

Religion und Gesellschaft

A Summary of German Research on Religion in Chinese Society

Nikolas Broy

Department of East Asian Studies, University of Leipzig

nikolas.broy@uni-leipzig.de

Abstract

The present article summarizes “German” research on religion and society in China, defined here as research conducted by scholars who have been trained in academic institutions of the German-speaking countries Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, or who have published at least some of their work in German. I focus on research that is related to religion and society in their broadest senses in order to introduce a diverse array of studies that are dedicated to the social, political, and economic aspects of religion in China. Drawing on the methods of sociology, political sciences, and anthropology, recent German scholarship has addressed themes and problems that are not only important for the study of religion in China but also applicable to the comparative study of religion, culture, society, and politics. As a point of departure, I begin with a discussion of Max Weber’s analysis of premodern Chinese religion and Confucian worldviews.

Keywords

German scholarship – German sinology – Max Weber – Hubert Seiwert – secularism – religious change

* I would like to thank Philip Clart, Jacob Tischer, and the anonymous reviewers of Review of Religion and Chinese Society for their valuable comments and suggestions to earlier versions of this article. Of course, I alone am responsible for all shortcomings and errors.

宗教與社會：德國及德語世界的中國宗教研究回顧

百可思

摘要

本文擬從宗教與社會的角度，對德國及德語世界的中國宗教研究進行簡要的回顧。本文以宗教與社會為主線，介紹關於研究宗教的社會，政治，經濟方面的論文。近年來，由於採用了社會學，政治學與民族學的研究方法，德國的中國宗教研究不僅關注中國宗教本身，而且越來越多地探討其與各學科有關的問題。本文將着重介紹著名社會學家馬克思·韋伯對傳統中國宗教的理解。

关键词

德國漢學，德國宗教學，馬克思·韋伯，蘇為德，宗教變化，世俗化

Introduction

The present article summarizes “German” research on religion and society in China. This statement obviously needs a brief explanation. First, I will refer to research conducted by scholars who have been trained in academic institutions of the German-speaking countries Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, or who have published their work at least partially in German. I think that this is a reasonable way of defining German research, because especially in today’s very much international academic landscape it is difficult and perhaps even needless to distinguish scholarship in terms of national or linguistic affiliation. Second, this article does not attempt a comprehensive overview of German scholarship on every aspect of religion in China but merely covers research that is related to religion and society. Third, I understand religion and society in their broadest senses; instead of confining the discussion to social scientific studies that employ sociological or anthropological methods, this article will summarize a diverse array of studies that are dedicated to the social, political, and economic aspects of religion in China. Fourth, this summary covers research on religion in both historical and contemporary Chinese societies, particularly those in mainland China and Taiwan.

While there have been many individual contributions to the field, there are also a number of academic institutions that focus on research related to religion in China. Currently, there are three primary centers in this field of study. First, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, directed by Peter van der Veer, is a very international enterprise and currently pursues research projects that focus on the “globalization of religious and ethnic networks in southwest and southeast China,” as well as “Chinese temple networks in Southeast Asia.”¹ Second, the China Center in Sankt Augustin (next to West Germany’s former capital Bonn), which was founded by the German Catholic Mission Council in 1988, publishes primarily about Christianity in China. Third, the departments of Religious Studies and Chinese Studies at the University of Leipzig under their respective directors, Hubert Seiwert (1994–2014) and Philip Clart (since 2008), have trained many (master-level and doctoral) graduates such as Yu Zhejun, Johanna Lüdde, Jacob Tischer, Andreas Berndt, Philipp Hetmanczyk, and Nikolas Broy.

Max Weber, Confucian Ethics, and the “Magical Garden” of Imperial China

Given that most scholars and students probably know something about Max Weber’s (1864–1920) analysis of Chinese religion, I will take the work of this eminent sociologist as a point of departure. Although Weber was a scholar neither of China nor of Chinese religion, his comparative approach to the work ethics of the “world religions” has been an important point of reference and inspiration for diverse disciplines such as history, sociology, and philosophy, but also sinology and religious studies as well. Building on the hypothesis that the modern capitalist ethos emerged from Puritan beliefs in the predestination of humans, a particular form of inner-worldly asceticism, and the self-conception of workers and their craft as a “calling” in order to honor God (Weber 1904; 1905; revised and reprinted in 1920, see Weber [1920] 1988a; cf. Steinert 2010), he began to wonder why it was only the European-American world where modern capitalism seemed to have emerged. Therefore, he began to look for reasons why none of the other regions and religions of the world had been able to develop a form of rationality similar to the one that gave rise to

1 <http://www.mmg.mpg.de/departments/religious-diversity/research-themes/> (accessed June 5, 2015).

modern capitalism. His study of the work ethics of the world religions included an article on China, which appeared in 1916 (Weber 1916a; 1916b) and was reprinted in a substantially revised and enlarged version in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (*Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion*), first published in 1920 (Weber [1920] 1988b). Whereas the first version of the China article (1916a) was dedicated to traditional Chinese society and Confucian ethics only, in 1920 Weber expanded his analysis to Daoism, which he (erroneously) identified as “heterodox,” and renamed the study *Konfuzianismus und Taoismus* (*Confucianism and Taoism*) (Weber [1920] 1988b; cf. Schluchter 1983b; 2014). The complete work was only translated into English three decades later as *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* (Weber 1951; a partial translation appeared in Weber 1946:323–359; 416–444), but has been discussed ever since. When the first Chinese translation finally appeared in 1989 in Taiwan (Weber [Weibo] 1989), it similarly led many Chinese scholars to address the question of whether Confucianism could be capable of developing its own work ethic (cf. Clart 1992; Trauzettel 1993). There exists a voluminous scholarship on Weber’s analysis of imperial Chinese society and religion both in English (Sprenkel 1964; Shinohara 1979; Eisenstadt 1985; Liu 2003) and German (Schluchter 1983a; Eisenstadt 1983; Ku 1987; Schmidt-Glintzer 1990; 2003; Lee 1997; Lin 1997; Hollstein 2002; Lee 2003:402–455; Kaesler 2015). Therefore, I will confine myself to some brief statements regarding Weber’s analysis of imperial Chinese religion. Since Weber was not a sinologist, he had to rely on the Chinese studies literature available at that time, among which one finds both German authors, such as Wilhelm Grube, Richard Wilhelm, and Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (all discussed below), and famous international scholars, such as James Legge, Édouard Chavannes, and Joseph Edkins (Weber [1920] 1988b:276–278n).

Weber identifies certain aspects of Confucian beliefs and practices that appear to have hampered the development of an ethos similar to that of early modern Europe, which aimed at a “rational domination of the world” (*rationale Beherrschung der Welt*) ([1920] 1988b:534). According to his interpretation, Confucians aimed to adapt to the world instead of dominating it because they considered it the best of all possible worlds, they perceived humans as ethically good, and, perhaps most important, Confucianism was not able to completely exterminate “magic”² from Chinese worldviews and practices (Weber [1920] 1988b:479, 481, 485, 513–514). Quite the contrary, Weber asserts that magic was such an integral part of the Chinese worldview that even the literati themselves tended to revert to it ([1920] 1988b:479, 485, 513). Therefore,

2 On the various meanings of “magic” in Weber’s œuvre, see Breuer 2001.

Weber concludes, Confucianism's willingness to maintain this "magical garden" (*Zaubergarten*), instead of pursuing the "disenchantment of the world" (*Entzauberung der Welt*) as modern Protestantism had done, has to be considered one of the prime obstacles to the development of a modern rationality in China ([1920] 1988b:513).

The various problems and limitations of Weber's approach have been highlighted by numerous scholars in great detail (Schluchter 1983a; Schmidt-Glintzer 1990, trans. 1991; 2003; Lin 1997; Hollstein 2002; Kaesler 2015). He omitted many other religious and intellectual traditions, such as Buddhism, Legalism, and Neo-Confucianism (his admittedly rather brief discussion of Chinese Buddhism is included in his volume on Hinduism and Buddhism; see Weber [1920] 1923:288–294); he discussed the whole of Chinese history through the window of what he perceived as "ancient China"; and he limited his study to an imagined elite of all-powerful Confucian literati without incorporating the diverse array of intellectual and religious trends that shaped China during its long history. Nevertheless, Weber's intriguing insight into the working of ideas as a motor of social change has been appreciated and discussed in Chinese-language scholarship, particularly in the wake of the economic success of the "Four Asian Tigers" from the 1960s to the 1990s (cf. Clart 1992; Trauzettel 1993; Lee 2003:527–626). Despite these methodological flaws and the narrow scope of source material that was available to him, Weber's inquiry into the religious foundations of work ethics posed questions that stimulate research to this day. Although Weber's focus on the impact of ideas has led both the English- and Chinese-speaking worlds for a long time to overemphasize his approach as "idealistic" (cf. Clart 1992; Kalberg 2000:47), his sociology is capable of a much richer engagement with the complex interplay of ideas, (material and ideational) interests, and "material" conditions (Weber [1920] 1988a:82–83; [1920] 1988b:252; cf. Kalberg 2000). Furthermore, in an age of nationalism and war (note that he published the first version of the China article [Weber 1916a]) in the midst of World War I), it was Weber who saw the autonomy of different cultures and the "de-Europeanization" of the world (Schmidt-Glintzer 1990:284–285).

Besides putting Weber's analysis of imperial China into perspective, German research has addressed Weber's assessment of premodern China (and Asia as well) as a "magical garden" (*Zaubergarten*) governed by irrationality and magic (cf. Weber [1920] 1988b:484; for a critique of this view in the case of premodern Japan, see Kleine 2013). Although not mentioning Weber, Hubert Seiwert (b. 1949) first argued against this view of ancient China in his dissertation (1979) about prognostication and divination in the Zhou dynasty. Seiwert maintained that divination in fact served as an important prerequisite for making rational

decisions. According to his understanding, people make rational decisions by taking into account all the preconditions that are known to them, as well as their causal implications, which are determined by one's worldview (note that "rational" does not necessarily correlate with "objectively right"). Accordingly, to consult an oracle on important questions was not only a necessity; the very failure to do so would have been considered irrational. Thus, divination opens a way for human to actively shape the world because they are capable of calculating the impact of nonhuman forces (such as gods, ghosts, and "nature") on their lives (Seiwert 1979:214–217). Although this form of rationality and modern capitalist ones may not be on the same page with regard to the instrumentality of reason, Seiwert's interpretation helps to demonstrate that premodern Chinese worldviews were not as irrational as Weber suggested.

Although several scholars have followed Weber in trying to assess the rationalizing impact of Confucian worldviews (Lee 1997; Lin 1997; Lee 2003; Ommerborn 2012, 2014) or to evaluate the model of "Confucian capitalism" as imagined by some Chinese thinkers (Clart 1992; Nutzinger 2002), Weber's analysis of imperial China has been almost completely refuted by later scholarship (cf. Schluchter 1983b; Schmidt-Glintzer 2003). Therefore, most sinologists and religious studies specialists look to Weber mainly because of his contributions to social, political, and economic theory and not for his insights into Chinese society and religion.

