IMAGES OF THE IMMORTAL

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THE CULT OF LÜ DONGBIN AT THE PALACE OF ETERNAL JOY

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To Shufen, Emily, and Philip

Contents

Preface

Shortly after completing the rough draft of this book, I received the summer 1997 issue of the *Asian Studies Newsletter* (vol. 42, no. 3), which contained a new feature titled "Viewpoints." That issue's inaugural topic was "Futures of Asian Studies." On reading the important essays by some of the leading members of our field, I was struck by their concern that so-called area studies disciplines like Asian studies might be relegated to the provision of data to test various theories. Although I concur with James Scott and Andrew Gordon that such concerns are exaggerated, the fact that they exist at all reflects a perception, however invidious, that area studies tends to focus more on reading texts or describing events than on interpreting them in the context of a broad theoretical framework. This book, which concerns the practice of religion in late imperial China, attempts to counter such misconceptions. Its subject, sacred sites and their cults, has been studied by historians and social scientists the world over. In researching the history of one sacred site in north China known as the Palace of Eternal Joy, I discuss issues of interest to the scholarly community both inside and outside Asian studies, particularly the arrangement of space at sacred sites as well as the

production, spread, and reception of texts in and around such sites. Whether I have successfully dealt with these problems is a matter for the scholarly community to decide, but at the very least I hope that this book can help our field to, in the words of James Scott, "become more of an intellectual Melaka—an open, cosmopolitan trading port."

I began research on the Palace of Eternal Joy while a postdoctoral fellow with the Chinese Popular Culture Project at the University of California at Berkeley from 1990 to 1991. During that time, David Johnson provided invaluable support and encouragement, as did the other fellows doing research that year (Bo Songnian, Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, Martin Hala, and Liu Shufen). I continued to study the palace while serving on the faculty of the history programs of National Chung Cheng University (1991–1993) and National Central University (1995–present) and as a visiting fellow at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (1993–1995). I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the scholars and graduate students at these institutions. The research environment in Taiwan is one of the best in the world, and I hope it will continue to be used fully by sinologists in the future. Preliminary results of my research were also presented at conferences, and some ended up being published in journals and conference volumes. Many thanks to the conference organizers and editors who provided their support.

In attempting to study the Palace of Eternal Joy as well as its patrons and worshipers and the various texts they produced, I have benefited immensely from the pioneering efforts of numerous scholars in the field of Chinese religions. Indeed, without the solid groundwork laid by their research, it would have been impossible to undertake a study of this scope and depth. Susan Naquin, Yü Chün-fang, and other sinologists investigating the history of Chinese sacred sites have underscored the importance of both the spatial and textual characteristics of these places as well as their inherent diversity. Isabelle Ang, Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, Ma Xiaohong, Ono Shihei, Pu Jiangqing, and Richard Yang have thoroughly discussed the history and multifaceted nature of the cult of Lü Dongbin. The social and cultural history of Perfect Realization Taoism has been expertly documented by Judith Boltz, Chen Yuan, Stephen Eskildsen, Sun K'o-k'uan, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, and Zheng Suchun. In the field of Chinese art history, scholars such as Ellen Laing, Victor Mair, Julia Murray, Martin Powers, Nancy Steinhardt, Ka

Bo Tsang (Zeng Jiabao), and Wu Hung provided key methodological and hermeneutical guidance. I am also indebted to the Chinese archaeologists, art historians, and historians who collected and analyzed data from the Palace of Eternal Joy, particularly Chen Yuan, Su Bai, and Wang Chang'an. Finally, I have learned much from reading the exemplary works of those social scientists and historians researching the social history of Chinese religions, particularly Glen Dudbridge, David Johnson, David Jordan, Susan Naquin, Daniel Overmyer, Stephen Sangren, Meir Shahar, Donald Sutton, Stephen Teiser, Barend ter Haar, Robert Weller, and Yü Chün-fang.

I also wish to thank warmly those friends and colleagues who looked at various versions of the manuscript and provided invaluable comments, especially Farzeen Baldrian, Susan Naquin, Vivian-Lee Nyitray, Isabelle Robinet, Nancy Steinhardt, Robert Weller, Yü Chün-fang, and Angela Zito. A special note of thanks to Stephen Bokenkamp, Vincent Goossaert, and Robert Hymes, whose detailed corrections and suggestions helped immeasurably in improving the quality of this work. I am also deeply grateful to Patricia Crosby, Masako Ikeda, Susan Stone, and the rest of University of Hawai'i Press staff for their expert editorial assistance and to Chao Chen-hsün, Chiang Hui-ying, and Yang Yung-pao for their help with the illustrations.

I should also add a brief caveat about translation. As Stephen Bokenkamp points out in the preface to his *Early Daoist Scriptures*, translation is in fact no different from other forms of scholarship in that it constitutes a process of interpretation. Thus, I cannot claim that my attempts to render hagiographical and alchemical works from late imperial China into English are free of distortions. These texts were not composed for modern sinologists, and much that we desire to learn is either left unexplored or dealt with in ways that are difficult to understand fully (Bokenkamp 1997:xiv–xvi). At the same time, however, I have not had to grope blindly in search of meaning, thanks to the ground-breaking work of previous scholars such as Isabelle Ang, Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, and Vincent Goossaert. My indebtedness to their accomplishments is apparent in the pages below.

I completed work on the manuscript during the summer of 1997, while staying at my family's house in Norwich, Vermont. I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude for everyone's love and support, and especially to my parents for plodding through and correcting the rough copy. A special note of thanks to the Day Care Center of Norwich for taking such wonderful care

of my children. Subsequent revisions were completed while I served as a visiting professor at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign during the spring semester of 1998. My family and I are deeply grateful to the faculty and staff of the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, and the Religious Studies Program (especially Peter Gregory, Ron Toby, and George Yü) for all they did to help make our stay so enjoyable.

Notes on Citation and Transliteration

Chinese primary sources in the bibliography are listed by title; modern Chinese and Japanese writings in both sections of the bibliography, however, are listed by author.

When Chinese sources are cited, numbers divided by a colon indicate the *juan* (book, part, or chapter) and page for the edition of the work that appears in the bibliography. In cases where I have used a modern edition of a Chinese source, both *juan* and page number are given, divided by a period. For Hong Mai's *Yijian zhi*, the volume and page numbers of the modern edition are provided, divided by a colon.

In numbering texts from the Taoist Canon, I first give the fascicle number based on the 1926 Hanfen Lou edition (see also Weng 1966). This is followed by the serial number of the text as indicated in Kristofer Schipper's concordance to the Taoist Canon (Schipper 1975).

The bibliography includes only items actually mentioned in the book. Not included are many standard and essential research tools, unless they are cited in the text or the notes. Chinese and Japanese characters for all

authors and texts cited are provided in the bibliography. Characters for other names and terms can be found in the glossary and appendixes.

The following standard systems have been adopted for the transliteration of Asian names and terms: Pinyin for Chinese, except for personal names and place names in Taiwan; and Hepburn for Japanese. I have also used Antoine Mostaert's scheme for the transliteration of Mongolian, as modified by Francis W. Cleaves.

Periods of Chinese History

Western Zhou	1122–771 B.C.E.
Spring and Autumn Era	770–476
Warring States Era	475–221
Qin	221–207
Former Han	206 B.C.E.–8 C.E.
Xin	9–23 C.E.
Later Han	25–220
Three Kingdoms	220–265
Western Jin	265–316
Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms	317–420
Northern and Southern Dynasties	420–589
Sui	581–618
Tang	618–907
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	907–960
Northern Song (and Liao)	960–1127
Jin (Jurchen) and Mongol rule in north China	1115–1271
Southern Song	1127–1276
Yuan (Mongols)	1279–1368
Ming	1368–1644
Qing (Manchus)	1644–1911

Abbreviations

CT	*Concordance du Tao-tsang*
MTJ	*Miaotong ji (Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji)*
T.	*Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*
TT	*Tao-tsang (Daozang)*
YLG	*Yongle gong*

Introduction

There are many ways for pilgrims and tourists to travel to the Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong), one of the oldest and most important cult sites of the immortal Lü Dongbin. In the spring of 1991, my wife Liu Shufen and I began our journey by taking a train to the town of Sanmenxia in Henan province.[1] From there, we hired a car, which first had to be ferried across the Yellow River. This was no easy task. Recent downpours had caused the waters to run high, and because the ferry was unable to dock, we were required to disembark and wade the last few feet to the shore. Next we drove thirty miles along winding and bumpy dirt roads over the hills of Shanxi province and then across dusty acres of wheat fields until we reached the rural town of Ruicheng. From there, we headed north to the palace. The original site of the palace (now submerged) was about ten miles southwest of Ruicheng in the town of Yongle, located along the northern bank of the Yellow River next to a ferry crossing between the provinces of Henan and Shanxi. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the entire temple complex was moved to its present location in Ruicheng in order to make way for a dam construction project.[2]

After purchasing our tickets, we entered the palace through its main gate, which was constructed during the Qing dynasty.[3] The feeling of entering a sacred realm was accentuated by the lush vegetation inside the courtyard, which contrasts with the relatively barren landscape outside, as well as by two rows of stelae along the eastern and western walls of the temple complex. From the main gate, we chose to proceed to the original entrance of the Palace of Eternal Joy, the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate (Wuji men), which was built during the Yuan dynasty. At this point, we ascended to a higher level of sacred space by climbing a flight of stone stairs to the gate's huge wooden doors. We then passed through the gate's portals, along a path, and up another flight of stairs to the palace's three main halls (which are described in greater detail in Chapter 1): the Hall of the Three Pure Ones (Sanqing dian);[4] the Hall of Purified Yang (Chunyang dian),[5] dedicated to the immortal Lü Dongbin; and the Hall of Redoubled Yang (Chongyang dian), dedicated to the founding patriarch of the Perfect Realization (Quanzhen) Taoist movement Wang Zhe (1113–1170) and his leading disciples.[6] The gate and three main halls contain world-famous murals first painted during the fourteenth century, which are described in detail in Chapter 4.

After descending from the Hall of Redoubled Yang, we promenaded through a park full of colorful flowers and venerable trees, including an old and gnarled ginkgo *(yinxing)* tree supposedly planted by Lü Dongbin himself. This park also contains the stone tablet that once marked the reputed site of Lü Dongbin's tomb. The western side of the temple complex houses a museum filled with various artifacts of the palace's history. This portion of the complex contains a hall for the local *qigong* association.[7] We also visited a small temple dedicated to Lü Dongbin in the western part of the complex. Inside this stone building known as the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü (Lüzu ci), whose walls are not covered with murals but with banners offered by pilgrim troupes (mainly from Taiwan), worshipers can burn incense in front of a stone statue of Lü under the attentive gaze of the Perfect Realization Taoist charged with overseeing the site (see Figure 1). Worshipers can also perform divination rituals by drawing individually numbered bamboo sticks, or *qian*, and consulting a mid-nineteenth-century handbook to determine the meaning of the texts corresponding to numbers on the sticks (Smith 1991:235–245). After completing our tour, we

FIGURE 1
The Shrine of the Patriarch Lü. This photograph of Lü's shrine was taken by the author while doing field research at the site in 1991. An undated statue of Lü sits inside the shrine, flanked by two attendants and ceremonial regalia. A Perfect Realization Taoist priest residing at the Palace of Eternal Joy stands in the foreground next to a collection box (more than halfway full) and incense burner. Note the stele at the back of the shrine and the decorative murals in the background.

exited through the main gate to return to the world of rural north China. The itinerary we followed while inside the palace was but one of many, and many pilgrims intent on worshiping Lü Dongbin choose to bypass the main halls and proceed directly to the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü. Others visit the gardens first and head for the halls and other buildings later.

By the time we visited the Palace of Eternal Joy, I was well into the first year of a research project on the history of the palace and its cult of the immortal Lü Dongbin, one of late imperial China's most popular yet also most multifaceted deities. The palace had started out as a small shrine to Lü constructed during the tenth century. This shrine was rebuilt and greatly

enlarged during the thirteenth century by members of the Perfect Realization Taoist movement. I went to the palace to gain a clearer understanding of the cult of Lü Dongbin. It was also essential that I consult the palace's inscriptions in order to locate passages scholars had omitted from their transcriptions. Finally, I hoped to gain a better sense of the arrangement of the palace's sacred space and its potential impact on visitors, be they tourists or pilgrims. Visiting the Palace of Eternal Joy helped focus my attention on the elements contributing to the physical and spiritual power of sacred sites. Flora, halls and other buildings, statues, stelae, murals—these are the things that sacred sites are made of. They are not only material items but also constitute different types of texts, a term frequently used to denote any configuration of signs transmitted to readers, listeners, or viewers. In analyzing the sacred space encompassed by the Palace of Eternal Joy, the entire site can be viewed as a macrotext featuring the presence of both complementary and contradictory texts. The factors contributing to this textual diversity are discussed below. I also consider two important pairs of concepts: text and textuality, and hegemony and resistance.

Goals and Methods

The main goal of this book is to explore the cultural diversity of Chinese sacred sites. Nearly a century ago, the renowned French sinologist Edouard Chavannes (1865–1918) focused attention on the importance of such sites with his observation that in China mountains are in fact divinities (Chavannes 1910:1). Since that time, and particularly during the past few years, scholars have devoted considerable effort to understanding the roles played by mountains, temples, and other sacred sites in Chinese cultural history.[8] My work follows this scholarship, specifically by addressing some of the questions and topics raised by Susan Naquin and Yü Chün-fang in their important introduction to the volume *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*. These include the roles played by religious professionals at sacred sites, the layout and architecture of such places, the overlap between sacred sites and commerce or trade, the types of links established between shrines to the same deity, and the importance of sacred time (Naquin and Yü 1992:26–30). At the same time, however, I hope that this book can help scholars overcome

the tendency to impose a unitary view on Chinese sacred sites and interpret them from the perspective of an "implied pilgrim" or so-called ordinary pilgrim. In order to achieve this goal, I explore the diverse range of ideas, values, and beliefs expressed at sacred sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy. In a broader sense, then, this book focuses on the problem of how sacred sites and their texts are produced, indeed on how to historicize history in late imperial China. Thus, I will not present one single "history" of the Palace of Eternal Joy; instead, I examine whose history is told in which texts and for what purposes.

My second goal involves tracing the diverse representations (or "images") of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy. In doing so, I pose the following questions: How did Lü's cult change over time? Who contributed to these transformations? In what ways did different images of Lü coexist and interact? My research on local images of Lü is based on a broad variety of texts, including hagiographical accounts in the Taoist Canon, local gazetteers, local folktales, dramas, novels, and especially the murals and stele inscriptions preserved inside the palace. Many other texts existed at different sacred sites throughout China (see, for example, the essays in Naquin and Yü 1992),[9] but the inscriptions and murals in the palace feature the specific images of Lü Dongbin that reflect the agendas of this site's patrons.

Detailed descriptions of the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy and the cult of Lü Dongbin are meant to help achieve the third goal of this book: examining the degree to which the texts produced at sacred sites like the palace had the potential to shape the mentalities of the late imperial Chinese. I pay close attention to the problem of how different patrons of the palace tried to use temple inscriptions and murals to promote their own representations of the site's history and the cult of Lü Dongbin as well as the degree to which their efforts succeeded. This study thus endeavors to bridge a gap that often arises between the history of ideas and the history of society, a concern extending back to the first generation of *Annales* scholars such as Lucien Febvre (1878–1956) (Burke 1986:440, 442; Burke 1990; Chartier 1982:16–18, 32).[10] I also stress the diversity of the texts produced at the Palace of Eternal Joy in order to overcome the tendency of historians of mentalities to overemphasize the degree of cultural unity in medieval European society (Burke 1986:443; Chartier 1982:24–31; Davis 1983). Therefore, I have chosen not to treat Chinese mentalities as Durkheimian "collective

representations" but as a variety of attitudes and beliefs that circulated throughout local communities. I also try to move beyond the idea that mentalities were static by exploring the ways in which they could change over time (Burke 1992:93–94). What follows then is an attempt to show how the diverse mentalities of late imperial China's vast populace may have been shaped by sacred sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy as well as the cults and texts that flourished at such sites.

Because this book focuses on a single sacred site and its cult, it draws on methods employed by scholars of microhistory, a branch of historiography that evolved in northern Italy during the late 1970s and 1980s and whose best-known proponent is Carlo Ginzburg.[11] While much research done by microhistorians remains experimental and focuses on Europe's lower classes (or "lost peoples"), certain aspects of microhistory are highly attractive to the sinologist studying the history of a cult at one particular temple. Microhistory adopts a deliberately reflective approach to historiographical practice and the procedures of the historian's work, choosing to reduce the scale of research in order to present a description of social practice and systematically test various concepts and theories. Microhistory also emphasizes the close reading of a small number of texts related to the history of society. At the same time, however, it pays close attention to the problem of interpreting texts in their historical contexts, recognizing the multiplicity of interpretations created by their actual audiences of readers, listeners, or viewers. Microhistory has the advantage of being highly eclectic, allowing the use of methods and theories from disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, and folklore studies. In the pages below, I adhere to microhistorical methods in providing a detailed account of the Palace of Eternal Joy and undertaking a close reading of how the texts produced at this site circulated and were received.

The structure of the book is as follows. Chapter 1 presents a detailed description of the Palace of Eternal Joy as well as a brief account of its history.[12] I begin with a description of the town of Yongle and its environs, with special attention to the local economy and socioreligious organizations. This description is followed by an account of the main events marking the Palace of Eternal Joy's history and development, drawn mainly from local gazetteers and temple inscriptions. The third section concentrates on the arrangement of sacred space at the Palace of Eternal Joy and its signifi-

cance. Although I mention many of the palace's most important patrons, I do not explore their motives for supporting the palace until discussing the texts they sponsored in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 2 introduces the cult of the immortal Lü Dongbin.[13] Most of this section focuses on the various hagiographical traditions surrounding his cult, especially those that influenced the growth of his cult at Yongle. The evidence currently available indicates that worship of Lü took on a wide variety of forms during the Song. Different worshipers saw him as an itinerant religious specialist, a patriarch of the Perfect Realization Taoist movement, a healer and wonder-worker, a patron god of various tradespeople ranging from ink makers to prostitutes, a powerful deity of spirit-writing sects, and a member of that powerful yet rambunctious group of spirits known as the Eight Immortals. These multiple images of Lü were created over centuries by people from many different social groups of late imperial China, including scholar-officials, Taoist priests, dramatists, tradespeople, and artisans. While scholars such as James Watson have theorized that cults undergo a process of standardization as they develop (Watson 1985), such a phenomenon does not appear to have occurred in the case of Lü's cult. Rather, the increasing number of Lü's worshipers led to an ever-burgeoning variety of images of this immortal.

Chapter 2 also describes the adoption of Lü Dongbin's cult by the Perfect Realization movement during the Jin and Yuan dynasties. This Taoist movement, whose numerous male and female members practiced celibacy and the pursuit of immortality through rigorous self-cultivation,[14] was one of late imperial China's leading organized religions and has been researched by numerous scholars from China, Japan, and the West.[15] However, most of this research has focused on three topics: the patriotic nature of the Perfect Realization movement;[16] its doctrines, specifically its blending of beliefs from the so-called Three Religions (*sanjiao;* Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism); and its relationship to the state.[17] Relatively little attention has been paid to the beliefs and practices of Perfect Realization masters and their lay followers, although recent work by Judith Boltz (1987), Stephen Eskildsen (1989), Vincent Goossaert (1997), and Florian Reiter (1981, 1986, 1988, 1994, 1996) has begun to fill this gap. In examining how the cult of Lü Dongbin was absorbed into the Perfect Realization movement, I emphasize the social and religious factors that led

to this movement's immense popularity in north China during the late imperial era, particularly the ways in which the leaders of Perfect Realization Taoism attempted to popularize their doctrines of immortality and self-cultivation. The Palace of Eternal Joy provides an opportunity to see this Taoist movement in action as well as to determine the extent to which it shaped the mentalities of nonmembers.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyze the two most important types of texts preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy: temple inscriptions and murals. It is fortunate that these texts survived the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and that their contents have been transcribed and studied by some of the leading Chinese scholars of this century. Most of the thirty-seven inscriptions at the palace have been recorded by Su Bai (1962, 1963), while many of these texts have been transcribed and reprinted in modern punctuated form in a massive collection of Taoist epigraphy collected and edited mainly by Chen Yuan (1880–1971) and his grandson Chen Zhichao (Chen et al. 1988). Regrettably, neither Su nor Chen reproduces all the lists of names of the palace's patrons.[18] However, their research provides sufficient material to undertake a preliminary study of the inscriptions describing the history of this temple. The palace's murals have also been thoroughly researched by a number of scholars (Jing 1993, 1995; Steinhardt 1987; Tsang 1992; Wang Chang'an 1963a, 1963b).

Chapter 3 focuses on four types of inscriptions found at the Palace of Eternal Joy: commemorative inscriptions, official document inscriptions, hagiographical inscriptions, and poetic inscriptions. After analyzing the contents of these inscriptions, I explore the identities of the male and female patrons of the Palace of Eternal Joy who worshiped there and contributed to its growth. Epigraphic and other evidence indicates that the palace's patrons were mostly officials serving in the area, members of the local elite and their dependents, and Perfect Realization Taoists who resided at or visited the palace. In describing these men and women as well as the ways in which they contributed to the growth of the Palace of Eternal Joy, I follow the example of Timothy Brook and other scholars in showing how their actions frequently involved investments of "symbolic capital" and how sacred sites like temples constituted part of a Chinese "public sphere" (Brook 1993; Dean 1997; Duara 1988a, 1988b; Katz 1995a).[19]

In Chapter 4, I describe and analyze two different types of murals at the Palace of Eternal Joy. The first type, located in the Gate of the Limitless

Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, appear to have been painted in order to provide a setting for and even an object of the Taoist rituals frequently performed at the palace. The second type, located in the Hall of the Purified Yang and the Hall of Redoubled Yang, may have served as teaching materials to instruct Perfect Realization Taoists and perhaps pilgrims as well. I have paid special attention to the murals at the palace because these and other works of art like them have yet to be used fully as sources for the study of Chinese sacred sites.[20]

The final chapter of the book explores the reception of the above texts among the people of Yongle and its environs. I also examine the ways in which patrons of the Palace of Eternal Joy attempted to impose their representations of the palace's history and the cult of Lü Dongbin on other members of the community as well as the successes and failures these efforts encountered. Inasmuch as there is no available evidence of direct reactions to these texts during the late imperial era, I have approached this problem by exploring how their contents are represented (or ignored) in other sources. This is hardly a foolproof method, as the available sources are limited, and it is often difficult to determine when and where different oral or written traditions arose. However, an examination of texts not produced by elite or Taoist patrons of the Palace of Eternal Joy reveals numerous different images of this site and its cult to Lü Dongbin. In particular, evidence presented in Chapter 5 reveals that the history of the palace described in local gazetteers and folktales differs markedly from that presented in temple inscriptions. The reception of images of Lü Dongbin contained in temple inscriptions and murals appears to have been even more complex, with widely diverse images of this deity existing in local gazetteers, dramas, novels, and folktales. While it may not be possible to fathom fully the circumstances behind the creation of such diverse representations and the interactions among them, their very presence indicates the limited impact texts such as temple inscriptions and murals may have had on local society.

Text and Textuality

My reading of the texts preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy has been shaped by an awareness of their biases. Works in the Taoist Canon clearly reflect the agendas of the Taoists who composed them, depicting Lü as a

master who could initiate and instruct worthy disciples in the mysteries of interior alchemy (*neidan;* see Chapter 2).[21] The murals, being the products of Perfect Realization Taoist patronage, present a similar view, albeit modified for popular consumption. Texts composed by scholar-officials and other literati, including local gazetteers and stele inscriptions, depict Lü as a well-educated literatus. The dramas described in chapters 4 and 5 are more problematic, because they reflect the worldviews of classically educated scholars who, for one reason or another, had not passed the exams or assumed an official post. Such texts emphasize Lü's Confucian and Taoist learning, while also describing his willingness to convert others and the joys of immortality a successful adept could look forward to experiencing. Copiously illustrated novels such as the *Journey to the East (Dongyou ji)*, which circulated in cheap and poorly edited versions for purchase or rental, contain images of Lü Dongbin intended for a literate but not necessarily classically educated audience.[22] Such novels as well as local folktales emphasize Lü's miraculous powers, while occasionally featuring humorous and sometimes even ribald stories about him as one of the Eight Immortals (Baxian).

