rubbing.

Vincent Goossaert translated the Doumu text in full and provided parallel Chinese language text indicating variorum in *Liures de morale révélés par les dieux: Textes présentés, traduits et annotés par Vincent Goossaert* [*Shanshu ba zhong* 善書八種] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres: 2012): 69–71 (introduction); 72–76 (translation).

V. Perception of Peng Dingqiu in the Immediate Post-Kangxi Reign Morality Book Milieu

A baseline for what enthusiasts of morality books knew of Peng Dingqiu in the initial decades following his death can be seen in the sizable body of works on Wenchang devotion edited by Huang Zhengyuan 黃正元 (fl. 1734–1755) from 1734 to 1737 while he was an official in Fujian province.²⁷ Although Huang did not claim that these works were comprehensive, in their breadth they anticipated the ever-expanding Wenchang canons of the eighteenth century: Liu Tishu's 劉體恕 (or Qiao 樵) *Wendi quanshu* 文帝全書 (Complete Works of the Literary Thearch, preface 1743); Zhu Gui's 朱珪 (1731–1807) *Wendi shuchao* 文帝書鈔 (Draft Works of the Literary Thearch, preface 1768); and Wang Lǜjie 王履階 and Guan Huai's 關槐 *Wendi quanshu* of 1775.²⁸

The first two out of the five works constituting Huang Zhengyuan's Wenchang canon include materials relevant to the Pengs: *Di jun jie shizi wen* 帝君戒士子文 (The Thearch-Lord's Admonitions to Scholars)²⁹ and the four *ce* 冊 *Yinzhiwen tushuo* 陰鷲文圖說 (The Composition on Hidden Virtue, Explicated and Illustrated).³⁰ Huang's *Ganyingpian tushuo* 感應篇圖說 (Treatise on

²⁷ Yau, *Shan yu ren tong*, 145. The edition available to me of Huang's Wenchang canon is the reprint (*chongyin* 重印) of 1880 in one case (*han* 函), eight *ce*, held by the Gest Library. No comprehensive title is given on the box, individual cover slips, or cover leaves. While it is possible the case was constructed by the original buyer rather than the publisher or bookseller, the uniform paper and layout of the works indicate that they were produced in tandem.

²⁸ On the creation of Wenchang canons, see Vincent Goossaert, "Spirit-writing, Canonization and the Rise of Divine Saviors: Wenchang, Lüzu, and Guandi, 1700–1858", *Late Imperial China* 36.2(2015): 82–125.

²⁹ *Di jun jie shizi wen* is the title on the cover leaf. The title on the cover slip is *Pei ming lu* 配命錄 (Record of According with Fate).

³⁰ The four *ce* of the *Yinzhiwen tushuo* are numbered *yuan* 元, *li* 利, *heng* 亨, and *zhen* 貞, after the first line in the commentary on the *Qian* 乾 hexagram in the *Yijing* 易經.

The other three titles in the compendium are: *Yu xu jie gongguoge* 御虛階功過格 (cover leaf: the cover slip title is *Taiwei xianjun Chunyang zushi gongguoge* 太微仙君純陽祖師功過格) (Ledger of Merits and Demerits of the Taiwei Transcendent-Lord Ancestral Teacher Pure Yang Lü), *ce* 6; *Xing tian zhen jing* 性天真境 (True Mirror of Innate Nature and Heaven), *ce* 7; and *Yu hai ci hang* 慾海慈航 (A Compassionate Raft in the Sea of Carnal Desire), *ce* 8.

(Continue on next page)

Harmony and Response, Illustrated and Explicated, 1755), which has received significantly more scholarly attention,³¹ contains no extraordinary exemplar of the rewards of implementing the scripture's doctrines. That is to say, there are many examples of the terrestrial rewards of implementing the teachings of the *Treatise*, but none who stands above the other exemplars in the manner that Huang presented the Pengs doing so in the Wenchang works.

Dingqiu's three 1674 revelations from Wenchang are provided following an exhortation to revere paper with writing on it and the eponymous *Jie shizi wen*.³² Immediately after the revelations received by Dingqiu, Huang presented a selection of his own communications with Wenchang in which Wenchang stated explicitly that Huang was now Dingqiu's inheritor as Wenchang's primary disciple on earth.³³ The first communication, dated 1731, stated:

Although those in the world who recite my “Tract of Hidden Virtue” are many, those who are able to embody and promote it forcefully are few: it is only Master Peng Dingqiu of Wu commandery [Suzhou] who had extensive understanding of its principles. Therefore I descended to his abode on multiple occasions to warn and instruct him. In order to

(Note 30—Continued)

Xing tian zhen jing includes two editions of the eighteen-chapter *Wenchang Xiaojing*. After the first of these Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962), curator of Gest Library from 1950–1952, jotted down his thoughts on filiality in red ink: *Xiao jing*, 13a.

³¹ On the various editions of the *Ganyingpian tushuo*, including that of Huang Zhengyuan, see Sakai Tadao, *Zōho Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū* 增補中國善書の研究 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1999–2000), 2:105–125. On that of Huang in particular, see Catherine Bell, “‘A Precious Raft to Save the World’: The Interaction of Scriptural Traditions and Printing in a Chinese Morality Book,” *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 1 (1996): 158–200, and Yau, *Shan yu ren tong*, 151–152.

³² “Quan jingzizhi wen” (*zhen* 1a–2a) and “Jie shizi wen” (*zhen* 3a–5a). Dingqiu's revelations are not titled: *incipit*: 康熙甲寅秋日, *zhen* 8a–11a.

³³ In a statement potentially offering insight to the anthologization process of spirit-altar transcripts in the late imperial period, Huang specified that he was including only a hundredth of the communications he had received: 今之所錄，特存十一於千百爾 (*zhen* 12a). Even allowing for the bias of round numbers, Huang's figure is a revealing statement on the volume of spirit-altar communication and the quantity disregarded during the anthologization process.

exhort the believers of the world, I not only blessed him personally, but blessed his male descendants.

As for Master Huang Zhengyuan [who is now before me]: You have long served me. “In moments of haste, you cleave to [me]; in moments of danger, you cleave to [me].”³⁴ You constantly “lower the rites.” I therefore announce to you that which I before announced to Master Peng.

世之誦吾陰騭文者甚多而能身體力行者絕少。惟吳郡彭子定求頗知道理。予故數降其家。丁寧開示。不但福其身。兼福其子孫。以為世之信心者勸。

今爾黃子正元。奉吾日久。造次顛沛。夫常廢禮。予故以昔日之告彭子者。再為子告焉。³⁵

The séance closed with a peroration confirming Huang’s status as Wenchang’s new Peng Dingqiu: “Among my disciples, up until this point there was only Master Peng Dingqiu. Since you [Huang] are the Dingqiu of today, you should reverently listen to my words” 吾弟子之中已成就，彭子定求矣。子即今日之定求也，其敬聽予言。³⁶ Nowhere in this passage nor anywhere else in his compendium did Huang give any indication of regarding Peng Dingqiu as a celestial official of Wenchang. Huang rather portrayed Dingqiu and his descendants exclusively as terrestrial exemplars of Wenchang devotion.

What made Peng Dingqiu such an attractive figure to Huang and Huang’s imagined readership of fellow literati-officials? The second *ce* of the collection makes the answer abundantly clear: the

³⁴ An allusion to *Lunyu* 4.5: 君子無終食之間違仁，造次必於是，顛沛必於是 (The Superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it. In season of danger, he cleaves to it.) James Legge, trans. *The Chinese Classic*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), 256.

³⁵ Huang’s séance transcripts are untitled. *Incipit*: 正元遵奉帝君. *Di jun jie shizi wen, zhen*, 12a–b. The first transmission, and the only one to mention Dingqiu, bears the subtitle “Exhortations for Those in Office” (*Ju guan zhi xun* 居官之訓). The implicit characterization of Dingqiu as a significant terrestrial official is interesting in as much as it shows recognition on the part of Huang of Dingqiu as a respected servant of the Kangxi emperor, despite the fact that Dingqiu, as with many talented ethnic Han men of his generation, served relatively little time in office.

³⁶ *Di jun jie shizi wen, zhen*, 13b.

trifecta of Dingqiu's consistent service to Wenchang beginning *before* his twofold *optimus* distinction; the twofold *optimus* distinction itself; and the evidence of the continued favor of Wenchang to the patriline granted by Peng Qifeng's achievement of the twofold *optimus* distinction.

The following anecdote, titled “Numinous Proofs of Serving and Practicing the Tract on Hidden Virtue” (*Fengxing Yinzhiwen ling yan* 奉行陰鷲文靈驗), was placed directly after the *Yinzhiwen* itself. It can be considered the baseline for what mid- to late Qing morality book readers knew of Dingqiu:

The entire family of Peng Dingqiu of Su commandery [Suzhou] worships and serves the Thearch-Lord with extreme sincerity and reverence. Each sip and each mouthful [of which Dingqiu partook] he dedicated in prayer [to the Thearch]. The Thearch frequently descended via planchette to his abode. The “Injunctions in Three Folios” and “Heart-mind Penance Ritual” were [bestowed in order to] admonish the world. Sir [Peng] then had them piously carved, printed, and disseminated. From dawn to dusk he observed and implemented [their injunctions].

In the *renzi* year of the Kangxi reign [1672] he received the provincial recommendation [i.e., was awarded the raised scholar degree]. In the *bingchen* year [1676] he was the top graduate of both the metropolitan and palace examinations. In the *bingwu* year of the Yongzheng reign, his grandson Qifeng received the provincial recommendation. In the *dingwei* year [1727] he was the top graduate of both the metropolitan and palace examinations. [Thus] the grandson carried on the moral excellence of the grandfather, something rarely seen since antiquity.

蘇郡彭定求舉家崇事帝君極其誠敬。雖一飲一食。亦必獻祝。帝常降乩其家。有訓文三篇。心懺一步。書以儆世。公即虔刻印施。夙夜遵行

康熙壬子領鄉薦。丙辰。會狀聯元。孫啟豐。領雍正丙午鄉薦。丁未。會狀連元。祖孫繼美。自古罕有。³⁷

³⁷ Huang Zhengyuan, ed., *Yinzhiwen tu shuo*, ce 1 (*yuan* 元), 6a. Punctuation, the underlining of proper names, and the respectful single space preceding “Thearch-Lord” are as in the original.

Final evidence of Huang's conception of Peng Dingqiu and Qifeng as the ultimate exemplars of Wenchang devotion lies in the illustration of Qifeng passing through the *optimi* arch (Illustration 1), presumably at the Suzhou prefectural school. The picture follows directly after that of Wenchang himself. It is separated off from all the illustrations that follow in that it is not paired with an anecdote: the pairing was the "Numinous Proof" that followed the *Yinzhuiwen* and preceded the portrait of the Thearch-Lord. The banners flanking the arch both declare, "Grandfather-grandson twofold *optimi*" (*zu sun huizhuang* 祖孫會狀), a phrase that quickly became synonymous with Dingqiu and Qifeng after Qifeng's success.³⁸

VI. Explicitly Spirit-Written Works

The first record of a posthumous descent by Peng Dingqiu after his spirit's 1720 visit to Wang Xun's altar is recorded in the *Xu Zhishen lu* 續質神錄 (Continuation of Record of Interrogation of the Spirits, 1842).³⁹ *Xu Zhishen lu* is a collection of séance transcripts along the lines of the anthology by Peng Shaosheng, which it claimed as its predecessor. The paratextual material in *Xu Zhishen lu*, however, provides less detail than its precursor. Of the seventeen deities whose communication it preserves, only four appeared in the *Zhishen lu*. This begs the question: in what way did the anonymous editor(s) understand the work to be a "continuation"? In addition to Peng Dingqiu himself, the three other overlapping deities were Lü Dongbin, Wenchang, and the Ming loyalist Huang Daozhou 黃道周 (1585–1646).⁴⁰

³⁸ In this saying the *hui* is an abbreviation for first place metropolitan examination candidate (*huiyuan*); the *zhuang* for first place palace examination candidate (*zhuangyuan*). Hence my instance on the term "twofold *optimus*": Qing readers were very aware that Peng Dingqiu and Qifeng excelled "ordinary" *optimi*.

