East Asian Landscapes and Legitimation

Localizing Authority Through Sacred Sites in China and Vietnam

Yasmin Koppen

Frank & Timme

Yasmin Koppen
East Asian Landscapes and Legitimation

Yasmin Koppen

East Asian Landscapes and Legitimation

Localizing Authority Through Sacred Sites in China and Vietnam

Frank & Timme
Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Umschlagabbildung: Sacrificial Building at the Tomb of Emperor Minh Mạng (r. 1820–1841) in Huế © Yasmin Koppen

ISBN 978-3-7329-0943-8
ISBN E-Book 978-3-7329-9004-7

© Frank & Timme GmbH Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur
Berlin 2024. Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

Das Werk einschließlich aller Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechts-
gesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlags unzulässig und strafbar.
Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen,
Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in
elektronischen Systemen.

Herstellung durch Frank & Timme GmbH,
Wittelsbacherstraße 27a, 10707 Berlin.
Printed in Germany.
Gedruckt auf säurefreiem, alterungsbeständigem Papier.

www.frank-timme.de

A dissertation to the Faculty of East Asian Studies at the Ruhr-University Bochum 2022, formerly titled “East Asian Landscapes and Legitimation: Localization Tactics of Political and Religious Authorities in China and Adjoining Empires”

Contents

Abbreviations **13**

Chinese and Vietnamese Dynasties **14**

Sacred Site Glossary **17**

Preface **21**

Acknowledgments **24**

Introduction **29**

How to Read This Book **51**

1 Landscapes and Legitimation **55**

1.1 A History of Spatial Turns 55
1.2 The Spatial Communication of Power 59
1.3 Ideology Across Borders 63
1.4 Transregional Rule in the Sinosphere 69
1.5 When Religions Expand 74
1.6 Architecture Beyond Borders — Temples as Territorial Markers 87

2 Spatial Sanctity in Human Experience — Methods of Analysis and Interpretation 103

2.1 The Constitution of Sacred Sites 107
2.2 The Experiential Factor of Architecture 113
2.3 The Reuse, Resilience and Sharing of Sacred Sites 118

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

3 How to Conduct Experiential Architecture Analysis 131

4 A Typology of Reconfiguration Tactics 157

4.1 Reconfigurations of Structure 157
4.2 Reconfigurations of Representation 168
4.3 Reconfigurations of Media 179

5 Water, Legitimacy and Representation 191

5.1 Ideas of Water Control 196
5.2 Hydrolatry in China and Beyond 207
5.3 Hydrolatry in Buddhism 225
5.4 The Sichuanese, Their Hydrolatry and the Chinese Empire 234
5.5 The Hydrolatry of Vietnam 247

6 Hydrolatric Sites in Sichuan, Vietnam and the Defense Against Chinese Imperial Assimilation Politics 273

6.1 How Buddhists Treated Hydrolatric Sites in Colonized Vietnam 276
6.2 The Role of Hydrolatric Sites in the Vietnamese Buddhist State System 279
6.3 The Role of Hydrolatric Sites for the March to the South 282
6.4 How Buddhists Engaged with Hydrolatric Sites in Sichuan 288
6.5 The Treatment of Hydrolatric Sites by Imperial Authorities in Sichuan 291
6.6 The Superscription Mode of Guanyin Culture 299

