關羽的祖先與後裔: 以山西常平關帝祖祠為中心*

黄壯釗 香港中文大學歷史系

三國武將關羽(約160-220)以忠勇聞名於世,身後世人祭祀不輟,歷代王朝也不斷加封爵位,加之戲曲小説等的傳誦,使得關羽崇拜不斷普及,廟宇遍佈天下。因此,學者對關羽信仰一直關注,從信仰的發展變化¹、神話與傳說²、宗教文書³等諸多方面展開研究。然而,現有的研究較少考慮關羽信仰在地方社會的發展脈絡。另一方面,研究區域社會史的學者已有豐碩的成果。他們關注神明信仰在地方的發展

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比如井上以智爲:〈關羽祠廟の由來並に變遷〉、《史林》第26卷第1號(1941年1月)、頁41-51;第2號(1941年4月)、頁50-83;黃華節:《關公的人格與神格》(臺北:臺灣商務印書館、1967年);胡小偉:《關公崇拜溯源》(太原:北嶽文藝出版社、2009年)。

² 參看 Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47, no. 4 (November 1988), pp. 778–95; 洪淑苓:《關公民間造型之研究——以關公傳説為重心的考察》(臺北:國立臺灣大學出版委員會,1995年); 李福清:〈關公傳說與關帝崇拜〉,載李福清(著)、李明濱(編選):《古典小説與傳説》(北京:中華書局,2003年),頁61–110。

³ 例如胡小偉:《燮理陰陽:〈關帝靈籤〉祖本考源及研究》(香港:科華圖書出版公司,2005年);游子安:〈明中葉以來的關帝信仰:以善書為探討中心〉,載王見川、蘇慶華、劉文星(編):《近代的關帝信仰與經典:兼談其在新、馬的發展》(臺北:博揚文化事業有限公司,2010年),頁3-46;游子安:〈敷化宇內:清代以來關帝善書及其信仰的傳播〉,《中國文化研究所學報》第50期(2010年1月),頁219-53。

變遷,從而得以瞭解國家制度與地方社會互動的過程。⁴本文借鑒這種研究視角,以 山西常平關帝祖祠的歷史為中心,討論地方社會變遷脈絡下關羽信仰所關涉到的制 度、禮儀及群體利益等問題。⁵此外,由於建築物的演變是地方社會變遷的重要象 徵,⁶因而本文也探討關帝祖祠在建築結構上的改變,並分析這種變化所體現的意義。

Guan Yu's Ancestors and Descendants: A Case Study of the Changping Guandi Temple in Shanxi Province

(Abstract)

Huang Zhuangzhao

The Changping Guandi Temple in Shanxi province was only a small village temple which did not gain attention of the local authorities before mid-Ming. In order to extend their power to the south of the salt lake where the temple stood, the local officials rebuilt the temple and brought it into the official sacrifice system during the mid-Ming era. This changed the traditional way of sacrifice, which was under the influence of Buddhism since the Jin dynasty, and also offered an opportunity to reconstruct the local culture. Since the end of the Ming dynasty, the local officials, intellectuals, and villagers cooperated actively, hoping that Changping could become as important as Queli (hometown of Confucius) in Shandong. They knew well about the changing of the national etiquette system and used the etiquette as a tool for the purpose of benefits for the local society, which can be seen through the following activities: the "discovery" of the grave of Guan Yu's grandfather, the rewriting of Guan Yu's father's and grandfather's stories, and the request of investiture for Guan Yu's ancestors in late Ming and early Qing. Coordinating with the change of etiquette system, the architectural pattern of the Changping Temple changed at the same time. The local officials rebuilt the temple to fit the national norm in the mid-Ming. After being recognized by the court, the local officials set up a new hall to worship Guan Yu's ancestors during the mid-Qing period. Besides, because the national worship for Guan Yu required his own posterity, who could thereby benefit much through the policy in the Qing dynasty, some people began to declare that they were Guan Yu's descendants. To obtain and sustain their special status, they built an ancestral hall, compiled the genealogy, and attended related sacrifice activities. Such changes of the architecture and the sacrificial ritual reflect the use of the national etiquette system and the transformation of the local society.

關鍵詞: 山西 關帝 祖先 後裔 地方社會

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