³⁹ The *Xu Zhishen lu* is included in the 1842 recarved (*chongkan*) edition of Peng Shaosheng's *Zhishen lu* (though it is not acknowledged on the cover leaf). To the best of my knowledge, it did not circulate independently.

⁴⁰ As revealed in *Yuquan* (JY 243), Huang appeared on the altars of both Dingqiu and those of his contemporaries in Suzhou. On the historical Huang, see Yang Zhaozhong 楊肇中, *Tianren zhixu shiye xia de wan Ming ruxue chongjian: Huang Daozhou sixiang yanjiu* 天人秩序視野下的晚明儒學重建——黃道周思想研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo kexue shehui she, 2013).



Illustration 1 Peng Qifeng approaching the *Optimi* Arch. From Huang Zhengyuan ed., *Yinzhì wén tushuò* (preface 1737). 1880 edition, Gest Library exemplar, *yuan* 2a.

The sole preface to the *Xu Zhishen lu* is by Du Qiaolin 杜喬林, a late Ming official from Songjiang prefecture whom Dingqiu was responsible for apotheosizing. A consideration of Du's preface demonstrates the prominent place of the Changzhou county Pengs in the imaginary of those who received the transmission, a prominence analogous to that granted Peng Dingqiu by Huang Zhengyuan.

Du identified himself as a "grandee of Wenchang's Jade Bureau" (Wenchang Yuju daifu 文昌玉局大夫) who had been ordered by Wenchang to deliver the preface.⁴¹ Du related that, since the Song dynasty, the Learning of the Way had been muddled (*Daoxue bu ming* 道學不明).⁴² In response, Wenchang had ordered the perfected officials of the Jade Bureau in tandem with immortal teachers to descend via the stylus to propound his teachings. The works of admonitions and lyrics (*xun ci* 訓詞) disseminated in this manner were no less than one million *juan*.

Of old, Du related, his friend Huang Chunyao 黃淳耀 (1605–1646) carved the *Zhengjiao lu* 正教錄 (Record of Correcting the Teachings).⁴³ Unstated, but likely known to mid-Qing readers, is that Huang was among the Classicist martyrs who died in Jiading county resisting the Qing conquest.⁴⁴ Positing Du Qiaolin as Huang's friend rendered the historical Peng Dingqiu's veneration of Du as a circuitous memorialization of the Jiading martyrs. Though

⁴¹ *Xu Zhishen lu, xu*, 1a–b.

⁴² This opening phrase echoed that of Peng Shaosheng's preface to the *Zhishen lu*: "From the point at which the Learning of the Sages lost its clarity the road connecting Heaven and Man was severed" 自聖學不明，而天人之路絕。Peng Shaosheng, ed., *Zhishen lu, xu*, 1a. Shaosheng in turn was alluding to the "Chu yu xia" 楚語下 chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語. I am indebted to Terry Kleeman for pointed out this allusion.

⁴³ The posthumous Du Qiaolin referred to Huang by his *hao* Tao'an 陶菴: *Xu Zhishen lu*, 26b–27a. It is likely that the *Zhengjiao lu* is the *Zhengjiao pian* provided to Shao Zhilin 邵志琳 by Peng Shaosheng and included in *j.* 45 of Shao's *Lüzu quanshu* (Complete Works of Patriarch Lü). See Lai Chi Tim, "Qingdai sizhong Lüzu quanshu yu Lüzu fuji daotan de guanxi," *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 42 (2013): 200.

⁴⁴ On Huang and the Jiading martyrs, see Jerry Dennerline, *The Chia-ting Loyalists: Confucian Leadership and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century China* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

the Qianlong emperor would rehabilitate the Jiading martyrs, memorialization of them had certainly been *verboden* in Dingqiu's day. Emissary Du continued to relate that, in the present Qing dynasty, Liu Tishu, edited *Wendi quanshu* and *Lüzü quanshu* after having collected the works of phoenix halls far and wide.⁴⁵ Zhu Gui then reengraved (*xu juan* 續鑄) the former of these works as *Wendi shuchao* while Peng Shaosheng, for his part, circulated the *Zhishen lu*.

As evidence of the moral reformation these works brought about in the world, Emissary Du claimed, in the present day the Sage Emperor himself esteemed and worshiped the Literary Thearch, who was now included in the register of sacrifices. Wenchang's official recognition resulted in turn in the broad dissemination of the salvific effects of spirit altar messages, causing Heaven and man to once again be connected. At this desirable stage philanthropists (*haoshan zhi shi* 好善之士) donated the funds to have the blocks of the *Xu zhishen lu* carved. Du placed the present collection on par with a penance ritual liturgy which he had transmitted to Peng Dingqiu in 1680, some hundred and sixty years earlier.⁴⁶

In his preface, Emissary Du thus set out a genealogy of spirit writing from the Song dynasty to the present day in which the Pengs played a major role. Emissary Du was on solid ground in portraying the Pengs as influential promoters of Wenchang devotion in the early and mid-Qing. More questionable is Emissary Du's granting of equal credit for the canonization of Wenchang to Peng Shaosheng as to Zhu Gui. Although an important personage in his own day, Shaosheng turned down the one official post ever offered him. Zhu, in contrast, served six decades in officialdom, including

⁴⁵ According to a subscript commentary in the 1775 *Wendi quanshu*, Liu's personal name was originally Tishu, but he changed it to Qiao and made Tishu his style name (*zi* 字): *j. 1: jiu xu* 舊序 22a. In his preface Emissary Du specified that Liu's personal name (*ming* 名) was Tishu.

⁴⁶ Due to confirmation in Dingqiu's *Shijiang gong nianpu*, I accept that the transmitted *Xinchan* liturgy (discussed above in note 26) is likely to be very close to that received by Dingqiu in 1680.

several of the highest posts possible.⁴⁷ The weight these two men brought to Wenchang devotion could not have been equal. Yet Emissary Du's formulation of such a claim helps us to place *Xu Zhishen lu* in a camp of devotees who admired not only Peng Dingqiu but the Changzhou county Pengs as a corporate entity.

As for the transcript of Dingqiu's own posthumous descent preserved in the *Xu Zhishen lu*, in his descent-via-the-brush (*jiang bi* 降筆) "Master Peng Nanyun" 彭南昫公 addressed the *Wenchang Xiaojing*.⁴⁸ Although the posthumous Dingqiu's endorsement of the *Wenchang Xiaojing* comes down to us in a séance transcript anthology, in terms of length and content it would have been perfectly suited to have served as a preface. As the historical Peng Dingqiu did compose a preface, we thus have a remarkable opportunity to compare how the historical and posthumous Dingqius treated the same text.

The historical Dingqiu's preface is collected in his prose anthology *Nanyun wengao*, and also appears as a preface to the *Wenchang Xiaojing* in later Wenchang compendia such as the 1775 *Wendi quanshu*. Following the conventions of the prose anthology, the *Nanyun wengao* version does not include a date, but the 1775 *Wendi quanshu* gives us the eleventh month of 1706. Although Dingqiu did not mention writing the preface in his autobiography, he did record that in the eleventh month of the year he collaborated with Cheng Zhonglong 程仲龍 (*zi* Ziyun 子雲) of Xiuning county, Huizhou prefecture, in raising funds for renovating the Venerating

⁴⁷ On Zhu Gui, see the entry by Li Man-Kuei in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943–44), 1:185–186 (hereafter ECCP).

On Zhu's role in vanquishing the clique of Qianlong's favorite Heshen, see the classic article by David Nivison, "Ho-Shen and His Accusers: Ideology and Political Behavior in the Eighteenth Century," in *Confucianism in Action*, ed. David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959), 209–43, as well as the more recent work by Wang Wensheng, *White Lotus Rebels and South China Pirates: Crisis and Reform in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), esp. 128–129 and 155.

⁴⁸ Posthumous Dingqiu termed the *Wenchang Xiaojing* *Wenchang chunxiao zhenjing* 文昌純孝真經 (Wenchang's Perfected Scripture of Pure Filiality) and specified that it was in six *juan*.

Scriptures Pavilion (Zunjing ge 尊經閣) at the Changzhou county school.⁴⁹ Thus the historical record matches perfectly with the *Wendi quanshu* dating.

The historical Dingqiu opened his preface by acknowledging the skepticism of “scholars of the day” (*shi ru* 世儒) toward the products of the spirit-writing altar. He dismissed their attitude, however, as attributable to an insufficient understanding of the affairs of the respective realms of the dead and the living and of reincarnation. Dingqiu drew on the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the Mean) and a chapter of the *Huashu* 化書 (Book of Transformation) to bolster his point.

As with most enthusiasts of the *Wenchang Xiaojing*, Dingqiu referred to the Han dynasty *Xiaojing* as the *Kongzi Xiaojing* 孔子孝經 (Master Kong's *Classic of Filial Piety*), thereby asserting an equivalence between the works.⁵⁰ In a comment revealing his conventional ideas towards the proper social order, Dingqiu characterized the *Kongzi Xiaojing* as describing the power of filial piety moving from “emperors and kings down to gentlemen and commoners.”

Although testifying to the importance of the *Wenchang Xiaojing*, Dingqiu acknowledged that he came to it relatively late in life. Yet he wished to immediately broaden its distribution 正欲廣為

⁴⁹ Peng Dingqiu, *Shijiang gong nianpu*, 67a. I deliberately translate *jing* as “scriptures” rather than as “classics” in order to highlight the way in which *jing* were sacred texts in “Confucian” as in any other context. On these library structures, see Timothy Brook, “Edifying Knowledge: The Building of School Libraries in Ming China,” *Late Imperial China* 17, no. 1 (1996): 93–119.

⁵⁰ The Qianlong reign *Kongzi Wenchang Xiaojing heke* 孔子文昌孝經合刻 (Combined carving of the Kongzi and Wenchang Classic of Filial Piety; 2 juan; 1 juan appended) is in Wu Ping 吳平, Li Shanqiang 李善強, and Huo Yanrong 霍艷蓉, primary eds., *Xiaojing wenxian jicheng* 孝經文獻集成 (Yangzhou: Guangling shu she, 2011), 16:10013–10032.

On the original *Xiaojing*, see William Boltz, “Hsiao ching 孝經,” in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley, CA: Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 141–153. For fascinating permutations in interpretations of the *Xiaojing* and the broader culture of filiality in the late Ming, see Lu Miaw-fen 呂妙芬, *Xiao zhi Tianxia: Xiao jing yu jinshi Zhongguo de zhengzhi yu wenhua* 孝治天下：《孝經》與近世中國的政治與文化 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan; Lianjing chubun shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2011).