Orthodoxy, Secularity, and the State

Largely relying on the work of the famous Dutch-German scholar Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (particularly Groot 1918:29–31), who will be discussed below, Weber came to identify Confucianism as the sole "orthodoxy" of imperial China, thus assigning all other forms of religion, including Buddhism and Daoism, to the "heterodoxy" ([1920] 1988b:458–512). Although later scholars largely agreed in their refutation of this simplistic and erroneous dichotomy (Schluchter 1983a:42; Kischkel 1988), Weber's assessment led to a debate about the nature of the official religious and ideological order in premodern China. Prominent sinologist and scholar of Chinese Buddhism Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (b. 1948) has proposed to conceptualize this order as "orthopraxy" because, according to his view, "correctness" used to be judged not by individual convictions but by the properness of social actions according to one's status within the larger social order of society and state (Schmidt-Glintzer 1983). By contrast, Hubert Seiwert (1994; 1995) shows that by the time of the Han Dynasty, imperial China had indeed developed a set of socially compulsory norms that shaped religious and

ideological beliefs *and* actions, and whose observance served as a requirement if one aimed to enter the political and cultural elites.³ Seiwert (1994:532–533) argues that this set of norms, which cannot be equated with Confucianism, comprises three basic parts: first, a certain conception of China's history; second, a set of cosmological symbols and beliefs; third, the conviction that social and political hierarchy is grounded in cosmic order. While this set of religious and ideological norms was at first limited to elite culture, by the Song Dynasty it had spread among all layers of Chinese society and thus may be considered a “civil religion” that used to influence every aspect of religious life in premodern China (533).

Drawing on this understanding, Seiwert has advanced his interpretation in recent publications by arguing that the social and political power of “civil religion” led to the “domestication” of certain forms of religion in imperial China. By excluding certain parts of their traditions, Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism evolved into state-sanctioned religions whereas other groups that did not conform to this “orthodoxy/orthopraxy” were subject to legal, political, and social sanctions (Seiwert 2013c:44–47; 2014). Seiwert detects certain similarities in the management of religion between the late imperial Chinese state and modern/secularized Western nation states: first, the imperial state was separated from these three (and other) religions on an institutional level; second, it aimed at domesticating all religious enterprises in order to conform to its supreme order (what Seiwert had termed “civil religion” in his earlier publication); and third, that supreme order, at least from the Song period on, was conceptualized in rather “naturalistic” terms without references to gods and divine beings (Seiwert 2013a). According to Seiwert, Neo-Confucian discourses on the nature of heaven, ritual offerings, the cosmos, and so forth provided a more “naturalistic” and rational interpretation of the world. Although these discourses did not affect the religious life of most Chinese people, they served as the foundation of government legitimacy and as part of the subject matter of all imperial examinations until 1905 (200–203). Thus, Seiwert argues, the late imperial Chinese state may be considered a secular one in which religion was a matter of individual preference—at least within the boundaries of the “secular order” of the state, but again that order resembles the management of “nonconformistic” religions in modern secularized states (2013b; 2013c; 2015).

3 All of Seiwert's articles and papers (but not his books) can be downloaded from the website of the Institute for the Study of Religions at Leipzig University: <http://www.gko.uni-leipzig.de/de/religionswissenschaft/institut/mitarbeiter/prof-dr-em-hubert-seiwert.html> (accessed August 20, 2015).

In his analysis of ancient Chinese discourses, scholar of Chinese philosophy Wolfgang Ommerborn (b. 1952) shows that between the Zhou and the Han dynasties certain concepts that originally had distinct religious meanings gradually lost their religious content and adopted more secular meanings (Ommerborn 2012). Under the influence of Confucianism, which evolved as a state ideology during the Han Dynasty, concepts such as *de* 德, which initially meant the magical ability of a monarch to communicate with the gods, were transformed into concepts of proper moral conduct; *li* 禮, which originally was related to religious rituals among the ruling elites, also acquired a new meaning of proper conduct in family, society, and state (379–380). Thus, Ommerborn shows that already during the Han Dynasty we can observe a tendency that helped to create the aforementioned secular Chinese state—a tendency that Ommerborn attributes to the rationalizing influence of Confucian philosophy and that at least partially resembles Weber’s analysis of Confucian rationality discussed above. The complex relationship between religion and Neo-Confucianism is also addressed in Ommerborn’s latest publication (2014).

Aspects of Chinese Religious Life

Popular Practices and Customs: Ethnographic Approaches

Moving beyond the rather text-based research that dominated early German scholarship on Chinese religions (Plath 1862), Wilhelm Grube (1855–1908) was among the first to study religious customs and folk culture in situ. After he had spent almost two years in East Asia (1897–1898) collecting objects for the Berlin Museum of Anthropology where he had been working since 1883 (cf. Walravens and Hopf 2007:229–231), he published two detailed descriptions of customs, festivals, and mortuary rituals in Beijing (Grube 1898; 1901). In addition, more than thirty pages in his posthumously published *Religion und Kultus der Chinesen (Religion and Worship of the Chinese)* are dedicated to *Volksreligion* (popular or folk religion) and deal with popular gods, demons, geomancy, and mortuary rites (Grube 1910:162–195). His folkloric-ethnographic approach was continued by various scholars during the first half of the twentieth century who focused on the multifaceted and “syncretic” nature of Chinese religiosity and practice. Whereas Grube had studied the customs and religious practices of the Beijing elite, Catholic missionary Georg Maria Stenz (1869–1928) aimed to describe the folk customs in southern Shandong Province. He collected 116 pages of notes on popular practices of the annual cycle as well as those related to birth, marriage, and death (Stenz 1907). As Stenz’s report and other works (Volpert 1910; 1917a; 1917b) exemplify, ethnographic engagement with religious

practices and popular customs in Shandong Province was particularly strong in early twentieth-century scholarship due to Germany's colonial history in the area (the Jiaozhou Bay concession, 1898–1914) and missionary enterprises (cf. Chen 1992). The particular topic studied by Grube and Stenz was taken up by social historian Mechthild Leutner (b. 1948) of the Free University of Berlin in the late 1980s, who dedicated her first monograph to the comparative study of the transformation and reform of customs related to birth, marriage, and death among Beijing residents during the transition from late imperial to modern China (Leutner 1989; Chinese trans. Leutner 2001). Particularly in regard to the politically driven reform of mortuary rites during the Republican and PRC periods, her study highlights a topic that has been brought to the attention of students of Chinese religion only during the past few years by the pioneering studies of French scholar Vincent Goossaert and others (Goossaert and Fang 2008; Goossaert and Palmer 2011:224–238).

In addition to these early representatives of the folkloric-ethnographic approach, one could also name the Dutch-German scholar of Chinese religion Jan Jakob Maria de Groot (1854–1921). Not only did he earn his doctoral degree in 1884 from the University of Leipzig, which in 1878 had become the first German university to establish a professorship for Chinese studies, he also served as the first professor of Chinese studies at the University of Berlin from 1912 (when he also adopted German citizenship) until his death. Since his work is well known to most readers, I will confine myself to a brief introduction. During his extensive stays in China at the end of the nineteenth century, de Groot was able to collect firsthand a comprehensive body of material that helped him to address a wide array of topics such as popular customs and religious practices (1881, French trans. 1886; 1892–1910; 1894), Buddhist monastic life (1893), sectarianism (1903–1904), and what he termed “universism” (*Universismus*) or the “collective foundation of Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism” (1912; 1918). Whereas de Groot's early publications were written in Dutch, French, or English, his later works appeared only in German. In these later studies, he extended his concept of universism (1918) and analyzed Chinese pagodas in terms of Buddhist symbolism and geomancy (1919).

Until the outbreak of World War II, many German scholars pursued ethnographic research and engaged in discussions about the syncretic nature of Chinese religiosity. In 1911, Herbert Mueller categorized the multifaceted pantheon of China's religious landscape and examined its development (Mueller 1911). Citing examples from his investigation in northern Sichuan, architect and sinologist Ernst Boerschmann (1873–1949) recounted how the worship of the Three Teachings (Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism) is often combined within one temple (Boerschmann 1911a). His interest in Chinese temples

is reflected in his series *Die Baukunst und die religiöse Kultur der Chinesen* (*Architecture and the Religious Culture of the Chinese*), which contains not only detailed descriptions of pagodas and temples (Boerschmann 1911b; 1914; 1931) but also hints about religious and social practices related to them (1911b:151–168; 1931:55, 85, 194–198; on Boerschmann's work, cf. Kögel 2015). Protestant theologian Theodor Devaranne (1880–1946), who wrote on both China and Japan, discussed the results of a questionnaire survey about Chinese religiosity in nine provinces that was published in the August and September issues of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* in 1922 (Devaranne 1924:8; cf. Parker 1922a; 1922b). He introduced *Volksreligion* as the “sum of all beliefs and practical forms of worship, the customs and traditions of the majority of the people . . . aside from the literati elite of a few million” (1924:7) and reached the conclusion that popular religious practices are highly syncretic, pragmatic, nonexclusive, and oriented towards this-worldly ends (1924:45–46).⁴

Among those scholars adopting a folkloric-ethnographic approach, Wolfram Eberhard (1909–1989) is perhaps best known both domestically and internationally for his standard works on Chinese festivals, the “symbolic language” of the Chinese, and folk tales. Before he came to the University of California at Berkeley, where he taught from 1948 to 1976, he published detailed descriptions of popular practices from the Jinhua 金華 region in Zhejiang Province that he collected during his field trip in 1934–1935, such as the cult of goddesses, architectural magic, prayers for rain, and much more (Eberhard 1935; 1936; 1939; 1942a; 1942b, trans. 1968). Much of this early work influenced his later publications, such as his introduction to Chinese festivals, where he highlights the role of religious worship as part of traditional festivals (Eberhard 1952).

Famous missionary and author Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), sinologist Erwin Rousselle (1890–1949), and University of Leipzig professor Eduard Erkes (1891–1958) have a particularly interesting role in the appropriative study of Chinese religious practices. This role might best be compared to that of anthropologists and scholars of Daoism, such as Kristofer Schipper (b. 1934), Michael Saso (b. 1930), Michel Strickmann (1924–1994), and Livia Kohn (b. 1956), who have been Daoist practitioners at a certain level and who have also dominated research on Daoist practice during the second half of the twentieth century. The aforementioned three German sinologists were among the first Western scholars who learned meditation and *neidan* 內丹 (inner alchemy) practices from their Chinese informants (Rousselle 1932; Erkes 1935; 1945:123; 1948).

4 The German original reads: “die Summe von Glaubensvorstellungen und praktischen Frömmigkeitsübungen, von Sitten und Kultus der Mehrzahl des Volkes . . . abgesehen von den wenigen Millionen der literarisch gebildeten Oberschicht.”