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

7 The Consequences of Ideology Transfer for Political Dis-/Integration 319

7.1 Annexing a Territory 320

7.2 Resisting Annexation 327

8 Conclusion 337

9 Sources and Literature 355

10 Appendix 379

V.1. The Tứ Pháp Temple Complex and the Traces of the Buddhist State System 379

V.1.1. The Tứ Pháp System and the Bắc Ninh Temple Complex 384

V.1.2. The Tứ Pháp Temple Complex 391

V.1.2.1. The Other Temples of the Complex 402

V.1.2.2. Temples Associated with the Complex 408

V.1.2.3. The Written Sources about Man Nương and the Tứ Pháp 413

V.1.2.4. The Historical Contextualization of the Tứ Pháp Sites 435

V.1.2.5. The Reconfigurative Analysis: Vietnamese Reconfiguration Tactics 441

V.1.2.6. Evaluation: An Umbrella System for Local Hydrolatry 444

V.2. Lý Thường Kiệt and the Buddhist Expansion 453

V.2.1. Vietnamese Buddhism Until the Early Imperial Era 454

V.2.2. How Vietnamese Buddhism Occupied Hydrolatric Sites ... 467

V.2.3. The Imperial Use of Buddhist Sites as Territorial Markers 471

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

V.2.3.1. The Lý Thường Kiệt Memorial Shrine 478
V.2.3.2. The Written Sources About Lý Thường Kiệt's Use of Buddhism 482
V.2.3.3. The Historical Context of Proselytizing and Expansion 492
V.2.4. The Decline of State Buddhism 498
V.3. Imperialization and Neo-Confucianization in Vietnam 501
V.3.1. The Context of Late Imperial Vietnam — An Ideological Turn 502
V.3.1.1. How to Create a Confucian State System 510
V.3.1.2. The Imagined Past 514
V.3.2. Governing Two Realms (1627—1777) 517
V.3.3. Statehood in the Nineteenth Century and the Loss of Independence 525
V.3.3.1. Ideological Development Under the Nguyễn Dynasty 526
V.3.3.2. A Question of Loyalty 531
V.3.4. The Imperial Expansion Towards the South 534
V.3.4.1 Who were the Cham? 535
V.3.4.2. Reassigned Cultural Imperialism 540
V.3.4.3. The Last Days of Champa 544
V.4. Placing Women in Việt Society 550
V.4.1. The Rise of Vietnamese Confucianism 551
V.4.2. Women, Water and the Impact of Confucianism in Vietnam 556
V.4.3. Feminine Religion 561
V.4.3.1. The Traits and Development of Đạo Mẫu 564
V.4.3.2. Đạo Mẫu as an Integrative Movement 568
V.4.3.3. The Heterodoxy of Women, Water and Trade 570
V.4.3.4. Đạo Mẫu as a Counter Movement 575
V.4.3.5. The Effects of Đạo Mẫu on Hydrolatric Sites 577

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

V.5. Transcendental Representatives of the Empire 578
V.5.1. Zhenwu — a Failed Consolidating Deity in Đàng Ngoài .. 580
V.5.2. Consolidating Cultural Identities in Đàng Trong 586
V.6. Transforming Cham Hydrolatric Sites 598
V.6.1. Pô Nagar — A Multi-functional Goddess 598
V.6.2. Pô Nagar as a Hybrid Deity: Thiên Y A Na 天依阿那 610
V.6.3. Conjuring Unity with a Transformed Pô Nagar:
The chùa Thiên Mụ 天姥寺 618
V.6.3.1. The Thiên Mụ Site in Context
with Written Sources 629
V.6.3.2. The Historical Context:
From Cham Sanctuary to National Symbol 649
V.6.3.3. A Quest for Thiên Mụ's Identity 655
V.6.3.4. Reconfigurative Analysis and Maps:
An Evolution of Sacred Identity 659
V.6.3.5. Thiên Mụ and the Locked Room 663
V.6.3.6. Who Are You, Thiên Mụ? Thiên Mụ's Role for
Cultural Integration in National Politics 669
V.7. The Story of Ma Yuan in the Hou Hanshu 676
S.1. The Making of Sichuan Province 678
S.1.1. The Separate Dynasties of Sichuan 678
S.1.1.1. An Exemplary Minister of Sichuan 680
S.1.1.2. An Exemplary Emperor of Sichuan 685
S.1.1.3. An Exemplary Sage of Sichuan 688
S.1.2. Sichuan in the Ming Dynasty 明朝 (1368—1644) 693
S.2. The Buddhist Occupation of Hydrolatric Sites in Sichuan 701
S.2.1. Numinous Springs:
Case Studies of the Northern Central Area 709
S.2.1.1. The Qinquan-si 琴泉寺 of Santai 三台 711
S.2.1.1.1. Monks in Rags and Imperial Feasts 718
S.2.1.1.2. The Reconfigurative Analysis of
the Qinquan-si 733

S.2.1.1.3. The Historical Context: Resisting the Sweet Spring Palace 737
S.2.1.2. Other Northern and Central Numinous Spring Temples 742
S.2.2. Making a Buddha Land in Sichuan: Case Studies from the Eastern Area 761
S.3. The Imperialization of Hydrolatry in Late Imperial Sichuan 771
S.3.1. The Southwestern Policies of the Qing Dynasty 776
S.3.2. The Imperial Transformation of Chuanzhu 川主 Worship 787
S.3.2.1. The Early History of Chuanzhu Worship 789
S.3.2.2. Using Chuanzhu Worship to Integrate the Non-Han 796
S.3.3. Serpents and Dragons: Southern Sichuan and the Mahu Area 799
S.3.3.1. Claiming the Mountain of Inspirited Trees: Written Sources for Old Mahu 806
S.3.3.2. The Historical Context: The Chinese Empire Reaches Mahu 817
S.3.3.3. An Economic Integration Strategy for Late Imperial Mahu 821
S.3.3.4. The Modern Framing of the Hailong-si 826
S.3.3.5. The Reconfigurative Analysis of the Hailong-si: Pingjing Guanyin and the Invisible Other 830
S.3.3.6. Questions of Identity 835
I. Meng Huo and Zhuge Liang 835
II. The Water Deity of the Hailong-si 838
III. The Hailong-si and the Yi 846

You can find the attachment as a download via QR code or at the following link: www.frank-timme.de/site/assets/files/6890/appendix.pdf