This broad and problematic body of texts, each with its own image of Lü Dongbin, presents the social historian with a seemingly impenetrable tangle of data. Yet this tangle is also of great value, because it allows us to appreciate fully the vibrant diversity of social and religious life in late imperial China. This diversity has prompted me to reconsider the ways in which scholars study religion in China. We use the plural "Chinese religions" to refer to the different religious traditions that flourished in China, including Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam. Based on the evidence presented below, I argue that we could also use the term "Chinese religions" to encompass the many different ways in which the Chinese people constructed and interpreted their own beliefs and practices.

This emphasis on diversity has also shaped my analysis of the texts produced at the Palace of Eternal Joy. In the course of preparing this book, I have endeavored to do more than simply read such texts, translate them, and analyze their contents in an attempt to reconstruct the past. I also analyze the palace's texts in terms of their textuality, that is, the processes by which they were produced, transmitted, and understood. My understanding of these problems has been influenced by scholars like W. F. Hanks, who argues that textuality needs to be considered as an instrument, a product, and

a mode of social action (1989:103).[23] The textuality of texts is also linked to their genre, that is, the ways in which established rules for writing and patterns of writing can shape their production and subsequent reception.[24] Hanks argues that the successful study of a text's textuality lies "in the mid-range between formalism, which dwells on the forms, devices, and constructions of closed artifacts (codes or works), and what might be called sociologism, which dwells on the large-scale fields of production, distribution, and reception of discourse" (1989:100). Although his comments are aimed at social scientists, I believe that they can also encourage historians of Chinese religions to examine critically the way texts reflect and interact with the societies that create them.

My thoughts on text and textuality have also been shaped by Adrian Wilson's essay on the hermeneutics of social history (1993).[25] Wilson notes that social history faces a "problem of historical knowledge" caused by the disparity between the questions historians ask and the evidence that is actually available. As a result, social historians face the question of how to reconcile attempts to reconstruct the past with the fact that no single method for achieving this goal has yet been agreed upon. In other words, while proper historiographical methods can help in locating historical evidence, their ability to produce actual knowledge of the past is much less certain. Wilson thus concludes that social historians are confronted by an "invisibility paradox," routinely practicing history while neglecting to consider the theoretical implications of what they practice.

Wilson proposes two solutions to the problems described above: concept-criticism and the study of document-genesis. Concept-criticism involves the modification of one's hypotheses in the course of undertaking research, particularly if a mismatch arises between one's questions and one's data. Another aspect of concept-criticism involves the questioning of the origins of concepts, including "society," "traditional society," and even "social history" itself. The study of document-genesis refers to three different approaches by which historians attempt to apprehend the documents collected in the course of research. The first approach involves treating documents as "authorities" or "windows upon the past" from which one can extract history by means of what R. G. Collingwood once derisively labeled the "scissors and paste" method. The second approach, embodied in the work of early *Annales* historians like Marc Bloch, chooses to treat documents as

evidence that the historian examines in order to recover the past. However, this approach tends to converge with the first in assuming that documents yield a direct record of the past (Wilson 1993:303). The third approach, which Wilson favors, involves treating documents as effects of the past, that is, the result of cultural processes that the historian tries to understand.

Wilson argues that there is an epistemological gradient between these three stances and that the third stance can help scholars move away from viewing texts as representing the past or evidence of the past toward a position of greater hermeneutical rigor that focuses on their textuality. Instead of reading texts as documents, the social historian should treat them as works reflecting different agendas that experienced varying forms of reception. This hermeneutical stance has many advantages. First, it forces us to recognize that each text has its strengths and limitations, and that no type of source is inherently more "valuable" or "accurate" than another. Second, it enables us to see how a single text can have different meanings in different contexts. Finally, by viewing texts as effects we can see that society records itself in all the documents that it generates and that "every document is a 'record' of the society [we study]" (Wilson 1993:319). I believe that Wilson's argument is of value for historians of Chinese religions because it prompts us to reexamine our research methods and consider the potential benefits and pitfalls of adopting a more theoretical or interdisciplinary approach to our work.[26]

In order to determine the textuality of the palace's texts, I have grappled with a number of important hermeneutical issues, especially those of authorial intention, contextualism, and reception. I begin by conceding that any attempt to determine authorial intention can be fraught with peril. For example, E. D. Hirsch notes that the interpretation of any text represents a choice by the reader rather than an ontological fact (1967:24–25). "The nature of a text is to mean whatever we construe it to mean . . . We, not our texts, are the makers of the meanings we understand, a text being only an occasion for meaning" (Hirsch 1976:75–76; see also Puhl 1980).[27] Other scholars have pointed out that many authors assume different forms of implied authorship while composing different types of texts, making the determination of authorial intention even more difficult (Chatman 1978:146–151). In addition to implied authors, texts also have implied audiences composed of other individuals the author believes will share his

or her point of view. The same author can assume different forms of implied authorship in order to address diverse implied audiences in different texts or can even shift implied audiences in the course of the same text. However, it is extremely difficult to fathom whether these implied audiences actually read the works or accept the author's agenda.[28] Scholars evaluating textuality must also confront the gap between our own mentalities and those of the authors who wrote the texts we read (Harlan (1989a:584–587, 592; see also LaCapra 1982:57–58).[29]

Equally complex is the idea of "contextualism," that one can best understand a text by placing it in its historical and social context. In the case of China and other complex societies, one is faced with not one but many contexts, making it difficult to determine with any precision which social and cultural phenomena may have contributed to the formation of a particular text, not to mention the ways in which they did so. Furthermore, society and culture may be viewed as texts in their own right that also need to be interpreted before one can turn to specific written texts (Harlan 1989a:594, 596, 602–603, 605; Harlan 1989b:624; LaCapra 1982:57). In the present case, the fact that knowledge of local culture and society in late imperial China is far from complete significantly impedes attempts to understand issues of author and audience that surround the texts produced at the Palace of Eternal Joy.

How can the historian cope with these problems? There are no easy solutions. David Harlan, inspired in part by the work of Noam Chomsky (1966), argues in favor of taking ideas of contemporary interest and projecting these backwards (Harlan 1989a:604–605, 608). However, Chartier argues that such an approach may run the risk of disguising rather than identifying past ways of thinking, thereby obscuring the vibrant originality and complexity of systems of thought as they existed in particular places and times (1982:16, 19–20). Overall, it seems fair to say that the cautionary statements of Harlan and others are largely valid and valuable, particularly if they can help overcome the "epistemological naïveté" that seems to have characterized some historical research (Hollinger 1989:611; Novick 1988). In researching the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy and the cult of Lü Dongbin, or any aspect of Chinese cultural history, one can hardly hope to sidestep nimbly key issues such as authorial intention and contextualism. There seems little choice but to move forward, inspired by the results of pre-

vious scholars, while also viewing one's own preconceptions as a tool rather than a hindrance. In this spirit, I hope that this study represents a form of progress through its attention to the methodological issues surrounding the study of Chinese religions as well as its reevaluation of concepts such as unity and hegemony.

When one turns from the authorship of texts to their reception, a host of very different methodological issues arise, beginning with one's understanding of the concept of culture.[30] Many historians and social scientists, influenced by the writings of symbolic anthropologists like Clifford Geertz, have tended to view culture as a largely static and unified system. As a result, a considerable amount of work has focused on how symbols can serve as vehicles for the expression of meaning; the question of how symbols (and the texts expressing them) actually circulate and are interpreted has received less attention.[31] More recently, however, a number of scholars have begun to stress the multiplicity or diversity of culture and its symbols (D'Andrade 1995; Barth 1993; Sharpe 1990:181; Skorupski 1976; White 1990:245). For example, in his study of Balinese culture Frederick Barth argues that diversity is a "ubiquitous" feature of most civilizations and cultures. Such diversity is seen in numerous areas, including variations in expertise among different members of the populace, differences between people in social status and daily life experiences, and gradations of purpose and intent underlying social behavior (Barth 1993:4–5). Such a view of culture has also begun to shape the thinking of the most recent generation of *Annales* historians, who are now turning their attention from the history of mentalities to the history of social practice (see, for example, Cerruti 1995; Lepetit 1995).

Another important innovation in cultural studies is the rise of practice theory.[32] Scholars like Richard Bauman, Sherry Ortner, and Marshall Sahlins have begun to study how individuals (often referred to as agents or actors) manipulate and are manipulated by various forms of social structure and action (Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Ortner 1984; Sahlins 1981). Other scholars have begun to emphasize the importance of performance theory as well as the necessity of viewing language as a highly contested form of communication (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Becker 1979). Practice theory has helped shift the focus of sociological research from fixed cultural and social structures to the types of action that reflect and at times even generate

such structures. As Herbert Blumer notes, "Structural features such as 'culture,' 'social systems,' 'social stratification,' or 'social roles' set conditions for [people's] actions but do not determine their actions" (1962:152). Practice theorists also use the concepts of hegemony and resistance to study the relationship between social structure and individual action, based on the assumption that much human action occurs in relationships marked by dominance and subordination (Ortner 1984:147–150; Williams 1977).

The advantage of the above-mentioned approaches to the study of culture is that they enable scholars, in the words of Robert Hymes, "to see culture, and so religion within culture, as a *repertoire* of models, systems, rules, and other symbolic *resources*, different and distributed unevenly, upon which people draw and through which they negotiate life with each other in ways that are intelligibly related to their own experiences, place in society, and purposes" (Hymes n.d.:13; italics in original). In other words, culture is not a fixed system but a fluid body of ideas that are expressed in a variety of texts.

Determining the circulation and reception of specific texts requires a detailed knowledge of the forms of communication both available to and used by the people of a particular society. In the case of late imperial China, David Johnson has sought to achieve this goal by subdividing that era's society into nine sociocultural groups based on educational background and position in the structure of dominance (1985). Johnson's more recent research focuses on the importance of dramatic performances, particularly ritual dramas, in propagating different mentalities (1989, 1997). James Hayes' study of specialists and written materials in the New Territories provides important data on the types of texts that could circulate at the village level, including handbooks, popular encyclopedias, ballads, works of vernacular literature, and morality books (1985). Richard John Lufrano's research on a relatively neglected source, late imperial merchant manuals, discusses the Confucian values contained in these texts and the ways they were received (1997). The study of temple murals in Chapter 4 supplements this research by demonstrating the importance of the visual medium in the history of late imperial mentalities and expanding the definition of "reading ability" to include three basic modes that are broadly recognized among historians and social scientists: reading, listening, and looking (Chatman 1978; Cort 1996; Paret 1988; Scribner 1981:3).

Establishing the types of texts that could transmit various ideologies is only the first step in evaluating their impact. The next question involves the extent to which the ideas expressed in these texts were received and understood. In treating this problem, I follow the lead of scholars who maintain that texts are dynamic and possess multiple meanings, thus being open to a wide range of interpretations once they begin to circulate (White 1990:244–245; see also Culler 1975; de Man 1971; Ingarden 1973; Pellowe 1990). In recent years, a growing number of scholars have begun to emphasize the active nature of a text's reception, with leading figures like the French theorist Michel de Certeau focusing on how people creatively reinterpreted messages aimed at them (Certeau 1980; see also Darnton 1984, 1991). Carlo Ginzburg's famous example of the ways in which the mental "grids" of the miller Menocchio shaped (and to his inquisitors warped) his reading of Christian texts indicates how active processes of reception molded medieval European imaginations (Ginzburg 1980).[33] Perhaps one of the clearest formulations of reception theory and its implications for scholars today can be found in an essay by Robert Sharpe (1990). Sharpe argues that through the act of writing the author of a text creates what amounts to a possible world, which, while often clearly delineated and rhetorically powerful, remains a world of indeterminacy that can never be specified completely. As a result, readers or audiences are able to fill in the gaps of this imaginary picture based on their backgrounds and experiences (Sharpe 1990:185–186). In an article titled "The Birth of the Reader," R. S. White takes Sharpe's view one step further, stating that because texts are meant to be read, "Readers place their own meanings in texts. Each reader will place a meaning, a structural overlay, upon a text, and it is inevitably different from meanings placed upon the text by another reader" (1990:247–248).

An interesting example of the complex nature of reception at Chinese sacred sites is the case of the Jin Shrine (Jinci), located in northern Shanxi near the city of Taiyuan. Most official accounts view the Jin Shrine as a site for the worship of Tang Shuyu, the first ruler of the Jin state during the Zhou dynasty. However, the temple complex also features a cult site known as the Hall of the Sage Mother (Shengmu dian). The Sage Mother appears to have been a local water goddess, but from the Song dynasty on scholar-officials claimed that the Sage Mother was none other than Yi Jiang, Tang's mother

and also the wife of the founder of the Zhou dynasty. Amy McNair shows how the Northern Song's Empress Liu, who ruled on behalf of the emperor Renzong (r. 1023–1063) during his youth, ordered new and highly lifelike images of Yi Jiang to be placed in the Hall of the Sage Mother around the year 1050. This was done in order to strengthen the association between Empress Liu and Yi Jiang, and also to enhance the empress' legitimacy in the eyes of the male bureaucracy. While this message may have been understood by members of the Song elite, it apparently had little impact on the local populace, who continued to worship the Sage Mother as a fertility goddess. The eight dragons carved on pillars in front of the hall may have symbolized the imperium to members of the elite, but to many local residents of Taiyuan they were seen as representations of the dragon kings who controlled the rains (McNair 1988–1989).[34]

It may be instructive to consider an early-seventeenth-century novel, titled *The Romance of the Three Teachings Enlightening the Deluded and Returning Them to the True Way (Sanjiao kaimi guizheng yanyi)*, that treats this very problem of the reception of texts produced and promoted by religious specialists in China. In this novel, which has been studied by Judith Berling and Sawada Mizuho (Berling 1985; Sawada 1960), three specialists representing Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism lecture to a group of villagers only to find that nobody understands what they are talking about. When the Confucian scholar explains that the *Great Learning (Daxue)* describes the knowledge of great men, one villager asks if he means fat men. Another villager assumes that the Buddhist monk preaching about *prajñā-pāramitā* (the perfection of wisdom) is speaking in an unfamiliar dialect, while the Taoist's sermon is greeted with gales of laughter (Berling 1985:198–200). Although works of literature by their nature may not reflect social realities, this novel is a reminder that in reading didactic or normative works one must guard against assuming that audiences exposed to such texts receive their contents in the way they are supposed to. Kenneth Dean's new study of the Three in One religion *(Sanyi jiao)* reveals that its doctrines were "absorbed, co-opted, and reinterpreted" in many different ways (Dean 1998:14–15). Fortunately a number of Perfect Realization sermons and lectures (particularly *yulu*) survive, and it seems quite significant that even these works (which were compiled by members of the movement and tend to portray it in a flattering light) occa-

sionally portray lay members as being unclear about the finer points of Perfect Realization doctrine (Goossaert 1997:376–396).

Diverse processes of reception affected not only written and oral texts but also those presented through the visual medium. While it is generally recognized that images can be more rhetorically compelling than the written word (see, for example, Chartier 1987; Standing 1973), both depend on symbolic systems and rules of reference in order to communicate their messages (Goodman 1976). Recent research by Hung Chang-tai (1997) on modern Chinese woodblock prints with overtly political messages demonstrates that while artists working for the Chinese Communist Party attempted to reach a mass audience, their works were often viewed with great suspicion by Chinese peasants. Hung quotes a member of a work team that attempted to spread these new woodcuts around north China in 1938 as saying: "Party cadres applauded our [art] shows, but some peasants confessed that they could not make any sense out of them. The foreign-inspired woodcuts, they said, were too unfamiliar to them" (p. 53).[35] Hung's pathbreaking research validates an idea advanced over a decade ago by the art historian Michael Baxandall: "The public mind was not a blank tablet on which painters' representations of a story or person could impress themselves; it was an active institution of interior visualization with which every painter had to get along" ([1972] 1988:45).

In the case of the Palace of Eternal Joy, the data presented in chapters 3 and 4 reveal that the temple's main patrons, Perfect Realization Taoists and members of the local elite, made concerted efforts to present their representations of the palace's history and the immortal Lü Dongbin in both temple inscriptions and murals. I argue that these texts were composed in part to propagate and even legitimate Taoist and local elite ideologies as well as representations of the world they lived in (see Burke 1992:95–96; Ortner 1984:140, 153; Sangren 1987a, 1987b, 1991,1995; Gates and Weller 1987:5, 6). This position reflects my interest in the ideological aspects of culture (Zito and Barlow 1994:4–5), in particular the ways in which different ideological texts are produced in religious settings. At the same time, these different texts could be subjected to a wide variety of readings. Temple inscriptions and murals were the products of specialized knowledge that may not have been understood fully or appreciated by many worshipers, meaning that the reception of such texts could be highly problematic.[36] The images of Lü

Dongbin presented in the Palace of Eternal Joy texts reflect two overlapping traditions, Perfect Realization Taoism and literati culture. The texts produced by people belonging to these traditions made perfect sense to their makers and their peers; how they were received by people outside these traditions is another matter.

Hegemony and Resistance

The problematic reception of the Palace of Eternal Joy's texts has important implications for understanding the concepts of hegemony and resistance. The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci formulated the concept of hegemony in the years before World War II in an attempt to explain the success of Italy's ruling classes in using education, language, ritual, and the mass media to impose their ideologies on the rest of society (Gramsci 1971).[37] The concept of hegemony spread to the field of sinology during the 1980s and has had an important impact on the academic discourse of a number of fields, particularly gender and ethnic studies.[38] In a seminal essay about late imperial society, David Johnson relied on Gramsci's work to argue that "certain values are deliberately inculcated by a dominant social group, or a priestly class, to further its own interests, to bring salvation to the people, or both" (Johnson 1985:35–36). Impressed by "the extraordinary degree to which values and beliefs favorable to ruling class interests permeated popular consciousness" (p. 46), Johnson maintained that cultural integration in late imperial China may not have been "the natural result of the interaction of people with each other and with their traditions, but the willed product of a particular class" (p. 48).

Johnson's penetrating analysis, particularly his historically sensitive treatment of late imperial China's main sociocultural groups, has proven methodologically stimulating for subsequent scholars studying the creation and spread of ideas, values, and beliefs during that era. The present study also focuses on some of the questions Johnson raised, particularly the ways in which local elites and members of the Perfect Realization movement worked to propagate their values through different texts at the Palace of Eternal Joy. There has been a tendency to overestimate the ability of late imperial China's ruling classes to achieve lasting hegemony or dominance. For example, in his

study of the Tianhou (Mazu) cult, James Watson argues that "the state intervened in subtle ways to impose a kind of unity on regional and local-level cults" (1985:293).[39] Some scholars researching Taoist ritual implicitly support the idea of cultural hegemony by claiming that Taoism was able to influence the development of local cults by means of its "Taoist liturgical framework" (Dean 1993; Schipper 1985a, 1985b, [1982] 1993). Research on the history of Chinese sacred sites has also been marked by discussion of how members of the imperial family, scholar-officials, and clerics attempted to assert their hegemony over such places (Faure 1992; Lagerwey 1992; Yü 1992).

Far less attention has been devoted to the question of whether members of the late imperial ruling classes actually succeeded in dominating local religious beliefs and practices. Such a problem is not unique to sinology. Roger Chartier notes that research on the history of mentalities in the West has revolved around a dichotomy of production versus reception, the former being marked by creativity and the latter by passivity (1982). However, recent scholarship on reception and practice has begun to break down this dichotomy. For example, American historians influenced by the Birmingham School now see texts as open to a wide variety of meanings, including opposing ones. Thus, Lawrence W. Levine has emphasized that "popular culture" should not be seen as "the imposition of texts on passive people who constitute a tabula rasa but as a process of interaction between complex texts that harbor more than monolithic meanings and audiences who embody more than monolithic assemblies of compliant people" (1992:1381).

Research on resistance to hegemony in China began in the 1980s, undertaken mainly by anthropologists and historians.[40] Their interest in resistance partly resulted from a nuanced reading of Gramsci's writings, particularly since Gramsci's interest in the concept of hegemony derived from a desire to locate and mobilize the voice of the Italian proletariat to resist elite dominance (Weller 1994:9). Sinologists have also been influenced by a growing body of scholarship on resistance (Burke 1986; Certeau 1980; Fiske 1989; Scott 1976, 1985, 1990; Williams 1977, [1980] 1991). The growth of postmodernism has also added a new theoretical impetus to studies of resistance (see, for example, Jenkins 1991).

The problem of how resistance occurs has begun to make a marked impact on studies of Chinese religions.[41] Although James Watson's study of standardization promotes the idea of cultural unity, it also reveals that the

late imperial state and local elites had little control over nonelite representations of deities like Tianhou and that attempts at standardization rarely enjoyed widespread success (1985). Michael Szonyi takes Watson's argument one step further, arguing that certain locally written texts such as gazetteers and inscriptions merely created an "illusion of standardization" that concealed "a vibrant and changing local tradition" (1997). Kenneth Dean's book on the Three in One religion presents a tantalizingly complex picture of how local rituals could provide a means of resisting hegemonic discourse (1998). P. Steven Sangren has shown in his work on the production and reproduction of meaning in various socioreligious contexts that, while in some cases hegemony remains largely unassailable, it can be challenged in others (1987a, 1987b, 1991, 1993, 1996). Finally, in their introduction to *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China,* Susan Naquin and Yü Chün-fang state that "it was possible for a pilgrim to resist the influence not only of . . . advertisements [promoting unitary views of sacred sites] but of the very structure of the site itself" (1992:23).

The social historian Wang Mingming has examined the concepts of hegemony and resistance in his work on the *pujing* (ward and precinct) system in the Ming-Qing city of Quanzhou (Wang 1995). Wang's research reveals that, while the state attempted to use the *pujing* system to maintain social control, the citizens of Quanzhou challenged that control by organizing festivals and other communal activities in *pujing*. Wang argues that in late imperial China creations of "place" were not simply hegemonic but represented an "active process of contest" between different social and political forces (p. 70). Based on Michel Foucault's study of prisons, he concludes that Chinese histories of place represent "a process of political *subjection* and *anti-subjection:* on the one hand, place origination occurs in a centripetal manner and serves to integrate socio-cultural diversities into a state structure; on the other hand, it occurs in a centrifugal manner and facilitates the creation of grass-roots ceremonial culture and local socio-economic activities" (p. 71; italics in original). While the sacred space of the Palace of Eternal Joy differed significantly from the *pujing* of late imperial Quanzhou, Wang's analysis is instructive in encompassing both attempts to create hegemony by China's rulers and efforts at resisting such hegemony on the part of local communities.[42] Similar forces appear to have sparked the production of different texts concerning the palace's history and the cult to Lü Dongbin.

Perhaps the most systematic study of resistance in China has been undertaken by Robert P. Weller. Weller has combined the approaches of history and anthropology to research cases of resistance in China and Taiwan (1987a, 1987b, 1994, 1996) as well as rural resistance worldwide (Weller and Guggenheim 1982). In the introductory chapter to his book *Resistance, Chaos, and Control in China*, Weller argues that resistance encompasses not only armed rebellion but also passive subversion, noting that the ability of people to maintain alternative worldviews despite the pressure of hegemonic discourse constitutes an important type of resistance (1994:4, 12). Weller also explores the possibility that resistance can sometimes coexist with accommodation, citing research on carnivals by Mikhail Bakhtin and Umberto Eco (Bakhtin 1984; Eco 1984; see Weller 1994:12–13, 124, 167, 182). He concludes that in traditional and even in modern China the state and local elites faced considerable institutional obstacles in attempting to assert their dominance over local society and that "the official institutions of control breed reactions inherently beyond their control" (p. 204).