Erkes even estimated that by the middle of the twentieth century Wilhelm, Rousselle, and he himself had to be considered the only Europeans to have learned “Daoist meditation” (Erkes 1948:371m). Particularly Erkes was said to practice “meditation” and *neidan* with his students in the classroom during his early years as a professor of Chinese studies after the war (Schnerer 2008). Wilhelm’s, Rousselle’s, and Erkes’ synthesis of mystical insights and academic research highlights a very much contested approach to the understanding of Chinese religion and philosophy; they were ahead of their time, but their pioneering effort has since produced considerable scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century (on this issue, cf. Clart 2014).

Due to the split of East and West Germany after World War II as well as their complex and often conflictual relationship with the two “Chinas,” ethnographic research came to a halt during the 1950s and 1960s and reemerged only slowly in the 1970s. Only during the early 1950s, when political relations between East Germany and the PRC were still good, was Erkes able to visit the Mainland and to report his observations about the situation of religion in the early years of Communist rule (Erkes 1956). In West Germany, Chinese studies focused either on ancient China or on the Maoist Mainland (and thus responded to the political climate of that time). Hubert Seiwert’s 1981 study of the modern transformation of the popular religious sect Yiguan-dao 一貫道 (The Way of Pervading Unity) in Taiwan marks the beginning of an engagement in fieldwork that mirrors that of American and French anthropologists on the island (Seiwert’s field research was conducted in the late 1970s).

Postwar research in West Germany (and later unified Germany) has enriched our understanding of popular religiosity by studying temple oracles in Taiwan (Banck 1985), Daoist talismans (Drexler 1994; Bumbacher 2012), the multifaceted cult of Guan Yu 關羽 (Diesinger 1984), and particularly the historical, political, and cultural aspects of the worship of Mazu 媽祖 in Taiwan and mainland China (Wiethoff 1966; Seiwert 1985; Wädow 1992; Pennarz 1992; Tischer 2014). This focus on the religious and social aspects of the worship of specific deities mirrors earlier twentieth-century research on, for example, the Stove God (Nagel 1908) and the City God (Volpert 1910). The article of Catholic missionary Anton Volpert (1863–1949) is particularly rich in its descriptions of two City God temples in southern Shandong (Yanzhou Prefecture 兗州府) and the distinction between official versus private worship, as well as the depiction of the City God in popular literature (1910). Whereas these early studies focus on the religious aspects of these cults, recent studies in the transformation and adaptation of Mazu worship in modern Taiwan (Pennarz 1992; Tischer 2014) and Dragon King (*longwang* 龍王) worship in late imperial China

(Berndt 2012; 2014) have articulated a more nuanced view by integrating their social, political, and economic meanings as well. Andreas Berndt has discussed the spread and local variations of Dragon King worship in late imperial Shanxi and Jiangnan through the lens of “cultural ecology,” which aims to study the ways in which people use culture in order to adapt to their (ecological) environment; Johanna Pennarz and Jacob Tischer have focused on the transformation and various meanings of Mazu worship in postwar Taiwan by applying theories from sociology and political science (see below). The curious case of a temple of the Salt Lake God (*yanchi shenmiao* 鹽池神廟) around a salt lake in late Ming and early Qing southern Shanxi is discussed by Andreas Janousch (2014). By analyzing stele inscriptions from this temple as well as other source material, Janousch is able to connect the flourishing temple and its expanding pantheon of salt production–related deities to the larger sociotechnical context and the introduction of new salt production methods.

Religious Specialists, Monastic Practices, and the State Cult

An important topic of research since the interwar period has been religious specialization (i.e., priesthood) and particularly shamanism (often labeled “Wuism”) in imperial China. A key early study is Bruno Schindler’s (1882–1964) dissertation on the various priestly institutions of ancient China. In this work, the later editor-in-chief of *Asia Major*, the main journal of the Chinese Studies department at Leipzig (until the rise of National Socialism forced Schindler to leave the country), analyzes shamans (*wu* 巫 and *xi* 覡), “prayer-suplicants” (*zhu* 祝), and “priestly writers” (*shi* 史) and their religious, social, and political roles as discussed in the primary sources of the pre-Buddhist period (Schindler 1919). The dissertation of Guangzhou-born Schang Tscheng-Tsu, submitted to the University of Hamburg, focuses on the multifaceted history of the *wu* who appeared as mediums, healers, and prophets in ancient China, but he also discusses aspects of shamanistic practices in the modern era, citing examples from Republican Nanjing and Beijing (Schang 1934). Recent publications have also taken up the issue of ancient Chinese shamanism (Ommerborn 2012:34–56). After the war, sinologist Werner Eichhorn (1899–1990) wrote extensively about aspects of official priesthood in imperial China. He has provided an annotated translation of the section “Buddhism and Daoism” in the Song (979–1260) administrative manual *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei* 慶元條法事類 (*Classified Legal Paragraphs of the Qingyuan Period* [1195–1200]), which lays out the legal and political framework for the maintenance and individual conduct of Buddhist and Daoist clergy (Eichhorn 1968). In later writings, he focused on official religious practices as well as the development and transformation of the state cult in imperial China (Eichhorn 1976).

Aspects of the official state cult in ancient China have also been the topic of two dissertations. Taiwan-born Chang Tsung-tung (University of Frankfurt, Main) discusses the official cult of the Shang Dynasty (ca. eighteenth–eleventh century BCE), while Claudius Müller focuses on the “altar of the earth” (*she* 社) from the Zhou to the Han periods (ca. 1046 BCE–220 CE) (Chang 1970; Müller 1980). Building on Édouard Chavannes’s (1865–1918) seminal study (1910), Müller (1980:389–392) shows how different and often competing traditions have been integrated by Han scholars into the cult of the *she* yet nevertheless display remarkable variations and differences. Although some scholars argue for the establishment of a relatively secularized state from the late Zhou period on (see “Orthodoxy, Secularity, and the State” above), particularly during the medieval period some rulers, such as Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty 梁武帝 (reigned 502–549) or Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (reigned 690–705), maintained a close relationship with Buddhism, a topic that has been studied by Max Deeg (2001), Thomas Jansen (2001), and Andreas Janousch (1999). In addition, Schmidt-Glintzer and Jansen (1993) have analyzed the medieval debates between Buddhists and Daoists in order to show transformations within the political power structures (cf. Kohn 1995).

In regard to monastic practices, German scholarship has made important contributions. For instance, scholar of religion Heinrich Hackmann (1864–1935), best known for his pioneering studies in Chinese Buddhism (1906; 1924), also provided the first translation of the Quanzhen 全真 monastic code *Zhongjijie* 中極戒 (*Intermediate Precepts*), which touches on crucial aspects of everyday practice, conduct, and the organizational foundations of Daoist priesthood (Hackmann 1931). In his dissertation Roman Malek (b. 1951), who later specialized in Chinese Christianity, has supplemented Hackmann’s work by studying and translating the *Register of Retreat and Precepts* (*Zhaijielu* 齋戒錄), which dates from about the eighth century (Malek 1985). Later studies by scholars of Daoism Florian C. Reiter (b. 1948), Stephan-Peter Bumbacher (b. 1953), and Volker Olles have also enhanced our understanding of Daoist priesthood (Bumbacher 2000; Reiter 2005), thunder magic (Reiter 2007), the early Heavenly Masters tradition (Olles 1998), and Daoist practices and customs related to the mountain of Lord Lao (Laojunshan 老君山) in Sichuan Province (Olles 2005; 2009a). In addition, prolific author Livia Kohn (b. 1956) has written extensively about Daoist practices and monastic institutions. Since the number of her published works far exceeds what can be discussed here, I will mention only selected works. While Kohn on the one hand dedicated herself to the analysis of individual religious practices such as meditation, inner alchemy, body cultivation techniques, and dietetics (2006; 2008a; 2008b; 2010a; 2010b), she also conducted research into Daoist monastic life (2003) and

offered the first complete annotated translation of the seventeenth-century monastic handbook *Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao* (*Fengdao kejie* 奉道科戒) (2004). In regard to Buddhism, Marcus Günzel (b. 1965) has provided a detailed analysis and translation of the morning and evening services that represent an important part of Buddhist daily practice (1994). In addition, he has also analyzed the development of monastic Buddhist institutions in post-war Taiwan (1998). Another important contribution in regard to the dynamics of norms and practice in Chinese Buddhism, particularly as they relate to violence, warfare, and monastic martial arts, has been made by several scholars from the University of Leipzig, who have demonstrated the participation of Buddhist clerics in warfare and collective violence in imperial China (Filipiak 2001:32–92; Seiwert 2002; 2005; Broy 2006; 2007; 2012a).

Nonofficial Forms of Religion: Popular Religion and Sectarianism

As pointed out above, the study of nonofficial religion has been a focal point of German research since the early twentieth century. Besides the various studies of particular practices and customs (Nagel 1908; Volpert 1910; 1917a; 1917b; Eberhard 1935; 1936; 1939; 1942a; 1942b; Diesinger 1984; Banck 1985), Hubert Seiwert's *Habilitationsschrift* (1985) serves as the first comprehensive account of the religious, social, and political aspects of popular religion in Taiwanese society. This book is still the most detailed analysis of the religious landscape of prewar Taiwan, and it was the first account in any Western language to discuss the tradition of Vegetarian Sects (*Zhaijiao* 齋教) at length (1985:156–193). Although Seiwert's work has been appreciated in the global academic community, there are some misunderstandings regarding his approach. For instance, Stephen Teiser (1995:378) claims that Seiwert defines “popular religion” as the “religion of the lower strata of society,” which he does not; he rather indicates that popular religious beliefs and practices were common in all social contexts (Seiwert 1985:17). Similarly, Catherine Bell (1989:43) argues that Seiwert “*distinguishes it* [i.e., popular religion] *vis-à-vis institutional religion* so as to conclude that folk religion is made up of those practices *not based on a literary tradition*” (emphasis added). Quite the contrary, Seiwert (1985:17) does indeed state that popular religion may very well be considered an institutional religion. Furthermore, he defines popular religion as those religious traditions that are not explicitly related to one literary tradition (*ibid.*); thus popular religion may relate itself to multiple literary sources.

Following his insights into the importance and workings of “noncanonical” religious traditions, by the end of the 1980s Seiwert had begun to study sectarian religion and in 2003 published his magnum opus, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*. The book is dedicated to

the entire history of popular sects from the Han to the Qing dynasties and is the most comprehensive account of Chinese sectarianism in general. Following this work and his early study of the persecution of Falun Gong 法輪功 in 1999 (Seiwert 2000), Seiwert became interested in the dynamics of sectarian/noncanonical religion and the state's demand of regulation and control. He has formulated a sociological approach to the dynamics of sect formation and transformation by applying Rodney Stark's and William Bainbridge's rational choice theory (2003:438–484; 2009b). Building on this theoretical framework, he also tried to conceptualize late imperial sects as “processes of religious interaction,” an approach that aims to avoid the static nature of traditional sociological concepts such as sect and church (2003:485–501; 2009a). Arguing from the perspective of state policy, he suggested that sects (and other alternative participants in the religious field) may be conceptualized as “wild religions” that stand in contrast to “domesticated religions” (2014). According to Seiwert, the imperial Chinese state aimed at domesticating religions through processes of patronage and repression in order to produce religions that conformed to its notion of political, social, and cosmological order. Domesticated religions were given more or less free access to the religious field. However, “wild religions” that did not subordinate their values and beliefs to those of the state were subject to legal, political, and social sanctions (2014:18–23).