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

List of Illustrations

[Img. 1] Map of Sichuan Province (China) and Vietnam in their modern locations. Created with d-maps.com 26

[Img. 2] Map of the Sichuan province (China) created with d-maps.com 27

[Img. 3] Map of Vietnam created with d-maps.com 28

[Img. 4] The three spheres of a site's social aspects 110

[Img. 5] The layers of spatial imagination 112

[Img. 6] An example for the observable secondary character of later Daoxiongbao halls due to their placement 306

[Img. 7] The layout of the contemporary Pháp Vân Temple 380

[Img. 8] The layout of the contemporary Man Nương Temple 381

[Img. 9] The layout of the contemporary Pháp Lôi Temple 382

[Img. 10] The layout of the contemporary Pháp Điện Temple 383

[Img. 11] The đền thờ Lý Thường Kiệt in October 2018 481

[Img. 12] Historical Layouts of the Thiên Mụ Temple Site from 1307 to 1655 660

[Img. 13] Historical Layout of the Thiên Mụ Temple Site, 1715 661

[Img. 14] Historical Layouts of the Thiên Mụ Temple Site from to 1846 to 1907 664

[Img. 15] Historical Layouts of the Thiên Mụ Temple Site from 1957 to 2018 665

[Img. 16] Layout of the Qinquan-si in 2018. Triangles mark the grottoes 712

[Img. 17] The Qinquan-si before 1814 729

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

[Img. 18] Side elevation of the Bishui-si, Mianyang, Sichuan, as of 2016 746
[Img. 19] Layout of the Shengshui-si, Mianyang, Sichuan, as of 2016 752
[Img. 20] Layout of The Hailong-si 海龍寺 of Mahu, 2016 802

[Tab. 1] A Chart of Toponyms Used to Find Relevant Sites of Hydrolatry 146
[Tab. 2] A Selection of Popular Rituals for Spiritual Water Control ... 206
[Tab. 3] Positive and Negative Traits of Snakes in Sinitic Mythology 217
[Tab. 4] A Comparison of the Indigo Snake Narrative Variants 845

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Abbreviations

AT	Aarne-Thompson Index.
CIG	Common Interest Group.
DNNTC	*Đại Nam Nhất Thống Chí* 大南一統志 [C].
DVSKTT	*Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* 大越史記全書 [C].
HYCD	*Gudai Hanyu Cidian* 古代汉语词典 Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 2009.
HYGZ	*Huayang Guozhi* 華陽國志 [C].
LNCQ	*Lính Nam Chích Quái* 嶺南摭怪 [C].
LNCQLT	*Lính Nam Chích Quái Liệt Truyện* 嶺南摭怪列傳 (EFFEO A. 33 edition) [C].
LXT	Stele Inscription of chùa Linh Xứng of Ngưỡng Sơn 仰山靈稱寺碑銘.
PDB	Buswell and Lopez. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*.
PM	Placed Material.
RNIS	Regulatory-Normative Institutional Sphere.
SES	Social-Experiential Sphere.
STX	*Santai Xianzhi* 三台县志 [C].
SWBJ	*Shuwang Benji* 蜀王本紀 [C].
TUTA	*Thiện Uyển Tập Anh* 禪苑集英 [C].
TPQ	Terminus post quantem.
VSL	*Việt Nam Sử Lược* 越南史略 [V].
ZLMZZ	*Zhili Mianzhouzhi* 直隸綿州志 [C].

Chinese and Vietnamese Dynasties

Timeline with selected rulers according to their appearance in the text. Mythical dynasties and rulers in cursive.

China		Vietnam	
Xia	*2200—1600 BCE*	*Hồng Bàng Dynasty*	*2879—258 BCE*
Shang	1600—1046 BCE		
Western Zhou	1046—771 BCE		
Eastern Zhou	770—256 BCE	Đông Sơn	1000 BCE—1 CE
Kaiming Dynasty	*666—316 BCE*	*_Âu Lạc*	*257—179 BCE*
Warring States	475—221 BCE	*An Dương Vương* 安陽王	
Qin Dynasty	221—207 BCE		
Han Dynasty	202 BCE—9 CE	Nam Việt	204—111 BCE
	25 CE—220 CE	Zhao Tuo 趙佗 (r. 203—137 BCE)	
Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 BCE—49 CE)		**Jiaozhi (Occupation)**	**111 BCE—905 CE**
Three Kingdoms	220—280 CE		
Shu-Han Dynasty	221—263 CE		
Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181—234 CE)			
Jin Dynasty	265—420 CE		
Northern and Southern Dynasties	386—589 CE		
Sui Dynasty	581—619 CE		
Sui Wendi 隋文帝 (r. 581—604)			
Tang Dynasty	618—907 CE		
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	907—960 CE	Autonomous Phase	905—939 CE
Former Shu	907—925 CE		
Wang Jian 王建 (847—918)			
Later Shu	934—965 CE		

