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The Spirit Lord of Baishi Mountain:
Feeding the Deities or Heeding the *Yinyang*?
白石山神君：餵食神祇還是遵從陰陽？

Overseen by hungry gods on the one hand or structured by impersonal cyclic forces on the other, the Eastern Han cosmos eluded a single consistent model accepted by everyone. Yet these cosmological

perspectives were not competing arguments held by different people; they were inconsistent genres of discourse found within the same people and sometimes even within the same texts. Late Eastern Han mountain inscriptions may ritually appease sacrifice-eating gods with their hymns of praise, but they simultaneously describe the cosmos as a single pervasive system of *qi*-vapors, *yinyang*, and the five phases. How could these two models coexist?

Dated to 183 C.E., the “Stele to the Spirit Lord of Baishi Mountain” (*baishi shenjun bei* 白石神君碑) demonstrates how certain compromise positions existed between a universe overseen by external agencies and that consisting of resonating cycles. The inscription explains why this mountain deity merited sacrifice, describes the official process in which permission to sacrifice was secured, and identifies this hungry deity as one component within ritualized systems within spatial lineages and geographic bureaucracies and so he is not recognized as an entirely free agent. In addition, the inscription systematizes him by obligating him to participate in mechanical rituals of recompense and by reducing him to a ritualized Classicist stereotype, further diminishing his independence and individuality. The stele inscription’s focus on ritual demonstrates how ritual lessens any perceived inconsistency between cosmic agencies and cosmic system.

This article first surveys the Han history of mountain sacrifices and mountain stelae, thereby placing the Spirit Lord of Baishi Mountain into historical context. The translation of the inscription dedicated to him follows, which for the purpose of analysis I divide into eight sections that address themes such as rituals of recompense, the generation of rain, and the transformation of the god into a Classicist hero. The conclusion summarizes how human structures such as lineage and bureaucracy fill in the gaps between these inconsistent genres of discourse human structures that result in impersonal *qi*-vapors becoming more human and personalized mountain deities becoming more structured.

東漢思想一方面認為宇宙受控於貪求不厭的神祇，另一方面認為宇宙由循環不斷的物质力量組成，欠缺一種公認的統一模式。這兩種宇宙觀並不是由不同人所秉持的不同觀點，而是相同的人，甚至是同一篇文章中，所發出的類型互異的論調。東漢晚期的祭山銘文以頌贊在儀式上取悅索求食祭的神祇，也同時描述一個由氣，陰陽，和五行所涵蓋而成的宇宙體系。這兩種思想如何能共存？

公元 183 年的白石神君碑尤其能夠證明，在這兩種思想中如何存在若干相互妥協的觀點。此銘文說明白石神君值得受到祭祀的原因，並

描述獲得正式祭祀許可的過程。它將這個飢餓的神祇視為若干儀式體系（空間家族體系或地理官僚體系）中的一個組成，因此祂並不是一完全自由的主體。此外，此銘文還將祂編制於體系之中，將參與機械式的回饋儀式定為祂的職責，並將祂降為形式化的儒術老套，更進一步地減低祂的獨立性與個別性。此銘文對儀式的注重，說明了儀式如何縮減人們所察覺到的在宇宙的主體與宇宙的系統間存在的不一致性。

本文首先概括性地審視漢代祭山及其立碑的傳統，以便將白石神君置於歷史背景中。接著，為分析方便，我將白石神君碑的銘文翻譯分為八部分，各自討論不同的主題，例如回饋儀式，雨的產生，以及由神祇到儒術人物的轉換。結論扼要地說明，人為組織，例如家族體系與官僚體系，如何填補這些不一致論點間的空隙，使得非人性的氣的更有人性，而人性化的山神更具組織性。