Following Seiwert's groundbreaking studies in the history and sociology of Chinese sectarianism, many other scholars have dedicated their efforts to the study of “noncanonical” or “wild” religions as well. Political scientist and sinologist Thomas Heberer (b. 1947) and scholar of Chinese religion Christian Meyer (b. 1971) have discussed Falun Gong from different angles: whereas Heberer (2001; 2008) explains its rapid growth by pointing to its ability to address social problems that have emerged as a result of modernization, Meyer (2013) addresses this particular organization in a case study in order to discuss the characteristics of Chinese religious policy, a topic that has been researched by Philipp Hetmanczyk (2007; 2011; 2015) in great detail. Besides Falun Gong itself, the *qigong* 氣功 wave in the reform era has also been analyzed in a number of studies (Heise 1999; Kupfer 2009). In addition, political scientist Kristin Kupfer (b. 1974) has dedicated voluminous studies to Christian-inspired sects in contemporary China (2004; 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2009; 2012). In her dissertation (University of Bochum) she analyzes the emergence and development of “spiritual-religious groups” by approaching them as “religious social movements” (Kupfer 2010).

Scholar of Daoism Volker Olles has written extensively about the development and ritual life of the Liumen 劉門 tradition founded in nineteenth-century Sichuan by Confucian scholar Liu Yuan 劉沅 (1768–1856) (2009b; 2012; 2013).

In particular, his monograph on the topic discusses the ritual tradition of this movement and its liturgical canon by providing a synopsis of fifty-three different rituals (Olles 2013:80–182). Hans Kühner (b. 1950) has analyzed the beliefs of the so-called “Taigu school” 太古 founded by scholar Zhou Gu 周古 (1775–1832) in late nineteenth-century Yangzhou, as well as the discourses related to their suppression (Kühner 1996; 2005; 2009). In addition, German research has also produced a considerable body of scholarship on noncanonical and sectarian religion in Taiwan, in which the work of Philip Clart (b. 1963) is to be highlighted. His work covers spirit-writing cults (Clart 1995; 2003), the interaction of spirit-writing cults and popular sects (1997), the spread of Taiwanese sects to North America (2000), religious change in postwar Taiwan (1995/1996), religious publishing (2009; 2012; Clart and Scott 2015), and many other topics. Moreover, Nikolas Broy has dedicated his doctoral research to the Vegetarian Sects and their transformation in late imperial China and modern Taiwan, particularly in regard to religious practice (Broy 2012b; 2014).

Religion in Republican China

Whereas German scholarship has addressed religion in both imperial and modern China, only a very few works have been dedicated to the Republican period (1912–1949). Besides those studies about Christian missionary enterprises during the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Chen 1992; Klein 2002; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2009a; 2009b) or the cultural assimilation and political participation of Hui Muslims in pre-Communist China (Mees 1984), there is Yu Zhejun’s 郁喆隽 (b. 1979) dissertation about popular festivals and processions in pre-War Shanghai (Yu 2010; revised Chinese edition, 2014). Yu analyzes the complex processes of negotiation between religious, political, and administrative actors in order to discuss the nature of these events as arenas of public interaction, communication, and contestation that may have resulted in the emergence of a Chinese “civil society.” He argues that the organizations behind those professions may be considered a form of “civil society apart from the state” that might be compared to bowling leagues, chess clubs, and public interest groups, in that participants did not oppose or support the state per se, but articulated certain values voluntarily and publicly (Yu 2010:318–330).

Christianity and Islam

Beginning with the various enterprises by German or German-speaking Christian missionaries in nineteenth and early twentieth-century China, the development of Christianity in China has been an important topic in German research. Particularly the Basel Mission in Guangdong from 1859 to 1931 (Klein 2002; 2005a; 2005b; 2009a; 2009b) and the Catholic mission in southern

Shandong (Chen 1992) have been the object of numerous studies. In addition, the development of Christianity in contemporary China is an important topic of research, particularly for the Catholic China Zentrum e.V. (China Center) located in Sankt Augustin. This organization publishes the two journals *China heute* (*China Today*) and *Religions & Christianity in Today's China*, which not only present scholarly articles but also inform readers about news and trends in Christianity and other religions of China.⁵ Of all the scholars who have written about Christianity in China, long-term editor of *China heute* Roman Malek may be considered the most prolific. From Christianity in China (Malek 1996) and in Hong Kong and Macao (1997; 2000b) to Nestorianism in medieval China (Malek and Hofrichter 2006), the various Chinese interpretations of Jesus Christ (Malek 2002–2007), and missionary history (Malek and Zingerle 2000), his work covers a wide range of topics related to Christianity in Chinese history and in the present.

As mentioned above, political scientist Kristin Kupfer has researched the development of Christian-inspired sects that stay outside of official corporatist Chinese Protestantism (2004; 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2009; 2010; 2012). In a recent article she also studies Protestant identities as represented on internet blogs (2014). The policy of the PRC towards Christianity and Christian sects is analyzed by a number of authors (Gänssbauer 2004; Kupfer 2008; Oschwald 2008). The past and future development of Catholic Christianity in China is also discussed by some authors (Oschwald 2008; Wenzel-Teubner 2012). However, whereas Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants' conversions to Protestant Christianity in the United States is a relatively well-researched field of inquiry (Yang 1999; Guest 2003; Chen 2008), Chinese Protestantism in Germany is a comparably new object of study that has been pioneered by Johanna Lüdde (b. 1979). In her award-winning doctoral thesis (University of Leipzig) she draws upon qualitative data (interviews, participant observation) in order to analyze the motives and strategies of Chinese conversions to Protestant Christianity in Germany, suggesting that conversions may provide solutions for coping with very personal and individual problems (Lüdde 2011; 2013). Compared to the huge interest in Chinese Christianity, there are only a few works on Islam (Mees 1984) and Judaism (Malek 2000a) in China. Maria Jaschok has recently begun to publish extensively on modern Chinese Islam while particularly focusing on gender issues and the apparently unique Chinese tradition of female imams (*nü ahong* 女阿訇) (Jaschok 2003; 2005; 2012; Jaschok and Shui 2000; 2011; 2014; 2015).

5 <http://www.china-zentrum.de/China-heute.26.o.html> (accessed June 5, 2015).

Religious Change in Modern China, Taiwan, and Beyond

With the fall of the Chinese empire, German scholars began to address the question of religious change in modernizing society. For instance, renowned sinologist and translator Richard Wilhelm discussed the fate of Confucianism in the early republic. His argument that Confucianism has to become a “church” if it does not want to perish (1913, cited in Franke 1915:422) anticipates the phenomenon of “church engineering” as discussed by Vincent Goossaert and David Palmer with respect to various traditional religions in early Republican China (2011:67–90). Prominent sinologist Otto Franke (1863–1946), who already in 1909 wrote about the reform efforts of famous lay Buddhist Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1911) and like-minded Buddhist practitioners (Franke 1909), also discussed the fate of the imperial state cult and Confucianism during the Republican revolution (1914).

Besides these early efforts to track religious change in an era of profound political, social, and economic transformation, this question has been taken up by later scholars who focused on Taiwan. Some authors, such as Tang Chih-Chieh and Chi Wei-hsian, chose distinct macro-sociological approaches like Luhmann’s “systems theory” (Tang 2002; 2004) or Bourdieu’s “praxeological economy” (Chi 2005) in order to explain the nature of religious change in twentieth-century Taiwan. A similar macro view is taken by Philip Clart, who tries to explain religious change in Taiwan against the background of industrialization, urbanization, and an increase in the general level of education. According to Clart, the increased levels of social mobility and education in particular have led to the diminishing of traditional ascriptive religiosity on the one hand, and an increase of voluntary religious associations, such as sects, on the other (1995/1996:129, 135, 139–141, 152). He thus confirms an important point raised by Seiwert, who argued that the “Confucianization” of Yiguandao beliefs and symbols in 1970s Taiwan is to be attributed to the increased level of education among Yiguandao followers and their demand for a traditional Chinese identity (Seiwert 1981). Besides Seiwert’s application of rational choice theory to the dynamics of Chinese sectarianism (2003:438–484; 2009a; 2009b), other scholars have tried to critically examine the sociological theory of the “religious marketplace” as well, thus analyzing religious change in Taiwan (Chi 2005:52–81), religious pluralism in late imperial China (Gentz 2011), and the growth of Chinese Protestantism in nineteenth and twentieth-century China (Klein 2011; cf. Klein and Meyer 2011).

Other scholars have focused on one particular object of worship (Pennarz 1992; Tischer 2014), locale (Pennarz 1992), or religious tradition (Günzel 1998; Goldfuß 2000) in order to discuss religious change. Pennarz follows the founding and establishing of a Mazu temple during the industrialization of rural

Taiwan in the 1970s and 1980s. In discussing the various religious institutions (temples, temple committees, “cult organizations,” pilgrimage organizations, etc.) in different villages, she touches on questions of the commercialization of temples, cultural continuity, and modernization (Pennarz 1992:128–138, 151–166). Particularly intriguing is her critique of the conventional anthropological view that participation in communal ritual activities serves to express collective solidarity and is helpful in uniting divergent interests among the inhabitants of a community. On the contrary, Pennarz shows that temple committees serve as arenas for the struggle for power of different interest groups and that communal conflicts are not at all settled in the event of a large communal ritual (1992:116–118). Building on fieldwork conducted in 2009/2010, Tischer discusses the competition between Mazu temples and particularly the different uses of the goddess for concurrent political purposes by different groups in Taiwanese society. In highlighting the political role of Mazu as an integrative symbol for Chinese and/or Taiwanese identities, as well as the use of Mazu temples as arenas for electoral campaigns, he argues that temples have to be taken seriously by political scientists due to their influence on political decision-making processes (Tischer 2014:158–161). Regarding the transformation of Buddhism in postwar Taiwan, Marcus Günzel (1998) discusses the establishment of Chinese monastic Buddhism after the retrocession in 1945. Gabriele Goldfuß, who is best known for her French dissertation on the late Qing Buddhist reformer Yang Wenhui (Goldfuß 2001), has also written on the growth of the female monastic order in contemporary Taiwan, with special attention to the role of the Compassion Relief Foundation (*Ciji Gongdehui* 慈濟功德會) (Goldfuß 2000). Issues of gender and religion in modern China are also discussed by Maria Jaschok, who focuses on Muslim women and the transformation of their religious identities and legitimacy in the People’s Republic (Jaschok 2003; 2005; 2012; Jaschok and Shui 2000; 2011; 2015).