流傳。In the edition for which he was composing a postface, Dingqiu explained, was a recutting 重刻 of the old text *Xiaojing* with accompanying commentary (*jiuben Xiaojing pang zhu* 舊本孝經旁注) by Dingqiu's old friend (*laoyou* 老友) Cheng Zhonglong.⁵¹

Posthumous Dingqiu based his credibility in asserting the profundity of the *Wenchang Xiaojing* on his own literary talents, which he contended had been unsurpassed when he was alive. He continued that the Supreme Thearch employed him as his sole representative of true filiality, showing his favor by specially sending an ambassador to Dingqiu from the Jade Bureau. His male descendants were still enjoying the vestigial remnants of this favor, as evinced in their success in the examinations.

The posthumous Dingqiu stated that as a youth he saw the commentary (*zhu* 注) on the scripture by Qiu Jun 邱濬 (1421–1495).⁵² The “commentary” being referred to is possibly a preface to the *Wenchang Xiaojing* attributed to Qiu Jun and dated 1492.⁵³ Posthumous Dingqiu's statement thus directly contradicted that made by the historical Dingqiu that he only saw the *Wenchang Xiaojing* late in life.

⁵¹ “*Wenchang Xiaojing* shuhou” 文昌孝經書後 (Postface to *Wenchang's Classic of Filial Piety*), NYWG, j. 12:1a–b; rpt.: 446. Dingqiu also mentioned Cheng in “Hankou mu bei shui huo er zai yin” 漢口幕備水火二災引 (Solicitation for Relief of Flood and Holocaust [Victims] in Hankou), NYWG 12:42.

⁵² Qiu's surname is also commonly written 丘. On Qiu Jun, see Lee Cheuk Yin 李焯然, *Qiu Jun pingzhuan* 丘濬評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2005). For a highly presentist biography with no mention of Wenchang devotion, see Wu Jianhua, *Mingdai jingshi ru chen: Qiu Jun* 明代經世儒臣: 丘濬 (Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2007). Although the characters for their names are the same, the author of the Qiu Jun biography should not be confused with the Wu Jianhua who recently prepared a punctuated edition of Wang Ao's collected works and who has also written extensively on the Peng clan.

⁵³ Along with a preface by the high official Wang Ao 王鏊 (1450–1524) also dated 1492, if authentic Qiu's preface would be the oldest claimed for the work. However, the earliest printed editions including these prefaces dramatically postdate the lifetimes of the purported authors, and no scholar has yet attempted to prove or disprove that Qiu or Wang actually wrote them. The work of Chinese University of Hong Kong doctoral student Hu Jiechen promises to clarify this and many other obscure points relating to late imperial Wenchang scriptures. For the *Wenchang Xiaojing* prefaces attributed to Qiu and Wang, see the 1775 *Wendi quanshu*, j. 5:3a–5a.

Thus, the historical Dingqiu:

- (1) Invoked through quotation a more venerable Wenchang scripture: the reliably Song dynasty *Huashu* rather than the later *Wenchang Xiaojing*, whose earliest prefaces claim to be from the mid-Ming. He also related it to one of Zhu Xi's Four Books, the *Zhongyong*, for a precedent of deeper antiquity and state-sanctioned (through the civil service curriculum) orthodoxy.
- (2) Provided a biographical anecdote explaining how he first encountered the work.
- (3) Identified the person who prepared the edition for which he was writing a preface.

As for the posthumous Peng Dingqiu, in place of item 1, he boasted of his own accomplishments and those he had secured for his descendants. In effect, by the time of the transmission a century or more after his death, Dingqiu himself had become all the classical precedent needed for a spirit-writing group to accept the legitimacy of the scripture. This process developed further in the two examples below, in which the compilation of entire scriptures was credited to Dingqiu. As for items 2 and 3, however, the posthumous Dingqiu essentially fulfilled them; a fact that speaks more to the generic conventions of preface writing than to an attempt to mimic his voice after his death. The biographical anecdote provided by the spirit altar Dingqiu directly conflicted with that provided by the historical Dingqiu, showing that the human receivers of the communication and those who selected this communication for publication did not feel the need to vet it against the published work of the historical Dingqiu. This is to say, even if the compilers of the *Xu zhishe lu* had read the historical Dingqiu's prose anthology *Nanyun wengao*, they did not model the posthumous Dingqiu to conform to the historical Dingqiu.

A subscript commentary following spirit altar Dingqiu's *Wenchang Xiaojing* preface provides valuable information on involvement by the Changzhou county Pengs in spirit-writing after Dingqiu's passing, and the extent to which the corporate involvement of the Pengs and their acquaintances was acknowledged in a mid-nineteenth century spirit-writing milieu. The

anonymous editor stated that Dingqiu, You Tong, Peng Sunyu 彭孫遜 (1631–1700), and Peng Ningqiu set up an altar and received teachings from Du Qiaolin and Huang Daozhou. All this is true: Peng family friend You Tong and Dingqiu's cousin Ningqiu have been introduced above. Peng Sunyu, for his part, hailed from Haiyan, Zhejiang, rather than Suzhou, but was treated as an uncle by Dingqiu. You Tong, Peng Sunyu, and Ningqiu all participated in Dingqiu's spirit altar in Beijing in the late 1670s after he achieved his twofold *optimus* distinction. In addition, when the high official Chen Yanjing 陳延敬 (1639–1712; 1658 *jinsbi*) of Zezhou, Shanxi, visited Suzhou, he too sought teachings at the altar.⁵⁴ All this is documented in Dingqiu's autobiography and verified in the literary anthologies of You Tong and Peng Sunyu. The anonymous author of the commentary thus revealed himself to have been well-informed about spirit-altar matters in the Kangxi reign.⁵⁵

A fuller work by the posthumous Dingqiu than that of his short statement on the *Wenchang Xiaojing* contained in the *Xu Zhishen lu* is the *Yuju gongguoge zhengzong* 玉局功過格正宗 (Orthodox Summation of the Jade Bureau Ledger of Merits and Demerits, 1889) (Illustration 2).⁵⁶ The nuances of the contents of this ledger itself are worth exploring in relation to the internal development of the genre.⁵⁷ Here I will confine myself to discussing

⁵⁴ Chen was Dingqiu's supervisor when Dingqiu first served in the Hanlin Academy. For Chen's biography, see ECCP 1:101. In *Shijiang gong nianpu*, Dingqiu claimed to be the printer of Chen's literary anthology *Wuting Wenbian* 午亭文編. The work, as reproduced in the *Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, 153:1–525, contains no trace of Dingqiu's involvement.

⁵⁵ *Xu Zhishen lu*, 3b–4a. The commentary continued that subsequent spirit-writing practitioners included Wang Jingming 王敬銘 and Dingqiu's grandson Peng Qifeng, both of whom, the editor noted, had portions of their spirit altar communications carved and distributed. To Wang and Peng Qifeng the editor attributed the fact that, down to the time of writing, spirit altars continued in Taicang county, Suzhou prefecture, among other places.

⁵⁶ 1 *ce*, 2 *juan* (上下), 1889, Zhejiang Library exemplar (普11639).

⁵⁷ The most significant work on the ledgers genre in English, Cynthia Brokaw's *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), ends with the eighteenth century. Of the twenty-two extant ledgers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries listed by Brokaw in her appendix (241–242), one likely contains material related to Peng Dingqiu: the *Jingxin lu* (preface 1746), on which see note 26 above.

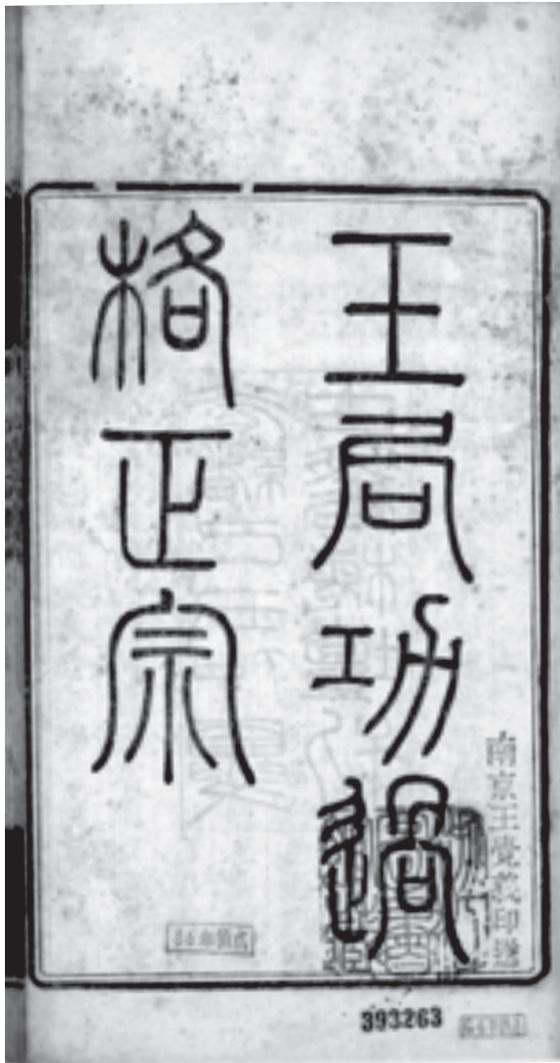


Illustration 2 Coverleaf of *Yuju gongguoge zhengzong* (Orthodox Summation of the Jade Bureau Ledger of Merits and Demerits). 1889 edition, Zhejiang Provincial Library exemplar.

paratextual elements related to the posthumous position of Peng Dingqiu. The *Yuju gongguoge zhengzong* contains five prefaces, none of which are dated and four of which (including those by Wenchang and Lü Dongbin) were spirit-written. The preface by Wenchang (Zitong yuanhuang dijun), explained that the work was that which “Peng Dingqiu of Changzhou [county] compiled-though-descending via the Plum Altar of the Ancient Layered Valley in Western Zhejiang [province].”⁵⁸ Wenchang was explicit about the role Dingqiu played as patron saint of the Plum Altar. He declared, “Master Peng’s merit was solid rather than superficial, so that the merit of the various disciples of the Plum Altar also has aspects which cannot be surpassed.”⁵⁹ The third preface is attributed to Nanping jidian 南屏濟顛 (d. 1209), the Southern Song monk who went by the clerical name Daoji 道濟 but was more commonly known as Jigong 濟公.⁶⁰ Jigong characterized the work at hand as “personally finalized by the Jade Bureau’s Peng Dingqiu,” a key element in setting it apart from the myriad other ledgers of merit and demerit which, with the quintessential phrase of print culture exhaustion, Nanping jidian described as being so numerous as to “make an ox sweat and fill a room to the rafters.”⁶¹

The first postface (*ba* 跋) following the ledger itself was by an apotheosized Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811–1872), the leader of the Hunanese Army to whom the turning of the tide in the Taiping Civil War is often credited. Zeng’s inclusion in the *Yuju gongguoge* a vivid reminder of the dramatic changes in the fortunes of the Qing empire since the Kangxi reign in which Dingqiu lived out the entirety of his adult life. By virtue of his greater seniority as a celestial official, Dingqiu outranked Zeng in the celestial bureaucracy as the *Yuju gongguoge* editors conceived of it.

Zeng’s postface was dated 1889 specified that it was delivered through descending to the Plum Altar. In it the posthumous Zeng

⁵⁸ “Zitong yuanhuang dijun xu” 梓潼元皇帝君序, *xu* 2a.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, *xu* 3a.

⁶⁰ On Jigong, see Meir Shahaar, *Crazy Ji: Chinese Religion and Popular Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998).