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

China		Vietnam	
Song Dynasty	960—1279	Ngô Dynasty	939—968 CE
Song Taizu 宋太祖 (r. 960—976)		Đinh Dynasty	968—980 CE
Song Renzong 宋仁宗 (r. 1022—1063)		Earlier Lê Dynasty	980—1009
Song Huizong 宋徽宗 (r. 1100—1126)		Later Lý Dynasty	1009—1224
_ Liao	916—1125	Lý Thái Tổ 李太祖 (r. 1009—1028)	
_ Jin	1125—1234	Lý Thái Tông 李太宗 (r. 1028—1054)	
_ Southern Song	1126—1279	Lý Thánh Tông 李聖宗 (r. 1054—1072)	
		Lý Nhân Tông 李仁宗 (r. 1072—1128)	
		Lý Anh Tông 李英宗 (r. 1138—1175)	
Yuan Dynasty	1279—1368	Trần Dynasty	1225—1400
Da Xia	1362—1371	Trần Thái Tông 陳太宗 (r. 1226—1258)	
Ming Yuzhen 明玉珍	(1331—1366)	Trần Nhân Tông 陳仁宗 (r. 1278—1293)	
Ming Dynasty	1368—1644	Hồ Dynasty	1400—1407
Hongwu Emperor 洪武 (r. 1368—1398)		Ming Occupation	1407—1427
Yongle Emperor 永樂 (r. 1402—1424)		Later Lê Dynasty	1427—1778
Xuande Emperor 宣德 (r. 1425—1435)		Lê Thái Tổ 黎太祖 (r. 1428—1433)	
Jiajing Emperor 嘉靖 (r. 1521—1567)		Lê Thánh Tông 黎聖宗 (r. 1460—1497)	
Wanli Emperor 萬曆 (r. 1572—1620)		Nguyễn Hoàng 阮潢 (1525—1613)	
		_ Mạc Dynasty	1527—1627
		_Trịnh & Nguyễn Lords	1627—1777
		_Đàng Ngoài	1627—1789
		Lê Huyền Tông 黎玄宗 (r. 1654—1671)	
		__Đàng Trong	1627—1744
		Nguyễn Phúc Trăn 阮福溱 (r. 1687—1691)	
		Nguyễn Phúc Chu 阮福淍 (r. 1691—1725)	
Qing Dynasty	1644—1911	Tây Sơn Dynasty	1778—1802
Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (r.1661—1722)		Nguyễn Dynasty	1802—1883
Yongzheng Emperor 雍正 (r. 1723—1735)		Gia Long 嘉隆 (1762—1820)	
Qianlong Emperor 乾隆 (r. 1735—1799)		Minh Mạng 明命 (r. 1820—1841)	
Jiaqing Emperor 嘉慶 (1796—1820)		Thiệu Trị 紹治 (r. 1841—1847)	
		Tự Đức 嗣德 (r. 1847—1883)	

China		Vietnam	
Republic	1912—1949	French Colonial Reign	1858—1954
		Đồng Khánh 同慶 (r. 1885—1889) Thành Thái 成泰 (r. 1889—1907). Khải Định 啟定 (r. 1916—1925) Bảo Đại 保大 (r. 1926—1945)	
PR China	Since 1949	SR Vietnam	Since 1945

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Sacred Site Glossary

This glossary provides the most important categories of sacred sites in China and Vietnam that contain at least one building. In the Chinese language, the categories are usually presented as suffixes, in the Vietnamese language, they are presented as prefixes. Not included are numinous places without constructions, like lakes or riversides. Terms like *dong* 洞 "caves/grottos" or *lin* 林 "forests" may either serve *as* temples — containing icons and shrines — or to refer to the temples contained inside such places.

Temple Categories in China

gong 宮	A closed space with multiple worship options, usually without a central tablet/icon.
miao 廟	A singular building or architectural complex with multiple worship options and a central tablet/icon.
ci 祠	Originally a single shrine, later also an architectural complex, dedicated to ancestors and deified persons. Although everybody can establish a *ci*, their objects of worship are commonly tied to imperial orthodoxy.
si 寺	A term for a government office that is used to refer to Buddhist temples after the Han dynasty. It is at times used for temples of other religions as well.
guanyuan 觀院	After the Han dynasty, this term for a pavilion on a platform began to refer to Daoist temples and monasteries. Both characters may occur as an independent suffix and *-yuan* alone may refer to individual courtyards inside larger architectural complexes or to governmental courts.

ting 亭 — A freestanding pavilion with a square, round, hexagonal or octagonal base that may contain a sacred object or stele. Inside a temple complex they may be empty. The *ting* originated in freestanding huts which, like the *lu*, served as resting stops for travelers. Older examples had no walls to preserve the view into the landscape, but later variants that housed objects did.

an 庵 — A small, roofed shrine with or without walls and a square or round base. It is commonly freestanding, placed in nature as a wayside shrine. Occasionally, the *an* is associated with female deities, female worship, and female practitioners. As such, the suffix may denote a nunnery.

lu 庐 — Originally referred to a funeral hut, then to shelters for traveling scholars along popular routes, of which some turned into wayside shrines.