Weller also makes the important observation that, while many Chinese tend to leave the systematic exegesis of beliefs and rituals in the hands of recognized experts, such practices can also foster diverse interpretations (1994:115–124). The decentralized structure of Chinese religions with its resulting multivocality provides a resilient free space for resistance against attempts to impose hegemony (p. 115). Weller's analysis indicates that scholars scouring written sources for definitive interpretations of Chinese beliefs and practices need to consider whether China's elites could impose such interpretations on the general populace. Research on the late imperial Chinese state has shown that attempts to control local cults and other facets of popular religion met with only limited success (Overmyer 1989–1990; Taylor 1990). Local elites were somewhat better able to exert authority over local cults, but even their efforts frequently fell short of the mark (Schneider 1980; Weller 1994:53–56). Such occurrences are hardly unique to the late imperial era. In a series of chapters discussing the cult of the Eighteen Lords (Shiba wanggong) in postwar Taiwan, Weller describes how even today the spirits of seventeen men and their loyal canine companion receive offerings of cigarettes and other items from people desiring to make a quick profit, including prostitutes and members of Taiwan's criminal underworld. Efforts by the state and the temple committee itself to mold

popular opinion by repeating legends about the temple and its deities in the mass media have proved largely fruitless, mainly because temple cults usually prove unable to maintain "strong social relations of interpretation" to support their views (Weller 1994:156–157, 169; see also Weller 1996).

The point of this book is not to deny the existence of hegemony—that the Chinese ruling classes were able to influence local culture is an undeniable fact. However, for the purposes of this study I am less concerned with the downward (or upward) flow of images than with the ways in which late imperial mentalities could be influenced through the interaction of many different images, a process described in my earlier book on the cult of Marshal Wen as "reverberation" (Katz 1995a). The metaphor of reverberation, designed to explain the continuous creation of different yet interrelated texts in complex societies such as China, provides a way to come to grips with the dynamic interplay among different mentalities. In the case of the cult of Marshal Wen, I have shown that Taoists, scholar-officials, and local worshipers created different texts describing his cult's history and significance while sharing a common representation of Wen as a powerful martial deity able to expel pestilential forces. Lü Dongbin's cult is even more complicated, as there is a much larger body of texts produced by a greater variety of authors representing a wider range of social backgrounds. However, in both cases reverberation offers a means for understanding how the people of late imperial China could worship the same deities yet also embrace many different images of their cults and sacred sites.

1 The Site—the Palace of Eternal Joy

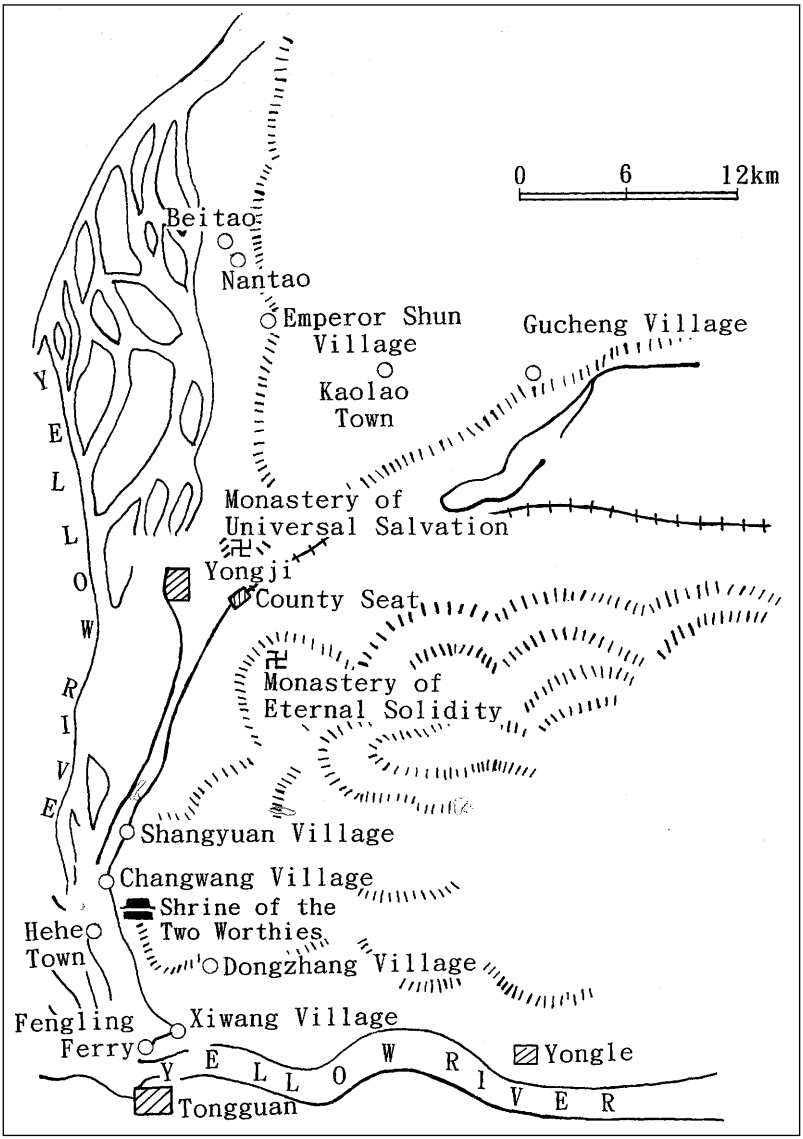
The town of Yongle was situated in southern Shanxi, an area often referred to as the cradle of (Han) Chinese civilization. Legend has it that the sage-king Yao visited this area, and the sage-king Shun is said to have established his empire's capital here. Archaeological evidence indicates that the area around Yongle had been inhabited as early as the Shang-Zhou period, while historical sources describe this area as an important agricultural center owing to its fertile soil (Mizuno [1956] 1993:235–236; Wang Shiren 1959:32). During the Spring and Autumn period, Yongle was part of the Jin kingdom. It later belonged to the Wei kingdom during the Warring States. China's first emperor (Qin Shihuang) is said to have passed through Yongle during his reign (Wang 1959:32). During the Tang, Yongle was incorporated into Hezhong Prefecture, and it was a county in its own right during the Tang and Song dynasties before being transformed into a town *(zhen)* in 1070. Yongle and its surrounding villages belonged to Hezhong Prefecture during the Jin and Yuan dynasties and to Yongji County of Puzhou Prefecture during the Ming and Qing dynasties (Mizuno [1956] 1993:235–243; Zhang Jizhong 1992).

Yongle and Its Environs

Its location near the borders of Henan and Shaanxi placed Yongle on an important transportation route between the cities of Luoyang and Chang'an. Travelers could cross the Yellow River to the strategically important town of Tongguan in Shaanxi via the Fengling Ferry *(du)* some twenty miles to the east of Yongle, while individuals on their way to Henan crossed the river to Shouxiang at the Yongle Ferry located at the town's outskirts (see map). The Fengling Ferry was established during the Tang dynasty and the Yongle Ferry during the Ming. Offices for subdistrict magistrates *(xunjian si)* were set up at both sites during the 1370s; the one at Fengling Ferry was moved to Tongguan in 1739, while the one at Yongle Ferry fell into disuse by the nineteenth century. However, as late as the Republican era, residents from both Shouxiang and Tongguan used these ferries to cross the Yellow River and take part in the festival to Lü Dongbin held at the Palace of Eternal Joy on the date of his birth (the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month) (Li Xianzhou 1983).

Yongle's location was also of great strategic value, making it a place invading nomadic peoples invariably had to conquer before being able to assume control of China's central plains. The area around Yongle was the site of many important battles in Chinese history, particularly during the fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and thirteenth centuries. This area was devastated in the course of fierce fighting between Mongol and Jin dynasty forces during the early thirteenth century, when the ancient wall of Puzhou was razed to the ground. Once the Mongols had triumphed, a massive agricultural reconstruction project was required to revive the local economy (Mizuno [1956] 1993:235, 237, 239, 242–243; *Puzhou fuzhi* 1754, 23:33a–34b; *Shanxi shixian jianzhi* 1990:15). When the Palace of Eternal Joy was first built in the thirteenth century, Han and non-Han military men and their families played major roles in supporting the massive construction projects. In addition, the Perfect Realization Taoists residing at the palace during this period helped solidify their base of support among the local populace by performing charitable deeds during years of incessant warfare.

In times of peace, the area in and around Yongle was a thriving agricultural center. Li Sui, a secretary to Provincial Education Commissioner Ge Yuan (1738–1800), visited Puzhou while helping supervise the prefectural



Yongle and its environs. (Based on Mizuno [1956] 1993:48)

examinations during the summer of 1793. The entry in his journal describes the Puzhou area as follows: "Puzhou is located at a key strategic position *(e)*,

controlling the passes at Tongguan to the west and lying near the Yellow River. Puzhou and its environs produce large quantities of persimmons and vinegar. The local people even use the persimmons to make wine, which has a bitter bouquet. It is undrinkable" (*Jin you riji,* 17).[1] Yongle and its surrounding villages lay at the heart of one of Shanxi's most fertile agricultural regions, producing wheat, persimmons, dates, pomegranates, walnuts, bamboo, and other crops (Duan 1995:165–167; *Shanxi zhi jiyao* 1780, 7:18a). Yongle's dates were particularly prized and, along with a local variety of pear, had been offered to the Tang court as tribute. Individuals engaging in Taoist self-cultivation also valued these dates (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 3:48a, 24:18a). The area's most important commercial crop was cotton, which remains an important source of revenue for local peasants today. Yongle was also famed for the Chinese medicines that could be made from herbs found on nearby mountains, perhaps another factor that attracted so many religious specialists to the area (Birnbaum 1995). The finest samples of some of these medicines were offered in tribute to the Ming court (*Shanxi shixian jianzhi* 1990:19–22, 1007–1008, 1020–1021; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 3:48a–51a). The Perfect Realization Taoists residing at the Palace of Eternal Joy owned much of Yongle's prime arable land as well as mills, granaries, and other means of production.

The key to the Yongle area's agricultural prominence lay in its soil, climate, and irrigation systems. Like much of the north China region, Yongle and its environs were covered with the fine earth known as loess (or *huangtu* in Chinese), blown down from the deserts of Mongolia over the centuries. This loess is fertile, and with sufficient irrigation a wide variety of crops could thrive. The local climate is cool but dry, with the mean annual temperature being just above thirteen degrees Celsius. The Yongle area averages about 215 frost-free days per year, but the average annual rainfall is only between 500 and 550 millimeters, and most of this falls between the months of June and August (*Shanxi shixian jianzhi* 1990:16–17, 998–999, 1009–1010). As a result, drought was a constant threat and irrigation a vital necessity. For the period covered by this study, drought and resulting famines afflicted Yongle and its environs most severely during the years 1209–1213, 1280–1294, 1613–1619, 1633–1644, 1758–1769, and 1877–1879 (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 162:68b–89a, 163:1a–52a; *Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 82:1a–43a; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, *juan* 21).[2]

An account of a major drought affecting Yongle and its environs during the summer and autumn of 1752 provides a vivid description of the suffering the locals endured, particularly in the form of hunger, grain shortages, and rampant price gouging. A major famine was only averted through a successful state relief effort, which provided aid to over 280,000 people living in the region (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 20:32a–35b).[3] The author of this account, Qiao Guanglie, who served as surveillance commissioner *(ancha shi)* of Shanxi during the 1750s, also visited the Palace of Eternal Joy and wrote a poem describing his experiences there (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 22:56a–b; see Chapter 3).

To cope with the ever-present threat of drought, the people living in and around Yongle relied on a variety of irrigation systems. People living to the north of Yongle drew water from the Su River, while those to the south used the water of the Yellow River. Two streams flowing out of the Zhongtiao mountains, the Hangu Stream and the Yongle Stream, also provided important sources of irrigation. The latter stream was also known as the Jade Spring (Yuquan) Stream or simply the Jade Stream. Local folktales claim that this stream was miraculously created by Lü Dongbin to save the people from a drought (see Chapter 5). The countryside around Yongle was also covered with six main irrigation channels approximately fifty-seven miles in length, which provided water for over 2,400 acres of farmland (*Shanxi shixian jianzhi* 1990:14, 998, 1011; *Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 32:17b–23a; *Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 67:25b–27b; *Shanxi zhi jiyao* 1780, 7:7a; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 3:16b–17b).

The Yongle area prospered during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, but a period of long-term economic decline set in during the Qing. Some renowned Shanxi merchants resided in and around Puzhou, but their commercial ventures usually took them to other parts of northern and southern China (Zhang Zhengming 1995:185–188, 206–213). The wealthiest merchants and bankers of Qing dynasty Shanxi came instead from the Fenzhou area in the central part of the province (Hao 1995; Huang 1992; Mann 1987; Zhang and Xue 1989). There were periodic markets *(ji)* both in the town of Yongle and in front of the Palace of Eternal Joy, but these had fallen into disuse by the end of the Qing dynasty and even at their peak do not appear to have served a wide area (Wang Shiren 1959:33; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 1:39a). Even today, there are relatively more markets in the Yongle area than

in other parts of Shanxi, but they serve fewer people and cover a smaller area than most (Qiao 1995:239–243).

One of the best descriptions of Yongle is found in an essay written by the scholar-official Xiang Zhang, who served as vice-prefect of Yongle during the Qing dynasty.[4] Xiang had previously served in Sichuan and Hubei, and was clearly unprepared for the relatively tranquil life he encountered. However, he relates that he eventually learned to appreciate the area for its natural wonders and the character of its people:

> [From Yongji] the road wound [southeast] for 120 *li*[5] until reaching [the town of Yongle]. One could not ride at a gallop [because of the rough mountain roads]. Yongle is surrounded by many mountains, and its people are plain and frugal. They are able to meet their own needs and do not rely on the outside world. Their markets have only a few outside goods [literally, "hundred products" or *baihuo*]. They cannot grow rice in their fields [unlike the people of south China, where Xiang had previously served], and they do not have the advantage of [catching or raising] fish, shrimp, crabs, and clams. . . . Even though I resided at my office, I felt as if in a desolate village. . . . Alas! I had previously served twice in Sichuan and once in Hubei. While these are important transit points . . . the people are violent and frequently sue each other. One spends one's [working] days hearing cases and one's nights poring over the relevant documents. . . . Today [at my new post] I have left danger behind and achieved peace and tranquility. . . . [Xiang goes on to describe the local geography.] . . . The sight of these high and mighty mountains [around Yongle] makes one feel truly unrestrained, and I let my mind wander as I look at them on a clear day. Their lush peaks vie with each other in beauty. . . . Although I have journeyed through . . . the Three Gorges . . . and the site of the Battle of Red Cliffs [fought during the Three Kingdoms period], these seem like nothing today. Now, gazing at [the scenery around Yongle], I truly feel free and at ease *(xiong wu ningzhi)*. (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 20:25a–26a).

Relatively little has been written about the local social structure in and around Yongle, in part owing to the relative paucity of genealogies currently available from Shanxi (Taga 1981–1982:405–451; Telford 1983:20–30). Historical and ethnographic data indicate that surname groups and lineages played important roles in the local society of southwestern Shanxi (Qiao 1995:143–146), but the extent to which these groups resembled the well-known corporate lineages of Fujian, Guangdong, and Taiwan has not been determined. For example, I have yet to find any data indicating that the lineages of the Yongle area owned corporate prop-

erty, established charitable estates, or sponsored charitable schools.[6] Despite these difficulties, one can draw on local gazetteers and epigraphic sources to gain a general understanding of Yongle's local elites and the ways in which they tried to dominate local life. According to these sources, late imperial Yongle consistently led the southwestern region of Shanxi in producing members of the gentry, ranking first during the Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties and second during the Yuan and Ming dynasties, before dropping to eleventh during the Qing (Wang and Xu 1988; Zhang Zhengming 1995:206–213). Many local gentry came from the Wang, Yang, and Zhang lineages, and their biographies fill numerous pages of the chapter on local lineages *(shizu)* in Shanxi gazetteers (see, for example, *Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 64:8b, 9b–10a; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 1:32a–37b, 19:27a–28a, 24:9b–10a). Many individuals bearing the surnames Yang and Zhang served as financial and literary patrons of the Palace of Eternal Joy or headed the local ritual organizations that supported the temple (see below). However, whether these men belonged to the lineages mentioned above or were merely part of various surname groups cannot be determined without the use of local genealogies.

Yongle was surrounded on its northern, eastern, and western sides by numerous mountains, the most imposing of which are the peaks of the Zhongtiao range (also known as the Emei range) to the town's north and the Leishou mountains to the west (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 3:6a–9a). Like other mountains throughout China, many of the peaks in the Zhongtiao range were viewed as the abodes of gods and immortals.[7] Their tranquil environment and unusual flora and fauna also attracted all manner of men and women practicing self-cultivation or engaging in vision quests.[8] Many of these individuals lived in isolated mountain huts or caves, while others congregated in Buddhist monasteries *(si)* and Taoist belvederes *(guan)*.[9] Renowned Zhongtiao mountains included Cat's Ear Mountain (Maoer shan), a site popular among hermits practicing Taoist self-cultivation, and Jade Hairpin Mountain (Yuzan shan), whose streams descended between groves of bamboo and forests of pine, peach, and apricot trees. The most famous Taoist sacred site in the Zhongtiao range was Nine Peaks Mountain (Jiufeng shan), which lay about twenty miles north of the town of Yongle. It was later named Jade Seat Mountain (Yuyi shan) by the Perfect

Realization Taoist Li Zhichang (1193–1256) when he visited the site during a pilgrimage to the Palace of Eternal Joy in 1252 (see Chapter 3). Lü Dongbin is reputed to have practiced self-cultivation in a cave on Nine Peaks Mountain, and some local hagiographies claim he attained immortality at that site. Nine Peaks Mountain also featured a Taoist belvedere dedicated to Lü (see below).

The most famous Buddhist sacred sites around Yongle were the Monastery of Universal Salvation (Pujiu si), setting of the drama *The Romance of the Western Chamber (Xixiang ji)*, and the Monastery of Eternal Solidity (Wangu si). The Monastery of Universal Salvation was located to the east of Yongji and was built during the Tang dynasty, while the Monastery of Eternal Solidity sat along the foothills of the Zhongtiao mountains to the north of Yongle, also having been constructed during the Tang (Mizuno [1956] 1993:246–257; see map). Li Sui visited both of these monasteries during his tour of duty in Puzhou but apparently did not stop at the Palace of Eternal Joy (*Jin you riji*, 17).

The most renonwned Taoist sacred site in the area, apart from the Palace of Eternal Joy, was the Belvedere of Penetrating the Primordial (Tongyuan guan). Also known as the Upper Palace of Purified Yang (Chunyang shanggong), this belevedere sat atop Nine Peaks Mountain. The Upper Palace was originally a shrine built near the cave in which Lü Dongbin was reputed to have practiced Taoist self-cultivation. The date of this shrine's founding is not clear, but it was an active cult center by the time Li Zhichang visited the site in 1252. When in 1598 the Wanli emperor (r. 1573–1619) approved a reprinting of the Ming edition of the Taoist Canon (the *Zhengtong daozang* of 1444–1445 studied by scholars today) in honor of his mother the empress dowager, he ordered one copy of this work to be stored in the Upper Palace.[10] This copy remained there during the Qing dynasty but appears to have been lost or destroyed thereafter (*Puzhou fuzhi* 1754, 3:43b; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 12:38b–40a).[11] During the late imperial era, the Upper Palace was an active Taoist site that maintained close ties to the Palace of Eternal Joy, with Taoists from the palace frequently visiting the Upper Palace to practice self-cultivation in its tranquil atmosphere. However, by the time Chinese archaeological teams visited the site in 1956, it lay in ruins (Su 1962:83).[12]

Another famous Taoist site was the Belvedere of Reposing in the Clouds (Qixia guan), located to the northwest of Yongle, which was reputed to have been founded by Zhang Guolao during the Tang dynasty (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 170:28a). In addition, a temple to Lü Dongbin known as the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü (Lüzu ci) was founded near the city of Yongji by local Taoists in 1602 (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 12:28a, 20:19a–20b).

Among the most renowned sacred sites to popular deities is a temple to the martial deity Guangong (Guandi), which lies to the north of Yongle in the town of Jiezhou. Constructed in 589, it remains a thriving cult center to this day (Duan 1995:148–151; *Jin you riji*, 16, 72). To the northeast of Yongle lies the ancient Shrine to the Two Worthies (Erxian ci), built during the waning years of the third century. This shrine is dedicated to Boyi and Shuqi, two legendary Shang dynasty loyalists said to have starved to death in the mountains (Mizuno [1956] 1993:257–266; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 12:29b–30a). All these sites, be they Buddhist monasteries, Taoist belvederes, local temples, or shrines, were also renowned for their architectural features. The province of Shanxi contains numerous examples of traditional Chinese architecture, including over 70 percent of wooden buildings constructed before the Yuan dynasty still standing in China today (*Shanxi shixian jianzhi* 1990:29; Steinhardt 1984).

Other deities widely worshiped in and around Yongle include the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, the Perfect Warrior (Zhenwu), the underworld deity Cui Yu (Cui Fujun),[13] the Dragon King, and the Earth God. The area around Yongle also featured a number of lavish festivals, often referred to as "*sai*" or "*shehuo*," some of which have begun to return to their former glory following the Cultural Revolution (Duan 1995:178–180; Johnson 1997; Qiao 1995:243–249).

The Yongle area lay just south of an important printing center in Pingyang Prefecture, where the Yuan dynasty edition of the Taoist Canon (the *Precious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis* [*Xuandu baozang*]) was printed by the Perfect Realization Taoist master Song Defang (1183–1247) and his disciples in the year 1244 (Boltz 1987:6; Chen [1949] 1963:161–166; van der Loon 1984). The blocks used for printing the *Precious Canon* were stored in the Palace of Eternal Joy (where Song eventually was buried) after its completion in 1262 (Qing 1988–1994, 3:220) but were destroyed during the persecution of Perfect Realization Taoism in 1281.

The area of southern Shanxi surrounding Yongle was also famous for its temple murals, including those adorning the walls of the Monastery of Broad Triumph (Guangsheng si) in Zhaocheng County and the Monastery of Initiating Transformations (Xinghua si) in Jishan County (White 1940:37, 39–48; Steinhardt 1987:11–16; Huang 1995:39–74). This area was home to some of China's most famous muralists, many of whom modeled their work on that of the renowned Wu Daozi (active ca. 710–760). These included Wang Guan (fl. 963–975), Wang Zhuo (a native of Yongji during the Northern Song dynasty), Wu Zongyuan (d. 1050), and Wang Kui (fl. 1167) (Guo 1991, 1992; Qin 1960:5–6; Wang Yi'e 1997:126–128, 130–131; Wang and Zhang 1991:47–49, 52–53; Yu 1958:131–138; Zhai 1987:109–111). These men and their disciples created a multifaceted tradition of religious art, including some early ritual and didactic murals described in Chapter 4, which in turn appears to have inspired those artisans who painted the Palace of Eternal Joy murals.

The Yongle area also produced some of the finest examples of Chinese drama and other performing arts, a fact noted with pride in many local gazetteers (*Puzhou fuzhi* 1754, 24:40b–41a). Li Sui frequently viewed local operatic performances during his travels throughout the area, and he writes fondly of the joy he felt while watching operas and playing drinking games with his friends (*Jin you riji,* 18, 31, 72). The areas to the north and east of Yongle are still home to numerous performing troupes (*Shanxi shixian jianzhi* 1990:1004–1005, 1017), the most famous of which are the clapper troupes of Puzhou *(Puzhou bangzi)*.[14] Operas performed on the stages of temples like the Palace of Eternal Joy may have played an important role in the transmission of representations of Lü Dongbin and other members of the Eight Immortals.

From Local Shrine to Taoist Belvedere

Inscriptions preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy declare that by the end of the tenth century the people of Yongle had built a shrine at the site of Lü Dongbin's reputed former residence. This shrine soon became an active cult site, with scholar-officials and commoners from throughout the area gathering there for annual rituals every spring on the reputed date of Lü's birth (Chen et al. 1988:447–448; Su 1962:80). Lü's shrine flourished during the Song dynasty and by the Jin dynasty was converted into a Taoist

belvedere (Su 1962:81). However, it is not known exactly when this occurred, and it is not clear whether a new belvedere was constructed, whether Lü's shrine was rebuilt as a belvedere, or whether the shrine was simply renamed a belvedere. There is also no record of which Taoist movement took control of the site (Yao 1995).[15] This belvedere suffered greatly during the incessant warfare that raged in the area at the end of the Jin dynasty, so that by the time Perfect Realization Taoists visited the site during the 1240s it had fallen into disrepair. Members of the Perfect Realization movement persuaded the few Taoists still residing at the belvedere to donate the temple and its land to the movement, whereupon the belvedere was converted into *(gui)* a Perfect Realization sacred site.[16] Local military officials donated additional land, while a group of wealthy peasants gave the temple a mill. Plans for the belvedere's restoration were drawn up, but before work could commence, the temple burned to the ground (Chen et al. 1988:547–549, 613–614; Su 1962:81).