⁶¹ “Nanping jidian chanshi xu” 南屏濟顛禪師序, *xu* 4a.

explained that, although his loyalty and filiality while alive had been insufficient, after passing away he had humbly received a celestial post in the Cassia Palace (Guigong xianzhi 桂宮仙職). The title of the postface specified only slightly more precisely that Zeng served as Assistant of the Left (*zuofu* 左輔), which presumably made him second only to Wenchang himself. The preface was laid out like a memorial, with honorific spaces, line breaks, raised imperial titles, and the minister's own name in offset subscript. Zeng's memorial was delivered on the occasion of the completion of the ledger, which Zeng, after Dingqiu's late life moniker, termed the *Nanyun xiansheng gongguoge zhengzong*, and praised highly.

VII. Works Falsely Attributed to the Historical Peng Dingqiu (1): The *Yuanzi bidu shu* of 1800

Before considering works questionably attributed to the historical Peng Dingqiu, there is one falsely attributed work we must consider because portions of it were subsequently included in a historically questionable one. Specifically, the editorship and authorship of a portion of *Yuanzai bidu shu* 元宰必讀書 (The Must-Read Works of Optimi and Grand Secretaries, 1800) was claimed for the historical Dingqiu, and, as Sakai Tadao first pointed out, neither claim is tenable.⁶² Exploring why it is untenable compels us to provide a fine-tuned chronology of a complex of charitable activities in which the Changzhou county Pengs were intimately involved in the early and mid-Qing dynasty.⁶³

⁶² As did Sakai, I examined the three known editions of this work, those of 1800, 1839, and 1843. I am grateful to Hu Jiechen for providing me digital facsimiles of both the 1800 edition in the School of African and Oriental Studies Library exemplar, and of the privately held 1843 exemplar. I examined the exemplar of the 1839 edition held by the University of Chicago, Regenstein Library (1681 4234). I will cite the 1800 edition below, but the contents of the three editions as they relate to the present discussion are the same.

⁶³ On Peng lineage charitable activities, see Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, *Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū* 中國善會善堂史研究 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1997), esp. 166–167, 382–384; and Yau Chi-on, *Quanbua jinzhen: Qingdai shanshu yanjiu* 勸化金箴：清代善書研究 (Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin chubanshe, 1999), esp. 87–98. Among the works upon which Yua drew for his pioneering portrait of the Peng (Continue on next page)

Yuanzai bidu shu consists of what by the mid-Qing had become the triumvirate of morality books: *Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇 (Folios of the Most High on Action and Recompense), *Wenchang dijun guangxun dangui ji* 文昌帝君廣訓丹桂籍 (Expanded Instructions of Thearch Lord Wenchang's Vermillion Cassia Record; i.e., *Yinzhuwen*), and *Wudi jueshijin* 武帝覺世經 (The Martial Thearch's Scripture Awakening the World). A final section titled “Peng Ningzhi xiansheng za shuo” 彭凝祉先生雜說 (“Miscellaneous Disquisitions of Master Peng Ningzhi”) will be the focus of my discussion here (for a listing of what I will refer to as the “Peng Ningzhi disquisitions,” see Table 2).⁶⁴

The use of the “Ningzhi” to refer to Dingqiu requires comment, as it may be a flag indicating posthumous claim of authorship. The standard biographies give Dingqiu's cognomen (*zi* 字) as Qinzhi 勤止. Ningzhi was only infrequently used as an appellation for Dingqiu in his lifetime; interestingly, one of these few uses is by Dingqiu's fictional “uncle” Peng Sunyu. Sunyu participated in the spirit-altar Dingqiu ran in Beijing in the late 1670s, and recorded

(Note 63—Continued)

clan are ones such as the *Yuanzai bidu shu* and *Baofu queyan*, which I consider to be spirit-written.

Though Yua's work is often a model of bibliographic clarity in a particularly mine-laden field of study, in work first published between 1997 and 2010, Yau cited compositions attributed to Peng Dingqiu in the *Yuanzai bidu shu* without adequate attention to their historical authenticity. See Yau Chi-on, “Ming mo Qing chu gongguoge de shengxing ji shanshu suo fanying de Jiangnan shehui” 明末清初功過格的盛行及善書所反映的江南社會, in *Shanshu yu Zhongguo zongjiao*, 14; “Xiuxing zhe de huaxiang: Shanshu bi xia de Huang Zhengyuan yu Liu Shanying” 修省者的畫像：善書筆下的黃正元與劉山英, in *Shanshu yu Zhongguo zongjiao*, 26.

In correspondence between Yau and Sakai Tadao, Sakai cast doubt on the origin claims of the *Baofu queyan*. See Yau, *Shan yu ren tong*, 229–230; and “Shanshu jiedao yuan, daoyuan jie renyuan—wo de xuesi licheng” 善書結道緣·道緣結人緣——我的學思歷程, in *Shanshu yu Zhongguo zongjiao—You Zian zixuanji* 善書與中國宗教——游子安自選集 (Taipei: Boyang, 2012), xi.

⁶⁴ The 1900 edition of the *Yuanzai bidu shu* includes the triumvirate of morality books without the “Peng Ningzhi” disquisitions, demonstrating that, for one editor at least, “Ningzhi's” contributions did not figure among the “must reads.” This edition is reproduced in *Ming-Qing minjian zongjiao jing juan wenxian* 明清民間宗教經卷文獻 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1999), 10:475–491. Although the 1900 edition deserves attention, I will not discuss it further in this article.

his experience in part in his poetry anthology *Songgui tang quan ji* 松桂堂全集 (Complete Folios of the Cypress and Cassia Hall). In a 1678 New Year's Eve poem composed at the height of activity of the Beijing spirit-writing circle centered on the recently minted *optimus* Dingqiu, Sunyu referred to Dingqiu as “Ningzhi.”⁶⁵ Other morality books that gave Ningzhi as Dingqiu's cognomen include Huang Zhengyuan's *Yinzhuiwen tushuo* (discussed above), the 1775 *Wendi quanshu* (in the course of discussing the same Beijing spirit-writing circle in which Peng Sunyu had participated), and *Baofu queyan* (discussed below).

The first preface to *Yuanzai bidu shu* is by Ding Xu 丁煦 and dated 1800. Ding foregrounded the importance of the Changzhou county Pengs in the morality book milieu, but crucially, his first sentence stressed not the extent of the Pengs' good works, but the extent to which the Pengs' were *visibly rewarded* for them. Ding wrote, “Since antiquity those who cultivated virtue and who were protected and recompensed were many. Yet none flourished like the Peng clan of Changzhou county” 自古修德護報者多矣。未有如長洲彭氏之盛也。

Ding continued, “The lord, taboo name Dingqiu, cognomen Ningzhi, who proffered up this ledger of merits and demerits, tirelessly delighted in good works” 公，諱定求，字凝祉，奉《功過格》，樂善不倦。Ding characterized Dingqiu and Peng Qifeng's attainment of the twofold *optimus* degree as the “recompense of Heaven” (*Tian zhi bao* 天之報), continuing, “Both lords were recorded in the Literary Palace, in which they received great sacrifices and fragrant offerings. The scintillating splendence of [the Pengs'] superlative examination ranking continues uninterrupted to the present day. Of scholars within the seas there are none who do not envy them” 二公皆為注籍文宮，馨香奕禩。科甲熾盛，至今不絕。海內士林，無不豔羨。⁶⁶ Ding explained that the Peng clan continued to be rewarded for its good works through the examination success of latter-day members. As an example, Ding provided the most recent presented scholar

⁶⁵ I used the edition of *Songgui tang ji* contained in *Peng Xianmen quan ji* 彭羨門全集 (Shanghai: Saoye shanfang, 1911), j. 1:29b.

⁶⁶ Ding Xu, *xu* 1a.

from the Changzhou county Pengs, Dingqiu's fifth-generation descendant Peng Yunhui 蘊輝.⁶⁷ Yunhui had placed second on the Shuntian provincial exam in 1798, and taken his presented scholar degree the following year. Even in the absence of the 1800 exemplar of *Yuanzai bidu shu* held by the School of African and Oriental Studies Library, Ding Xu's provision of Peng Yunhui's name instead of other Peng clan members who achieved presented scholar degrees between 1798 and 1839 would have provided sufficient evidence of a Jiaqing era (1796–1820) edition of *Yuanzai bidu shu*, as the editors of the 1839 edition claimed.

Ding Xu stressed that all the success enjoyed by Dingqiu's descendants was due to Dingqiu himself: "The splendidness of all these men is in being the lord's family" 人皆以為華在公家.⁶⁸ In Ding's recounting, Dingqiu recited morality books ceaselessly, then wrote out a volume (*ce* 冊) by hand, which he then presented to people, inscribing the cover slip "Must-reads for *Optimi* and Grand Secretaries." Further explaining the title, Ding embellished that Dingqiu

once said to people: "One who does not read these will most certainly not be able to arrive at [the status of] *optimus* or grand secretary. Furthermore, since antiquity, as for the *optimi* and Grand Secretaries who have stood lofty in the heavens and erect on the earth, of those who [names and deeds?] perdure, there are none who did not exert themselves in this regard."

嘗與人曰：「非為讀此，盡可以致狀元宰相。而自古狀元宰相之磊落，軒天地卓乎不巧者，未有不從此用力也。」

Ding continued, "The lord also authored seven disquisitions on miscellaneous subjects, combined them [with the previously mentioned morality books], and had them printed in a slim volume" 公又著雜說七篇，一併彙鐫小本。⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ding erroneously wrote the *ri* 日 classifier for the *guang* 光 classifier in the character *hui*.

⁶⁸ Ding Xu, *xu* 1a.

⁶⁹ Ding Xu, *xu* 1b.

The first consideration in evaluating the claims made by Ding Xu in his preface is what occurred in the eighty years between Dingqiu's death in 1719 and Ding Xu's preface of 1800. Regarding the claims highlighted by Ding, the most important occurrences were Peng Qifeng's attainment of the twofold *optimus* distinction in 1727, and his subsequent rise to President of the Board of War (Bingbu shangshu 兵部尚書, 1763–66). To put it differently, before 1727 there was no *optimus* but Dingqiu among the Changzhou county Pengs, and until 1763 there were no grand secretaries in their ranks. The phrasing of the quote attributed to Dingqiu by Ding Xu does not strictly imply that Dingqiu predicted a further *optimus* and grand secretaries among his descendants, but the absence of such—and the boastfulness of such title—make its selection by Dingqiu implausible. Ding's account clearly sought to entice readers with the promise of obtaining a portion of the fortune of the Changzhou county Pengs: such was the motivation of the editors who chose the title.

In 1960, Sakai Tadao (1912–2010) first cast doubt on Dingqiu's editorship of the *Yuanzai bidu shu* on the grounds that the *Jueshijing* postdated the Kangxi reign in which Peng Dingqiu died.⁷⁰ In the 1999 expanded edition of his masterwork Sakai stated explicitly that the “Miscellaneous Discourses” were not by Dingqiu, but rather compiled by unknown others after his death.⁷¹ Sakai did not note, however, that the posthumous nature of Dingqiu's contributions to *Yuanzai bidu* has ramifications for the reliability of Yu Zhi's *Deyi lu* (on which see below), which contains two of the seven Peng Ningzhi disquisitions.