Some architectural units are used inside temple complexes but may also occur independently:

dian 殿 — The *dian* is the basic unit to compartmentalize complex buildings. In a religious context, it is a hall that contains at least one shrine or altar, but may contain several more in a hierarchical order. This sometimes refers to religious spaces adjacent to nonreligious buildings.

tang 堂 — A main hall in various types of architecture.

ge 閣 — A pavilion or pagoda with a room and possibly a sacred object at its base.

tan 壇 — A high platform which serves as an altar, originally made from stamped earth, later also from ceramics and bricks.

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Temple Categories in Vietnam

chùa A prefix usually referring to a Buddhist temple. It originally described the *tháp* 塔 "stupa" and is used instead of *tự* 寺. Chinese temple names ending in *-tự* 寺 that did not actually refer to a Buddhist place are marked in modern Vietnamese with the prefix *đền*. Due to Buddhism's strong influence on Vietnamese history, any temple can be called *chùa*.

công This small and narrow site is often rendered in Chinese as *gong* 宮 because of its similar structure and function. *Công* rarely contain more than a single icon or group of icons and are common in Đạo Mẫu sites.

đền This category encompasses all shrines not associated with other organized religions. Because the entities venerated here are often heroes or ancestors, *đền* are commonly rendered as *ci* 祠 in Chinese text, but nature spirits are also venerated with imperial framing. In Chu Nôm, the characters 𡨸 or 殿 are used to represent this term.

đình Although rendered as *ting* 亭 and sometimes *ding* 庭 in Chinese text, the *đình is* completely different from the Chinese structures. It is a communal house in the center of each village, characterized by an extremely wide platform, that is dedicated to local deities and ancestors. The *hậu cung* 後宮 "back hall" of larger *đình* contains the main shrine.

miếu The Sinitic *miao* 廟 is used for sacred sites of Chinese association. However, the northern *miếu* are commonly also dedicated to the spirits of mountains, water and earth, preferably established in remote areas or at the back of a village. For most of the year they are left alone to not to disturb possibly malevolent nature spirits. In the south, the term refers to very small (<10 m^2) places of worship similar to *đền* or *am*. Small wayside shrines for local and nature spirits may also be called *miễu*.

am	Correlates to the Chinese term *an* 庵. Small, simple shrines in free nature mostly used by Buddhist nuns and dedicated to hungry ghosts, the tutelary deities of small settlements and Buddhas.
điện	Although rendered as *dian* 殿 in Chinese script, in contrast to China, these sites are larger than *miếu*, but smaller than *đền*. They are established communally or privately, originally for Daoism inspired worship. Later, Đạo Mẫu, Buddhism and regional cults also have used this category.
phủ	Rendered as *fu* 府 or *fu* 婦 in Chinese text, this is a greater temple and pilgrimage destination of Đạo Mẫu, usually located outside of urban and settled areas. The oldest known *phủ* date from the seventeenth century. In Thanh Hóa, a đền may also be called *phủ*.
nghè	A transposed temple used for a new settlement, related to an ancestor of an older village or if the main temple of a cult is hard to reach. The oldest known *nghè* date to the seventeenth century.
quán 觀	This is usually a Daoist temple just like in China, but can also be a site of a popular religion.
văn chỉ 文址	This is a small Confucian temple built by literati to propagate imperial ideology. A simple and small site that is not normally visited by the common people outside of events.

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Preface

In the spring of 2011, while conducting field research for my Master's thesis, I came across the Longmafutu Temple 龍馬負圖寺 in Mengjin, roughly forty minutes by car from Luoyang. The "Dragon Horse" (*longma* 龍馬) is a reference to classical Chinese mythology. Officially, the temple was presented as Confucian. Arriving there, I perceived multiple disharmonies regarding that claim — the presence of drum and bell towers, the color of the roof tiles, and the relationship of building sizes, which were in contradiction to their placement. A large Fuxi Hall was in the center, and at the end of the central axis, there was also a great hall dedicated to the Three Emperors.[1] My impression of the mismatch was confirmed when I discovered an undecorated hall in the temple's west side which contained the entire ensemble of icons that one would actually expect of a Buddhist temple — certainly not from a Confucian one. Rarely, Buddhist icons may find their way into Confucian temples but an entire ensemble in one room was highly unusual, so this warranted further investigation. My research showed that this site had been established as a Buddhist temple in the fourth century CE. About thousand years later, in the 1560s, Neo-Confucians officially claimed the site, so Buddhists and Neo-Confucians were obliged to use it simultaneously. Since then, the temple has switched multiple times the suffixes that identified it as either a Buddhist or a different type of Chinese temple. The Neo-Confucians were determined to change the site's perception, but the Buddhist religious practices continued to be more relevant for the local population. The full switch of the temple's official alignment thus only occurred after a temporary desacralization in the twentieth century. However, contemporary practice within the temple continues to favor Buddhist and popular content.