Undaunted by this disaster, the leaders of the Perfect Realization movement, Yin Zhiping (1169–1251; who at the time was the movement's patriarch, or *zongshi*) and Li Zhichang, continued to plan for the belvedere's reconstruction. In 1246, Pan Dechong (1191–1256), then Taoist registrar at Yanjing, was appointed to serve as chief superintendent *(du tidian)* of the Perfect Realization Taoists residing in the northern and southern routes of Hedong.[17] One of Pan's first and most important tasks was to supervise the reconstruction of the belvedere at Yongle,[18] which commenced soon after Pan's appointment. Laborers for this project came from near and far. The temple's prestige was enhanced even before work was completed, when the Mongol court decreed that the blocks for the Yuan dynasty edition of the Taoist Canon be stored there. Much of the construction had been completed by the time Li Zhichang visited the site in 1252, and the main halls of the complex were finished in 1262. Shrines for Song Defang and Pan Dechong were also built to the south of their tombs during that year and subsequently became transformed into Taoist abbeys *(daoyuan)* (the date this occurred is not clear).[19] The new temple complex was upgraded to become a palace *(gong)* and was renamed the Purified Yang Palace of Limitless Longevity (Chunyang wanshou gong);[20] it was also referred to as the Palace of Eternal Joy.

One striking feature of the palace's early history is the absence of "conquest" stories portraying Taoist or Buddhist deities as defeating or converting local spirits (Faure 1992:153, 174; Yü 1992:196, 204). In a recent conference paper about the cult of the immortal Tang Gongfang in ancient China, Kristofer Schipper has argued for the coexistence of local cults to immortals and Taoist movements that also featured the worship of such deities, stating that: "Between the two, there was certainly a certain complementarity, as well as perhaps some inevitable opposition" (1995:20–21). For its part, Perfect Realization Taoism actively accepted all manner of local cults rather than attacking them with the scathing polemical rhetoric featuring terms such as "licentious sacrifices" *(yinsi)* and "heterodox deities" *(xieshen)* found in other Taoist movements (Goossaert 1997:85–86, 343; Li and Lin 1986).

Why did Perfect Realization Taoists as well as members of the scholar-official and local elite classes devote such effort and resources to a minor belvedere located hundreds of miles away from the Mongol center of power? The main factors behind this outpouring of support for Lü Dongbin's shrine appear to have involved the prominence of the Perfect Realization movement at the Mongol court during the mid–thirteenth century as well as efforts on the part of this movement's leaders to promote Lü's cult after he was adopted as a Perfect Realization patriarch at the end of the twelfth century (see Chapter 3). In addition, the two senior Perfect Realization masters responsible for the construction of the palace, Song Defang and Pan Dechong, proved adept at attracting support for this project. Many of the officials who patronized the palace (described below) were Song's disciples, while Pan won renown among the local populace for his charitable deeds during times of crisis. For example, one biographical inscription about Pan, preserved in the *Account of the Origins of the Immortals at Ganshui*, credits his actions with inspiring the people of Yongle to found ritual associations to support the palace:

> The master had a generous and benevolent nature . . . and enjoyed performing good deeds. At the beginning of every year, the people who lived around the Zhongtiao mountains [in Yongle] would come to the palace to borrow grain, the total amount of which exceeded one thousand piculs *(dan)*. During one year of famine, the Taoists [at the palace] did not have enough to eat and proposed

> taking grain back from the people. The master [Pan] replied: "In a year of famine, if we take their food to feed ourselves, is this the way a benevolent person behaves?" Those who heard were struck by his virtue. In later years the people established ritual associations [literally "societies" *(shehui)*][21] to offer incense and money [to the palace] out of gratitude *(xian xiangxi yi zhi bao)* every year on the date of Lü Dongbin's birthday.
>
> A drought occurred in the year 1253, prompting the official Xu Delu [see Chapter 3] to lead the local elders *(qilao)* in imploring the master [to hold a Taoist ritual]. The master chanted a Numinous Treasure scripture *(Lingbao jing)*,[22] and within a few days over a foot of sweet moisture *(ganlu)* had fallen. (*Ganshui xianyuan lu* 5:14b–15a; Chen et al. 1988:556)

This inscription is particularly important because it reveals that Pan Dechong encouraged the staging of festivals on Lü's birthday, a custom that persisted well into the twentieth century. During the Jin-Yuan era, similar rites were held on this date at other Perfect Realization sites as well (Goossaert 1997:351).

The Perfect Realization defeat in the Buddhist-Taoist debates of 1255 and 1258 and state suppression in 1281 (see Chapter 2) may have contributed to a lengthy gap between the completion of the palace's main halls and subsequent construction, although other factors such as natural disasters and fund-raising difficulties may also have been at work. It is known that the Yuan edition of the Taoist Canon stored at the palace was put to the torch during the 1281 suppression. The Gate of the Limitless Ultimate was not constructed until 1294, and finishing touches on the main halls took until 1301 to complete (Su 1962:82, 84–86; Su 1963:55). The palace's fortunes appear to have taken a turn for the better during the early decades of the fourteenth century, in part owing to the Perfect Realization movement's renewed prominence at court under the leadership of Miao Daoyi.[23] An official document inscription carved on stone at the palace in 1317 contains an imperial decree issued in 1308 in which the Yuan emperor Wuzong (r. 1308–1311) confirmed Miao's leadership of the Perfect Realization movement and appointed him to a position in the Academy of Assembled Worthies (Jixian yuan), which during the Yuan oversaw the Taoist clergy (Chen et al. 1988:727; Farquhar 1990:129–130; Fujishima 1971; Goossaert 1997:30–31).[24] This inscription also lists titles awarded to the Five Patriarchs of Perfect Realization Taoism by the Yuan court in 1310 as well as titles awarded to Wang Chongyang and other leading members of the move-

ment, including Yin Zhiping, Li Zhichang, Pan Dechong, and Song Defang. Imperial decrees issued in the 1320s and 1330s, and subsequently carved on stelae erected in the temple complex, also reflect strong support at court for the Palace of Eternal Joy at that time (Chen et al. 1988:781–782, 804–805). This support apparently helped the Taoists residing at the palace win a protracted struggle with the Taoists who served as officials for Jinning Route over the issue of who could control the palace's considerable financial resources (ibid.:791–792; see Chapter 3).

Relatively little is known about the Palace of Eternal Joy's condition during the early and middle periods of the Ming dynasty. The only evidence available so far comes in the form of cartouches *(tiji)* inside the halls of the temple complex that describe minor repairs made to them (Su 1963:57, 59–60). By the late Ming, however, the effects of droughts and famines, combined with warfare and banditry, appear to have caused great damage to the palace, and a number of major reconstruction projects had to be undertaken. Beginning in 1614, resident gentlemen *(jushi)*[25] living in the Yongle area organized a mammoth ritual for chanting Taoist scriptures, which lasted until 1616. A Taoist purgation rite *(zhai)*[26] was then held at the end of that year on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month. Over 1,200 people participated in these rituals, donating 650 taels *(liang)*[27] of gold to sponsor them. Of this sum, over 530 taels was used to pay for the rites, while the remainder went toward the construction of a Pavilion of the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang ge) atop the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü (Chen et al. 1988: 1301–1302).

Sparked by this outpouring of support, work on the Palace of Eternal Joy continued at a rapid pace. The first project, undertaken during the 1620s, involved the repair of spirit tablets *(paiwei)* to the Taoist deities worshiped in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones (Su 1963:56). During the 1630s and 1640s, Taoists residing at the palace and members of the local elite jointly sponsored repairs to Pan Dechong's shrine as well as the reconstuction of the Hall of Redoubled Yang and a group meditation hall *(botang)*[28] dedicated to Wang Chongyang's most famous disciple, Qiu Chuji (1148–1227).[29] In addition, over fifty cypress trees were planted throughout the palace's grounds (Chen et al. 1988:1308–1310). A large-scale Taoist offering ritual *(jiao)* was also performed at the palace in 1643 (ibid.:1310; see chapters 3 and 4).

Inscriptions dating from the late Ming dynasty also provide tantalizing clues to how the Palace of Eternal Joy functioned as a Taoist sacred site. A 1636 inscription recording the rebuilding of Pan Dechong's shrine states that the palace was allowed to issue ordination certificates in that year, a privilege that would have greatly enhanced its power and prestige. Interestingly enough, however, no source mentions the presence in the temple of an ordination platform *(jietai)*, although one should have been used in such rituals (Goossaert 1997:132–133; Yoshioka 1979:235–236). Furthermore, no ordination platform is indicated in the Qing dynasty diagram of the temple complex (see Figure 2), although it may have been located in one of the two Taoist abbeys described above. It is possible that such a platform had been constructed in the palace as early as the Yuan dynasty and that it later fell into disuse. Nevertheless, if this were the case, one would expect that such an important function would have been mentioned in at least one source relating to the temple.

The fact that no ordination rituals are ever mentioned as having been staged at the Palace of Eternal Joy makes it difficult to determine exactly what

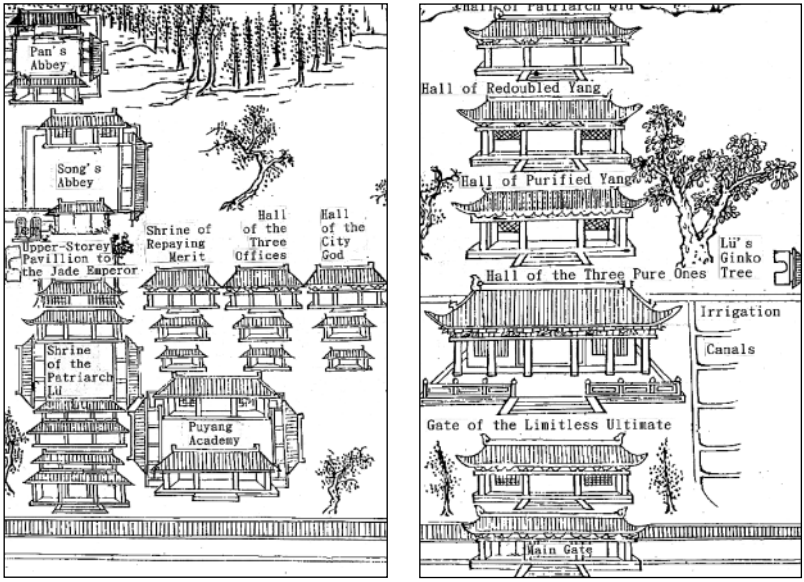


FIGURE 2
The Palace of Eternal Joy during the Qing dynasty. This woodblock print of the palace was first published in the 1754 edition of the Puzhou prefectural gazetteer. (Redrawn based on *Puzhou fuzhi* 1754)

type of Taoist institution it was. Like Buddhist monasteries, Taoist belvederes were often classified as public *(shifang conglin)* or hereditary *(zisun)* institutions.[30] The relatively few public Taoist belvederes that existed during the late imperial era were major centers open to all Taoist monks or priests of any school and legally entitled to issue ordination certificates. Control over such sites was decided by election, and qualified candidates could belong to any recognized Taoist movement. Although hereditary belvederes were much more common, they differed from public sites in being restricted to members of a particular Taoist movement or one of its branches. Taoist masters of that movement and their disciples managed such sites for many generations but were not allowed to issue ordination certificates (Goossaert 1997:303–342; Yoshioka 1979). During the Qing dynasty, public monasteries were only allowed to perform ordination rituals, the actual certificates being issued by the state. This does not appear to have been the case in Ming, as the Palace of Eternal Joy was allowed to issue certificates on its own. Perhaps the palace functioned as a "hybrid" institution *(zisun conglin)* during the late Ming, public in some aspects and hereditary in others (Li Yangzheng 1989:394–395; Welch 1967:138–141). While the palace possessed a hall for *botang* meditation, there are no records of Perfect Realization monks practicing voluntary solitary confinement (*huandu* [1]) at this site,[31] and no "Pure Code" *(qinggui)* for regulating monastic life survives.[32]

The cataclysmic events marking the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644 do not appear to have significantly affected popular support for the Palace of Eternal Joy. As early as 1656, members of the Yongle populace donated a new set of lanterns to the Hall of Purified Yang (Su 1963:58). Extensive repairs to the temple were undertaken during the reign of the Kangxi emperor, with one inscription from 1689 describing how local elders *(xiangqi)* took the lead in raising money for the temple's reconstruction (p. 55). One cartouche located in the Hall of Purified Yang and dated 1675 recounts how prefectural scholars *(junshi)* donated over two hundred taels of gold toward the hall's repair (pp. 59–60). Another cartouche dated 1689 records that the statues of the Three Pure Ones in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones were painted gold in that year (p. 57).

The Kangxi reign also witnessed a number of pilgrimages by Yongle residents to Mount Wudang (Wudang shan), sacred site for the Taoist immortal Zhang Sanfeng and the Perfect Warrior (Lagerwey 1992; Qing 1988–1994, 3:466–499; Seidel 1970; Wong 1988a). The practice of going

on pilgrimage to Wudang shan may have begun during the reign of the Jiajing emperor (1522–1566), when a filial son from Yongle named Yang Kun performed this act in order to move the gods to cure his mother's illness (her surname was Cui). Like other pilgrims at the mountain (Lagerwey 1992:319–320), Yang threw himself off a precipice (in this case, not in order to ascend to the heavens but to sacrifice himself as a substitute for his mother), but unlike others he landed without a scratch, to the amazement of other pilgrims on the mountain. Deeply impressed by this miraculous experience (whether his mother's illness was cured is not mentioned), Yang returned to Yongle and donated some of his family's property toward the construction of a temple to the Perfect Warrior (apparently not the hall located inside the Palace of Eternal Joy mentioned below) and performed other charitable acts as well (*Yongji xianzhi* 1868, 13:8a–b). Yang Maojin, named in the title of a 1702 pilgrimage inscription preserved at the palace (see Chapter 3), may have been one of Yang Kun's descendants, but this hypothesis remains tentative pending the discovery of further evidence.

Further repairs to the Palace of Eternal Joy were undertaken in the spring of 1773, this time under the direction of the vice-prefect of Puzhou, Liu Muyan (Su 1963:58, 59). By the early nineteenth century, however, the temple had again fallen into disrepair. In the year 1804, the prefectural magistrate Jiang Rongchang helped repurchase temple lands that had been sold or pawned off by its resident Taoists and also supervised the completion of a large-scale reconstruction project (ibid.:56). Jiang's interest in the Palace of Eternal Joy may be partly explained by the fact that in 1804 the Qing court incorporated Lü's cult into the Register of Sacrifices *(sidian)* at the provincial level (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 73:15b–16a).

One last reconstruction project took place during the waning years of the Qing dynasty and is recorded in the most recent temple inscription preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy. Composed in 1890, it commemorates repairs made on the eaves of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones and the Hall of Purified Yang as well as a Pavilion to the Perfect Warrior (Zhenwu ge).[33] This inscription mentions the reconstruction project of 1773 as having been the last time any significant repairs had been made and credits an official with the surname Li for having initiated the late-nineteenth-century effort (Su 1963:56).

I have yet to locate any written records of what happened to the palace during the tumultuous years of the early twentieth century, but it appears to have been abandoned by its Taoist residents at some point and apparently suffered considerable damage during the Japanese invasion and occupation of north China. The impact of campaigns against popular religion during the early twentieth century is also unclear.[34] Nevertheless, before the Japanese invasion, the Palace of Eternal Joy continued to serve as a site for popular worship of Lü Dongbin, as can be seen in the reminiscences of a Shanxi native now residing in Taiwan: "Whenever there was a temple fair or religious celebration [such as Lü Dongbin's birthday], devout worshipers from all the surrounding villages and towns would continuously flock to the temple to make offerings. People living on the southern banks of the Yellow River from as far away as Tongguan and Shouxiang would cross the river to worship. The atmosphere was extremely lively *(renao)*" (Li Xianzhou 1983:104).

Despite its size and its long history, the Palace of Eternal Joy appears to have received little or no attention from scholars doing art historical and archaeological research during the early twentieth century, including Liang Sicheng, Laurence Sickman, and Japanese scholars working in southern Shanxi during the 1930s (Steinhardt et al. 1984:133). News of its existence only came to light when a team of Chinese scholars conducting a survey of the area discovered the temple and its murals in 1953, and published their report in the 1954 issue of the journal *Wenwu cankao ziliao*. When the Chinese government decided to build a dam at Sanmenxia, it agreed to classify the Palace of Eternal Joy as a historical relic and move it to its current site at Ruicheng, so that it would not be submerged in the resulting flood. The entire temple complex was moved piece by piece to Ruicheng and rebuilt at roughly its original scale. Although the palace is now largely a tourist attraction earning foreign currency, it also attracts pilgrims from Taiwan who offer incense to Lü Dongbin in the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü.

Arrangement of Sacred Space and Its Significance

The layout and main features of the palace as it stands at Ruicheng today were briefly touched on in the Introduction. Here I will offer a more detailed description of the palace as it stood at Yongle (see Figure 3).[35] As I indicat-

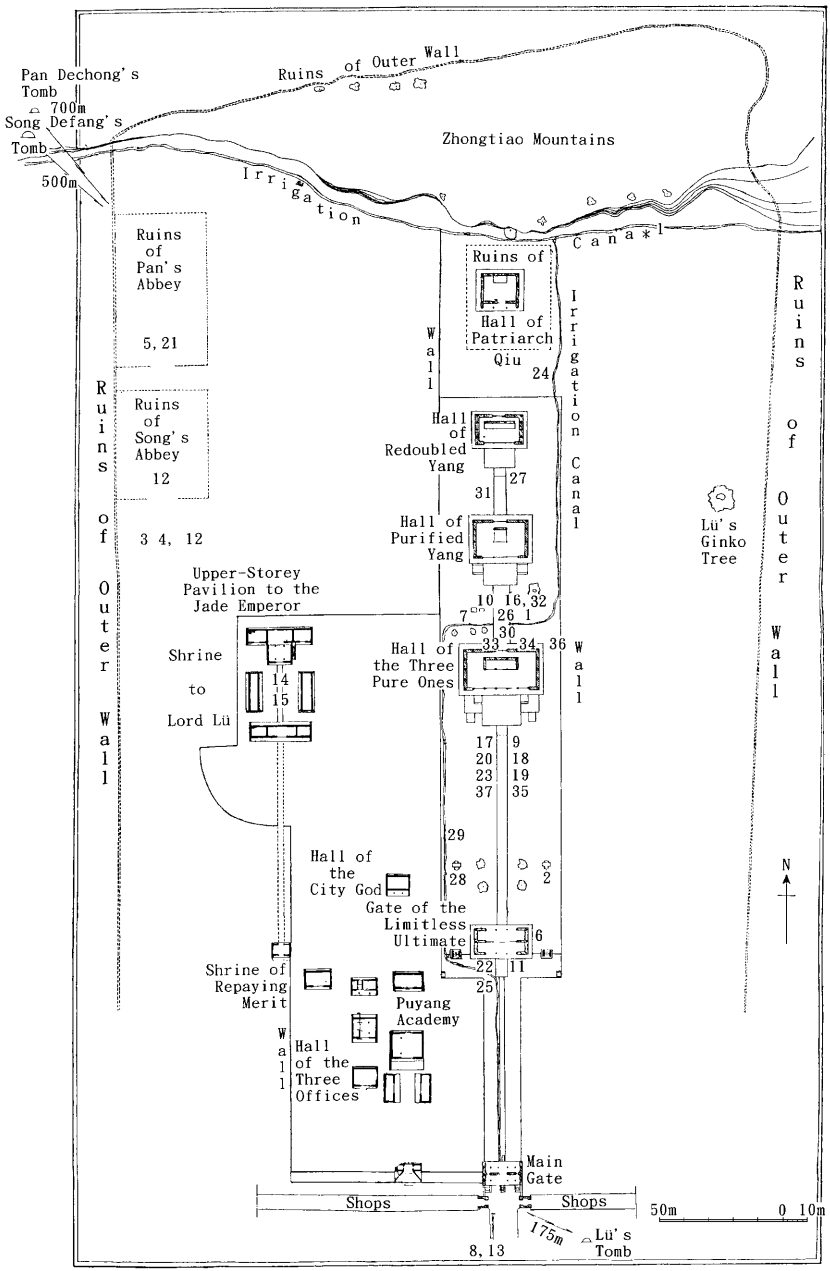


FIGURE 3
The Palace of Eternal Joy in 1958. This drawing is based on a diagram prepared by Chinese scholars conducting research at the site (see *Yongle gong* 1964). Numbers refer to stele inscriptions at the site. The title and a summary of each inscription can be found in Appendix A.

ed in the Introduction, the itinerary presented below was not necessarily adhered to by all pilgrims and visitors to the palace.

The Palace of Eternal Joy lay in an ideal geomantic position, with the Zhongtiao mountains behind it to the north and the Yellow River in front to the south. A drainage canal also flowed from west to east across the temple's northern boundary, and a branch of this canal flowed from north to south inside the temple complex. The entire complex, covering an area of 8,600 square meters, was protected by an outer wall, which had fallen into a state of disrepair by the time the site was discovered during the 1950s. A second wall surrounded the main Taoist halls and the other temples to their west.

Pilgrims approached the palace via one of three roads: one heading north to the temple from the Yellow River, one heading east from the town of Yongle, and one heading west from Yuantou village. People coming from the south or the east could see the reputed site of Lü Dongbin's tomb, which lay about 175 meters in front of the palace. This tomb was excavated by Chinese archaeologists before the palace was moved to its new home in Ruicheng. Inside they found skeletons of a man and a woman that appear to date from the eleventh century (Li Fengshan 1960). The significance of this discovery for understanding local representations of Lü is treated in Chapter 5. To the west of the temple's main gate lay rows of shops that belonged to the periodic market *(ji)* that was held outside the temple's grounds until the end of the Qing.

The spatial arrangement of the temple complex's main halls was essentially the same as it is today. The main gate, constructed during the early Qing dynasty, provided the only avenue of access to this sacred site. A path nearly eighty meters long led pilgrims to the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate, which was completed in the year 1294. The first murals pilgrims and visitors saw, which depicted spirit soldiers and generals, were painted on this gate. The northern side of the gate also served as a stage for the performance of operas during festivals held at the palace (Li Xianzhou 1983; Li and Lin 1986).

Pilgrims and visitors then walked eighty meters past trees and two huge stelae dating from 1262 and 1689 (see Chapter 3) to ascend a flight of stairs and enter a more exalted plane of sacred space, the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, which was completed by 1262. This hall is the largest of the entire complex, covering an area of over 430 square meters. The hall stands seven bays (28.44 meters) across by four bays (15.28 meters) deep and supports a single-eave hipped roof.[36] The front of the Hall of the Three Pure

Ones has five four-panel doors with lattice tops. Each panel has three lattice windows designed to let enough light into the hall for viewing the statues and murals therein. The hall is raised on an elevated platform, in front of which sits a crescent platform *(yuetai)* measuring 15.6 by 12.15 meters. An ear-shaped platform emerges from either side of the crescent platform. Nancy Steinhardt has argued that the shape of this front extension may have been designed for its use in Taoist rituals (Steinhardt et al. 1984:134), a view that conforms to my analysis of this hall's murals presented in Chapter 4.

The pillars of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones are set in square pedestals 90 centimeters long by 8.5 centimeters high. The exterior and side pillars measure 50 centimeters in diameter, while corner and interior pillars are 55 and 60 centimeters in diameter respectively. The hall's structure resembles that of other Yuan temples in Shanxi, employing both king and queen posts as well as the inverted-V brace. The hall's interior is capped by a decorative six-caisson ceiling, while the exterior roof spines are covered with colorful ceramic tiles (Steinhardt et al. 1984:134).