Here I will expand briefly on Sakai's original insights. First of all, Dingqiu's relationship with the *Jueshijing* requires further comment. As scholars such as Sakai, Yau, and Goossaert have discussed, the first reliable preface for this scripture is 1691 and the first printed edition appeared in the 1720s. This chronological window overlaps nearly exactly with the last three decades of

⁷⁰ Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, *Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū* 中國善書の研究 (Tōkyō : Kōbundō, 1960), 414–415.

⁷¹ Sakai, *Zōho Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū*, 2:193–194; see also 1:520–521.

Dingqiu's life, which means it is conceivable that the historical Dingqiu encountered the scripture. The important point, however, is that the grouping of the *Ganying pian*, *Yinzhi wen*, and *Jueshi jing* into a triumvirate was only a product of the mid-Qing.⁷² The historical Dingqiu could not have clustered the three together as did the "Peng Ningzhi" figure.

Two late Qing *Jueshi jing* anthologies claiming to be based on "original Suzhou Peng editions" (Gusu Peng shi yuanben 姑蘇彭氏原本) also deserve explanation. These two works are Li Gan's 李淦 *Jueshi jing tushuo* 覺世經圖說 from the Daoguang reign (1821–1850) and Pan En'gao's 潘恩誥 *Jueshi jing zhuzheng*⁷³ 注證 of 1850.⁷⁴ I have only seen the latter and will limit my remarks to it. Pan stated in his postface that his father first saw the work in 1806.⁷⁵ The latest internal date in the work is 1755,⁷⁶ which provides a fifty year window in the mid-Qing for the original production of this work. This period clearly has no bearing on the historical Peng Dingqiu. In addition, the phrase "original Suzhou Peng editions" did not claim editorship by a Peng patriarch, but only that a Peng patriarch had either sponsored the printing or simply owned the exemplar upon which the edition of 1850 was based.⁷⁷

⁷² For further discussion, see Goossaert, "Spirit Writing, Canonization and the Rise of Divine Saviors".

⁷³ A facsimile reproduction of the 1899 edition of the *Jueshi jing zhuzheng* by a "Mr. Wu" (Wu shi 吳氏) is contained in the *Zangwai daoshu*, 4:121–164.

⁷⁴ The claim of the *Jueshi jing tushuo* to be based on an original Peng edition was noted in Liu Wenxing 劉文星, "Guandi Jueshi zhengjing zhushi ben chutan: Yi Huang Qishu suo ji de san zhong Jueshi zhenjing wei li" 《關帝覺世真經》注釋本初探：以黃啟曙所輯的三種《覺世真經》為例, in *Jindai de Guandi xinyang yu jingdian: Jian tan qi zai Xin, Ma de fazhan* 近代的關帝信仰與經典：兼談其在新、馬的發展, ed. Wang Ch'ien-chuan 王見川, Soo Khin Wah 蘇慶華, and Liu Wenxing (Taipei: Boyang Wenhua Shiye Youxian Gongsi, 2010), 48n3. National Taiwan Library holds an exemplar of the work.

⁷⁵ *Jueshi jing zhuzheng*, 87b; fasc. rpd. 4:164.

⁷⁶ The 1755 date appears on p. 31b; fasc. rpd. 4:136.

⁷⁷ Lai Chi Tim considered a contemporaneous attribution to a previous Peng exemplar in the Ōtani University exemplar of the 1852 *Lüzu quanshu* (Complete Works of Patriarch Lü). See his "Qingdai sizhong Lüzu quanshu yu Lüzu fuji daotan de guanxi," 202–203.

Among the Peng Ningzhi disquisitions the two on the merits of distributing the *Wenchang Xiaojing* are most plausibly traceable to the historical Peng Dingqiu on the grounds that we have writing published in his lifetime in which he enthusiastically endorsed the scripture. Yet as we saw in above in the discussion of the explicitly spirit-written piece by Dingqiu in the *Xu Zhishen lu*, the historical Dingqiu's endorsement of the *Wenchang Xiaojing* enabled rather than limited posthumous commentary by the Dingqiu persona on that particular scripture.

Considering the “Discourse on Carving the *Classic of Filial Piety*” in the “Peng Ningzhi xiansheng zashuo” we might reasonably expect it to be an excerpt from Dingqiu's endorsement of the *Wenchang Xiaojing* contained in Dingqiu's own literary anthology. The historical Dingqiu did, in this case, write a well-distributed work aligning with the interests of the compilers of *Yuanzai bidu shu*. Yet neither of the two disquisitions on the *Wenchang Xiaojing* in “Peng Ningzhi Xiansheng zashuo” contain excerpts from the one reliable piece we have by the historical Dingqiu on the *Wenchang Xiaojing*.

As we saw above in the contrast between the compositions on the *Wenchang Xiaojing* by the historical and posthumous Dingqius, the writing of the historical Dingqiu was characterized by identification of personal contacts (“my old friend”), precise geographical locations, and particular names of editions. All of these conventions are absent in the two *Wenchang Xiaojing*-related Peng Ningzhi disquisitions. If we cannot find an overlap between compositions the historical Dingqiu wrote and those attributed to him in *Yuanzai bidu shu* on a topic he clearly addressed, how much more suspect are concepts he did not mention in his literary anthology, such as cherishing the written word and saving female infants from drowning?⁷⁸

⁷⁸ While I have been informed that there is an electronic edition of the *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* collection, which includes both Dingqiu's literary and poetry anthologies, I have not yet had access to them. Facsimile versions of both works are available in Google Scholar (reproducing the 1881 Peng Zuxian compendium edition in the Harvard-Yenching exemplars), but the accompanying digitization is so indifferent that one cannot rule out the inclusion of a word or phrase in the original text based on a search of this source alone. Nonetheless,
(Continue on next page)

VIII. Questionable Works Attributed to the Historical Peng Dingqiu

In posthumous attributions to Peng Dingqiu, the explicitly spirit-written material has been the easiest to place, while the false attribution of the *Yuanzai bidu shu* places a greater burden on scholars who would reject its historical authenticity. The picture becomes even more complicated, however, when we consider the *Deyi lu* 得一錄 (Record of Attaining [Goodness], 1869) by the Wuxi prefecture moralist Yu Zhi 余治 (1809–1874).

(Note 78—Continued)

this imperfect method, and the old-fashioned but time-tested one of actually reading the text, have failed to identify key words in the *Nanyun wengao* such as *xizi* and *jini* 濟溺.

On the discourse around female infanticide in the nineteenth century, see Michelle T. King, *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014). Ann Walmer discussed the practice in relation to high dowries in the Yangzi delta in “Infanticide and Dowry in Ming and Early Qing China,” in Kinney, *Chinese Views of Childhood*, 193–218. (Honolulu, University of Hawai’i Press, 1995). For an inadequate survey of the practice itself, see D. E. Mungello, *Drowning Girls in China: Female Infanticide since 1650* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). Mungello mentioned Dingqiu in connection with anti-infanticide agitation, but Mungello’s work is so error-ridden that it is difficult to recognize Dingqiu. Rather than researching the historical personage, Mungello followed his sources in referring to a “Peng Zhuangyuan,” as if “Zhuangyuan” were a proper name rather than the title *optimus* (a title which, in any case, is insufficient to distinguish between Dingqiu and his grandson Qifeng). Mungello also identified Dingqiu as “of the Zhangzhou District of Suzhou in Jiangsu Province,” a mistake for Changzhou county (there was no “Zhangzhou county” anywhere in Jiangsu). Mungello, *Drowning Girls*, 32 and caption to figure 2.14.

Mungello reprinted as figure 2.14 an illustration of Dingqiu captioned “The glory obtained by saving infants” (“Jiuying rongxian” 救嬰榮顯; the term *rongxian* deliberately resonated with the terminology of posthumous promotions for ancestors so important to Qing officials, and which constitute the first *juan* of three extant editions of the *Peng shi zongpu*). Following Palatre, Mungello identified the original Chinese source as *Guobao tu* 果報圖, one of the four volumes of a *Zhuyuan yuan* (Shanghai, undated), the original of which I have not yet identified. Reflecting his primary interest in the history of the Catholic Church, rather than tracing the illustration back to the Chinese original, Mungello reproduced the illustration from Gabriel Palatre, *L’infanticide et l’oeuvre de la Saint-Enfance en Chine* (Chang-hai [Shanghai]: La Mission Catholique, 1878), 70 and appendix 29. The permanent link of the Harvard Library exemplar of Palatre’s fascinating manuscript is <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/11927912?>

Yu has received significant attention from scholars in recent years due to his program for a gentry-led social reconstruction in the wake of the Taiping Civil War (1850–1864).⁷⁹ As major exemplars of the charitable mode of local elite leadership, the Changzhou county Pengs played a significant role in Yu Zhi's program as articulated in the *Deyi lu* (for a list of pieces by, attributed to, or mentioning Changzhou county Pengs the *Deyi lu*, see Table 3). In particular, Yu included three pieces attributed to Peng Dingqiu in his *Deyi lu*. The placement of two out of three of these compositions—those on cherishing the written word and releasing life—suggests that Yu presented Dingqiu as a locally legitimate patron of the practices. Yu Zhi's use of Dingqiu in these sections was analogous to the way in which he invoked Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052)—a Suzhou native and the paragon of gentry-local elite activist in the late imperial period—at the inception of the work as a whole.⁸⁰ Although less literally iconic than in Huang Zhengyuan's *Yinzhuiwen tushuo*, Peng Dingqiu also served in the *Deyi lu* as a patron saint. (Conversely, there are practices in the *Deyi lu* in which Changzhou Pengs engaged but for which Yu Zhi opted to promote other paragons.)

The pieces attributed to Peng Dingqiu in *Deyi lu* are on stopping female infanticide, establishing associations for releasing life, and cherishing the written word. Yu did not acknowledge it, but as Yau Chi-on has noted,⁸¹ the pieces on female infanticide and cherishing the written word are identical to those earlier included in the *Yuanzai bidu shu*. Given the posthumous attribution to Peng Dingqiu of the editorship of the *Yuanzai bidu shu* and the likelihood that at least several of the disquisitions attributed to

⁷⁹ See Yau, *Quan hua jin zhen*, 99–102; Tobie S. Meyer-Fong, *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), 21–63; and King, *Between Birth and Death: Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-century China*, 46–76.

⁸⁰ On Fan, see the classic article by James T. C. Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John Fairbank (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 105–131; as well as the more recent studies in Zhang Xiping 張希清, *Fan Zhongyan yan jiu wen ji* 范仲淹研究文集 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubashe, 2009).

⁸¹ Yau, *Quan hua jin zhen*, 93.

Peng Dingqiu in that work were not authored by the historical personage, we have to subject the compositions in the *Deyi lu* to scrutiny as well.