It was the fascinating history of the Longmafutu Temple's destruction, reconstruction, and reinterpretation that ignited my interest in the dynamics of claims and spatial markings as they point to changes of ideological dominance, religious practice, and political control.

1 Here: The Yellow Emperor Huangdi, the Flame Emperor Yandi and the cultural deity Fuxi.

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

I found that similar events to those in the Longmafutu Temple's history have occurred worldwide: like the rededication of Latin American pyramids or Mesopotamian temples; the protection or destruction of former Buddhist sites by Muslims in Central Asia; the polysemantic use of St. George churches in Israel, or the Christian occupation of Roman temples, synagogues, and especially of healing springs in Ireland and Germany. This made me aware of the discrepancies in historical sources, especially between material-physical evidence, text evidence, and religious behavior as described or observed. I found that architecture reflected very well the discrepancies between religious practice and historiography. This eventually led to my research questions.

I wanted to know what kinds of change led to such rededications. Who benefited from rededications, how were they carried out, and how did they affect local cultures? All these questions led me to examine the possible differences between local and transregional religious ideas, practices, politics, and their interactions in relation to spatiality. "Transregional" refers here to individuals and ideas that transcend specific geographical boundaries, carrying with them both tangible and intangible cultural elements. For instance, a monk transporting a sutra amulet from one region to another spreads the practice of placing miniature sutras as protective elements within amulet shells, thus disseminating the idea beyond its place of origin. The term underscores the interconnectedness of cultural exchange and the diffusion of beliefs and practices across diverse regions.

This book sheds some light on situations of transcultural contact, where the familiar local and the unfamiliar transregional are forced to react to each other's presence. These reactions range from efforts to preserve local identity to attempts to establish political supremacy over an (superficially) unified realm. Water-centric temples serve as prime example sites for such contacts. The legitimation of local authorities rested to no uncertain degree on such sites since they provided the spiritual control over rainmaking and flood prevention. For this reason, water-centric temples became ideological battlegrounds between different local and transregional factions vying for supremacy and water control. As contested spaces, these temples were actively involved in the production of new worldviews and were the places where competing fragments of local and transregional spatial ideas merged and reinterpreted.

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Contested religious sites assume multiple identities. The power struggles between these identities are reflected in the spatial configuration (the relationship of buildings to each other), the content (images, icons, altars, the use of symbols and colors), their external perception and the actual usage of a site. Spatial reconfigurations manipulate the socio-spatial traits of religious sites, altering their structure, representation, and portrayal in media to encourage transcultural ideology transfer. This manipulation is usually aimed at securing religious or political dominance for the sponsors of such reconfigurations. This means that contextualizing the traces of spatial reconfiguration events found in material evidence with relevant textual sources, approaches from the cognitive science of religion, and theories of broader historical dynamics provides a better understanding of local historical developments.

In this book, I introduce the Experiential Architecture Analysis (EAA) as a novel methodological approach to uncover the different reconfiguration tactics that religious and political authorities applied (and still apply) to the material structure, cultural content, and the media treatment of significant sites (Chapter II–IV). Through my research, I have verified its significance as a vital tool for the comparative study of institutional change that expands our understanding of identity negotiation and ideology transfer in transcultural contexts.

Sacred sites serve as the principal instruments for initiating and perpetuating such processes of transfer and negotiation. Whether as collaborators or competitors, religious and political authorities have compelling reasons to reconfigure sacred sites using either aggressive or mediative reconfiguration tactics to convey their ideology — even in alien environments. Such reconfiguration events commonly create tensions between the subjective, socially constructed meanings of sacred sites and their politically imposed ones. A high level of such tensions is detrimental to the success of transcultural ideology transfer.

Acknowledgments

The research for this book was supported by the scholarship programme of the Alliance for Research on East Asia (AREA) Ruhr, s.v. MERCUR — Mercator Research Center Ruhr. I am extremely grateful to my supervisors, who supported my efforts with their invaluable knowledge and experience, endless patience, along with carefully applied pressure and encouragement. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Professor Dr. Christine Moll-Murata who always supported me in my more daring decisions and backed me when I chose this complex, multidisciplinary topic. She went above and beyond what could ever be expected of a great supervisor. I am also thankful to Professor Dr. Flemming Christiansen for his tireless questioning, networking and for helping me find the appropriate technical expressions for my project. Special thanks go to Professor Dr. Jörg Plassen for his guidance in earlier years. His words of encouragement led me to stay in academia.