Statues of Taoism's supreme deities, the Three Pure Ones, were enshrined inside the hall,[37] surrounded by murals depicting 286 members of the Taoist pantheon engaged in an audience ceremony with them. This massive work, known as the *Audience with the* [*Three*] *Primordials (Chaoyuan tu)*, covers an area of over 402 square meters, the deities featured being as tall as two meters and the murals covering four meters from top to bottom. These murals were completed in 1325 by the artisan *(huagong)* Ma Junxiang (a native of Luoyang) and his students. I have argued that the 360 deities featured in the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones may well have been worshiped during various Taoist rituals regularly held at the temple (Katz 1993). However, Anning Jing claims that they represent a new "Quanzhen pantheon" featuring patriarchs of the movement like Lü Dongbin (Jing 1993, 1995). The validity of these claims is explored in Chapter 4.

After leaving the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, pilgrims and visitors proceed another forty meters along the elevated walkway to the Hall of Purified Yang. This hall was also completed by 1262, but built on a much smaller scale, covering just over three hundred square meters (five bays by four, or 20.35 m. x 14.35 m.). Doors with lattice windows span the center three bays of this hall, which lacks side bay windows because its inner walls bear

murals. The pillars of this hall measure 48 centimeters in diameter under the eaves, 56 centimeters at the corners, and 57 centimeters throughout the rest of the hall. It is topped by a single-eave hip-gable combination roof (Steinhardt et al. 1984:34). A statue of Lü Dongbin was enshrined in this hall, surrounded by murals depicting his life as a mortal and his deeds after becoming an immortal. These murals, titled "The Divine Travels and Immortal Transformations of the Sovereign Lord of Purified Yang" *(Chunyang dijun shenyou xianhua tu)*, are also smaller than those in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, being only 3.6 meters high and covering just over two hundred square meters of wall space. Completed in 1358, they were painted by students of the Yuan dynasty mural painter Zhu Haogu (a native of Xiangling, in Shanxi). Most of the fifty-two scenes from Lü Dongbin's hagiography are accompanied by cartouches describing the story portrayed. Nearly two-thirds of these cartouches (thirty-seven in all) are direct quotations from a work in the Taoist Canon called *An Account of the Divine Transformations and Wondrous Communications of the Sovereign Lord of Purified Yang* (*Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji; TT* 159; *CT* 305; referred to below using the abbreviation *MTJ*), a hagiographical text written by the Perfect Realization master Miao Shanshi (fl. 1288–1324), a native of Nanjing (see Chapter 2).[38] Many of these stories can also be found in later Taoist compilations, including the late-sixteenth-century *Record of the Patriarch Lü (Lüzu zhi)* (*TT* 1112–1113; *CT* 1484), and the *Complete Works of Patriarch Lü (Lüzu quanshu)* (1846).[39] The extent to which these stories circulated at the site and were able to influence local representations of Lü Dongbin is discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

From the Hall of Purified Yang, pilgrims and visitors then walked an additional twenty meters to the Hall of Redoubled Yang. In this hall were enshrined statues of the Perfect Realization founder Wang Chongyang, as well as six of his seven main disciples, collectively referred to as the Seven Perfected (Qizhen).[40] The architectural features of the Hall of Redoubled Yang are roughly the same as those of the Hall of Purified Yang. A total of forty-nine murals depicting scenes from Perfect Realization history adorn the walls of this temple, but unfortunately over one-third of these have been partially or totally destroyed. It is not clear who painted the murals, but they appear to have been completed around 1368. Most of the cartouches appear to have been based on hagiographies about Wang Chongyang now preserved in the Taoist

Canon (Wang Chang'an 1963a, 1963b). These murals are highly important sources for the study of Perfect Realization beliefs and practices but unfortunately have yet to be studied systematically by either art historians or specialists in Taoist studies. In Chapter 5, I discuss murals from this hall that portray Lü Dongbin's conversion of Wang Chongyang as well as Wang himself using a painting of a skeleton in order to instruct his disciples.

The main halls described so far, while architecturally impressive, only occupied about half of the area of the Palace of Eternal Joy. Like most late imperial Taoist belvederes, the Palace of Eternal Joy was a huge compound in which various Taoist (and local) activities were concentrated in separate buildings (Reiter 1983:367). To the northwest of the main halls lay two Taoist abbeys built a few hundred meters south of the tombs of the Perfect Realization Taoists responsible for the construction of the Palace of Eternal Joy: Song Defang and Pan Dechong.[41] The area directly west of the main Taoist halls constituted a second temple complex in its own right, containing other temples in which both Taoist and popular deities were worshiped. The founding dates of most of these temples are unknown, and apart from the abbeys, they are not mentioned in any local gazetteer or temple inscription I have consulted to date. Almost all of these temples appear in a diagram of the Palace of Eternal Joy first published in the 1754 edition of the Puzhou prefectural gazetteer (see Figure 2), indicating that they must have been built before that date. Something is known of the history of the Pavilion to the Jade Emperor, which was built atop the Shrine to the Patriarch Lü in 1617. Other sacred places included a hall to the City God, a temple for the Three Offices (of Heaven, Earth, and Water; *sanguan*), and a Shrine for Repaying Merit (Baogong ci), the deity of which is unknown. Two venerable ginkgo trees, one supposedly planted by Lü Dongbin, stood near the eastern wall of the temple complex.

The Palace of Eternal Joy also contained an academy, the Puyang shuyuan, which was founded in 1821 by the vice-prefect Chen Shichang.[42] In what may represent an example of the thriftiness cited by Xiang Zhang above, only 1,900 taels of the 3,900 taels raised was actually used to build this academy, the remaining 2,000 taels being deposited in a local pawnshop to earn interest (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 4:34a). The palace also featured buildings designed to administer to more mundane affairs, such as kitchens and a pilgrims' hostel.

The most intriguing site in the western portion of the Palace of Eternal Joy is the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü. At the time of its founding, this shrine was originally named the Shrine of Lord Lü (Lügong ci; see Su 1962:80 and Chapter 3). Chinese scholars working at the palace during the 1950s also referred to Lü's shrine using that name (see Figure 3), but the Qing dynasty drawing of the palace included in both the Yongji county gazetteer and the Puzhou prefectural gazetteer labels this site the Shrine to the Patriarch Lü (see Figure 2), and it is identified as such today. Taoists and officials at the Palace of Eternal Joy today claim that Lü's shrine was built during the reign of the Jiaqing emperor (1796–1821), but this must be an error, as this shrine is clearly shown in Figure 2, the earliest version of which dates from the 1754 edition of the Puzhou prefectural gazetteer. In addition, the fact that the Pavilion of the Jade Emperor was built on top of Lü's shrine in 1617 indicates that this site must have been founded before then. It is possible that this site is in fact that of the original shrine built near the reputed location of Lü's tomb, although it must have undergone numerous restorations to survive today. This shrine served as a site for popular worship of Lü Dongbin, a role it continues to play to the present day (see also Chapter 5).[43]

The description of the Palace of Eternal Joy's layout and the account of its history presented here help explain the arrangement of sacred space at this site as presented in Figure 3. The Palace of Eternal Joy, like many sacred sites throughout the world,[44] was separated from the nonsacred or profane space around it, in this case by an outer wall that stood around the site and an inner wall surrounding its temples. Again like most sacred sites, the palace came into being by means of a selection process, which in this case had to do with both its ideal natural and geomantic setting (in particular its proximity to mountains and water) and its location near the tomb of a famous individual who had been deified.[45] The structure of the palace's sacred space also seems to have conformed to principles of sacred geography in the sense of trying to reproduce accurately a cosmic protoype (Schipper [1982] 1993:21–22). This aspect of the palace's sacred space is described in an inscription written during the winter of 1636, which emphasized that the palace lay close to the Zhongtiao mountains, one (number sixty-two) of the seventy-two blessed sites *(fudi)* in Taoist cosmology (Verellen 1995). The text also claims that, "[when this temple was built] the artisans labored like

Lu Ban,[46] while the painters worked like [Wu] Daozi. The halls stood tall and mighty, laid out along the pattern of the nine stars *(jiuxing)*.[47] The Taoist abbeys *(daoyuan)*[48] were somber and majestic, arrayed like the Eight Trigrams. Did this not symbolize the limitlessness of sagely accomplishments *(shengguo)* and the permanence of works of the Way *(daoye)*?" (Chen et al. 1988:1308).

The Palace of Eternal Joy resembles most temples in being conceived as the abode of a deity, but Lü's abode differed from actual residences in the Yongle area because of its magnificent architecture. Furthermore, because Lü was viewed as a nonbureaucratic deity (see chapters 2 and 5), the two buildings where he was worshiped—the Hall of Purified Yang and the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü—were not designed to resemble an official's yamen. The Palace of Eternal Joy was thus a liminal space, a point of contact between worshipers and the divine realm. At the palace, the divine included Perfect Realization immortals like Lü Dongbin, the spirits of the Taoist celestial realm portrayed in the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and Hall of the Three Pure Ones, and the subterranean world of purgatory administered in part by chthonic deities like the City God.

The palace also served as a repository of local history and religious knowledge. Key events marking the history of Yongle and its environs as well as the names of the individuals who participated in them were carved on stelae strategically placed throughout the temple complex (see Figure 3 and Chapter 3), while the buildings themselves stood as monuments to that history.[49] Furthermore, like many temples of the ancient world that housed some of the earliest libraries (mainly collections of sacred texts), the palace served as a storehouse for religious writings. A copy of the Yuan dynasty edition of the Taoist Canon was preserved at this site until being put to the torch in 1281, while a copy of the 1598 reprint of the Ming edition of the Taoist Canon was preserved at the Upper Palace. Much of this religious knowledge was also depicted in the palace's murals, both ritually, in the case of the murals in the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, and doctrinally, in the case of the murals of the Hall of Purified Yang and the Hall of Redoubled Yang. The contents of these works could be viewed by all, but their significance was only clear to classically educated individuals who could read the cartouches or initiates who had studied the sacred texts located inside the palace (see chapters 4 and 5).

Although the Palace of Eternal Joy resembled many Chinese and non-Chinese sacred sites in terms of the arrangement of its sacred space, it also differed from such sites in some important ways. First, the site of greatest spiritual power (the Hall of the Three Pure Ones) was not set deep inside the temple complex, but instead lay closest to its original gate, the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate. In a recent discussion of the creation of sacred space at the Palace of Eternal Joy, Anning Jing argues that one of the temple's "unique" features involves the alignment of its three main halls along one axis (1995). Such a feature does not appear unique to the Palace of Eternal Joy. Nancy Steinhardt has shown that other contemporary Buddhist monasteries in southern Shanxi were also laid out along such lines (Steinhardt et al. 1984; Steinhardt 1987), while Vincent Goossaert has found similar layouts at other Perfect Realization sites (1997:315, 321–323). Nevertheless, Jing appears correct in pointing out that this arrangement was designed to accentuate the worshiper's entrance into the sacred space embraced by the three main halls as well as to define a linear sequence of scriptural transmission proceeding from the Three Pure Ones through Lü Dongbin to Wang Chongyang and the Seven Perfected (Jing 1995; see also Fang and Jin 1995).

Another striking feature of the palace's sacred space is the coexistence of three different focal points. In the northwestern corner of the complex, just beyond the outer wall, lay the tombs of Song Defang and Pan Dechong as well as the Taoist abbeys erected in their honor. Apart from these monuments to the dead, the palace contained not one but two sets of temples sitting side by side in the space encompassed by the complex's inner wall.[50] On the eastern side of the complex sat the main halls in which the main deities and patriarchs of the Perfect Realization movement were worshiped. These halls were sites for Taoist rituals and only open to lay worshipers on specific ritual occasions. On the western side lay the Puyang academy as well as a different set of temples open to the public on a daily basis, including temples for Taoist deities like the Three Offices and popular deities like the City God.[51] The shrine for Lü Dongbin, also a site for popular worship, was located in this portion of the complex as well.

The simultaneous presence of such different arrangements of sacred space may be explained by the observation of the British geographer Chris C. Park that "landscape [including sacred space] is a manuscript on which is written the cultural history of the area" (1994:197; see also Grapard 1994;

Harvey 1991; Scott and Simpson-Housley 1994). The cultural history of Yongle and the Palace of Eternal Joy was highly complex and diverse, and the palace resembled many other Chinese sacred sites in its ability to encompass cultural diversity. As Susan Naquin and Yü Chün-fang point out, sacred sites in China were "extensive, complicated, and multifocal" (1992:22).[52] In addition, their diverse nature also served to attract a wide variety of worshipers (pp. 23–24). In an important article on the interaction between Buddhism and Taoism at the Southern Marchmount (Nanyue), James Robson uses these ideas as well as the work of Allan Grapard (1994), David Harvey (1991), and Robert Sack (1980) to argue that Chinese sacred sites were "polymorphous," that is, multivocal products of social processes resulting from "a continuous state of cultural production and reproduction" (Robson 1995:246). The organization of the Palace of Eternal Joy's sacred space indicates that it was also a multidimensional site. However, the term "polymorphic" seems inadequate to indicate the ways in which different representations of sacred space could interact at sacred sites. I would suggest using the term "polyphonic" as a means of describing the ways in which different texts (or "voices"; see Dudbridge 1995) could interact. This interaction or reverberation of polyphonic voices might also be conveyed by the term "polysynthesis."

The evidence presented above reveals that the Palace of Eternal Joy symbolized a multiplicity of meanings to different groups of patrons. Sacred space has been recognized as embodying patterns of cultural identity (Bordessa 1994:87, 89). At the Palace of Eternal Joy, Taoist identity was expressed in the main halls and abbeys, the inscriptions that stood outside them, the offering and purgation rituals performed within them, and the murals adorning their walls. Various forms of local identity appear to have found expression in some inscriptions as well, but perhaps more importantly in the halls of the western complex, in local folktales about the palace's history, and through participation in and support of the Taoist and local rituals staged at this site. These expressions of identity as well as their interaction are treated in the pages below.

Chinese sacred sites like the palace were much more than places of spiritual power. They were also macrotexts in their own right, attracting a wide range of patrons who produced a diverse body of texts to present their interests and agendas. It might also be worthwhile to consider sacred sites as anal-

ogous to monuments, which Wu Hung points out are designed "to preserve memory, to structure history . . . to consolidate a community or a public, to define a center of political gatherings or ritual communication, to relate the living to the dead, and to connect the present with the future. . . . Instead of pleasing a sensitive viewer, they reminded the public of what it should believe and how it should act" (1995:4). In addition, the palace represented a form of contested space or "arena," which Joseph W. Esherick and Mary B. Rankin define as "the environment, the stage, the surrounding social space, often the locale in which elites and other social actors are involved" (1990:11).

It is now time to turn away from the Palace of Eternal Joy as a topographical macrotext to the different written and visual texts produced at this site, particularly texts about its main deity, the immortal Lü Dongbin. The ways in which the palace's patrons attempted to inscribe (or superscribe) their representations of the palace and of Lü Dongbin onto this site are explored in chapters 3 through 5. Before dealing with these problems, however, it is necessary to examine the development of Lü's cult in late imperial China and the impact of this process on the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy.

2 The Cult—the Immortal Lü Dongbin

While the late imperial Chinese pantheon featured numerous cults to nonbureaucratic deities (Shahar and Weller 1996), Lü Dongbin's was among the most popular and complex.[1] From at least the Northern Song dynasty, many different images of this immortal circulated among different individuals and social groups.[2] The diversity of Lü Dongbin's cult and the wide range of sources describing him have at times been a source of confusion. Some scholars have identified a "historical" Lü Dongbin who lived throughout China between the eighth and tenth centuries (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:133–134; Qing et al. 1988–1994, 1:295–297). For example, Li Yumin uses a number of Northern Song sources to argue that Lü Dongbin was a hermit *(yinshi)* of the late Five Dynasties and early Northern Song (1990). According to Li, Lü's native place was near Xi'an, and he had nothing to do with the renowned Lü lineage of Yongle with which he is usually associated. Li also claims that Lü had initially taken his family with him while practicing self-cultivation on Mount Zhongnan and that he later cultivated the Tao with the hermit Chen Tuan (ca. 906–989).[3] Finally, Li maintains that Lü Dongbin's master, the Taoist immortal Zhongli Quan, was

not a Han dynasty figure but lived during the Song and in any case could not have been Lü's master.[4] Anning Jing uses similar texts but adopts a different approach, claiming that "reliable" sources (i.e., works whose contents correspond to records in the dynastic histories) "point to the actual existence of a recluse known as Lü Dongbin, who was active before Zhen Zong's [*sic*] reign (998–1022)." Jing employs dates given in different sources to argue that Lü was probably born around 891 and died approximately in 1000 at the age of one hundred ten *sui*.[5] Jing also concludes that Lü Dongbin was either a direct or indirect descendent of the Lü lineage at Yongle and that he spent most of his time either in northern Hunan (particularly the area around Yuezhou) or in the mountains of Shaanxi (Jing 1995).

The work of scholars such as Jing and Li is most valuable in its critical examination of different sources describing Lü Dongbin. For the purposes of this study, which focuses on his cult, the question of Lu's existence is irrelevant and attempts to provide a definitive answer, fruitless. The problem, as scholars such as Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein and the late Anna Seidel (1938–1991) have pointed out, lies in the nature of hagiographical accounts of immortals like Lü, which tend to combine historical data with themes relating to cults of the immortals, such as prophecy and spiritual healing (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:134; Seidel 1970).[6] There might have been a historical Lü Dongbin, just as Anna Seidel and Wong Siu Hon have demonstrated that one or more men calling themselves Zhang Sanfeng might have existed during the Ming dynasty (Seidel 1970; Wong 1988b).

Early Hagiographical Accounts of Lü Dongbin

One story most likely written during the first years of the Song dynasty appears to allude to Lü Dongbin, although it does not actually name him. This story, which has been overlooked by most scholars, with the exception of Anning Jing (1995), can be found in a collection of anecdotes by Sun Guangxian (?–968) titled *Gossip about Dreams of the North (Beimeng suoyan)*. According to Sun, during the Huang Chao (d. 884) rebellion, a commoner named Zhang Jun fled to the town of Yongle in the year 881. There he met a local Taoist[7] who wore clothes made of hemp or feathers and was unapproachable. One day, while Zhang was walking in a village near Yongle,

he heard someone advise him to journey to the aid of the Xizong emperor (r. 873–888), who had fled to Sichuan. When he turned around, he saw the Taoist. Zhang objected that because he was a commoner there was nothing he could do, but the Taoist encouraged him to go. However, Zhang's mother was ill, and he was unwilling to leave her. The Taoist then proceeded to give Zhang two alchemical pills *(dan)*, which cured his mother and kept her healthy for an additional ten years. Zhang then proceeded with his mission and eventually rose to the rank of minister of state *(xiangguo)* (*Beimeng suoyan* 4.27).[8] The text does not identify this mysterious Taoist as Lü Dongbin, but he does resemble Lü in his alchemical prowess and ability to foresee the future.[9] Most Song dynasty sources do not clearly state whether Lü resided in Yongle. Some only say that he was a native of the Shanxi-Shaanxi region, while others identify his home as being in Hezhong Prefecture or the area around Chang'an (Xi'an). The first known work to mention Yongle as Lü's home appears to be a temple inscription composed for the Palace of Eternal Joy in 1222 (see Chapter 3), but other sources dating from the Northern Song list Lü's residence as being in Hezhong Prefecture or name Lü as a member of the Lü lineage from Yongle (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:160–163). In short, while the anecdote in the *Beimeng suoyan* does not prove that Lü Dongbin had resided at Yongle, it does reveal the existence of a Taoist figure at Yongle who apparently possessed miraculous powers. Whether this individual identified himself as Lü Dongbin or was later worshiped as such remains a mystery.

The earliest known source that mentions Lü Dongbin by name is found in a collection of anecdotes attributed to Tao Gu (903–970)[10] known as *A Record of the Pure and the Anomalous (Qingyi lu).* One vignette in this work describes a sign outside a wine shop in Fengyi (in Shaanxi) on which was written, "Soaring aloft I looked back and bade farewell to the king [of all] happiness" (literally "the king full of spring" [*hanchun wang*]), followed by a huge character "wine" (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:137). Tao was very impressed by the sign's "relaxed and elegant" *(sanyi)* calligraphy and believed its author must have been Lü Dongbin (*Qingyi lu* 4:2b; Baldrian-Hussein 1986:137).

Lü Dongbin appears to have been a relatively popular immortal by the early years of the Song dynasty, if not before. Some of the earliest accounts of Lü are the miscellaneous notes of Song dynasty literati, who recorded (and

rewrote) anecdotes about Lü based on local oral traditions. According to Zhang Qixian's *Record of Old Stories of the Luoyang Gentry (Luoyang jinshen jiuwen ji)* (preface dated 1005), people told stories about the immortal Lü Dongbin as early as the reign of the first Song emperor Taizu (960–976) (*Luoyang jinshen jiuwen ji* 3:10). The Northern Song geographical encyclopedia *A Record of the World during the Age of Great Peace (Taiping huanyu ji)* (980), compiled by Yue Shi (930–1007),[11] reveals that some of these stories concerned Lü's mastery of alchemical techniques and his miraculous powers. One anecdote in this work recounts how Lü used a pill of immortality to silence a horde of noisy frogs inhabiting a lake in Yunzhou Prefecture in Jiangxi. The lake was renamed "Medicine Lake" (Yao hu) as a result of this feat (*Taiping huanyu ji*, 106:1b). The *Record of the World* also contains a poem describing the joys of an immortal's life that Lü had supposedly written at the Belvedere of Venerating the Primordial (Chongyuan guan) in Jiangxi's Jishui Prefecture (109:25a). Two additional poems, written by Lü while disguised as an itinerant ink seller, were said to have been written on a door of the western porch of a Belvedere of Celestial Rejoicing (Tianqing guan) at the end of the tenth century.[12] The ink Lü used was prized for its healing powers, prompting local worshipers to scrape shavings from the characters Lü had written and use them to make medicinal remedies (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:140). These poems were later carved on stone in 1082 at the White Crane Belvedere (Baihe guan) in Lanzhou (Shanxi) by order of the prefect Bi Zhongxun (Chen et al. 1988:292).

Eleventh-century literati frequently identified Lü Dongbin's master as Zhongli Quan. One work bearing a 1052 preface contained in the Taoist Canon, Yang Zai's *Discussion of Recirculating the Alchemical Pill and the Numerous Immortals (Huandan zhongxian lun)* (*TT* 113; *CT* 233), contains a poem Lü had supposedly presented to his master. The *Collected Conversations from Houshan (Houshan tancong)* by Chen Shidao (1053–1101)[13] includes a story about how Zhongli Quan instructed Lü in the mysteries of interior alchemy (*juan* 6, pp. 62–63). By the waning years of the Northern Song, a number of works on interior alchemy ascribed to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin and known as the Zhong-Lü texts were in circulation (Baldrian-Hussein 1984, 1986, 1990). These works appear to have influenced later practices of interior alchemy, including those advocated by the Perfect Realization masters described below.