What makes the *Deyi lu* different from the *Yuanzai bidu shu* is that, unlike the unknown editor(s) of the former, Yu was a personal acquaintance of several of Dingqiu's descendants. As children Peng Weigao 慰高 (sixteenth generation) and Yu Zhi were both student of the Yuanhe county instructor Zhang Jiabin 張嘉賓 (*zi* or *hao* Yongxian 詠仙).⁸² In the eulogy (*mubiao* 墓表) Peng Weigao composed on Yu Zhi, Weigao analogized Yu's lifework to the gist of Peng Dingqiu's Classicist primer *Rumen fayu*. In addition, Yu included one piece on Peng lineage charitable practices that clearly did postdate Dingqiu: that on the home for chaste widows which was established by Peng Shaosheng (thirteenth generation) in 1773.⁸³ Yu Zhi also included several passages in which he praised the Pengs in a manner that revealed the extent to which he was implicated in the view of the lineage that Peng clan members in the mid-Qing wished to disseminate. For example, in his introduction to the exhortation to form societies for releasing life attributed to Peng Dingqiu, Yu wrote:

The master, personal name Dingqiu, and his grandson Qifeng, were both number one in the metropolitan and palace examinations. It was an extraordinary event for the entire Wu [Suzhou] region. Of the families of hereditary virtue in the prefecture of Suzhou, the Peng clan

⁸² Peng Weigao, "Liangxi Yu Jun mubiao" 梁溪余君墓表 (Grave Composition of Gentleman Yu of Wuxi), in Yu Zhi, *Zun xiaoxue ji* 尊小學集 (Folios on Esteeming Elementary Learning), *ce* 4: *mubiao* 1b–2a. Suzhou Library exemplar. Yu Zhi began to study with Zhang Jiabin in Jiaqing 22 at 9 *sui*. See Wu Shicheng 吳師澄, "Yu Xiaohui xiansheng nianpu" 余孝惠先生年譜 (Chronological Autobiography of Yu the Filial and Wise), *Zun xiaoxue ji*, *ce* 4: *nianpu* 2b.

Yuanhe county was created in 1725 from the eastern half of Changzhou county. It shared a county school and *yamen* with Changzhou county.

⁸³ The role of the Changzhou county Pengs in establishing homes for chaste widows in the Yangzi delta has been examined by Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, largely based upon material contained in the *Deyi lu*. See his *Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū*, and Angela Ki Che Leung, "To Chasten Society: The Development of Widow Homes in the Qing, 1773–1911," *Late Imperial China* 14, no. 2 (1993), esp. 11–12 and 17.

is foremost. For generations their family abstained from killing [living creatures]: therefore their success in the examination continued uninterrupted, so that even today they continue to thrive.

先生名定求，與孫啟豐，皆會狀聯元。為吳中盛事。蘇郡世德首惟彭氏。其家累代戒殺。故科第綿綿至今猶盛。⁸⁴

The similarity of Yu's characterization to Huang Zhengyuan's 1737 statement on Dingqiu and the Peng clan in the *Yinzhi wen tushuo* is remarkable. The only significant difference is the inclusion of "abstaining from killing," which is itself a flag that this practice took on greater importance for Dingqiu's descendants after his death than it had in his lifetime.

This brings us to the other major development that occurred in the interim between Dingqiu's passing in 1719, Ding Xu's 1800 preface to the *Yuanzai bidu shu*, and the publication of *Deyi lu* in 1869: the Changzhou county Pengs had become recognized by their literati-official and gentry peers as some of the most committed philanthropists in the realm. Indeed, by time Yu Zhi finally got around to publishing *Deyi lu* some six years after the Taiping occupation of Suzhou ended, the Changzhou county Pengs were past their Qianlong-Jiaqing era prime: they were a "brand" symbolizing gentry-led localist philanthropy as much as they remained a viable institution.⁸⁵

Dingqiu's prose anthology and autobiography provide ample evidence that he dedicated much of his long life to philanthropic acts. His commitments ranged from sponsoring printings, to constructing shrines to local worthies (including Jade Bureau emissary Du Qiaolin), as well as fund-raising on behalf of the county and prefectural schools. He was also an innovator in lineage organization, editing a new edition of the clan genealogy in 1704 and erecting an ancestral temple (*zong ci* 宗祠) in 1710. (Dingqiu did not, however, establish charitable schools or estates for the Changzhou county Pengs.)

⁸⁴ Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu*, 7:1a; rpt. 1:471.

⁸⁵ Paize Keulemans first suggested that I consider the Changzhou county Pengs as a brand.

Dingqiu's philanthropy was largely ad hoc. It was only after his grandson Qifeng rose to be one of the most powerful officials in the realm, from the 1730s to the 1760s, that the Changzhou county Pengs had the wealth, social prestige, and qualified personnel necessary to institutionalize lineage philanthropy. They did so in what appears to have been a largely successful campaign to persuade their peers that their good fortune was entirely deserved: if not on the basis of living members of the lineage, then on the basis of the past good works of their ancestors. On the ideological level, Qifeng's son Shaosheng was the clan's great propagandist.⁸⁶ In the time-honored Chinese fashion, whenever Shaosheng wished to justify a practice, he cited the precedent of a venerable ancestor. In the Qianlong period, Shaosheng's great-grandfather Dingqiu was his most venerable ancestor. Rather than treating Shaosheng as an expert on his own lineage to whom we should defer, we must regard his claims regarding Dingqiu with the skepticism due such an interested party.

In their 2007 article on the charitable activities of the Changzhou county Pengs, Ge Huiye and Wang Weiping asserted that the clan's first systematic philanthropy was the pool for releasing life (*fangsheng chi* 放生池). They stated that the practice began with Dingqiu at the Cultural Star Pavilion, but cited only the account by Peng Shaosheng,⁸⁷ who himself built a pool for releasing life in the Southern Garden (Nanyuan 南園) directly south of the Peng mansion. In addition to being motivated to identify an exalted ancestor, citing Dingqiu for precedent also lessened the Buddhist associations of Shaosheng's project.

I am not stating categorically that Dingqiu did not construct a

⁸⁶ After passing the metropolitan examination in the same class with one of his brothers, Qifeng called Shaosheng back to Suzhou before he could sit for the palace examination in order that he manage lineage affairs.

⁸⁷ Ge Huiye 葛慧曄 and Wang Weiping 王衛平, "Qingdai Wenhua Shijia cong shi cishan shiye de yuanyin: Yi Suzhou Peng shi wei li" 清代文化世家從事慈善事業的原因——以蘇州彭氏為例, *Suzhou keji xueyuan xuebao* 蘇州科技學院學報 24, no. 3 (2007): 96. For a transcription of Shaosheng's stele, see "Nanyuan fangsheng chi bei" 南園放生池碑, in Wang Guoping 王國平 and Tang Lixing 唐力行, primary eds., *Ming-Qing yilai Suzhou shehui shi beike ji* 明清以來蘇州社會史碑刻集 (Suzhou: Suzhou Daxue chubanshe, 1998), 446–447.

pool for releasing life at the Literary Star Pavilion, but if he did do so he did not place anywhere near the importance on it that his descendants did. In his historically reliable works Dingqiu did mention the releasing life practice at the Literary Star Pavilion: he stated that in 1663 his teacher Wu Yu 吳愉 (*zi* Jingsheng 敬生) convened a monthly meeting for the dual purposes of releasing living things and cherishing the written word.⁸⁸ In *Wenxing ge xiaozhi*, the two *juan* gazetteer on the pavilion that Dingqiu edited, he made no mention of such a pool, nor depicted one clearly in the accompanying illustration.⁸⁹ Furthermore, neither Dingqiu's literary anthology nor his autobiography include the phrases “ceasing [to eat meat and eating] vegetarian” (*duan hun* 斷葷) or “maintaining the precept on abstaining from killing [living creatures]” (*chi shasheng zhi jie* 持殺生之戒) attributed to him in *Deyi lu* disquisition on societies for releasing life. It is well known that Dingqiu resuscitated a vegetarian society inspired by the Tofu Society (Doufu hui 豆腐會) of late Ming Donglin Faction martyr Gao Panlong.⁹⁰ Yet, without evidence to the contrary, it is just as likely that the *Deyi lu* disquisition on societies for releasing life was an elaboration of Dingqiu's posthumous persona made plausible by his admiration for Gao Panlong, rather than an actual composition by the historical Dingqiu.

While nineteenth-century philanthropists and present-day scholars are correct in viewing Peng Dingqiu as a having been involved in philanthropic practices that became widespread in the nineteenth century, the nineteenth-century philanthropists who used Dingqiu's name went further by claiming that he practiced and advocated the exact practices that they did. In so doing, they blurred distinctions in the philanthropic movement between the

⁸⁸ “Wenxing ge xiuzao gongcheng ji,” in NYWG, *j.* 4:7a; rpd. 321.

⁸⁹ *Wenxing ge xiao zhi* 文星閣小志. The Shanghai Library holds the only known copy of this work (線善T368681); facsimile reproduction in Zheng Xiaoxia 鄭曉霞 and Zhang Zhi 張智, primary eds., *Zhongguo yuanlin mingsheng zhi congkan* 中國園林名勝志叢刊 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2006), 31:1–67. Dingqiu's printed compilation is preceded by a handwritten, unpaginated composition by Peng Qifeng titled “Mu xiu Wenchang ge yin” 募修文昌閣引, dated 1752.

⁹⁰ See, for example, the biography of Dingqiu in ECCP 2:617.

early and mid- to late Qing, as do present-day scholars who fail to distinguish between the respective oeuvres of Peng Dingqiu as historical personage and Peng Dingqiu as posthumous authority.⁹¹ In the most detailed and conceptually ambitious account of philanthropy in late imperial China, Angela Leung asserted the coherence of the mid-sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries as a comprehensive unit, in contrast to the greater influence of Protestant missionaries and increased emphasis on governmental order in the philanthropic works produced during and after the Taiping Civil War.⁹² Leung also argued that during the Qianlong reign the Buddhistic motivation of “universal salvation” (*puji* 普濟) that had motivated philanthropists since the late Ming was replaced by a “Confucianization” (*Ru jia hua* 儒家化).⁹³ While I largely accept Leung’s periodization, I argue that Dingqiu’s location in the Kangxi period and the popularity of his representation in both the mid- and late Qing make him an ideal tool with which to further hone our periodization of late imperial philanthropy.

In terms of the larger trends within the genre of morality books evident in the material related to Dingqiu, the *Baofu queyan* 保富確言 (Sure Words on Protecting Wealth, 1903) reflects the trend since the mid-Ming of ever more blatant promises of rewards to those who follow the teachings in these works.⁹⁴ The *Baofu queyan*

⁹¹ It is tempting to characterize the posthumous Peng Dingqiu as a celestial official only, but several of the sources considered did not portray him in this light. Rather, they stressed his worldly dedication to good works and rewards received both in his lifetime (examination success, officeholding, progeny) and continuing on after his passing (continued progeny).

⁹² Ki-Che A. Leung 梁其姿, *Shishan yu jiaohua: Ming-Qing di cishan zuzhi* 施善與教化：明清的慈善組織 (Taipei: Linking, 1997), 1–2.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹⁴ The edition that I consulted is that of the *Leshan she* 樂善社 (Delighting in Goodness Society) morality book compendium *Zhenben shanshu* 珍本善書 (Rare Editions of Morality Books) of approximately 1940. It is included in volume 19, *Peng Ningzhi xiansheng zashuo*, the only independent printing I have encountered of the works that, as discussed above, originally followed the *Ganying pian*, *Yinzhi wen*, and *Jueshi jing* in *Yuanzai bidu shu*.