Many thanks to Professor Dr. Huang Fei for steering me into the direction of southwest China and Sichuan which really enhanced my research perspectives and to (as he insists) the American Stephen Thomas for his tireless proofreading.

I feel deeply indebted to Dac Chien Truong who selflessly supported me during my fieldwork in Vietnam, smoothed out the networking process and helped me to access Vietnamese sources and literature. Heartfelt gratitude goes towards Ngô thị Diễm Hằng for her collaboration and translating in the city of Việt Trì, and to Kim Oanh for her trust and commitment, although we were strangers when we met. I am grateful for Kẻ Phản Diện's advice on studying the Đạo Mẫu religious movements. My deep gratitude to Kingshuk Datta who worked tirelessly to redraw my layout drafts for the book edition.

I want to give thanks to Tracy Miller for her publication *The Divine Nature of Power* (2007) which inspired me to conduct this project. My knowledge about archaeology was vastly advanced during my training at the LWL-Museum für Archäologie Herne, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Germany. Working there offered many research opportunities and allowed me to study Vietnamese

 © Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

history intensively and productively. My sincere thanks go to Dr. Stefan Leenen for his guidance and continued close support in acquiring and dealing with Vietnamese archaeological objects. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Andreas Reinecke, head of the Southeast Asia division of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), whom I thank for his expertise and permission to stay and work at the library. I would like to recognize Margaret M. Bruchac for the informative conversations regarding her work and the perspectives of indigenous populations.

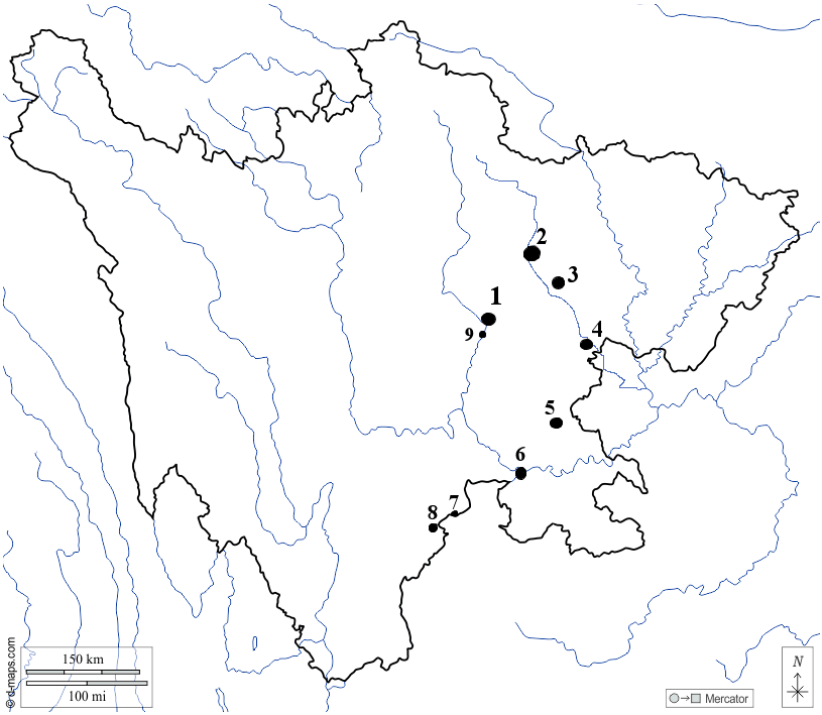
My sincere thanks go out to the many people who helped me find locations, make contacts, get permissions for visits, surveys, and photographs at temple sites or to translate questions and answers into local dialects — especially to Guo Guanghui and Cui Longhao who supported me in Sichuan, likewise to Tanja and Denis Katzer regarding Leibo and Mahu. My deepest gratitude goes to my parents Heinz-Hermann and Lorna and to my godparents Sigrid and Reiner, for missing out on me so much and yet being full of emotional and financial support. I thank Amr Nfady for his optimism and information on Saudi Arabian use of territorial marking and my friends Marleen Klum and Katja Siling for taking care of my sanity during the darkest hours of working on this project.

I dedicate this book to Annaliese Wulf (1922~*2000*), a German author and journalist who wrote extensively about Southeast Asia. Her book *Vietnam. Pagoden und Tempel im Reisfeld — im Fokus chinesischer und indischer Kultur* ['Vietnam. Pagodas and Temples in the Rice Field — in the Focus of Chinese and Indian Culture'] (1995), though billed as a travel guide, was one of the first and most profound art historical studies of Vietnam in German. It introduced critical topics that turned out intensively relevant to Vietnamese Studies decades later. In this sense, I would like to recognize Gerd Hoffmann and Prof. Dr. Wilfried Lulei for providing personal information about Annaliese Wulf.