Other early accounts of Lü Dongbin focused on his skill at foretelling the future. This is the subject of a long vignette in a work titled *Garden of Yang Wengong Discourse (Yang Wengong tanyuan)*, compiled during the early eleventh century by Huang Jian (1015 *jinshi*)[14] and purporting to relate the contents of Huang's conversations with his contemporary Yang Yi (974–1020).[15] Both men served as officials in the central government of the Northern Song. The long and complex history of this text has been treated in detail elsewhere and will not be explored here (see Ang 1993:9–13; Baldrian-Hussein 1986:137, note 30). The account of Lü in this work reads as follows:[16]

> Lü Dongbin often journeyed throughout the world and was seen by numerous individuals. One day Lü went to see Ding Wei [966–1037?],[17] who was then serving as vice-prefect *(tongpan)* of Raozhou [in Jiangxi]. Lü told Wei: "Sir, you resemble Li Deyu [787–849].[18] Some day, your wealth and honor will also equal his." Ding told me [Yang Yi] of this affair during the early years of the Xianping reign [998–1003]. Today, he has attained political power.[19]
>
> When Zhang Ji [933–996][20] resided at home, a hermit *(yinshi)* suddenly appeared outside and asked to be let in. His name was Dongbin. Ji hurried out to see him [literally "wearing his sandals backwards" *(daoxi)*]. Dongbin claimed to be a descendent of the [high-ranking] Tang official Lü Wei.[21] Wei had four sons, named Wen, Gong, Jian, and Rang.[22] Rang concluded [his official career] as prefect of Haizhou [in northern Jiangsu], and Dongbin belonged to that branch of the Lü lineage. Rang's official career is not recorded in the *Tang History (Tangshu)*.[23] Dongbin took a piece of paper and a brush, and thereupon composed a *ci* poem in heptameter with four rhyming lines, doing so in the *bafen* calligraphic style [of the Han dynasty]. He left this poem with Ji, [who saw] that it predicted he [Ji] would serve the throne.[24] The last line of the poem read: "Merit will be completed *(gongcheng)* in the year of cutting a melon in two" *(pogua nian)*. According to popular tradition, dividing the character "melon" *(gua)* produces two characters representing the number eight *(ba)* [or eight squared]. Ji died at sixty-four *sui*, which fulfilled the prediction *(chan)*.[25] (*Yang Wengong tanyuan*, p. 104)

The vignette in the *Yang Wengong tanyuan* concludes with two famous poems attributed to Lü. The first, titled "Verses about Myself" *(Ziyong)*, describes Lü's journeys throughout China and alludes to his famous sword known as "Green Snake" (Qingshe) (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:140, 142).[26] The second, which has no title, contains many cryptic allusions to the practice of interior alchemy. The Buddhist monk Zhipan (1220–1275) so admired this

second poem that he included it in his *Complete Chronicle of Buddhism (Fozu tongji)* (*T.* 2035) (1268) as part of a story claiming Lü Dongbin had been converted to Buddhism by the tenth-century Chan (Zen) master Ji (Ji Chanshi) (*Fozu tongji* 42:320; Baldrian-Hussein 1986:148–149).[27] Both poems have a common theme—the problem of recognizing an immortal as he or she travels the world incognito.[28] In "Verses about Myself," this idea is clearly expressed in the line "Three times I entered Yueyang but nobody recognized me" *(san ru Yueyang ren bu shi)*. The theme of recognition *(shi)* continued to occupy a central place in Taoist writings about Lü Dongbin, including Miao Shanshi's *Account* (see below).

The hagiographical accounts of Lü Dongbin dating from the late tenth through early eleventh centuries present a wide variety of images of this immortal, as hermit, master of interior alchemy, soothsayer, calligrapher, and poet. Lü is portrayed as a free spirit, appearing at sites spanning the extent of the Song empire. By the late 1040s the Song court began to pay close attention to stories about Lü and even launched a nationwide search for him. The catalyst of this search was a revolt in Beizhou (Hebei) led by an army officer named Wang Ze in 1047, which was crushed by Wen Yanbo the next year (*Songshi* 11.224–225, 313.10259). According to Wang Zhi's (?–ca. 1154) *Silent Record (Moji)*, one of the leaders of this revolt was an individual named Li Jiao, who had allegedly dabbled in "heterodox arts" *(yaoshu)* and could transform himself into a yellow dragon at will. In the course of the rebellion, Li and some of the young toughs who followed him were drinking at a brothel and wrote an inscription there reading: "Lü Dongbin and Li Jiao visited this place together."[29] On learning of this inscription, the court issued an imperial order to arrest both men. Li later hung himself, but even after his death a new order for Lü's arrest was issued. However, this search for Lü proved fruitless, and the court eventually reached the conclusion that Lü Dongbin did not exist (Jing 1995; Ma 1986:86; *Moji* 2:16b–17b, p. 346).[30]

The turmoil surrounding Wang Ze's rebellion appears to have had little impact on Lü Dongbin's popularity, as Northern Song works continued to record stories about him. For example, Chen Shidao's *Collected Conversations from Houshan* describes Lü's purported relationships with some of the leading political figures of the tenth and eleventh centuries. One anecdote describes an encounter between Lü and the renowned Song minister Wang

Anshi (1021–1086). According to this source, Wang asked to become Lü's disciple, but Lü refused because Wang's karmic burden *(zhang)* was too great (*Houshan tancong* 4.36). Another anecdote relates that portraits of Lü circulated in south China during the Southern Tang depicting him as a slovenly ink seller with a disheveled beard. The last ruler of the Southern Tang, Li Yu (937–978), ordered a more suitable likeness to be made, described as that of a spiritual being possessing an air of purity and elegance (ibid.). Similar images of Lü also adorned the walls of the Palace of Eternal Joy (see chapter 4). A number of anecdotes in Hong Mai's (1123–1201) *Record of the Listener and Recorder (Yijian zhi)* reveal the importance of physical images of Lü in helping people recognize him. One describes how Lü visits a wine shop and produces a portrait of himself to replace an inaccurate representation decorating the walls of that shop (*Yijian zhi* 2:756–756; Hansen 1990:54–55).[31]

One Northern Song source that had a major impact on later writings about Lü Dongbin was the "Inscription [Commemorating] the Reconstruction of the Cloud Terrace Belvedere on Mount Hua" *(Huashan chongxiu Yuntai guan ji)*, which was composed by the official Zhang Fangping (1007–1091)[32] in 1067. This inscription, preserved in Zhang's collection of writings titled *Lequan ji*,[33] presents part of a biography of the hermit Chen Tuan. The passage in question cites two individuals who were said to have visited Chen's retreat on Mount Hua: Li Qi and Lü Dongbin. Lü is described as follows: "The recluse *(yiren)* of Guanzhong [Shaanxi], Lü Dongbin, mastered sword techniques *(jianshu)* and could travel over one hundred *li* in an instant. He was considered to be a divine immortal *(shenxian)*" (*Lequan ji* 3:13b).[34] Zhang Fangping indicates that his source was an old dynastic history *(jiushi)*, probably the *National History of the Three Reigns* (of the first three Song emperors; *Sanchao guoshi*), which was completed in 1030 (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:162; Li Yumin 1990:50–51).[35] A similar passage is found in the biography of Chen Tuan included in the *History of the Song* (see 457.13421–13422).

Su Shi also knew of Lü Dongbin. In 1090 he composed a poem in honor of Shen Jie, the son of a wine merchant named Shen Donglao from Wuxing (in Zhejiang). According to Su's preface to the poem, Shen Donglao produced a famous wine that he named "white wine of the eighteen immortals" *(shiba xian baijiu)*. Lü, using the sobriquet "Mountain Dweller

Hui" (Hui Shanren), drank wine at Shen's establishment and then proceeded to write a poem on its wall. Shen accompanied Lü to a nearby bridge, but Lü disappeared from view while crossing it (*Dongpo tiba* 3:24a–b). A temple in Lü's honor, the Belvedere of the Immortal Hui (Huixian guan) was subsequently built in Wuxing (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 51:11b). Su Shi's preface appears to have inspired the local official Lü Yuanguang (1073 *jinshi*), a native of Wuxing who served as district magistrate of nearby Jiaxing in 1119, to compose a novelette called *Record of the Immortal Hui (Huixian lu)*. Lü's novelette does not survive, but some of its contents have been preserved in Southern Song works (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:147, note 95).

Su's preface is one of the first works to portray Lü Dongbin in the company of nongentry. It also shows Lü's close links with the wine trade. According to one Yuan dynasty geographic monograph, Lü Dongbin once visited a wine shop in Boxing (Shandong) during the summer of 1122 and wrote a thirteen-character inscription on the wall commemorating his visit. Lü's calligraphy was considered to have apotropaic powers, and the shop itself later became a shrine to Lü (see below) (*Qicheng* 1339, 4:28a). In some parts of China, Lü Dongbin came to be worshiped as a patron deity of the wine trade (Kuo 1967; Li Qiao 1990).[36] During and after the Northern Song, Lü was worshiped by many merchants and artisans, who may have played key roles in spreading his cult (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:145–148, 166–169).[37]

Although Lü Dongbin's cult became widely popular during the Northern Song, most contemporary works that survive continued to portray Lü as a talented literatus and immortal. For example, the *Jottings from the Eastern Balcony* (*Dongxuan bilu;* 1094 preface) by the literatus Wei Tai (1050–1110), completed at nearly the same time as Su Shi's preface for Shen Jie, is particularly noteworthy for its detailed account of Lü Dongbin's relationship with the female immortal He Xiangu (*Dongxuan bilu* 10.116).[38] Other contemporary texts, such as Liu Fu's (ca. 1040–after 1113) *Exalted Discourses at the Green Gate (Qingsuo gaoyi)*, focused on Lü's skill at composing poetry. One vignette tells of a poem Lü composed for Director *(langzhong)* Jia Shirong during the Zhiping era (1064–1067), after polishing a mirror for him (*Qingsuo gaoyi* 8.81–82). This work also contains the text of Lü's most famous alchemical *ci* poem, the *Qinyuan chun* (ibid. 8.82–83), which has been studied by Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein (1985).

By the end of the Northern Song, full-length hagiographies of Lü Dongbin had started to appear. The earliest appear to have been produced in the southern town of Yuezhou (or Yueyang), located in Hunan on the banks of Lake Dongting. This town is also renowned for the Yueyang Tower (Yueyang lou), on which were written some of Lü's most famous poems.[39] The first hagiography is contained in the *Record of Local Customs in Yueyang (Yueyang fengtu ji)*. This text was composed by Fan Zhiming (1100 *jinshi*) in the year 1104, during which he was said to have been in charge of wine taxes in Yuezhou (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:150, note 109).

> The gentleman's given name was Yan, and his style name *(zi)* Dongbin. He was a native of Hezhong Prefecture and grandson of a Vice-Minister of Rites of the Tang, Lü Wei. . . . During the Huichang reign [841–846], Dongbin twice attempted the *jinshi* examinations but was unsuccessful. He then began to think of becoming a recluse. He made a voyage to Lushan in Jiangxi, where he encountered an extraordinary being [the name is not given] who transmitted sword techniques to him. Dongbin also obtained from him formulas on the art of immortality *(changsheng bu si zhi jue)*.
>
> Dongbin often wandered in the districts of Xiang, Tan, E, and Yue [in Hunan and Hubei]. Sometimes he sold paper and ink in the marketplace and mingled with mortals, but nobody recognized *(shi)* him. (*Yueyang fengtu ji*, 4b; translation based on Baldrian-Hussein 1986:160).

Variants of this hagiography are cited in a number of Taoist texts dating from the twelfth century and later, including the fifth chapter of the *Record of the Hosts of the Immortals Versed in the Three Caverns*[40] *(Sandong qunxian lu)* (*TT* 992–995; *CT* 1248, 5:5a),[41] a work compiled in 1154 by the Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi) Taoist master Chen Baoguang. The mammoth collection of Taoist hagiography composed by Zhao Daoyi (fl. 1294–1307), entitled *A Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Perfected Immortals and Those Who Embody the Tao (Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian)* (*TT* 139–148; *CT* 296), also contains a variant of this hagiography (see *juan* 45). Zhao gives 796 as the date of Lü's birth in Haizhou and states that Lü attained the *jinshi* degree in 837 (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:161).

The second hagiography was inscribed on a stele erected at Yuezhou. Written as an autobiography *(zizhuan)*, perhaps even in the course of a spirit-writing ritual, the text appears to date from between the mid-eleventh and twelfth centuries (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:163). This inscription has been preserved in the *Vast Record of the Changeable Studio (Nenggai zhai*

manlu), written by Wu Zeng (fl. 1127–1160). The text reads as follows (translation based on Baldrian-Hussein 1986:163–165):

> I am a native of Jingzhao [Xi'an and its dependencies]. I attempted to pass the *jinshi* examination at the end of the Tang but was unsuccessful. As a result, I traveled to Mount Hua, where I met Zhongli Quan, who transmitted to me a technique of the Great Medicine of the Golden Elixir (Jindan da yaofang). I also met the Perfected Man of Bitter Bamboo (Kuzhu zhenren) and became able to exorcise and control demons and spirits *(qushi guishen)*. Once again I encountered Zhongli Quan and fully mastered the mysteries of Xiyi's [Chen Tuan's] teachings. I attained the Tao at fifty *sui*. The first individual I helped to convert [or save, *du*] was Guo Shangzao;[42] the second was Zhao Xiangu. . . . I often wear a white scholar's gown *(lanshan)*,[43] with a horn girdle. Under my left eye is a mole as big as the thick end of a chopstick. . . . People say that I sell ink and that my flying sword can cut off a human head. I smile when I hear this, for there are actually three swords: the first severs illusions, the second eliminates greed, and the third ends concupiscence. Such are my three swords. Propagating my spirit *(shen)* is not as worthwhile as propagating my techniques *(fa)*, and propagating these in turn is not as worthwhile as propagating my [moral] actions *(xing)*. Why is this so? Because a perverse individual, even if led by the hand in the footsteps of the immortals, will never attain the Tao. (*Nenggai zhai manlu* 18.504)

Variants of this autobiography are found in Miao Shanshi's *Account* (3:2a), Zhao Daoyi's *Comprehensive Mirror* (*juan* 45), and the *Record of the Patriarch Lü* (1:17a–b). The *Comprehensive Mirror* makes a number of significant changes to the text, stating that Lü had learned a technique for prolonging one's life span from Zhongli Quan, a method for uniting the sun and the moon from the Perfected Man of Bitter Bamboo, and the wonders of the golden elixir from Chen Tuan (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:163–164, notes 179–181).

Accounts of Lü's adventures and miraculous feats continued to circulate throughout China during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nearly thirty anecdotes are preserved in Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener and Recorder*, many of which were included by Miao Shanshi in his *Account*. The images of Lü Dongbin in the *Record* are many and varied. In social status, Lü is portrayed as a scholar, an itinerant Taoist, and even a diseased beggar who grants long life to a girl at a tea shop (she lives to the ripe old age of 120 *sui*) because she serves him despite his repulsive appearance (*Yijian zhi* 1:7, 350, 357, 391; 2:604; 3:1251; 4:1415). The *Record* cites Lü's prowess in interior alchemy (2:689) as well as his efforts to propagate his teachings. In one

instance appearing to involve the publishing of one of China's earliest morality books, Lü composes a preface (through spirit writing?) for an alchemical text written in verse titled *Secret Formulas on the Golden Elixir by Lord Lü (Lügong jindan mijue)*.[44] This text was printed and distributed by Zhang Zhou, who served as prefect of Yuezhou during the Chunxi era (1174–1189) (2:844–845). However, Lü's knowledge of interior alchemy receives far less attention than his compassion for others *(cibei)* and miraculous powers. Portrayed as a warmhearted figure who provides succor to people in need regardless of their social status, Lü even assists three prostitutes, one of whom subsequently becomes his disciple (1:357; 2:688–689; 4:1665).[45] The *Record* also stresses Lü's healing powers (1:325, 434–435; 3:1299) and his ability to predict the careers of scholar-officials (4:1404–1405).

However, Lü occasionally appears as a trickster who humiliates people unable to recognize him as well as greedy individuals wishing to acquire material wealth (4:1655–1656; see also Hansen 1990:77–78). Individuals who prove able to see through his various disguises are few, the sole exceptions being an ox-herd, a merchant who first encounters Lü at a Divine Empyrean (Shenxiao) temple and later bumps into him in the toilet of a Buddhist monastery, and a wealthy individual named Du Changling (1:357; 4:1656–1657). Those who fail to recognize Lü Dongbin learn of his true identity via dreams (2:950), various forms of sacred graffiti, including poetic and prose inscriptions left on the walls of places he visited,[46] and images imprinted on items he handled (1:300, 357, 391; 2:604, 689; 3:1299; 4:1656). Lü's relations with Taoist priests *(daoshi)* are also problematic. People who treat him with scorn, including priests of the Divine Empyrean movement, miss their chance at enlightenment; those who treat him well have their ailments cured and live a long life (1:357; 4:1652).

Another important Southern Song source for the study of Lü Dongbin is the *Record of the Departing Guest (Bintui lu)*, written by the scholar-official Zhao Yushi (1175–1271). This work includes an early account of Lü Dongbin's relationship with the Northern Song Taoist leader Lin Lingsu (1075–1119).[47] From 1114 to 1119, Lin became one of the most important figures at the court of the Huizong emperor (r. 1101–1125), convincing the emperor that he (Huizong) was a terrestrial incarnation of the Divine Empyrean supreme deity the Great Emperor of Long Life (Changsheng

dadi). Because of Lin's efforts, the Divine Empyrean briefly dominated the realm of institutional Chinese religion, while Buddhism suffered a limited period of persecution.[48] Lin appears to have fallen out of favor in 1119, but the Divine Empyrean movement remained an important force throughout the Southern Song period. However, Lin was often attacked by individuals sympathetic to Buddhism and scholar-officials who believed Lin's influence had corrupted the Huizong emperor and thereby contributed to the fall of the Northern Song in 1125.[49] One story in chapter 1 of the *Record of the Departing Guest* claims that a rumor spread throughout the capital of Kaifeng that Lü Dongbin had visited Lin Lingsu and subsequently penned a satirical poem about Lin on the wall of one of the imperial palaces.[50] Copies of this poem were printed and sold throughout the capital; even the crown prince purchased some copies. The emperor was so alarmed that he ordered a search for the culprit, posting a reward for his arrest. A servant in the Imperial Academy (Taixue zhai) turned in a native of Fuzhou named Huang Daipin, who confessed that he had printed the poem because he was unhappy that members of his lineage who were Buddhist monks had been forced to convert to Taoism. Huang was subsequently put to death (*Bintui lu* 1:7a). Other stories of Lü's critical attitude toward Lin Lingsu (and the Huizong emperor) were included in Miao's *Account* and later became murals on the walls of the Palace of Eternal Joy (see Chapter 4).[51]

A vast corpus of Lü's Taoist writings also appeared during the Southern Song. Many of these texts are preserved in the Taoist Canon, in part owing to the identification of Lü as the master of the Perfect Realization patriarch Wang Chongyang and the southern Taoist Zhang Boduan (d. 1082?) as well as efforts by the Ming dynasty Taoists who edited the Canon to recover works about interior alchemy (Boltz 1987:139; Qing et al. 1988–1994, 2:750–754). Chapter 5 of the *Pivot of the Tao (Daoshu)* (*TT* 642–648; *CT* 1017), compiled by the famed bibliophile Zen Cao (fl. 1131–1155) of Jinjiang (Fujian), contains a text purporting to be a transcription of a dialogue between Lü and his master Zhongli Quan concerning the mysteries of interior alchemy, titled *A Folio of One Hundred Questions (Baiwen pian)*. In addition, chapters 39 to 41 of the *Daoshu* contain a longer treatise of similar nature titled *A Folio on the Transmission of the Tao (Chuandao pian)*, which is followed by the *Conclusive Rites of the Lingbao Tradition Secretly Transmitted by the Perfected Master of True Yang (Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren*

Lingbao bifa) (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:136; van der Loon 1984:110, 164).[52] Chapters 14 to 16 of a thirteenth-century anthology known as *Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection (Xiuzhen shishu)* (*TT* 122–131; *CT* 263) contain a variant of *A Folio on the Transmission of the Tao* titled *An Anthology on the Transmission of the Tao from Zhong* [*li Quan*] *to Lü* [*Dongbin*] *(Zhong-Lü chuandao ji)*. The authorship of this work has been attributed to the Tang poet Shih Jianwu (fl. 820), but recent scholarship has shown that it is probably a Northern Song work (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:136; Boltz 1987:139–141, 231–237).

These tenth- to thirteenth-century Taoist and literati writings provide important clues about early images of Lü Dongbin. All portray Lü as an immortal who does not leave the world after attaining enlightenment, but like a bodhisattva stays behind and attempts to enlighten others.[53] In order to achieve this goal, Lü travels in disguise throughout China and interacts with people whose status ranges from the high and mighty (scholar-officials) to the lowest of the low (common prostitutes). Individuals who recognize Lü or treat him well despite his often repulsive appearance are enlightened, or at least receive some form of physical or material assistance. Those who fail to recognize him and those who treat him with scorn miss their chance at enlightenment and usually learn of their error by means of Lü's poetic graffiti. The vast majority of these accounts were penned by scholar-officials or members of the literati class and focus on the problem of how to recognize such a powerful yet playful immortal. However, Lü is also said to aid merchants, artisans, and other tradespeople, individuals who played an important role in the spread of his cult.

Initial Phase of Cult Growth

During the Song dynasty Lü was worshiped in Anhui, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Shandong, Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Zhejiang (Ang 1997:476–480). However, the available sources provide few details about his cults, particularly about cult worship centered on temples supported by ritual associations.[54] The *Record of the Listener and Recorder* contains evidence that Lü was worshiped in the homes of believers (Ang 1997:483–484). One story in this work, dated 1165, describes how a poor paper seller in Jiangling (Jiangxi) sur-

named Fu built a small pavilion *(ge)* behind his home. Inside the pavilion Fu erected a homemade statue of Lü, which he worshiped every morning and evening. Lü later visited Fu (who failed to recognize him), helped his business prosper, cured him of an illness, and allowed him to live to eighty-nine *sui* (*Yijian zhi* 4:1654–1655). In addition, Zhang Zhennü, one of the three prostitutes Lü converted to Taoism, worshiped an image of him in her home (2:688–689). The *Record* also contains an undated story of an ox-herd from Taizhou (Zhejiang) who recognized Lü based on a clay image he had worshiped at home after purchasing it from a beggar (4:1656). This last story indicates that images of Lü could be readily obtained, at least in some coastal regions of Zhejiang. It is also known that printed images of the bodhisattva Guanyin circulated in coastal Zhejiang beginning in the Song dynasty and served to attract pilgrims to the island site of Mount Putuo and to assist them during their vision quests (see below and Yü 1992).

Cult worship of Lü Dongbin in a nondomestic context appears to have been well under way by the eleventh century (Ang 1997:484–489). The *Record of the Listener and Recorder* tells of a Taoist site for worship of Lü, known as the Hall of the Perfected Immortal (Zhenxian tang), which was part of the temple complex of the Belvedere of Celestial Rejoicing in Changzhou (Jiangsu). This hall contained a statue of Lü worshiped daily by a devout boy who sold beans for a living. One day, the statue came to life and offered to buy the boy's beans, but the boy gave them to Lü as a gift instead. Pleased, Lü gave the boy a red pill and told him to swallow it. On doing so, the boy felt light-headed *(huanghu ru zui)* and on returning home began to compose fine pieces of prose and poetry. He also mastered astronomy and geography, and subsisted on a diet of dates and wine. However, he lost his powers and returned to his ignorant state after viewing a public execution, during which a small crane was seen flying out of his mouth (*Yijian zhi* 4:1653). The *Record* also tells of Taoists at the Palace of Supreme Peace (Taiping gong) who failed to recognize Lü when he visited in disguise. They then built a Room for Encountering the Perfected (Yuzhen shi) in hopes that he might return, but their wishes went unfulfilled (4:1652).

Sacred sites dedicated to Lü may also have existed at Taoist belvederes containing stele inscriptions of his poems, including the White Crane Belvedere in Lanzhou (Shanxi). Another likely Taoist cult site was the Palace of Encountering the Perfected (Huizhen gong) in Tai'an (Shandong),

on the walls of which poems by Lü had been carved in 1098 and 1116 (Chen et al. 1988:304). The Palace of the Limitless Supreme (Wushang gong) in Qiyang (Hunan) contains a stele dated 1229 describing an encounter between Lü and a Taoist named Jiang Hui as well as a poem Lü composed for the occasion. It too may have been a cult site (ibid.:397). Miao's *Account* also mentions a number of sacred sites to Lü that were built at Taoist belvederes during the Song dynasty.

Cult worship of Lü was not restricted to Taoist belvederes but also included Buddhist monasteries, sites frequented by scholar-officials, and shops that were later transformed into temples. The Wuxing (Zhejiang) gazetteer of 1201 contains one of the earliest known accounts of worship of Lü at a Buddhist site, stating that a statue of Lü was placed in the eastern corridor of the Qiyuan Monastery (Qiyuan si) in 1065 (*Jiatai Wuxing zhi* 1201, 13:13b). Another cult site was the wine shop in Boxing (Shandong) he was said to have visited in 1122. This shop was later converted into a Shrine of the Venerable Immortal Lü (Lü xianweng ci), and the thirteen-character inscription Lü had written on its wall was carved on a stele erected in front of the shrine (*Qicheng* 1339, 4:28a). Shen Donglao's wine shop also became a sacred site for Lü's cult and by the Yuan dynasty had been converted into the Belvedere of the Immortal Hui (*Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 51:11b).