Religions between China and the West

Another aspect of religious change in the Chinese world may be seen in the spread and adaptation of Chinese religions in the West. Philip Clart was among the first scholars to study the spread of Yiguandao to non-Chinese societies. Building on fieldwork conducted between 1993 and 1996 in the Greater Vancouver area, he has analyzed the development of the sect among a major Chinese overseas community, one of whose temples also attracts Western converts (Clart 2000:140). A preliminary study of the activities of one Yiguandao branch as well as Buddha’s Light Mountain (Foguangshan 佛光山) in Vienna has been initiated by Max Deeg (2005), a scholar of Chinese Buddhism, but unfortunately it has not yet been carried further. In addition, Johanna Lüdde has written extensively about Chinese religions in Germany. In her first book she

examines the Berlin Shaolin 少林 temple in order to analyze the acculturation of Chinese Buddhism in Germany (2007; 2008). Furthermore, her dissertation discusses the motives and strategies behind Chinese conversions to Protestant Christianity in Germany (2011; 2013).

Summary

In concordance with research on Chinese religions across the globe, the perspective and methodology of German scholarship has been extended greatly beyond the traditional philological and historical approaches to Chinese studies and history of religions that dominated research for a long time. By including methods of sociology, political science, and anthropology, German scholarship has addressed themes and problems that are not only important for the study of religion in China but also apply to the comparative study of religion, culture, society, and politics. According to my impressions, it is possible to identify five particularly strong German contributions to the field of religion in China. (1) Max Weber's search for a Confucian work ethic has inspired a number of scholars to analyze the rationalizing impact of Confucian worldviews as well as to evaluate the possibility of an original Chinese or East Asian Confucian capitalist ethic. Aside from Weber's contribution to this topic, however, his analysis of premodern Chinese society and religion has been refuted almost completely by later scholarship. While rejecting Weber's erroneous dichotomy of Confucianism (orthodoxy) and Daoism (heterodoxy), some scholars have nevertheless tried to capture the nature of the dominant worldviews and practices in China. (2) Since the early twentieth century, religious specialists, clergies, and monastic practices constitute another important area of research, with an emphasis on Buddhist and Daoist clergies as well as the ancient tradition of the *wu*, sometimes referred to as shamans. (3) Due to extensive ethnographic engagement with the Chinese world since the late nineteenth century, the study of popular religious practices and customs has attracted equal attention alongside the Three Teachings. Following the split of East and West Germany and their complicated relationship with the two "Chinas," however, this engagement came to a halt in the early 1950s and was revived only in the 1980s. (4) The modern transformation of religion has attracted attention both as a historical phenomenon and as an object of sociological analysis. Most case studies in this field are concerned with the Taiwanese experience. (5) The spread and development of sectarian religion and so-called new religious movements in China and Taiwan has become an important field of research following the pioneering work of Hubert Seiwert in the 1980s.

References

- Banck, Werner. 1985. *Das chinesische Tempelorakel*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bell, Catherine. 1989. "Religion and Chinese Culture: Toward an Assessment of 'Popular Religion.'" *History of Religions* 29 (1): 35–57.
- Berndt, Andreas. 2012. "The Cult of the Longwang: Their Origin, Spread, and Regional Significance." In *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions / Zhongguo minjian zongjiao, minjian xinyang yanjiu zhi Zhong Ou shijiao* 中國民間宗教，民間信仰研究之中歐視角, edited by Philip Clart, pp. 61–94. Taipei: Boyang wenhua.
- . 2014. "Der Kult der Drachenkönige (*longwang*) im China der späten Kaiserzeit." PhD diss., University of Leipzig.
- Boerschmann, Ernst. 1911a. "Einige Beispiele für die gegenseitige Durchdringung der drei chinesischen Religionen." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (3–4): 429–435.
- . 1911b. *P'u T'o Shan, die heilige Insel der Kuan Yin, der Göttin der Barmherzigkeit*. Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen 1. Berlin: Reimer.
- . 1914. *Gedächtnistempel*. Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen 2. Berlin: Reimer.
- . 1931. *Pagoden*. Die Baukunst und religiöse Kultur der Chinesen 3. Berlin: Reimer.
- Breuer, Stefan. 2001. "Magie, Zauber, Entzauberung." In *Max Webers "Religionssystematik"*, edited by Hans G. Kippenberg and Martin Riesebrodt, pp. 119–130. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Broy, Nikolas. 2006. "Buddhismus und Gewalt: Am Beispiel kriegerischer Mönche in China." MA thesis, University of Leipzig. https://www.academia.edu/6222118/Buddhismus_und_Gewalt_am_Beispielerischer_M%C3%B6nche_in_China (accessed June 5, 2015).
- . 2007. "Das *dharma* schützen, das Reich schützen, sich selbst schützen? Militärisch tätige buddhistische Mönche in China in den Dynastien Song und Ming." *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 15 (2): 199–224.
- . 2012a. "Martial Monks in Medieval Chinese Buddhism." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 40 (1): 45–89.
- . 2012b. "Secret Societies, Buddhist Fundamentalists, or Popular Religious Movements? Aspects of Zhaijiao in Taiwan." In *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions / Zhongguo minjian zongjiao, minjian xinyang yanjiu zhi Zhong Ou shijiao* 中國民間宗教，民間信仰研究之中歐視角, edited by Philip Clart, pp. 329–368. Taipei: Boyang wenhua.
- . 2014. "Die religiöse Praxis der Zhaijiao ("Vegetarische Sekten") in Taiwan." PhD diss., University of Leipzig. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:15-qucosa-138361> (accessed June 8, 2015).

- Bumbacher, Stephan P. 2000. "On Pre-Tang Daoist Monastic Establishments at Mao Shan, according to Daoxue zhuan." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 28 (1): 145–160.
- . 2012. *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China*. St. Petersburg, FL: Three Pines Press.
- Chang, Tsung-tung. 1970. *Der Kult der Shang-Dynastie im Spiegel der Orakelinschriften: Eine paläographische Studie zur Religion im archaischen China*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Chavannes, Édouard. 1910. *Le T'ai Chan: Essai de monographie d'un culte chinois; appendice le dieu du sol dans la chine antique*. Paris: Leroux.
- Chen, Carolyn. 2008. *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Chen, Xiaochun. 1992. *Mission und Kolonialpolitik: Studie über die deutsche katholische Mission in Süd-Shandong*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.
- Chi, Wei-Hsian. 2005. "Der Wandel der Sozialform des Religiösen in Taiwan." PhD diss., University of Bielefeld. http://bieson.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/volltexte/2005/693/pdf/Dissertation_Chiz.pdf (accessed May 12, 2015).
- Clart, Philip. 1992. "The Protestant Ethic Analogy in the Study of Chinese History: On Yü Ying-shih's *Zhongguo jinshi zongjiao lunli yu shangren jingshen*." *British Columbia Asian Review* 6: 6–31.
- . 1995/1996. "Sects, Cults, and Popular Religion: Aspects of Religious Change in Post-War Taiwan." *British Columbia Asian Review* 8: 120–163.
- . 1995. "The Ritual Context of Morality Books: A Case-Study of a Taiwanese Spirit-Writing Cult." PhD diss., University of British Columbia.
- . 1997. "The Phoenix and the Mother: The Interaction of Spirit-Writing Cults and Popular Sects in Taiwan." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 25: 1–32.
- . 2000. "Opening the Wilderness for the Way of Heaven: A Chinese New Religion in the Greater Vancouver Area." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 28: 127–144.
- . 2003. "Moral Mediums: Spirit-Writing and the Cultural Construction of Chinese Spirit-Mediumship." *Ethnologies* 25 (1): 153–190.
- . 2009. "Merit beyond Measure: Notes on the Moral (and Real) Economy of Religious Publishing in Taiwan." In *The People and the Dao: New studies in Chinese Religions in honour of Daniel L. Overmyer*, edited by Philip Clart and Paul Crowe, pp. 127–142. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica.
- . 2012. "Mediums and the New Media: The Impact of Electronic Publishing on Temple and Moral Economies in Taiwanese Popular Religion." *Journal of Sinological Studies* 3: 127–141.
- . 2014. "Eduard Erkes und die Leipziger Forschung zur chinesischen Religionsgeschichte." Paper presented at the anniversary conference "100 Jahre Ostasiatisches Institut an der Universität Leipzig" Leipzig.

- Clart, Philip, and Gregory A. Scott, eds. 2015. *Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China: 1800–2012*. Boston: De Gruyter.
- Deeg, Max. 2001. "Der religiöse 'Synkretismus' der chinesischen Kaiserin Wu Zetian: Versuch einer Staatsreligion?" In *Zwischen Säkularismus und Hierokratie: Studien zum Verhältnis von Religion und Staat in Süd- und Ostasien*, edited by Peter Schalk, pp. 119–142. Uppsala: Tryck & Medier.
- . 2005. "Zwischen kultureller Identität und universalem Heilsanspruch: Chinesische religiöse Diaspora-Gemeinden im Wandel moderner gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse: Das Beispiel der 'Mile-dadao (Yiguan-dao)'- und 'Foguang-shan'-Gruppen in Wien." In *Migration und Religion im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann, pp. 49–63. Göttingen: Wallstein.
- Devaranne, Theodor. 1924. *Chinas Volksreligion dargestellt nach einer Rundfrage und verglichen mit den Grundlehren des Laotze, Konfuzius und Buddha*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Diesinger, Gunter. 1984. *Vom General zum Gott: Kuan Yü (gest. 220 n. Chr.) und seine "posthume Karriere"*. Frankfurt am Main: Haag + Herchen.
- Drexler, Monika. 1994. *Daoistische Schriftmagie: Interpretationen zu den Schriftamuletten Fu in Daozang*. Münchener ostasiatische Studien 68. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Eberhard, Wolfram. 1935. *Zur Volkskunde von Chêkiang: Ergebnisse meiner mit Hilfe der Baesslerstiftung ausgeführten Studienreise 1934–1935*. Berlin.
- . 1936. "Neuere Forschungen zur Religion Chinas." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 33: 303–344.
- . 1939. "Chinesischer Bauzauber: Untersuchungen an chinesischen Volksmärchen." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 71 (1939): 87–99.
- . 1942a. *Lokalkulturen im alten China: Teil 1: Die Lokalkulturen des Nordens und Westens*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1942b. *Lokalkulturen im alten China: Teil 2: Die Lokalkulturen des Südens und Ostens*. Peking: The Catholic University.
- . 1952. *Chinese Festivals*. New York: Henry Schuman.
- . 1968. *The Local Cultures of South and East China*. Leiden: Brill.
- Eichhorn, Werner. 1968. *Beitrag zur rechtlichen Stellung des Buddhismus und Taoismus im Sung-Staat: Übers. d. Sektion Taoismus u. Buddhismus aus d. Ch'ing-yüan t'iao-fa shih-lei (Ch. 50 u. 51)*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1976. *Die alte Chinesische Religion und das Staatskultwesen*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 4. Abteilung. Leiden: Brill.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel. 1983. "Innerweltliche Transzendenz und die Strukturierung der Welt: Max Webers Studie über China und die Gestalt der chinesischen Zivilisation." In *Max Webers Studie über Konfuzianismus und Taoismus: Interpretation und Kritik*, edited by Wolfgang Schluchter, pp. 363–411. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- . 1985. "This Worldly Transcendentalism and the Structuring of the World: Weber's Religion of China." *Journal of Developing Societies* 1 (2): 168–186.