In a fascinating discussion of views on the permissibility of accumulating wealth and advice for both disseminating and preserving it, Yau described the 1903 edition of the *Baofu queyan* published by the Weijing tang 維經堂 on Celestial Peace Street (Tianping jie 天平街) in the city of Guangdong (Yangcheng

(Continue on next page)

claimed to have been authored (*zhu* 著) by Peng Dingqiu, whom, as with the *Yuanzai bidu shu* and portions of the *Yuju gongguo ge*, it referred to by the rare-in-his-lifetime cognomen of Ningzhi. According to the preface, at the time of authorship Dingqiu was a licentiate (*shengyuan* 生員), which was the window between his passing of the county licentiate examination (*tongzi shi* 童子試) in 1661 at seventeen *sui* and 1672 at twenty-eight *sui* when he passed the provincial examination after two failures and earned the elevated scholar degree.⁹⁵

Baofu queyan included sixteen methods for accumulating virtue and preserving one's wealth. In Yau's summary, these included refraining from lasciviousness, cherishing living beings, providing relief in years of drought, establishing charitable schools, distributing herbal remedies, and printing and disseminating morality books. The Dingqiu persona drew particular attention to the lack of charitable infrastructure in towns and villages, and expressed his hopes that wealthy families would share their medicinal salves and herbal pills with villagers, as well as establish foundling homes beyond those already extant in large cities.⁹⁶

IX. Falsely Attributed Works (2): The 1906 Creation of a Kangxi Era *Daozang jiyao* in Context

The *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Essentials of the Daoist Canon) was edited by Jiang Yupu 蔣予蒲 (*zi* Yuanting 元庭; *jinsi* 1781; 1756–

(Note 94—Continued)

羊城). The 1903 edition claimed to be a recarving (*chongke*). Yau also cited further works drawing on the *Baofu queyan* from 1929 to 1941, and reproduced a cover leaf in his *Quanhua jinzhen*, 232.

Following the Peng Ningzhi disquisitions in the Leshan tang edition of *Baofu queyan* are brief treatises titled “Chengjia shi fu” 成家十富 (Securing the Family: Ten [Practices] for Wealth) and “Baijia shi qiong” 敗家十窮 (Losing the Family: Ten [Practices] for Poverty), discussed in Yau, *Shan yu ren tong*, 231–232. The two treatises are anthologized in Xu Zi 徐梓, ed., *Jia xun—fuzu de dingning* 家訓：父祖的叮嚀 (Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 1996). Xu assigned the title to these works “Zhijia geyan” 治家格言 (Aphorisms on Controlling One's Family), 364–368.

⁹⁵ Yau, *Shan yu ren tong*, 232.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 231, citing *Baofu queyan*, 6, 13b, and 16b.

1819), a former *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Works of the Four Treasuries) proofreader (*jiaoguan* 校官) and acquaintance of several Changzhou county Pengs in the fourteenth lineal generation (that of Peng Shaosheng's nephews and Qifeng's grandchildren). Jiang selected some two hundred works from the Ming Zhengtong era Daoist canon and added roughly one hundred more derived from spirit-writing altars in the Qing to create the most important Daoist canon of the Qing dynasty.

Beginning in the late 1890s, He Longxiang 賀龍驤 compiled an expanded edition of Jiang's massive compendium on the basis of a printed exemplar of Yan Yanfeng 嚴雁峰 stored in Sichuan. The resulting work, the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* was published in 1906 by the Two Immortals Cloister (Erxian'an 二仙菴) in the Black Ram Palace (Qingyang gong 青羊宮) in Chengdu, Sichuan. In his preface, He Longxiang claimed that there was an original edition of the *Daozang jiyao* compiled by Peng Dingqiu. He stated, "We express our gratitude to the Premier of our dynasty, Peng Dingqiu, who compiled the *Daozang jiyao*" 我朝彭定求相公，撰《道藏輯要》一書，為世稱快。⁹⁷ He continued, "Unfortunately, the table of contents of the original collection stops short of recording the number of fascicles and does not provide a detailed listing of their contents" 惜原書〈總目〉，只載卷數，未列子目。⁹⁸

In a separate composition, He Longxiang elaborated:

As for the *Daozang jiyao* compiled by the Minister of State Peng Dingqiu, it is partly derived from the [Ming] imperial edition [of the Daoist Canon] and partly from bookshops' current editions. Although the content of these current editions was genuine and refined, they were not included in the Daoist Canon.

⁹⁷ "Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian xu" 重刊道藏輯要子目初編序 (Preface to the Detailed Table of Contents of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*). This and the following translations from He Longxiang, as well as the punctuating of the Chinese original, is from Monica Esposito, "The Discovery of the Jiang Yuanting's *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan: A Presentation of the Daoist Canon of the Qing Dynasty" In Kunio Mugitani, ed., *Kōnan dōkyō no kenkyū*. (Kyoto: Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo), 79–110.

⁹⁸ He Longxiang, "Chongkan Daozang jiyao zimu chubian xu" 重刊道藏輯要子目初編序 (Preface to the Detailed Table of Contents of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*), 20a, Kanripo database edition of the *Daozang jiyao*, JYP17 01a020a.

相國彭定求所編《道藏輯要》，出於頒行本者半，出於坊間本者亦半。雖坊本亦皆純正精粹，然非《道藏》所有。⁹⁹

As Monica Esposito has observed, He Longxiang twice mentioned Peng Dingqiu as editor and referred to him by the titles of Xianggong 相公 and Xiangguo 相國. In a third composition, also dated 1906, He Longxiang again employed the title Xiangguo, but this time with the name of Peng Wenqin 彭文勤, writing, “When I heard that the Erxian’an was reediting the *Daozang jiyao* of the Minister of State Peng Wenqin, my heart was full of admiration” 聞二仙菴重刊相國彭文勤《道藏輯要》，心輒慕之。¹⁰⁰ As Esposito has noted, Wenqin was not a moniker for Peng Dingqiu, but rather was a posthumous name (*shi* 諡) for his grandson Qifeng.¹⁰¹ Yet, despite the presence of not only Peng Dingqiu but also his great-grandson Peng Shaosheng in certain works contained within the *Daozang jiyao*, He Longxiang’s attribution to Dingqiu of editorship of the entire canon was not only erroneous, it backdated the work by over a century.

The He Longxiang misattribution, however, has had a great impact in scholarship on the *Daozang jiyao* and bibliography of Peng Dingqiu. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豐 (1916–1979) voiced doubt regarding the Peng Dingqiu attribution in the 1950s, as did Liu Ts’un-yan in a 1973 article.¹⁰² Yet the misattribution was

⁹⁹ He Longxiang, “*Qinding Daozang quanshu zongmu xu*” 欽定道藏全書總目序 (Preface to the Catalogue of the Imperial Edition of the Daoist Canon), 1b, JYC1101p001b.

¹⁰⁰ He Longxiang, “Jiaokan Daozang jiyao shuhou” 校勘道藏輯要書後 (Postscript to the Collation of the *Daozang jiyao*), 17b, JYP1601p0176.

¹⁰¹ Esposito, “Discovery of the Jiang Yuanting *Daozang jiyao* in Jiangnan,” A Presentation of the Daoist Canon of the Qing Dynasty,” 9–10.

¹⁰² Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豐, *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo chosaku shū* 吉岡義豐著作集 (Tokyo: Gogatsu Shobō, 1988), 149; and Liu Ts’un-yan, “The Compilation and Historical Value of the Tao-tsang,” in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, ed. Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973), 107–108, esp. 107n19. For the former citation, I am indebted to Mori Yuria 森由利亞, “*Dōzo Shūyō to Shō Yobu no Roso fukei shinkō*” 《道藏輯要》と蔣予蒲の呂祖扶乩信仰 (The *Daozang jiao* and Jiang Yupu’s planchette-writing cult to Patriarch Lü), *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 no. 98 (2001): 49–52.

continued in the most influential history of Daoism compiled in the post-Cultural Revolution period, Qing Xitai's 卿希泰 four volume *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史 (History of Chinese Daoism).¹⁰³ In a brief 1996 preface to a reprinting of the *Daozang jiyao*, Qing insisted on the existence of an original edition edited by Peng Dingqiu, though he offered no additional supporting evidence.¹⁰⁴ Qing Xitai's great prestige as the dean of Daoist Studies in the PRC ensured that the He Longxiang misattribution was accepted in numerous reference works in Chinese, Japanese, and English.¹⁰⁵ Esposito's detailed bibliographical studies of the *Daozang jiyao* have established with certainty that there was never any Kangxi era *ur* edition compiled by Peng Dingqiu, but the weight of bibliographic inertia and the embracing of the Peng Dingqiu theory as an article of faith by elements of the mainland Daoist community make a quiet death for the misattribution unlikely.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Qing Xitai 卿希泰, ed., *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史, rev. ed. (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996), 4:453–454.

¹⁰⁴ Qing Xitai, “Chongkan daocang jiyao suoyin benxu” 《重刊道藏輯要》縮印本序, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 2 (1996): 1–2.

¹⁰⁵ An unsigned entry for “Chongkan *Daozang jiyao*” identified Peng Dingqiu as the original editor in Wu Feng 吳楓 and Song Yifu 宋一夫 primary eds., *Zhonghua dao xue tongdian* 中華道學通典 (Haikou: Nanhai chuban gongsi, 1994): 1231. An unsigned entry on “Peng Dingqiu” in the *Zhongguo daojiao dacidian* credited Dingqiu with editorship of a 169 text edition of the *Zhongguo daojiao dacidian* 中國道教大辭典, ed. *Zhongguo daojiao dacidian* bianji weiyuan hui 《中國道教大辭典》編輯委員會 ([Taizhong]: Dongjiu qiye youxian gongsi, 1996): 1124. The same encyclopedia's entry on the *Daozang Jiyao* (1201–1202) credits Dingqiu as the first editor (p. 1202).

In contrast, Wang Ka's 王卡 entry on the *Daozang Jiyao* in the *Zhonghua daojiao dacidian* mentions only the Jiang Yupu edition: Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, primary ed., *Zhonghua daojiao dacidian* 中華道教大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe: Xinhua shudian jingxxiao, 1995), 230. Elena Valussi's entry on “Peng Dingqiu” in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* noted both sides of the attribution debate without offering her own verdict: see Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *Encyclopedia of Taoism* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2008), 784–785. Yet if Pregadio did not consider Dingqiu the editor of an original version of the *Daozang jiyao* there was little reason to include him in the *Encyclopedia*, especially considering that more important Qing editors such as Liu Tishu were omitted.

¹⁰⁶ Qiang Jinwu 強金武, primary ed., *Qingyang Gong Chuanqi* 青羊宮傳奇 (Beijing: Zongjiao Wenhao Chubanshe, 2012), 146–147, is an example of a Daoist institution in Chengdu continuing to propagate the fallacy of an original Kangxi edition edited by Peng Dingqiu. A counterexample is the Daoist priest–Daoist

(Continue on next page)

Here I will limit my remarks on the He Longxiang misattribution to three considerations:

(1) He Longxiang did not pick the name of a celebrated Qing literati at random. The contents of the *Daozang jiyao* contained evidence of a consistent interest in Daoist devotional activities from among the Changzhou county Pengs from the early to mid-Qing (ninth to thirteenth generation). That is to say, Dingqiu's 1710 reprint of the mid-Ming Inner Alchemical primer *Zhenquan* 真詮 (Perfected Commentaries) stated that the work was much respected by his father Peng Long; Dingqiu's own name appeared in the Kangxi era Suzhou spirit-writing transcripts collected in *Yuquan*, which Peng Shaosheng (thirteenth generation) edited.

(2) The above-documented popularity of the celestial official Peng Dingqiu on spirit altars in and beyond the Yangzi delta kept his name in circulation long after his passing. He Longxian did not resurrect Dingqiu some 186 years after his death: as a celestial official Dingqiu had never died.

(3) In addition to Peng Dingqiu's consistent presence in mid- and late Qing spirit altars and their published collections, there is another factor in He Longxiang's choice that scholars have yet to consider. This is that a major funder of the expanded Er'xian edition of the *Daozang jiyao*—Peng Hanran 彭翰然 of Xinjin 新津 county near Chengdu—was surnamed Peng.