Local cult sites to Lü that were not connected to institutional religions or commercial establishments also began to flourish by the eleventh century. According to an anecdote in the *Record of the Listener and Recorder* dated 1093, a Shrine of the Perfected Lü (Lü zhenren ci) in Anfeng County (Anhui) was built using contributions from the local populace (*Yijian zhi* 4:1665). The *Record* also describes an official in Jiangzhou (Shanxi) who worshiped Lü at a Shrine of the Perfected (Zhenren ci). His act of devotion was later rewarded by an encounter with Lü (1:49–50). A later work, the Qing dynasty gazetteer of Donglin Mountain (in Guian County, Huzhou Prefecture, Zhejiang), contains a lengthy description of a shrine to the immortal Hui, which the text claims had been built there during the years 1102–1106 (*Donglin shanzhi* 1813, 12:1a–4b). One other site that may have been a cult center for the worship of Lü was the Shrine of the White Dragon (Bailong ci) in Changshu (Jiangsu), which contains a stele bearing an inscription dated 1163. This text emphasizes Lü's ability to cure disease by describing his miraculous healing of a filial son named Yang Daming and a

Buddhist monk named Ci Yue (b. 1084) who resided at the shrine. Lü later gave Ci a painting of himself, which was worshiped at the shrine for the next thirty years (Chen et al. 1988:358).[55]

Lü was also worshiped as a member of the Eight Immortals (Pu 1936; Yang 1958). One famous sacred site to these deities is the Palace of the Eight Immortals (Baxian gong) in Xi'an, originally the Abbey of the Eight Immortals (Baxian an), which Qing gazetteers claim had been built during the Northern Song dynasty (Hachiya 1990:27–41; Zhang and Chen 1993:18–31). This location is still a thriving cult site today.

The evidence currently available suggests that the two largest and most active cult sites for Lü Dongbin were at Yuezhou and Yongle. The earliest record of Lü's cult site at Yuezhou is found in Wei Tai's *Jottings from the Eastern Balcony,* which describes an encounter between Lü and the official Teng Zongliang (991–1047),[56] who shortly before his death served as prefect of Yuezhou. Teng restored the Yueyang Tower during his term as prefect, perhaps as a result of this encounter (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:149–152). Worship of Lü at Yuezhou may have begun after Teng restored the tower. Fan Zhiming, the author of the *Record of Local Customs in Yueyang,* reports that a portrait of Lü was displayed at this site. Unlike the earlier images of Lü mentioned above, which portrayed him as a Taoist or an ink seller, this portrait showed Lü as a refined gentleman. According to Fan, the portrait was commissioned by Teng after he received a visit from a Taoist named Hui Yanke. Teng saw through Lü's disguise, invited him to a drinking bout, and secretly ordered a local artist to paint Lü as he sat there in his cups (*Yueyang fengtu ji,* 5a).[57] A recently published collection of local folktales from Lake Dongting claims that Teng subsequently ordered a statue of Lü to be placed in the tower, but this has yet to be confirmed (*Qishier xianluo* 1983:43). As the portrait and/or statue of Lü were likely articles of worship, the Yueyang Tower would have been another sacred site for Lü's cult, although when and how it became so is not clear.

Apart from the tower, another sacred site at Yuezhou was a pavilion built by Li Guan (*jinshi* 1042). A vignette in the *Jottings from the Eastern Balcony* states that Li, who practiced Taoist self-cultivation, decided to build a pavilion (later transformed into a shrine) in Lü's honor at Yuezhou's White Crane Monastery (Baihe si) while serving as prefect of Yuezhou during the Yuanfeng era (1078–1085) (*Dongxuan bilu, juan* 8). Li is said to

have encountered Lü once at Yuezhou but failed to achieve enlightenment (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:152–155). One of Li's descendents, a Taoist master named Li Jianyi (fl. 1264–1266), composed a number of texts that discuss Lü's links to the patriarchs of the Perfect Realization movement (see below and Baldrian-Hussein 1986:152–153).

Valuable data on Lü Dongbin's cult at Yuezhou are found in the eighth chapter of a work titled *Painting on Plaster (Huaman ji)*, written by the scholar-official Zhang Shunmin (ca. 1034–1110), a native of Binzhou (Shanxi).[58] This text contains a great deal of information concerning Lü Dongbin's links to Yuezhou, probably because Zhang had served as superintendent of wine taxes *(jian jiushui)* in Hunan at nearly the same time as Li Guan. Zhang's account describes how he climbed the Yueyang Tower and read Lü's famous poems that had been carved on stone by Li Guan (the date of Zhang's visit is not given). The text also describes the pavilion Li had built in honor of Lü as well as the practice of using shavings with the ink of Lü's poems for medicinal purposes (*Huaman ji* 8:1b–9b).

Lü's adventures at Yuezhou are also described in other contemporary works, including the *Record of* [*Events*] *Recently Heard and Seen (Wenjian jinlu)* by Wang Gong (1048–after 1104) and *Jottings and Conversations from the Studio of Ignorance (Mengzhai bitan)*, completed after 1082.[59] Both works contain anecdotes about Lü's encounter with the spirit of a pine tree at Yuezhou. This famous tree, next to Li Guan's pavilion (and later shrine) for Lü, attracted the attention of many Song literati, including Hong Mai, who mentions it in two anecdotes in his *Record of the Listener and Recorder* (2:844; 4:1415).[60]

The evidence presented above suggests that Lü's cult experienced a period of relatively rapid growth from at least the late eleventh century. That growth may have been sparked by the popularity of stories about this immortal as well as by the actions of individuals who believed they had encountered him or failed to recognize him. Scholars have also shown that the socioeconomic changes taking place during the tenth and eleventh centuries contributed to the spread of originally local cults (Ebrey and Gregory 1993; Hansen 1990; Hymes 1996, n.d.; ter Haar 1995). However, most of Lü's early cult sites were merely one-room edifices referred to using terms such as "shrine" *(ci)*, "hall" *(tang)*, or "room" *(shi)*. Such sites were scattered throughout north and south China, and do not seem to have been in con-

tact with each other. The critical moment in the development of the cult of Lü Dongbin into one of China's most important national cults would occur during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when the growth of the Perfect Realization Taoist movement helped ensure the expansion of Lü's cult throughout China.

Adoption by Perfect Realization Taoism

The Perfect Realization movement was founded by Wang Zhe, a native of Shaanxi province.[61] Wang was born into a wealthy family in 1113 and received a classical education. However, the chaotic events marking the fall of the Northern Song shattered his hopes of becoming an official in that dynasty's bureaucracy. He did sit for exams sponsored by the Jin dynasty and its puppet/buffer Qi government in north China but only attained a military prefectural graduate's *(juren)* degree, and ended up assuming a minor post in Ganhe Township outside of Xi'an, where he supervised the collection of taxes on the area's alcoholic beverages. Wang's frustrations led him to alcoholism, a habit that his position at Ganhe only served to encourage. However, Wang's life changed dramatically in 1159, shortly after he had assumed his post. One day, while wandering about in a stupor, he encountered a pair of spirits (variously identified as either "immortals" [*xian*], "unusual beings" [*yiren*], or "exceptional beings" [*zhiren*]) who transmitted secret instructions to him. He met these beings the next year at a wineshop in Liquan (Shaanxi), where he received more instruction. A third encounter took place at Ganhe in 1164.[62] The names of these beings are not specified in the earliest accounts of these mysterious encounters.[63] However, subsequent works written by Wang's disciples and their followers, including the *Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus* (*Jinlian zhengzong ji; TT* 75–76; *CT* 173) (1241) by Qin Zhian (1188–1244) and the *Illustrated Hagiographies of the Immortal Origins of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan; TT* 76; *CT* 174) (1326), identify these immortals as Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, or Liu Haichan.[64]

Following Wang's first encounter with these spirits, he assumed the Taoist name Chongyang and began to practice rigorous Taoist self-cultivation on Mount Zhongnan. From 1159–1162, Wang lived and meditated at

Nanshi Village inside a burial mound named "The Tomb of the Living Dead" (Huosi ren mu) that he dug for himself. He subsequently resided in a straw hut on the mountain at an eremetic community named Liu-Jiang Village until 1167. During this period of self-cultivation Wang managed to attract a few disciples but failed to gain a substantial following. Finally, after having attained enlightenment in the summer of 1167, Wang burned his hut to the ground and journeyed from the foothills of Mount Zhongnan to the densely populated Shandong Peninsula. During his travels he began to attract a large following. Arriving in Ninghai, he met his eventual successor Ma Yu (Ma Danyang), a wealthy member of the local elite, at a party sponsored by another member of the elite named Fan Mingshu. Ma, greatly impressed by this enlightened mountain dweller, invited Wang to live with him. Wang then built a meditation hut in Ma's garden known as the Abbey of Perfect Realization (Quanzhen an), from which the name of the Perfect Realization movement appears to have derived. Wang eventually persuaded Ma and his wife Sun Buer to become his disciples and live as Taoist monks and nuns (literally "leave the family," or *chujia*). During this time, Qiu Chuji, Tan Chuduan, Wang Chuyi, and Hao Datong also became Wang's disciples. Although Wang Chongyang chose to practice Taoist self-cultivation as early as 1159, the history of the Perfect Realization movement might best be traced to the events occurring in 1167 (Eskildsen 1989:14–16; Hachiya 1992:72–94).

By the spring of 1168, Wang was ready to start training his new disciples. He did so by putting them through a program of rigorous asceticism that included sleep deprivation, exposure to extreme heat and cold, humiliating scoldings, and beatings when their diligence flagged. Wang also forced them to beg for alms in their hometowns, and it may be no coincidence that Perfect Realization accounts of immortals often portrayed them as beggars in disguise (see below).[65] Their training appears to have been completed by the fall of 1168, when Wang took them to other parts of Shandong to help spread his teachings. During the next two years, Wang and his disciples (joined by Liu Chuxuan and Sun Buer) established a series of assemblies *(hui)* throughout Shandong, where by a combination of active proselytizing, charitable deeds, and rituals they were able to attract thousands of lay believers.[66] Wang's death in Kaifeng in 1170 did not have a significant impact on the development of the Perfect Realization movement in north

China, as disciples like Ma Danyang, Wang Chuyi, and Qiu Chuji continued to attract large numbers of followers in the provinces of Hebei, Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi (Eskildsen 1989:137–388; Hachiya 1992:106–148, 243–324; Kubo 1968a:87–132; Yao 1980:41–72; Zheng 1987:22–32).

The movement managed to translate its popularity into political clout by the 1180s, with Wang Chuyi being summoned to the court of the Jin emperor Shizong (r. 1161–1189) in 1187. Qiu Chuji was summoned in the following year. Wang and Qiu discussed immortality with the emperor, while also performing healing and funerary rituals on behalf of the Jin court. The movement was briefly banned by the Jin emperor Zhangzong (r. 1190–1208) from 1190 to 1197 but regained favor after the state and Perfect Realization leaders successfully negotiated the official existence of the movement's monasteries. Imperial patronage of the movement was enhanced after Wang Chuyi successfully performed an offering ritual *(jiao)* in 1201 that resulted in the birth of Zhangzong's heir (Guo 1983; Yao 1995:160; Zheng 1987:33–47). Religious Taoism as a whole enjoyed a period of rapid growth during the Jin dynasty. As early as the 1130s, the Supreme Unity (Taiyi) movement was founded in Henan; the Great Way (Dadao) movement[67] arose in Hebei during the 1140s (Yao 1995). Even though the Perfect Realization movement emerged as a relative latecomer, it ended up surpassing the Supreme Unity and Great Way movements in popularity. The Perfect Realization movement's success appears in large part attributable to popular faith in the spiritual powers and benevolent nature of Perfect Realization masters and the immortals like Lü Dongbin these masters adopted as patriarchs of their movement. In addition, Wang Chongyang and his disciples were active proselytizers who proved adept at building a broad base of support among north China's elite and lower classes while also adhering to the needs of that region's non-Han rulers (Eskildsen 1989; Goossaert 1997:345–396; Yao 1995; Zheng 1987). Perfect Realization masters spread their doctrines through a wide range of media, including sermons and lectures (Goossaert 1997:368–396), poems and songs (Boltz 1987:137–190; Wong 1988a:183–235),[68] fiction (Endres 1985; Liu Ts'un-Yan [1985] 1991), drama (Hawkes 1981), and the visual medium.

When the Mongols began to threaten the Jin dynasty during the early years of the thirteenth century,[69] the Perfect Realization movement, whose membership was said by then to include one-fifth of the population of north

China (Yao 1995:154), found itself at the center of a bidding war for support by the Mongols, the Jin court, and the Southern Song court. The movement's leader at the time, Qiu Chuji, refused to respond to summonses from the Jin and Southern Song emperors, apparently realizing that the Mongol conquest was inevitable (Hu 1990; Zheng 1987:38–39, 51; 1995). For their part, the Mongols showed a high degree of tolerance toward organized religions in the regions they conquered, and in this case they also realized the symbolic importance of having the leader of north China's largest Taoist movement present at their court (Zheng 1987:49–58). Accordingly, Cinggis Qan (Genghis Khan) (ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227) invited Qiu to visit him in the mountains south of the Hindu Kush. After some hesitation, Qiu set out in 1220. It took Qiu and his disciples two years to reach their destination. Qiu's honesty and wisdom appear to have greatly impressed the qan, while the movement's ability to persuade the people of north China to submit to Mongol rule proved an invaluable asset to the new conquerors. Cinggis Qan granted numerous privileges to Perfect Realization Taoists, including exemption from all forms of taxation and corvée labor.[70] Of particular significance for the movement's fortunes as well as the religious history of thirteenth-century north China was a 1223 edict issued by Cinggis Qan that granted Qiu and his followers authority not only over all religious personnel in the realm, but also over their property (Yao 1986).[71]

From the 1220s through 1250s, Qiu's successors strengthened their standing at the Mongol court by performing all manner of rituals on behalf of the imperial family. Many Perfect Realization Taoists also served in the Mongol bureaucracy, with some even overseeing the various Taoist movements in north China. Beginning in 1229, Li Zhichang, who was then second-in-charge of the Perfect Realization movement after Yin Zhiping, was appointed to serve as tutor of the Mongol heir apparent *(taizi)* and subsequently instructed the sons of some Mongol nobles. Perfect Realization Taoists also won many new converts among the empire's Han and non-Han officials, including those who patronized the Palace of Eternal Joy (Chen [1941] 1962:20–26; Fujishima 1987; Zheng 1987:94–114). The patronage of north China's ruling classes combined with massive support among local believers helped spark an explosion of temple construction and reconstruction throughout the region. Zheng Suchun notes that during the years from 1221 to 1260 over seventy-six such projects (including the Palace of

Eternal Joy) were recorded in official histories and Taoist texts (1987:114–141), while Vincent Goossaert's thorough study of 487 Perfect Realization inscriptions (listed in Goossaert 1997:531–557) reveals that this movement boasted over four thousand sacred sites by the end of the thirteenth century (pp. 316–321). Perfect Realization Taoists took charge of these sites, which allowed them to use income from contributions to fill the movement's coffers (pp. 307–311). Even though the Mongol court did not gain material benefits from these sacred sites in the form of tax revenues, Taoist rituals on behalf of the emperor and the entire state were frequently performed at these sites, no small concern at a time when people believed Taoist or Buddhist rites could contribute to the empire's prosperity and even victory in battle (Hu 1990; Ren 1990:441, 449, 450, 520–527; Zheng 1987:74–75, 84, 140).[72]

The political fortunes of the Perfect Realization movement took a dramatic turn for the worse with the ascent to the throne of the emperor Qubilai Qan (Khubilai Khan, Emperor Shizu [1215–1294; r. 1260-1294]). Even before becoming emperor, Qubilai Qan had shown a strong interest in Tibetan Buddhism, becoming a patron of the 'Phags-pa lama (1235–1280) during the early 1250s.[73] During the reign of his elder brother Möngke (Xianzong; r. 1251–1259), Qubilai served as judge of two Buddhist-Taoist debates concerning a latter-day edition of the controversial *Scripture on [Laozi's] Conversion of the Barbarians (Huahu jing)*, which stated that Laozi had become Sakyamuni Buddha's master during a journey to India. In the end, Qubilai ruled in favor of the Buddhists, ordering some Perfect Realization leaders to convert to Buddhism, all copies of the *Scripture* to be burned, and 237 Buddhist temples apparently taken over by the Taoists to be returned to Buddhist control. After becoming emperor, Qubilai also attacked Perfect Realization Taoism in a fit of rage in 1281, after his armies drowned in a typhoon while sailing to attack Japan. Qubilai ordered corporal punishments for the Perfect Realization movement's leaders and the burning of all Taoist texts (including Song Defang's 1244 edition of the Taoist Canon) apart from the *Daode jing* (Goossaert 1997:97–102; Jagchid 1982; Nakamura 1994; Rossabi 1988:37–43, 141–147, 203–205; Thiel 1961).[74]

This downturn in the Perfect Realization movement's political fortunes, albeit devastating at the time, did not spell its demise as a religious movement. Perfect Realization Taoism remained vastly popular in north

China and also spread, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, to south China, where it interacted extensively with the region's Taoist Southern Lineage (Nanzong). The cause of the Perfect Realization movement was also advanced by able patriarchs like Miao Daoyi, who gained the support of the Yuan emperor Wuzong.[75] All of the movement's patriarchs were promoted in 1310, when Lü was awarded the title of Sovereign Lord *(dijun)*. Many renowned Perfect Realization masters, including Pan Dechong and Song Defang, were granted titles as well. Subsequent years witnessed an outpouring of official edicts warning local officials and members of other religions (particularly Buddhism) not to interfere in the management of Perfect Realization sacred sites. Imperial edicts granting official titles and conferring imperial protection were frequently carved on stelae set up in front of Perfect Realization sacred sites.[76] These inscriptions symbolized the movement's return to prominence in the eyes of the state, while also providing a warning to its rivals. Ongoing popular support also helped spark a new period of temple construction and reconstruction as well as other projects, such as the completion of the Palace of Eternal Joy murals.[77]

The Perfect Realization movement continued to flourish throughout much of China during the Ming and Qing dynasties. While it never repeated its political success of the early phase of Mongol rule over China, it continued to enjoy state recognition along with Heavenly Master Taoism (Tianshi Dao; also known as Zhengyi Dao) of Dragon and Tiger Mountain (Longhu shan) in Jiangxi. Perfect Realization beliefs and practices circulated throughout Chinese society, having a lasting influence on late imperial Chinese literature (Liu Ts'un-yan 1962, [1985] 1991), self-cultivation, interior alchemy, and spirit writing (Chen Bing 1988, 1992; Liu Ts'un-yan 1976; Qing et al. 1988–1994, 4:77–183, 344–374; Ren 1990:646–682; Wang Zhizhong 1995a, 1995b; Wong 1988a, 1988b). Despite the chaotic events of China's modern history, including the horrors of the Cultural Revolution, the Perfect Realization movement remains a visible presence in China today, although its future course of development is unclear (Hachiya 1990; Li Yangzheng 1993). Perfect Realization Taoism also survives in Hong Kong (Tsui 1991),[78] as well as in the United States and Canada (Eskildsen 1989:23–24).

One of the most important factors underlying Perfect Realization Taoism's long-term popularity involves its interaction with popular cults to immortals such as Lü Dongbin. The Chinese people had been worshiping

feathered beings called immortals (literally "feathered gentlemen" [*yushi*]) long before the Taoist religion developed at the end of the Han dynasty. These spirits as well as local cults dedicated to them are described in the *Zhuangzi,* numerous epigraphic sources (see, for example, Schipper 1995), and ancient collections of legends such as the *Liexian zhuan* (Kaltenmark [1952] 1987) and the *Shenxian zhuan* (currently being translated by Robert F. Campany). Stories about immortals *(xian)* and transcendents *(zhenren)* continued to appear throughout Chinese history, from the "esoteric biographies" *(neizhuan)* of the Supreme Purity (Shangqing) sect composed during the Six Dynasties; to the poems Tang literati wrote about Immortal Elder Mao (Mao Xianweng); to the sources on Lü Dongbin described above. Many immortals, including Immortal Elder Mao, the Eight Immortals, and Zhang Sanfeng, were not merely literary creations, but also the objects of Taoist and local worship.[79] The Perfect Realization Taoist movement astutely attempted to popularize its practices of interior alchemy by linking them to cults of the immortals. As a result, it attracted a wide following among both individuals who practiced these techniques as well as ordinary worshipers (Baldrian-Hussein 1989–1990; Eskildsen 1989:5–11; Goossaert 1997:148–151, 391–396; Ren 1990:440–456).

The Perfect Realization movement's links to cults of the immortals are even more evident in the large number of temple construction and reconstruction projects undertaken throughout north China by Perfect Realization Taoists during the Jin-Yuan era at sacred sites to immortals. Two types of projects appear to have been sponsored by the Perfect Realization movement. The first involved the restoration of sacred sites dedicated to popular immortals such as Lü Dongbin and Zhang Guolao. The second involved establishing new sacred sites to more recent immortals like Wang Chongyang and the Seven Perfected (Zheng 1987:114–141). The Palace of Eternal Joy, among the most famous of the first type of sacred sites, owes much of its fame to the efforts of Taoists belonging to the Perfect Realization movement.

As Stephen E. Eskildsen and others have shown, one of the cornerstones of Perfect Realization doctrine was faith in the existence of immortals who were willing to assist devoted adepts in attaining immortality (Eskildsen 1989:3). Eskildsen's analysis of the Perfect Realization view of immortals is worth quoting here: "For the [Perfect Realization] masters, an Immortal was a spiritually enlightened person in complete control of his

body and its fate who possessed various supernormal qualities and who had the compassion and power to bring great benefits to others" (p. 7). Eskildsen has convincingly argued that two types of religiosity can be linked to this view of the immortals. The first was that of Perfect Realization masters and their disciples, who practiced self-cultivation with the goal of attaining immortality. The second was that of lay members of the movement (as well as the general populace), who worshiped immortals in hopes that those immortals could protect them and bring them good fortune (p. 3). Both views were also present at the Palace of Eternal Joy (see Chapter 5).

For Perfect Realization masters and their disciples, immortals represented enlightened beings who could control their own bodies and destinies. Such self-control represented the ultimate goal of Perfect Realization practice and according to masters like Wang Chongyang could only be achieved after years of rigorous asceticism (Eskildsen 1989:38–66). Novices did not necessarily have to undergo this training alone, however; Perfect Realization masters preached that immortals like Lü Dongbin would be willing to serve as instructors for worthy disciples (pp. 9, 156, 179). However, individuals had to prove themselves before an immortal would be willing to assist them. Immortals often tested *(shi)* potential disciples by visiting these men and women in various disguises. Perfect Realization texts, especially records of lectures and sermons *(yulu)* (see Goossaert 1997:391–396), contain numerous stories about Taoist immortals (including Lü Dongbin) testing adepts. The ability to recognize an immortal in disguise became a key facet of Perfect Realization doctrine (Eskildsen 1989:155–156, 186–187), which is frequently treated in the movement's hagiographical works, including Miao Shanshi's *Account*. Perfect Realization Taoists often behaved like the immortals they worshiped, feigning madness *(yangkuang)* as a means of testing potential disciples. Once a worthy disciple had been found, the immortal (or master) would provide instruction in Taoist techniques of self-cultivation, using the "skillful means" *(fangbian; upāya)* of a bodhisattva (Eskildsen 1989:45).