- Erkes, Eduard. 1935. "Ein mystischer Kommentar zu Lao-tse." *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaften und Religionswissenschaften* 50: 197–219.
- . 1945. "Ho-Shang-Kung's Commentary on Lao-tse." *Artibus Asiae* 8 (2/4): 119–196.
- . 1948. "Die taoistische Meditation und ihre Bedeutung für das chinesische Geistesleben." *Psyche* 2 (3): 371–379.
- . 1956. "Die heutige Stellung der Religionen in China." *Numen* 3 (1): 28–35.
- Filipiak, Kai. 2001. *Die chinesische Kampfkunst: Spiegel und Element traditioneller chinesischer Kultur*. Mitteldeutsche Studien zu Ostasien 6. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag.
- Franke, Otto. 1909. "Ein buddhistischer Reformversuch in China." *T'oung Pao* 10: 222–228.
- . 1914. "Das religiöse Problem in China." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 17: 165–196.
- . 1915. "Die religionswissenschaftliche Literatur über China seit 1909." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 18: 394–479.
- Gänssbauer, Monika. 2004. *Parteistaat und protestantische Kirche: Religionspolitik im nachmaoistischen China*. Frankfurt am Main: Lembeck.
- Genz, Joachim. 2011. "Rational Choice and the Chinese Discourse on the Unity of the Three Religions (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一)." *Religion* 41 (4): 535–546.
- Goldfuß, Gabriele. 2000. "Frauen machen Buddhismus: Vom unaufhaltsamen Wandel einer Religion am Beispiel Taiwans." *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (2): 125–141.
- . 2001. *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle: Yang Wenhui (1837–1911), réformateur laïque et imprimeur*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.
- Goossaert, Vincent, and Ling Fang. 2008. "Les réformes funéraires et la politique religieuse de l'État chinois, 1900–2008." *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* (144): 51–73.
- Goossaert, Vincent, and David A. Palmer. 2011. *The Religious Question in Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Groot, Jan Jakob Maria de. 1881. *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken van de Emoy-Chineezzen*. Batavia: Bruining.
- . 1886. *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui (Amoy): Étude concernant la religion populaire des chinois*. Translated by César G. Chavannes. Paris: Leroux.
- . 1892–1910. *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect, Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith*. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1893. *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine: Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque*. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.
- . 1894. *Buddhist Masses for the Dead at Amoy*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1903–1904. *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China: A Page in the History of Religions*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

- . 1912. *Religion in China: Universism: A Key to the Study of Taoism and Confucianism*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- . 1918. *Universismus: Die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik, des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas*. Berlin: Reimer.
- . 1919. *Der Thupa, das heiligste Heiligtum des Buddhismus in China: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der esoterischen Lehre des Mahayana*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Grube, Wilhelm. 1898. "Pekinger Todtengebräuche." *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* 4: 79–142.
- . 1901. *Zur Pekingischer Volkskunde*. Berlin: Spemann.
- . 1910. *Religion und Kultus der Chinesen*. Leipzig: Haupt.
- Guest, Kenneth J. 2003. *God in Chinatown: Religion and Survival in New York's Evolving Immigrant Community*. Religion, Race, and Ethnicity. New York: New York University Press.
- Günzel, Marcus. 1994. *Die Morgen- und Abendliturgie der chinesischen Buddhisten*. Göttingen: Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde.
- . 1998. *Die Taiwan-Erfahrung des chinesischen Saṅgha: Zur Entwicklung des buddhistischen Mönchs- und Nonnenordens in der Republik China nach 1949*. Göttingen: Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde.
- Hackmann, Heinrich. 1906. *Der Buddhismus in China, Korea und Japan*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- . 1924. *Laien-Buddhismus in China: Das Lung shu Ching tú wên des Wang Jih hsiu*. Gotha: Klotz Verlag.
- . 1931. *Die dreihundert Mönchsgebote des chinesischen Taoismus*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akad. van Wetenschappen.
- Heberer, Thomas. 2001. *Falungong—Religion, Sekte oder Kult? Eine Heilsgemeinschaft als Manifestation von Modernisierungsproblemen und sozialen Entfremdungsprozessen*. Jena: IKS Garamond.
- . 2008. "Falungong: soziales, politisches und religiöses Phänomen zwischen Tradition und Modernisierungsfrust." In *Religion und Politik in der Volksrepublik China*, edited by Wiebke Koenig and Karl-Fritz Daiber, pp. 289–312. Religion in der Gesellschaft 23. Würzburg: Ergon.
- Heise, Thomas. 1999. *Qigong in der VR China: Entwicklung, Theorie und Praxis*. Berlin: VWB.
- Hetmanczyk, Philipp. 2007. "Ideologiewandel in der chinesischen Religionspolitik: Überwindung einer Legitimitätskrise?" *China Aktuell* (3): 77–94.
- . 2011. "Administrative Neuerungen gegenüber 'volksreligiösen Versammlungsstätten': Zum religionspolitischen Status der Volksreligion in China." *China heute* 30 (2): 103–106.

- . 2015. "Party Ideology and the Changing Role of Religion: From 'United Front' to 'Intangible Cultural Heritage.'" *Asiatische Studien—Études Asiatiques* 69 (1): 165–184.
- Hollstein, Betina. 2002. "Kann man mit Max Weber den Transformationsprozess in China besser verstehen?" In *Religion, Werte und Wirtschaft: China und der Transformationsprozess in Asien*, edited by Hans G. Nutzinger, pp. 43–54. Marburg: Metropolis.
- Janousch, Andreas. 1999. "The Emperor as Bodhisattva: The Bodhisattva Ordination and Ritual Assemblies of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty." In *State and Court Ritual in China*, edited by Joseph P. McDermott, pp. 112–149. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2014. "The Censor's Stele: Religion, Salt-Production and Labour in the Temple of the God of the Salt Lake in Southern Shanxi Province." *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* (39): 7–53.
- Jansen, Thomas. 2001. "Der chinesische Kaiser Liang Wudi (reg. 502–549) und der Buddhismus." In *Zwischen Säkularismus und Hierokratie: Studien zum Verhältnis von Religion und Staat in Süd- und Ostasien*, edited by Peter Schalk, pp. 89–118. Uppsala: Tryck & Medier.
- Jaschok, Maria. 2003. "Violation and Resistance: Women, Religion, and Chinese Statehood." *Violence Against Women* 9 (6): 655–675.
- . 2005. "Gender, Religion, and Little Traditions: Chinese Muslim Women Singing Minguo." In *Women in China: The Republican Period in Historical Perspective*, edited by Mechthild Leutner and Nicola Spakowski, pp. 242–281. Berliner China-Studien 44. Münster: Lit.
- . 2012. "Sources of Authority: Female *Ahong* and *Qingzhen Nüsi* (Women's Mosques) in China." In *Women, Leadership and Mosques: Changes in Contemporary Islamic Authority*, edited by Masooda Bano and Hilary Kalmbach, pp. 37–58. Leiden: Brill.
- Jaschok, Maria, and Jingjun Shui. 2000. *The History of Women's Mosques in Chinese Islam: A Mosque of Their Own*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.
- . 2011. *Women, Religion, and Space in China: Islamic Mosques & Daoist Temples, Catholic Convents & Chinese Virgins*. New York: Routledge.
- . 2014. "The Culture of 'Associational Leadership' in the Hui Muslim Women's Mosques of Central China." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 42 (5): 641–656.
- . 2015. "Chinese Hui Muslim Pilgrims—Back Home from Mecca: Negotiating Identity and Gender, Status and Afterlife." In *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*, edited by Stanley D. Brunn, pp. 3169–3187. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
- Kaesler, Dirk. 2015. "Der Traum von der Herrschaft der Literaten: Max Weber über China." In *Max Weber, China und die Medien: Zwei Studien zum 150. Geburtstag des Soziologen*, edited by Siegfried Weischenberg and Dirk Kaesler, pp. 13–27. Wiesbaden: Springer vs.

- Kalberg, Stephen. 2000. "Ideen und Interessen: Max Weber über den Ursprung außerweltlicher Erlösungsreligionen." *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (1): 45–70.
- Kischkel, Heinz. 1988. "Max Weber und das Tao: Zu einem neuen taoistischen Paradigma der Religionswissenschaft." *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 40: 335–357.
- Klein, Thoralf. 2002. *Die Basler Mission in Guangdong (Südchina) 1859–1931: Akkulturationsprozesse und kulturelle Grenzziehungen zwischen Missionaren, chinesischen Christen und lokaler Gesellschaft*. Munich: Iudicium.
- . 2005a. "Missionarische Netzwerke und Transformation: Am Beispiel von Nordost-Guangdong." *Periplus* 15: 41–71.
- . 2005b. "Wozu untersucht man Missionsgesellschaften? Ein Vorschlag am Beispiel der Basler Mission in China." *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 5: 73–99.
- . 2006. "Chuanjiaoshi de guanxiwang yu shehui zhuanxing: Yi Yue dongbei wei li" 传教士的关系网与社会转型：以粤东北为例 (Missionary networks and social transformations: The case of Northeastern Guangdong). *Qing shi yicong* 清史译丛 5: 84–112.
- . 2009a. "Linking Up with Local Society: German-Speaking Missionaries and Modernization in Rural South China, ca. 1900–1930." *Berliner China-Hefte* 35: 48–63.
- . 2009b. "Weltgeschichte, Heilsgeschichte: Protestantische Missionare und die Umwälzungen in China 1900–1912." *Comparativ* 35: 50–65.
- . 2011. "Conversion to Protestant Christianity in China and the 'Supply-Side Model': Explaining Changes in the Chinese Religious Field." *Religion* 41 (4): 595–625.
- Klein, Thoralf, and Christian Meyer. 2011. "Beyond the Market: Exploring the Religious Field in Modern China." *Religion* 41 (4): 529–534.
- Kleine, Christoph. 2013. "Säkulare Identitäten im 'Zaubergarten' des vormodernen Japan? Theoretische Überlegungen auf historischer Basis." In *Säkularität in religionswissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, edited by Peter Antes and Steffen Führding, pp. 109–130. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.
- Kögel, Eduard. 2015. *The Grand Documentation: Ernst Boerschmann and Chinese Religious Architecture: 1906–1931*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kohn, Livia. 1995. *Laughing at the Tao: Debates Among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 2003. *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- . 2004. *The Daoist Monastic Manual: A Translation of the "Fengdao kejie"*. American Academy of Religion Texts and Translations Series. New York: Oxford University Press.
- , ed. 2006. *Daoist Body Cultivation: Traditional Models and Contemporary Practices*. Magdalena, NM: Three Pines Press.