The genealogical record on Sichuan is slight, but the gazetteer record is considerable. The *Xinjin xian zhi* 新津縣志 (Xinjin County Gazetteer, 1686) records a Peng Guan 彭瓘 who, after obtaining the presented scholar degree in the Ming Zhengtong reign, served as magistrate in Nanchang, Jiangxi province.¹⁰⁷ Even if Nanchang is in

(Note 106—Continued)

studies scholar collaboration Li Hechun 李合春 and Ding Changchun 丁常春, eds., Li Yuanguo 李遠國, advisor, *Qingyang Gong Erxian'an Zhi* 青羊宮二仙庵志 (Chengdu: Chengdu dongjiang yinwu youxian gongsi, 2006), in which only the Jiang Yupu *Daozang jiyao* is mentioned in the text, although the accompanying footnote politely directs the reader to Qing Xitai's *Zhongguo daojiao shi*.

¹⁰⁷ *Xinjin xian zhi* 新津縣志, 7a; facsimile reproductions in *Sichuan fu zhou xian zhi* 四川府州縣志, ed., Gugong Bowoyuan 故宮博物院編, vol. 1 and *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊, vol. 20 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), 122. Peng Guan's name does not appear in the section on Ming dynasty examination successes (*ke di* 科第): 13a; rpd. 125.

northern Jiangxi and the Qingjiang area to which the Changzhou county Pengs traced their ancestry is in the south, a magistrate would have been likely to have been aware of a significant branch of the same surname in the same province. At least one Changzhou county Peng did serve as an official in Chengdu during the immediate post-Taiping Civil War period. But no direct communication in recent history with the Changzhou county Pengs would have been necessary for the Xinjin county Pengs to have considered members of the Changzhou county lineage as their relatives: by sharing a common surname all were considered to have a common ancestor. As Maurice Freedman (1920–1975) wrote more than half a century ago, “In an agnatic system with a small number of surnames, genealogy widely distributed the benefits of honors individually acquired.”¹⁰⁸

He Longxiang’s naming of Peng Dingqiu as original editor choice was predicated on Peng Dingqiu’s fame after achieving the *optimus* degree and his continued relevance in the spirit writing and morality book milieu upon apotheosis, but He’s selection of Dingqiu could well have been a canny move in courting Peng Hanran’s sponsorship as well. The considerations need not be mutually exclusive. Just as in his preface to the edition of *Zhenquan* contained in the Erxian’an edition of the *Daozang jiyao* Peng Dingqiu presented his sponsorship of the recarving of the woodblocks as a filial act of continuing his father’s intention, so He’s claiming of Peng Dingqiu as the original editor of the *Daozang jiyao* would have made it possible to pitch a contribution by Peng Hanran as a filial act in the broad sense of the shared familiarity of surnames across the empire.

X. Conclusion

The preceding survey of works posthumously attributed to Peng Dingqiu offers a unique window into the Chinese style of apotheosis. Certainly it is widely recognized within the field of

¹⁰⁸ Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: Athlone Press, University of London, 1958), 54.

Chinese Religions that deities commonly have their origins in historical or quasi-historical persons. Individual examples that have received significant scholarly attention include: the Three Kingdoms general Guan Yu 關羽,¹⁰⁹ the supposed Tang dynasty presented scholar Lü Dongbin,¹¹⁰ the Southern Song monk Daoji,¹¹¹ and the elusive Ming dynasty recluse Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐.¹¹² While Guan Yu and Daoji were both historical individuals, the historicity of Lü and Zhang is dubious. Relatively scant historical materials on Guan Yu and Daoji have given rise to continuous posthumous elaborations, some ranging quite far from the historical sources. In the cases of Lü Dongbin and Zhang Sanfeng, any historical personage who may have once gone by these names became entirely subsumed to a complex of characteristics attributed by later beliefs to the cultic object.

In the case of Peng Dingqiu, believers in his posthumous manifestations were more constrained in that which they could attribute to him. The same factors that made him an attractive figure to invoke increased the posthumous force of the historical persona: to wit, his success in the civil service examinations; service to the Kangxi emperor; pivotal role in a rich and powerful family; ties to many of the prominent men of his day; literary renown; and so on. Latter-day invokers of Dingqiu's name such as He Longxiang need not to have gotten the biographical particulars right in order

¹⁰⁹ B. J. ter Haar, "The Rise of the Guan Yu Cult: The Daoist Connection," in *Linked Faiths: Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, ed. Jan A. M. DeMeyer and Peter M. Engelfriet (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183–204.

¹¹⁰ Katz asserted, "For the purposes of this study, which focuses on his cult, the question of Lu's [*sic*] existence is irrelevant and attempts to provide a definitive answer, fruitless." Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 53. Katz conceded that there was possibly a historical Lü Yan who was a present scholar of the Tang, but, as with Seidel's Zhang Sanfeng, whatever historical person might have once existed had been long obscured by hagiographic redirection (p. 53).

¹¹¹ Shahar, *Crazy Ji*.

¹¹² Anna Seidel, "A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. William Theodore and the Conference on Ming Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 483–531.

to have imbued their own endeavors with the glory accumulated by the historical Dingqiu.

The quality of documentation of Dingqiu's terrestrial and posthumous existences provides the opportunity to observe a case of apotheosis in real time. Doing so provides insight into the way in which overlapping aspects of the persona of historical figures endured and mutually reinforced one another after death. In this article I have emphasized Dingqiu as an icon of the terrestrial rewards of Wenchang devotion. Yet he also lived on as a revered ancestor, a Classicist paragon, and a literary figure. All these aspects and more contributed to making him someone who remained relevant to a diverse group of people in diverse locales after his death. What more could the historical Dingqiu have wished for?

Table 1 Works by, received by, or attributed to Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719) discussed in this article

Title	Role attributed to Peng Dingqiu	Earliest date of publication or last entry of manuscript	Produced by historical Peng Dingqiu, explicitly spirit-written, or dubiously or falsely attributed
<i>Nanyun shi gao</i>	Author	Preface 1708	Historically reliable
<i>Shijiang gong nianpu</i>	Author	Manuscript; includes material circa 1720	Historically reliable
<i>Nanyun wen gao</i>	Author	Preface 1726	Historically reliable
<i>Zhishen lu</i>	Descending spirit	Preface 1773	Explicitly spirit-written
“Peng Ningzhi xiansheng zashuo” in <i>Yuanzai bidu shu</i>	Author	1800	Likely spirit-written
<i>Xu Zhishen lu</i>	Descending spirit	Preface 1842	Explicitly spirit-written
Three compositions attributed to Dingqiu in Yu Zhi, ed., <i>Deyi lu</i>	Author	1869	Likely spirit-written (on the basis of previous inclusion in <i>Yuanzai bidu shu</i>)
<i>Yuju gongguoge zhengzong</i>	Descending spirit	1889	Explicitly spirit-written
<i>Baofu queyan</i>	Author	1903	Likely spirit-written
<i>Chongkan Daozang jiyao</i>	Editor of original Kangxi reign edition	1906	Falsely attributed

Works are arranged chronologically by date of publication or last entry in manuscript.

Table 2 The Peng Ningzhi disquisitions attributed to Peng Dingqiu in *Yuanzai bidu shu* (1800)

“Shi shuo” 師說 (The Disquisition on Teachers)
“Zhiyu san shuo” 窒欲三說 (Three Disquisitions on Obstructing Desire)
“Xizi shuo” 惜字說 (Disquisition on Cherishing the Written Word)
“Aiwu shuo” 愛物說 (Disquisition on Loving Sentient Beings)
“Kan <i>Xiaojing</i> shuo” 刊孝經說 (Disquisition on Printing [Wenchang’s] <i>Classic of Filial Piety</i>)
“Guang <i>Xiaojing</i> shuo” 廣孝經說 (Disquisition Extrapolating on the <i>Classic of Filial Piety</i>)
“Jini Shuo” 濟溺說 (Disquisition on Saving the [female infants who would otherwise be] Drowned)

Table 3 Pieces by, attributed to, or mentioning Changzhou County Pengs in Yu Zhi, ed., *Deyi lu* (1869)

Author	Title	Page Numbers	Notes
Peng Dingqiu (attributed)	“Peng Nanyun dianzhuan jini shuo” 彭南畝殿撰濟溺說	2: 26a–b (1: 155–156)	In <i>Yuanzai bidushu</i> , as “Jini shuo”
	“Jingkou Jingjie tang fangxing Peng shi Xuli hui” 京口敬節堂仿行彭氏恤嫠會	3.2: 1a–3b (1: 219–224)	
Yu Zhi	“Jiuhuang fubao” 救荒福報	5: 19a (1: 385)	Yu characterized the Pengs of Suzhou as one of exemplarily charitable clans of the realm
Peng Dingqiu (attributed)	“Peng Nanyun Xiansheng Quanju fangsheng hui shuo” 彭南畝先生勸舉放生會說	7: 1a–b (1: 471–472)	
Jiang Yuan 江沅 (1767–1838)	“Suzhou Peng shi fangsheng chi guiyue” 蘇州彭氏放生池規約	7: 2b–3a (1: 474–475)	
Yu Zhi	Postscript to “Shang jie hui gui yue” 賞節會規約	7.3: 3a (1: 511)	
Peng Dingqiu (attributed)	“Peng Nanyun xiansheng xizi shuo” 彭南畝先生惜字說	7.2: 1a–b (2: 829–830)	In <i>Yuanzai bidu shu</i> as “Xizi shuo” 36b–38a
Yu Zhi	“Jingjieshui jilue” 敬節會紀略	16.4: 10a–b (2: 1109–1110)	Yu described the Changzhou prefecture Association for Cherishing Chastity (Jingjie hui) as having been modeled on the Changzhou county Pengs’ Xuli hui.

Based on the Dejian zhai edition in the facsimile reproduction of *Zhongwen shuju* (Taipei, 1969).

一位多產的神祇：彭定求死後乩壇上的天官職業生涯，1720–1906

羅丹寧

摘要

本文分析三種類型的清初文人死後產生的作品：通過乩壇所授的；聲稱為前人所著但其真實性值得懷疑的；明顯是託名的。

探討的中心人物是康熙十七年(1676)曾中二元(會試殿試都第一)的彭定求。定求出生於長洲縣(今蘇州)的名門望族之一。從康熙十五年(1674)以來，司掌科舉功名的文昌帝君頻頻降於定求的家中。定求刊行所收到的乩文以後，劉體恕、黃正元、朱珪等編輯者把這些文獻收入了清中後葉最重要的文昌信仰集成中。

定求去世以後，很快就以新的天官身份開始親降在江南的乩壇中。降乩的過程中他所親授的道德訓誡，和他在世時從自己的乩壇上所收到的那些來自成神儒生降乩的乩文非常相似。而他死後的作品，也在四川和北京等地廣泛流傳。

拙作認為，定求在科舉上的成功，被其孫——同樣獲得二元的彭啟豐——進一步放大，加之定求也推崇扶乩，因而獲得了「祖孫狀元」的定求和啟豐名聲顯赫，使得彭家尤其是彭定求在十九世紀晚期的扶乩團體中備受推崇。在比較了彭定求生前的著述和死後的降乩作品之後，筆者試圖展示出從清初到清末善書預設的讀者群體有了顯著的擴張。

關鍵詞：彭定求 (1645–1719)、扶乩、文昌帝君、狀元