[Img. 1] Map of Sichuan Province (China) and Vietnam in their modern locations. Created with d-maps.com,[2] modified with emphasis and with Dadu River added

2 d-maps: https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=28781&lang=en (February 2024).

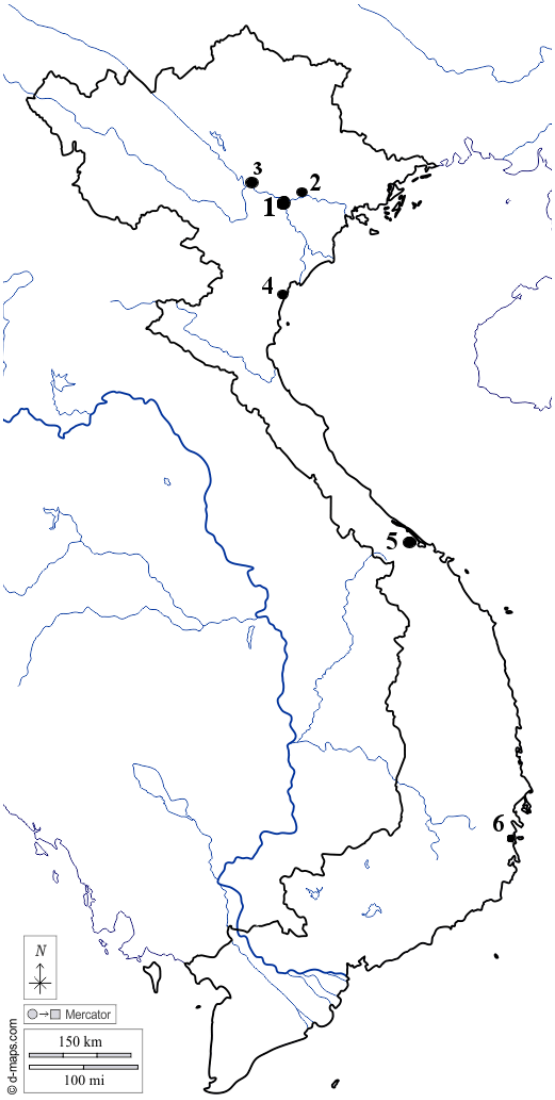
© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur



Legend: (1) Chengdu; (2) Mianyang; (3) Santai; (4) Suining; (5) Neijiang; (6) Yibin; (7) Mahu; (8) Leibo; (9) Huanglongxi.

[Img. 2] Map of the Sichuan province (China) created with d-maps.com,[3] modified with cities, numbers and the Fu River

3 d-maps: https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=18057&lang=en (February 2024).



Legend: (1) Hanoi; (2) Bắc Ninh; (3) Việt Trì; (4) Thanh Hóa; (5) Huế; (6) Nha Trang.

[Img. 3] Map of Vietnam created with d-maps.com,[4] modified with cities and numbers

4 d-maps: https://d-maps.com/m/asia/vietnam/vietnam08.gif (February 2024).

© Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur

Introduction

There is the widespread misconception that from the very moment that a society is conquered by a foreign power, its cultural identity is in jeopardy. After transcultural military conquests, new rulers introduce new ideologies to integrate their foreign subjects. Such new ideologies are often expressed through changes in sacred sites. Spatially reconfigured sites then become vehicles for ideology transfer, which is essential for the establishment of political and cultural dominance. A focus on material religion[5] elucidates transcultural relations before, during, and after historical colonization, because material settings and objects often reveal new information about how people interacted with them. Sacred sites, in this sense, are themselves contained networks of objects with which their visitors interact three-dimensionally. Studying sacred sites through the lens of material religion — as informants — thus opens an additional level of local history, one that was commonly left out of text documents written by the colonizers. This approach demonstrates that although conquest and colonization commonly resulted in a significant loss of cultural identity, the process of ideology transfer is bidirectional. Threatened cultures are not passive or helpless; they actively engage in identity negotiation and are just as capable to utilize spatial reconfigurations to defend their cultural identity, to influence the ideologies of their oppressors, and to take from them what is needed to create opportunities for the restoration of sovereignty.

More than two thousand years ago, the Chinese Empire was still young, yet eager for growth. Concisely, its center lay in the Central Plains (*zhongyuan* 中原) which surrounded the lower and middle reaches of the Huanghe — the Yellow River. From there, the empire advanced into the south and southwest and conquered territories that seemed unfamiliar and strange. They were filled with

5 Different perspectives on material religion and the material turns in religious studies have been excellently summarized in: Bräunlein, Peter J. "Thinking Religion Through Things. Reflections on the Material Turn in the Scientific Study of Religion\s." *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 28 (2016): 365–399.