- . 2008a. *Chinese Healing Exercises: The Tradition of Daoyin*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- . 2008b. *Meditation Works: In the Daoist, Buddhist, and Hindu Traditions*. Magdalena, NM: Three Pines Press.
- . 2010a. *Daoist Dietetics: Food for Immortality*. Dunedin, FL: Three Pines Press.
- . 2010. *Sitting in Oblivion: The Heart of Daoist Meditation*. Dunedin, FL: Three Pines Press.
- Krieger, Silke, and Rolf Trauzettel, eds. 1990. *Konfuzianismus und die Modernisierung Chinas*. Mainz: V. Hase & Koehler.
- , eds. 1991. *Confucianism and the Modernization of China*. Mainz: V. Hase & Koehler.
- Ku, Chung-hwa. 1987. "Traditionalismus und Rationalismus: Problem einer Unterscheidung am Beispiel der China-Studie Max Webers." PhD diss., University of Heidelberg.
- Kühner, Hans. 1996. *Die Lehren und die Entwicklung der "Taigu-Schule": Eine dissidente Strömung in einer Epoche des Niedergangs der konfuzianischen Orthodoxie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2005. "Weltanschauliche Toleranz oder staatliche Verfolgung von Heterodoxien? Ein Fall aus dem späten chinesischen Kaiserreich." In *Chinesische Religion und Philosophie: Konfuzianismus, Mohismus, Daoismus, Buddhismus: Grundlagen und Einblicke*, edited by Konrad Meisig, pp. 155–174. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2009. "Sorcerers, Bandits, and Rebels: Anti-Heretical Discourse and Practice in Late Qing China." *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 33: 17–38.
- Kupfer, Kristin. 2004. "Christian-Inspired Groups in the People's Republic of China after 1978: Reaction of State and Party Authorities." *Social Compass* 51 (2): 273–286.
- . 2007. "Images of Jesus Christ in Christian Inspired Spiritual and Religious Movements in China since 1978." In *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*, vol. 3b, edited by Roman Malek, pp. 1363–1376. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum.
- . 2008a. "Häretische Lehren bekämpfen: Der Umgang der chinesischen Regierung mit spirituell-religiösen Gruppierungen nach 1978." In *Religion und Politik in der Volksrepublik China*, edited by Wiebke Koenig and Karl-Fritz Daiber, pp. 251–288. Religion in der Gesellschaft 23. Würzburg: Ergon.
- . 2008b. "Soziale Sicherung in der VR China und die Rolle spiritueller-religiöser Gruppen." In *Ost- und Südostasien zwischen Wohlfahrtsstaat und Eigeninitiative: Aktuelle Entwicklungstendenzen von Armut, Alterung und sozialer Unsicherheit*, edited by Karl Husa, pp. 201–216. Vienna: Universität Wien, Inst. für Geographie und Regionalforschung.

- . 2009. "Longing for Security: Qigong and Christian Groups in the People's Republic of China." In *Social Security in Religious Networks: Anthropological Perspectives on New Risks and Ambivalences*, edited by Carolin Leutloff-Grandits, Anja Peleikis, and Tatjana Thelen, pp. 81–104. New York: Berghahn Books.
- . 2010. "Emergence and Development of Spiritual-Religious Groups in China after 1978." PhD diss., University of Bochum.
- . 2012. "Saints, Secrets, and Salvation: Emergence of Spiritual-Religious Groups between 1979–1989." In *Christianity in Contemporary China: Socio-cultural Perspectives*, edited by Francis K. G. Lim, pp. 183–204. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- . 2014. "Concepts of (Protestant) Christian Identity in Chinese Microblogs." In *Religion, Tradition and the Popular: Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe*, edited by Judith Schlehe and Evamaria Sandkühler, pp. 115–138. Bielefeld: Transcript.
- Lee, Eun-Jeung. 2003. *"Anti-Europa"—Die Geschichte der Rezeption des Konfuzianismus und der konfuzianischen Gesellschaft seit der frühen Aufklärung: Eine ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Entwicklung*. Hamburg: Lit.
- Lee, Hyung G. 1997. *Eine ostasiatische Kritik an Max Webers Rationalisierungskonzept (und der damit verbundenen Modernisierungstheorie): Am Beispiel konfuzianischer Ethik und ostasiatischer Rationalisierung*. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang.
- Leutner, Mechthild. 1989. *Geburt, Heirat und Tod in Peking: Volkskultur und Elitekultur vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- (Luo Meijun 罗梅君). 2001. *Beijing de shengyu, hunyin he sangzang: Shiji shiji zhi dangdai de minjian wenhua he shangceng wenhua* 北京的生育、婚姻和丧葬：19世纪至当代的民间文化和上层文化 (Birth, marriage, and funeral in Beijing: Popular and elite culture from the nineteenth century to the present). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Lin, Duan. 1997. *Konfuzianische Ethik und Legitimation der Herrschaft im alten China: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der vergleichenden Soziologie Max Webers*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.
- Liu Dong. 2003. "The Weberian View and Confucianism." *East Asian History* (25–26): 191–217.
- Lüdde, Johanna. 2007. *Die Akkulturation chinesisch-buddhistischer Kultur im Shaolin Tempel Deutschland*. Berlin: Lit.
- . 2008. "Die Akkulturation des Chan-Buddhismus im Shaolin Tempel Deutschland." *Transformierte Buddhismen* 1: 28–53.
- . 2011. "Die Funktionen der Konversion chinesischer Studierender in Deutschland zum Christentum (protestantischer Prägung) am Beispiel einer chinesischen christlichen Gemeinde in einer deutschen Großstadt." PhD diss., University of Leipzig. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:15-qucosa-147201> (accessed June 5, 2015).

- . 2013. "Nur eine Coping-Strategie unter vielen: Die Konversion chinesischer Studierender in Deutschland zum Christentum evangelikaler Prägung." *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 21 (2): 145–176.
- Malek, Roman. 1985. *Das Zhaijie lu: Materialien zur Liturgie im Taoismus*. Würzburger Sino-Japonica 14. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang.
- . 1996. "Fallbeispiel" China: *Ökumenische Beiträge zu Religion, Theologie, und Kirche im chinesischen Kontext*. Sankt Augustin, Germany: China-Zentrum; Nettetal: Steyler.
- , ed. 1997. *Hongkong: Kirche und Gesellschaft im Übergang: Materialien und Dokumente*. Sankt Augustin, Germany: China-Zentrum; Nettetal: Steyler.
- , ed. 2000a. *From Kaifeng—to Shanghai: Jews in China*. Nettetal: Steyler.
- , ed. 2000b. *Macau: Herkunft Ist Zukunft*. Nettetal: Steyler.
- , ed. 2002–2007. *The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ*. 4 vols. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica and China-Zentrum.
- Malek, Roman, and Peter Hofrichter. 2006. *Jingjiao: The Church of the East in China and Central Asia*. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica.
- Malek, Roman, and Arnold Zingerle, eds. 2000. *Martino Martini S.J. (1614–1661) und die Chinamission im 17. Jahrhundert*. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica.
- Mees, Imke. 1984. *Die Hui, eine moslemische Minderheit in China: Assimilationsprozesse und politische Rolle vor 1949*. Minerva-Fachserie Geisteswissenschaften. Munich: Minerva Publikation Saur.
- Meyer, Christian. 2013. "Religionspolitik und die Transformation des religiösen Feldes in der Volksrepublik China am Beispiel Falun Gong: Gibt es eine neue 'Religionspolitik chinesischen Typs'?" In *Religion und Politik im gegenwärtigen Asien: Konvergenzen und Divergenzen*, edited by Edith Franke and Katja Triplett, pp. 141–166. Berlin: Lit.
- Mueller, Herbert. 1911. "Über das taoistische Pantheon der Chinesen." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (3–4): 393–428.
- Müller, Claudius C. 1980. *Untersuchungen zum "Erdaltar" she im China der Chou- und Han-Zeit*. Munich: Minerva.
- Nagel, A. 1908. "Der chinesische Küchengott (Tsau-kyun)." *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 11: 23–44.
- Nutzinger, Hans G., ed. 2002. *Religion, Werte und Wirtschaft: China und der Transformationsprozess in Asien*. Marburg: Metropolis.
- Olles, Volker. 1998. *Spuren des Himmelsmeisters: Zur Rolle von Zhang Daoling in der frühen daoistischen Religion*. Religionswissenschaft 2. Münster: Lit.
- . 2005. *Der Berg des Lao Zi in der Provinz Sichuan und die 24 Diözesen der daoistischen Religion*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2009a. "Lord Lao's Mountain: From Celestial Master Daoism to Contemporary Daoist Practice." *Journal of Daoist Studies* 2: 109–136.

- . 2009b. "The Way of the Locust Tree Studio: Preliminary Remarks on the Foundations and Functions of the Popular Religious Liumen Movement." In *Foundations of Daoist Ritual: A Berlin Symposium*, edited by Florian C. Reiter, pp. 107–117. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2012. "The Gazetteer of Mt. Tianshe: How the Liumen Community Reshaped a Daoist Sacred Mountain." In *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions / Zhongguo minjian zongjiao, minjian xinyang yanjiu zhi Zhong Ou shijiao* 中國民間宗教，民間信仰研究之中歐視角, edited by Philip Clart, pp. 229–289. Taipei: Boyang wenhua.
- . 2013. *Ritual Words: Daoist Liturgy and the Confucian Liumen Tradition in Sichuan Province*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ommerborn, Wolfgang. 2012. *Zwischen Sakralem und Säkularem: Bedeutung und Entwicklung religiöser Begriffe und Praktiken in China bis zur Han-Zeit (206 v.u. Z.–220)*. Bochum: Projektverlag.
- . 2014. *Selbstbehauptung im Zeichen der Dialektik der Säkularisierung: Neukonfuzianismus und die Frage nach der Religiosität des Konfuzianismus*. Bochum: Projektverlag.
- Oschwald, Hanspeter. 2008. *Maos fromme Enkel: Chinas Christen im Aufbruch*. Munich: Pattloch.
- Parker, Albert G. 1922. "Contributed Articles: A Study of the Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Common People of China." *The Chinese Recorder* (8): 503–512.
- . 1922. "A Study of the Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Common People of China (Continued from Page 512, August 1922)." *The Chinese Recorder* (9): 575–585.
- Pennarz, Johanna. 1992. *Mazu, Macht und Marktwirtschaft: Die religiöse Organisation im sozialen und ökonomischen Wandlungsprozess der ländlichen Gesellschaft Taiwans*. Munich: Akademischer Verlag.
- Plath, Johann H. 1862. *Die Religion und der Cultus der alten Chinesen*. Munich: Verlag der königlichen Akademie.
- Reiter, Florian C. 2005. "Der daoistische Priester: Selbstverständnis und Anspruch." In *Chinesische Religion und Philosophie: Konfuzianismus, Mohismus, Daoismus, Buddhismus: Grundlagen und Einblicke*, edited by Konrad Meisig, pp. 93–110. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2007. *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic: Daojiao Lei Fa*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rousselle, Erwin. 1932. "Die Typen der Meditation in China." *Almanach des China-Instituts*, 1932: 20–46.
- Schang, Tscheng-Tsu. 1934. "Der Schamanismus in China: Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der chinesischen 'wu.'" PhD diss., Universität Hamburg.
- Scherner, Helga. 2008. "Mein Zugang zu China: Erinnerungen an Eduard Erkes (1891–1958)." *China Today*. http://www.chinatoday.com.cn/ctgerman/buk/txt/2008-12/29/content_172349.htm (accessed June 3, 2015).

- Schindler, Bruno. 1919. "Das Priestertum im alten China: 1. Teil: Königtum und Priestertum: Einleitung und Quellen." PhD diss., University of Leipzig.
- Schluchter, Wolfgang. 1983a. "Einleitung: Max Webers Konfuzianismusstudie—Versuch einer Einordnung." In *Max Webers Studie über Konfuzianismus und Taoismus: Interpretation und Kritik*, edited by Wolfgang Schluchter, pp. 11–54. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- , ed. 1983b. *Max Webers Studie über Konfuzianismus und Taoismus: Interpretation und Kritik*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- . 2014. "‘How Ideas become Effective in History’: Max Weber on Confucianism and Beyond." *Max Weber Studies* 14 (1): 11–31.
- Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig. 1983. "Viele Pfade oder ein Weg: Betrachtungen zur Durchsetzung der konfuzianischen Orthopraxie." In *Max Webers Studie über Konfuzianismus und Taoismus: Interpretation und Kritik*, edited by Wolfgang Schluchter, pp. 298–341. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- . 1990. "Max Webers Interesse am Konfuzianismus: Überlegungen zur Aktualität von Max Webers Studie über den Konfuzianismus." In *Konfuzianismus und die Modernisierung Chinas*, edited by Silke Krieger and Rolf Trauzettel, pp. 281–286. Mainz: V. Hase & Koehler.
- . 1991. "Max Weber's Interest in Confucianism." In *Confucianism and the Modernization of China*, edited by Silke Krieger and Rolf Trauzettel, pp. 243–247. Mainz: V. Hase & Koehler.
- . 2003. "Zur Geltung und Aktualität von Max Webers Studie über Konfuzianismus und Taoismus." In *Max Webers Religionssoziologie in interkultureller Perspektive*, edited by Hartmut Lehmann and Jean M. Ouedraogo, pp. 85–100. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schmidt-Glintzer, Helwig, and Thomas Jansen. 1993. "Religionsdebatten und Machtkonflikte: Veränderungen in den Machtverhältnissen im chinesischen Mittelalter." *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 1 (2): 50–90.
- Seiwert, Hubert. 1979. "Orakelwesen und Zukunftsdeutung im chinesischen Altertum: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Entwicklung des Welt- und Menschenbildes während der Zhou-Dynastie." PhD diss., Philosophische Fakultät, Universität Bonn.
- . 1981. "Religious Response to Modernization in Taiwan: The Case of I-kuan Tao." *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21: 43–70.
- . 1985. *Volksreligion und nationale Tradition in Taiwan: Studien zur regionalen Religionsgeschichte einer chinesischen Provinz*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden.
- . 1994. "Orthodoxie, Orthopraxie und Zivilreligion im vorneuzeitlichen China." In *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Holger Preissler, Hubert Seiwert, and Heinz Mürmel, pp. 529–541. Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag.

- . 1995. "Orthodoxie und Heterodoxie im lokalen Kontext Südchinas." In *Lokale Religionsgeschichte*, edited by Hans G. Kippenberg and Brigitte Luchesi, pp. 145–158. Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag.
- . 2000. "Falun Gong: Eine neue religiöse Bewegung als innenpolitischer Hauptfeind der chinesischen Regierung." *Religion—Staat—Gesellschaft* (1): 119–145.
- . 2002. "Militante buddhistische Mönche im chinesischen Mittelalter." In *Religionsbegegnung und Kulturaustausch in Asien: Studien zum Gedenken an Hans-Joachim Klimkeit*, edited by Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, Wolfgang Gantke, Karl Hoheisel, and Wassilios Klein, pp. 200–208. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2003. *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2005. "Kodifizierte Normen, soziale Normen und Praxis: am Beispiel des chinesischen Buddhismus." In *Im Dickicht der Gebote: Studien zur Dialektik von Norm und Praxis in der Buddhismusgeschichte Asiens*, edited by Peter Schalk and Max Deeg, pp. 15–38. Upsala: Uppsala universitet.
- . 2009a. "Religiöse Bewegungen im frühmodernen China: Eine prozesstheoretische Skizze." In *Religionswissenschaft im Kontext der Asienwissenschaften: 99 Jahre religionswissenschaftliche Lehre und Forschung in Bonn*, edited by Manfred Hutter, pp. 179–196. Berlin: Lit.
- . 2009b. "Transformation of Popular Religious Movements of the Ming and Qing Dynasties: A Rational Choice Interpretation." In *The People and the Dao: New Studies in Chinese Religions in Honour of Daniel L. Overmyer*, edited by Philip Clart and Paul Crowe, pp. 39–62. Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica.
- . 2013a. "Die Säkularität des konfuzianischen Staates und das Böckenförde-Dilemma." In *Anvertraute Worte: Festschrift für Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Susanne Rode-Breyermann and Achim Mittag, pp. 193–208. Hannover: Wehrhahn.
- . 2013b. "Ist Religionsfreiheit eine Errungenschaft der europäischen Moderne?" *Religion—Staat—Gesellschaft* (1): 65–80.
- . 2013c. "Warum religiöse Toleranz kein außereuropäisches Konzept ist oder: Die Harmonie der 'drei Lehren' im vormodernen China." In *Reden und Schweigen über religiöse Differenz: Tolerieren in epochenübergreifender Perspektive*, edited by Dietlind Hüchtker, Yvonne Kleinmann, and Martina Thomsen, pp. 35–58. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.
- . 2014. "Wilde Religionen: Religiöser Nonkonformismus, kulturelle Dynamik und Säkularisierung in China." In *Religiöse Minderheiten und gesellschaftlicher Wandel*, edited by Edith Franke, pp. 11–27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2015. "Religiöser Nonkonformismus in säkularen Gesellschaften." *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1): 35–66.
- Shinohara, Koichi. 1979. "'Adjustment to the World' and 'Rationalization' in Max Weber's Study of Chinese Religious Tradition." *Studies in Religion* 8 (1): 27–34.

- Sprenkel, Otto B. Van der. 1964. "Max Weber on China." *History and Theory* 3 (3): 348–370.
- Steinert, Heinz. 2010. *Max Webers unwiderlegbare Fehlkonstruktionen: Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus.
- Stenz, Georg M. 1907. *Beiträge zur Volkskunde Süd-Schantungs*. Veröffentlichungen des Städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig 1. Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag.
- Tang, Chih-Chieh. 2002. "Ein anderer Weg zur funktionalen Differenzierung: Eine auf das politische System und das Religionssystem fokussierende Betrachtung der Entwicklung funktionaler Differenzierung vom traditionellen China bis zum modernen Taiwan." PhD diss., University of Bielefeld.
- . 2004. *Vom traditionellen China zum modernen Taiwan: Die Entwicklung funktionaler Differenzierung am Beispiel des politischen Systems und des Religionssystems*. Sozialwissenschaft. Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitätsverlag.
- Teiser, Stephen F. 1995. "Popular Religion." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (2): 378–395.
- Tischer, Jacob. 2014. *Mazus neue Heimat: Interpretationen und Institutionen einer chinesischen Göttin in Taiwan*. Berlin: Regiospectra.
- Trauzettel, Rolf. 1993. "Die chinesische Rezeption von Max Webers Studien zur Wirtschaftsethik und die Renaissance des Neo-Konfuzianismus: Ein Überblick." In *Sinologische Traditionen im Spiegel neuer Forschungen*, edited by Ralf Moritz, Mayke Wagner, and Wilmar Mögling, pp. 30–40. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag.
- Volpert, Anton. 1910. "Tsch'öng huang, der Schutzgott der Städte in China." *Anthropos* 5 (4): 991–1026.
- . 1917a. "Chinesische Volksgebräuche beim T'chi jü, Regenbitten." *Anthropos* 12–13 (1–2): 144–151.
- . 1917b. "Volksgebräuche bei der Neujahrsfeier in Ost-Schantung." *Anthropos* 12–13 (5–6): 1118–1119.
- Wäadow, Gerd. 1992. *T'ien-fei-hsien-sheng-lu: Die Aufzeichnungen von der manifestierten Heiligkeit der Himmelsprinzessin: Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica; Nettetal: Steyler.
- Walravens, Hartmut, and Iris Hopf. 2007. *Wilhelm Grube (1855–1908): Leben, Werk und Sammlungen des Sprachwissenschaftlers, Ethnologen und Sinologen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Weber, Max. 1904. "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus." *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 20 (1): 1–54.
- . 1905. "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus: II: Die Berufsidee des asketischen Protestantismus." *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 21 (1): 1–110.
- . 1916a. "Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen: Konfuzianismus." *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 41 (1): 1–87.

- . 1916b. “Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen: Zwischenbetrachtung: Stufen und Richtungen der religiösen Weltablehnung.” *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 41 (2): 335–421.
- . (1920) 1923. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Religionssoziologie: II: Hinduismus und Buddhismus*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- . (1920) 1988a. “Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus.” In *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, edited by Max Weber, pp. 1–206. Tübingen: UTB.
- . (1920) 1988b. “Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen: Konfuzianismus und Taoismus.” In *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. I, edited by Max Weber, 237–536. Tübingen: UTB.
- . 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Edited and translated by Hans H. Gerth. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1951. *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- (Weibo 韋伯). 1989. *Zhongguo de zongjiao: Rujiao yu Daojiao* 中國的宗教：儒教與道教 (The religion of China: Confucianism and Daoism). Translated by Jian Huimei 簡惠美. Taipei: Yuanliu chubanshe.
- Wenzel-Teuber, Katharina. 2012. “Urbanisierung, Migration und Religion in China am Beispiel der Katholischen Kirche.” In *Religionen und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in China*, edited by Iwo Amelung and Thomas Schreijäck, pp. 143–167. Frankfurt East Asian Studies 2. Munich: Iudicium.
- Wiethoff, Bodo. 1966. “Der staatliche Ma-tsu Kult.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 116: 311–357.
- Wilhelm, Richard. 1913. “The Influence of the Revolution on Religion in China.” *The International Review of Mission* 2 (4): 625–642.
- Yang, Fenggang. 1999. *Chinese Christians in America: Conversion, Assimilation, and Adhesive Identities*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Yu, Zhejun 郁喆隽. 2010. “Volksreligion im Spiegel der Zivilgesellschaftstheorie: Gottbegrübungsprozession in Shanghai während der Republikzeit.” PhD diss., University of Leipzig. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:15-qucosa-39295> (accessed June 3, 2015).
- . 2014. *Shenming yu shimin: Minguo shiqi Shanghai diqu yingshen saihui yanjiu* 神明与市民：民国时期上海地区迎神赛会研究 (Gods and citizens: Studies in the processions to welcome the gods in Republican Shanghai). Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian chubanshe.