The view that Lü Dongbin could serve as an instructor of Taoist self-cultivation and interior alchemy is expressed in a number of key texts of the Perfect Realization movement, which in turn elaborate on beliefs about Lü's links to interior alchemy presented in the Song dynasty texts discussed above (Qing et al. 1988–1994, 2:52). By the early years of the thirteenth

century, Perfect Realization texts like Qin Zhian's *Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus* included Lü as one of the Northern Lineage's Five Patriarchs (Bei wuzu).[80] Lü Dongbin also developed into one of the most prominent immortals of Taoism's Southern Lineage, even though he was not one of its patriarchs (Qing et al. 1988–1994, 3:362–384). The date the Southern Lineage was formed is not clear, but by the thirteenth century this movement had already identified five patriarchs of its own: Liu Cao (Liu Haichan), Zhang Boduan, Shi Tai (d. 1158), Xue Zixian (d. 1191), and Chen Nan (d. 1213).[81] The Southern Lineage emphasized the importance of the master-disciple relationship and the need to pursue a path of intensive self-cultivation through interior alchemy in order to gain enlightenment (Boltz 1987; Chen Bing 1985, 1986; Zhang Guangbao 1995). The fact that Perfect Realization Taoism had begun to influence the Southern Lineage by the latter half of the thirteenth century can be seen in Li Jianyi's *Guiding Essentials to Scriptures of the* [*Internal*] *Elixir by the Master of the Jade Stream* (*Yuxizi danjing zhiyao; TT* 115; *CT* 245), a Southern Lineage text that treats Lü as a spiritual instructor. Li was a Taoist master belonging to the Southern Lineage and a descendent of the official Li Guan. The first chapter of Li's work presents a chart outlining the transmission of sacred writings involving the practice of interior alchemy beginning with Laozi and ending with the patriarchs of Perfect Realization Taoism and the Southern Lineage. Lü Dongbin is featured promimently in this chart, particularly in his role as Wang Chongyang's master (*Yuxizi danjing zhiyao,* 1:1a–4b; see also Qing et al. 1988–1994, 3:171–172).

The extensive interaction between Perfect Realization Taoism and the Southern Lineage is also reflected in the *Great Principles of the Golden Elixir by the Master of Supreme Yang* (*Shangyangzi jindan dayao; TT* 736–738; *CT* 1059). This work was compiled by Chen Zhixu (1290–?), a native of Jiangxi and a prominent disciple of Zhao Youqin (fl. 1329) (Boltz 1987:184–186; Qing et al. 1988–1994, 3:376–377; Reiter 1988:91–105).[82] In the first chapter of this work, Chen instructs aspiring adepts to recite the *Great Principles of the Golden Elixir* before images of Lü Dongbin, Wang Chongyang, and Ma Danyang (*Shangyangzi jindan dayao* 1:12b–13a).[83] Chen's magnum opus is followed by three supplemental texts, the third of which is the *Immortal Lineages of the Great Principles of the Golden Elixir by the Master of Supreme Yang* (*Shangyangzi jindan dayao xianpai; TT* 738; *CT* 1062) (Boltz

1987:185–186). This work contains the text of an offering ritual *(jiao)* to be performed on the birthdays of Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, titled "The Joyful Birthday Ritual of the Two Immortals Zhong and Lü" (Zhong-Lü erxian qingdan yi; *Shangyangzi jindan dayao xianpai*, 2a–8a).[84] In order to perform this ritual successfully, the adept was required first to summon all previous Perfect Realization patriarchs, including Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, to attend the offering rites. After making sacrifices to this immortal host, he or she then submitted memorials to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, requesting that they provide instruction on how to achieve enlightenment. Part of the memorial to Lü Dongbin reads as follows:

> The patriarch-master and sovereign lord Chunyang came down [to the world] to be born on this day. . . . Here we fortunately meet during a time of flourishing and rejoice at the presence of such an auspicious morning. . . . Even though you [Lü] do not rely upon the celebration and adoration of the multitudes, I am pleading with my innermost feelings in hopes that you will secretly assist this ordinary body. Cause it to quickly hold the medicine [internal elixir], . . . refine the single *qi* and return to the primordial [age] *(xiantian)*[85] with no demonic hindrances. . . . Submitted by . . . a disciple of the great Tao, on the fourteenth day of this lunar month. (*Shangyangzi jindan dayao xianpai*, 7b–9a, translation based on Eskildsen 1989:405–406)

The ritual concludes with instructions on how to send off the immortals previously summoned.

For lay members of Taoist movements, as for most late imperial Chinese, immortals like Lü Dongbin were compassionate deities who not only possessed alchemical wisdom but also chose to use their powers to aid people in need. Such compassion became an integral part of Perfect Realization and Southern Lineage doctrine. The movement's living leaders and transcended immortals were expected to be active in the world by aiding men and women through various rituals, including healing, exorcism, and rainmaking (Eskildsen 1989:138–139, 172–173, 220–221). Taoist texts contain numerous stories about how enlightened men and women continually traveled throughout China, moving from the official's yamen to the marketplace in order to assist people in distress. For example, Miao Shanshi's *Account* follows Hong Mai's *Record* in presenting numerous stories about Lü's work to save prostitutes, behavior that appears to have inspired some Perfect Realization Taoists as well (ibid.:180–185).[86] The belief that immortals like

Lü Dongbin acted out of compassion for all humankind was hardly an invention of the Perfect Realization movement; it pervades many Song dynasty stories and can be traced back to earlier periods as well (Kirkland 1986). However, the Perfect Realization movement made a significant contribution to the growth of cults to Lü and other immortals by transforming these ideas into an institutionalized belief system, attempting to transmit the essentials of this system to the masses, and promoting the canonization of renowned immortals like Lü Dongbin (Eskildsen 1989:172; Goossaert 1997:343–353). Lü Dongbin was probably the most popular of all the immortals whose cults were adopted by the Perfect Realization movement, and he appeared in several guises in the movement's hagiography—as patriarch, instructor, and role model.

Lü Dongbin in Perfect Realization Hagiography

The earliest known Perfect Realization hagiography of Lü Dongbin is found in chapter 1 of Qin Zhian's *Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus*. Part of this hagiography reads as follows:

> The master's taboo name *(hui)* was Yan and his style name, Dongbin. He was a native of Yongle in Puban or Puzhou Prefecture. He was born underneath a tree on the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month in the fourteenth year [798] of the reign of the Tang emperor Dezong [r. 780–805]. At twenty-two *sui*, he passed the *jinshi* exam in the year *dingyou*, the first year of the Kaicheng period of the reign of the Tang emperor Wenzong [r. 827–840].[87] . . . Later, he served as district magistrate at Lushan in Wufeng County [Jiangxi] and wandered during his spare time among the mountain's famous sites *(shengji)*, where he encountered the Master of Orthodox Yang (Zhengyang xiansheng; Zhongli Quan). In the process of exchanging a few words, their hearts became in accord. [Zhongli Quan] transmitted [to Lü] the Great Way of the Heaven-Concealing Sword Technique (Dadao tiandun jianfa) as well as secret writings of the Dragon and Tiger Golden Elixir (Longhu jindan) and bestowed on [Lü] the Taoist name Master of Purified Yang. After this, Lü quit his official post and abandoned his titles, devoting himself to the study of the Tao. (*Jinlian zhengzong ji*, 1:5b–6a)

Qin's hagiography goes on to describe how Lü is invited to a banquet of the immortals at the mystical isle of Penglai, during which Zhongli Quan com-

poses a poem providing instruction on the tenets of interior alchemy. The text then continues:

> Lord Lü concealed himself in the marketplace, sometimes selling alchemical pills and saving people in distress, sometimes selling ink in order to aid the impoverished. His accumulated merit and good deeds brought about limitless sincerity and perfection through his divine transformations. [This is followed by some examples of Lü's poetry.]
>
> . . . In the *wuzi* year [1108], on the day of the Mid-Autumn Festival, a Taoist *(daozhe)*[88] visited the residence of a censor of the Western Capital [Luoyang]. Although the gatekeepers tried to stop him, he took a seat in the main hall, saying: "I'd like to ask for a *dou* [approximately two gallons] of wine." The official in question ordered that this be provided, and the Taoist drained it in one gulp. He then asked for three *chi* [approximately 2.5 feet] of silk *(juan)*, spat the wine onto the silk, stuffed the silk into a bottle, and left without a word. The official immediately ordered some men to follow him, but he had vanished without a trace. When they took the silk out of the bottle and opened it up, they saw that it was covered by a flawless painted image resembling the master. [Poems written on the painting are then given. These are followed by rhymed couplets *(lian)* Lü is said to have written at Mount Tai during the Northern and Southern Song dynasties.]
>
> . . . Traces of [Lü's] appearances *(xianji)* can be found throughout the land and are too numerous to be recorded. The contents of his writings, titled the *Anthology of the Transmission of the Sword (Chuanjian ji)*,[89] include hundreds of texts. Lü flies through the air transforming himself; those who have encountered him are too many to count. Later he journeyed to Ezhou [Hubei] and flew away after ascending the Tower of the Yellow Crane (Huanghe lou) at noon on the twentieth day of the fifth lunar month. The people of the marketplace looked up in wonder, but he disappeared into the clouds [to join the immortals]. (1:7a–8a)

This hagiography is followed by verses of praise *(zan)*, which begin as follows:

> From ancient times there have been numerous individuals who have attained the way and become divine immortals. However, the names of Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin alone are renowned throughout the world, even among woodcutters and herdsmen as well as married women and unmarried girls. Why is this the case? Because of [these immortals'] compassionate hearts. All things that these two immortals contact can benefit, and their powers are without limit. This has proved most moving to people. (1:8b)

Although Qin claims to have based his hagiography on an inscription at Yuezhou, his text differs from the two Yuezhou inscriptions presented above in its treatment of several key matters. One striking example is Qin's claim that Lü had passed the *jinshi* exam, which contradicts the Yuezhou inscriptions' statements that he had failed. In this respect, Qin's text appears closer to inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy than either of the Yuezhou inscriptions (see Chapter 3). In addition, while Qin's hagiography resembles the Yuezhou texts in describing Lü's journey to Mount Lu and his period of study under Zhongli Quan, greater emphasis is given to the practice of interior alchemy as well as the immortals themselves. Finally, Qin's text stresses Lü's deeds in this world, particularly actions on behalf of people in need. All in all, the image of Lü presented in this text conforms well to the Perfect Realization view of immortals.

A briefer hagiography of Lü is found in the *Illustrated Hagiographies of the Immortal Origins of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus* (1326), which also contains a portrait of Lü Dongbin (see Figure 4). The text of this hagiography reads:

> The master's surname was Lü. His given name was Yan, his style name was Dongbin, and his Taoist name was Chunyang. He was born in the *bingzi* year [796] of the Zhenyuan period of the reign of the Tang emperor Dezong. His home was in Summoning Worthies Village (Zhaoxian li) of Yongle Town in Puban County of Puzhou Prefecture. Shortly after having undergone the capping ceremony [*ruoguan;* at twenty *sui*] he passed the *jinshi* exam. Before he could take up an official post, he met Master Zhengyang while wandering along the Li River during the late spring and received instruction in the way of the divine immortals from him. Later, he became a hermit on Lushan, where he engaged in cultivation and transmutation *(xiulian)* [of the internal elixir]. After attaining the Tao, he wandered among the mortal world, where he was called "Taoist Hui" (Hui daoshi). Sometimes he concealed himself, while other times he appeared; nobody could predict his actions. [A poem about interior alchemy follows.] . . . Once, while on the road from Handan, he gave a pillow to a student named Lu (Lu sheng). He also composed a poem at the Shen family home . . . and wrote it on the wall [of the house] using the skin of a pomegranate. Records of his numinous traces and sacred footprints *(lingzong shengji)* are recorded in books too numerous to record. When people talk of divine immortals, they inevitably revere Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin. People build Taoist belvederes at all the sites they visit. There is a collection of [Lü's] poetry called the *Anthology of Turbulent Completion (Huncheng ji)*, which still circulates

> throughout the world.[90] The Great Palace of Limitless Longevity of Purified Yang [the Palace of Eternal Joy] stands at the site of his former residence in Yongle Town. [The text is followed by the titles Lü was awarded in 1269 and 1310 as well as verses of praise.] (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*, 15a–16a)

This hagiography differs from the one in Qin Zhian's *Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus* at a number of points, including the allusion to the story of Lü's visit to the wineshop of Shen Donglao; the claim that Lü's

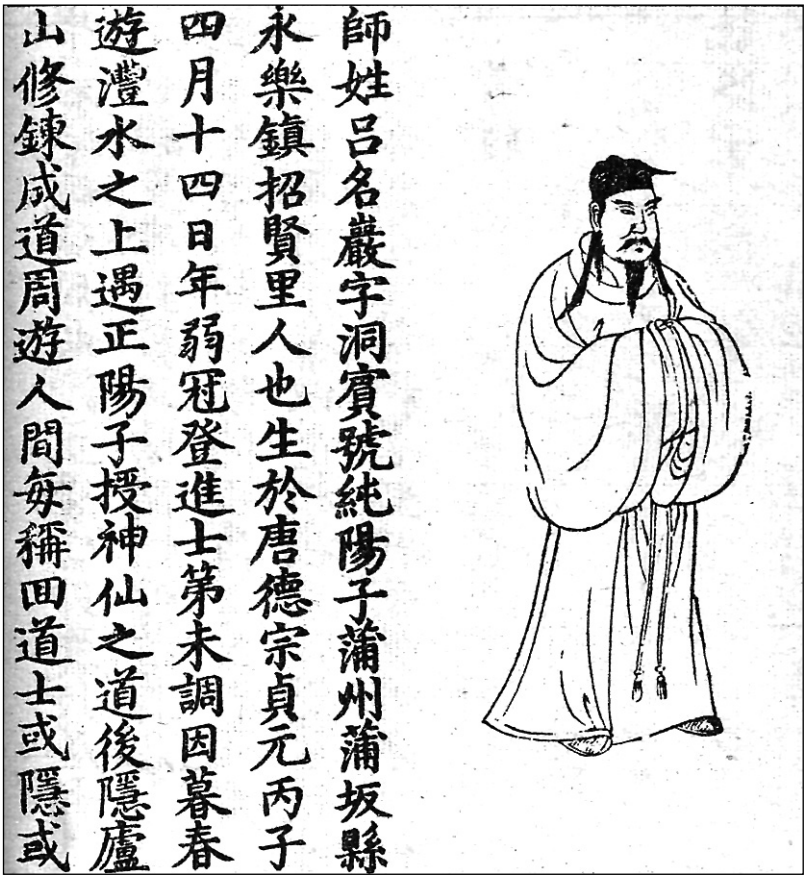


FIGURE 4
Lü Dongbin. This picture of Lü appeared in a 1326 Perfect Realization Taoist text titled *Illustrated Hagiographies of the Immortal Origins of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus*. Lü's image resembles depictions of him in the murals of the Hall of Purified Yang.

birth had occurred in 796, and the emphasis on construction of Taoist belvederes, specifically the Palace of Eternal Joy. However, both texts are consistent in claiming that Lü had passed the *jinshi* exam and studied the Tao under Zhongli Quan. Both texts also place great emphasis on the practice of interior alchemy and the cult of the immortals, which constituted the religious core of the Perfect Realization movement.

Another important facet of the *Illustrated Hagiographies* text is the allusion to the late Tang story "The World inside a Pillow" *(Zhenzhong ji)*, which was composed by Shen Jiji.[91] According to this story, a young scholar named Lu (Lu sheng) encountered Old Man Lü (Lü weng) while journeying to the capital to take the exams but refused his offer of pursuing the path to enlightenment. However, scholar Lu dreamed of the illusory nature of an official career while waiting for a pot of millet to be cooked and thereupon decided to study the Tao.[92] By the late thirteenth century, a variant of this story had appeared that featured Zhongli Quan converting Lü Dongbin to Taoism by means of a dream. This new story circulated widely throughout China and was later portrayed in the murals adorning the walls of the Hall of Purified Yang at the Palace of Eternal Joy (see chapters 4 and 5).

Of all the Perfect Realization hagiographical works about Lü Dongbin written during the Jin-Yuan era, Miao Shanshi's *Account* is by far the longest and, for the purposes of this study, the most important. This text's relationship to the hagiographical murals adorning the Hall of Purified Yang at the Palace of Eternal Joy is explored in greater detail in Chapter 4. Here I discuss the text's author, his intended and actual audiences, and the nature of the text.

Miao Shanshi was a Perfect Realization Taoist affiliated with the Southern Lineage who lived near Nanjing during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The emphasis Southern Lineage Taoists placed on the master-disciple relationship and intensive self-cultivation through interior alchemy may help to explain Miao's interest in the immortal Lü Dongbin. Miao Shanshi was a disciple of one of Bai Yuchan's most famous heirs, the Southern Lineage master Li Daochun (fl. 1288–1290), an eclectic figure whose writings on Taoist self-cultivation and interior alchemy are preserved in the Taoist Canon.[93] Miao Shanshi was responsible for compiling chapter 3 of Li's collected works, titled *A Dialogic Treatise of [Li] Qing'an, Yingchanzi* (*Qing'an Yingchanzi yulu; TT* 729; *CT* 1060) (Boltz 1987:179–182).

Like his predecessors in the Southern Lineage, Miao Shanshi devoted considerable effort to the practice of interior alchemy. It is possible to catch a glimpse of Miao's beliefs in an anthology of lectures to his disciples called *Important Case Studies of the Teachings of Profundity* (*Xuanjiao da gongan*; *TT* 734; *CT* 1065). This text was compiled in 1324 by Miao's disciple Wang Zhidao. The term "*gongan*" (*kō-an* in Japanese) in the title appears to reflect the influence of Chan Buddhism. The text includes sixty-four lectures titled "Ascending the Podium to Enlighten Antiquity" (Shengtang minggu), whose numerological sequence corresponds to the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Book of Changes*. Each lecture is followed by a brief recapitulation in the form of laudatory verses (*song*).[94] Most of the sixty-four lectures are based on Miao's exegesis of works like the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and the *Book of Changes*, although some also deal with the sayings of Wang Chongyang, Bai Yuchan, and Lü Dongbin (Boltz 1987:182). The only recorded lecture about Lü is the fifty-sixth.[95] It begins with a poem attributed to Lü:

> *To achieve enlightenment without cultivating one's nature and vital force (xingming)*
> *Is the prime illness/problem (bing) of [Taoist] self-cultivation.*
> *If one only cultivates one's nature without cultivating the elixir,*
> *Myriads of disasters and yin spirits [will afflict one], making one unable to achieve immortality [literally "enter sagehood" (rusheng)].*

This poem is followed by a second poem attributed to Zhang Boduan. Miao then discusses the significance of these poems:

> Today, the masses say that people who enlighten their minds and see their natures (*mingxin jianxing*) respond to questions by raising their eyebrows and blinking their eyes, or pointing upwards with one finger and opening a fist, or [adopting the practice] of shouting and beating, combined with periods of silence or dialogue. According to such masters, one can [use these methods] to study and learn, and thereby be enlightened [literally recognize one's spiritual force (*shishen*)]. . . . [But] all this is only one part [of Taoist self-cultivation] and does not represent its complete fulfillment. Moreover, some [masters] only discuss true emptiness (*zhenkong*) or wisdom in cultivating one's life span (*huiming*). These are great matters but far indeed [from what the patriarchs Lü and Zhang had to say about Taoist self-cultivation. [Those who only practice these methods] are truly pitiable! The patriarchs [Lü and Zhang] composed the [above] two poems to admonish and instruct people desiring [to practice Taoist self-cultivation] [in other words, Miao and his audience]. Their words are truly

> poignant. What a pity that we are bereft of blessings and lacking in strength, unable to make progress [like our patriarchs]. Furthermore, there are people who only guard [hold] *(shou)* their kidneys or their navels or their hearts or their brains. They strive to circulate [their breath] *(banyun)* or engage in gymnastic exercises [literally stretch their bodies *(qushen)*] . . . performing only the most basic form of cultivation of the life span. They are also to be pitied. (*Xuanjiao da gongan, juan xia,* 19a–b)

This lecture provides a clear picture of Miao Shanshi's ideal of Taoist self-cultivation, which conforms to the beliefs and practices circulating among Perfect Realization Taoists in south China during the Yuan dynasty (Zhang Guangbao 1995). According to Miao, Taoist self-cultivation should involve meditation (including forms of Zen meditation), physical training (including asceticism), and interior alchemy. Miao viewed Lü Dongbin as an important Perfect Realization patriarch who could instruct worthy disciples in Taoist self-cultivation.

Miao's preface to his *Account* also reveals his faith in Lü as a master of alchemy. The main body of this text reads as follows:

> Our Tao employs divine powers to guide and help the masses, while also using medicinal arts to save the good. It smoothly proceeds on its winding way, following the natural course of events. Its great compassion and power of transformation unite the myriad sects as having originated from one source. . . . [Those who follow the Tao] can be enlightened about the perpetual emptiness of all things and can grasp the mysteries of the eternal. Words cannot express the subtleness of this. . . . I have collected [stories about Lü Dongbin] from Tang and Song histories and biographies, editing out all superficial material, and compiled a record of 120 stories, which I have named the *Shenhua miaotong ji.* I have done this in order to help scholars who share my ideas . . . to see heaven's signs, silently merge the mysterious and clear aspects of the Tao, penetrate the great mysteries of the limitless ultimate, grasp the abstruseness of [Lü] Chunyang, thoroughly comprehend the ultimate Tao, and wholly attain the purity of the prior heavens. *(Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji)*

Both Miao's sermon about Lü and the preface to the *Account* reveal that Miao placed great emphasis on Lü's role as a Taoist immortal who could teach others. The preface to the *Account* also indicates that Miao's intended audience consisted of fellow Perfect Realization Taoists practicing meditation and interior alchemy. The actual audience at Miao's lectures as well as later readers of his works probably also consisted of male and female

Taoist disciples. This audience might explain why the overwhelming majority of stories in the *Account* concern the themes of recognizing immortals *(shi)* and conversion or salvation *(du)* (Ang 1993:148–179). Of the eighty-seven stories in the *Account* that concern Lü's appearances in the world as an immortal, a total of seventy deal with the themes of recognition and conversion, while a mere seventeen describe Lü's miraculous powers (see below). The *Account* emphasizes the difficulty of recognizing immortals and gaining enlightenment: of the seventy stories mentioned above, only twenty-nine concern successful conversion experiences. While Miao's *Account* was based on a well-known body of hagiographical literature about Lü Dongbin, Miao's preferred themes, how to recognize an immortal and receive instruction from one, most appealed to practicing Perfect Realization Taoists.

Miao Shanshi's *Account* is seven chapters in length. Of the 120 stories Miao mentions in the preface to this work, only 108 are listed in the edition preserved in the Taoist Canon, and of these only ninety-five survive (*MTJ* nos. 20–24 and nos. 26–33 are missing). Each surviving story is followed by Miao's own comments, either in prose or verse form. The *Account* opens with a description of Lü's miraculous birth in 798 and concludes shortly after the story of Lü's conversion of Wang Zhe at Ganhe in 1159, although the stories as a whole are not arranged in a strictly chronological order. The longest stories (and comments by Miao) are found in the *Account's* opening chapters. Following the account of Lü's birth, the first two chapters of the *Account* (*MTJ* nos. 2–7) treat his dream and conversion to Taoism as well as his self-cultivation under Zhongli Quan's tutelage. They also describe five trials *(shi)* Lü had to undergo before being deemed worthy of receiving instruction.[96] These are followed by *MTJ* number 8, an account of Lü's enlightenment and subsequent ascent into the heavens as an immortal on the twenty-second day of the fifth lunar month (the year this occurred is not given) at the Tower of the Yellow Crane. *MTJ* number 9 treats Lü's exploits as a Five Dynasties hermit who refuses to serve any political leader, while *MTJ* number 10 portrays him as a compassionate figure who persuades the first Song emperor Taizu (r. 960–976) to cease killing and pursue more benevolent policies. Subsequent stories focus on Lü's travels throughout China in a variety of disguises, with an overall emphasis on the themes of recognition and conversion/salvation. The preface to the *Account* states that Miao based his text on earlier sources, and Isabelle Ang has traced the

origins of twenty-four stories to texts that appeared during the Northern and Southern Song dynasties (1993:179). Nevertheless, it appears that the *Account* places greater emphasis on these two themes than earlier sources, while also downplaying Lü's powers as a healer and miracle worker. The specific examples that follow show how Miao modified earlier stories to create his image of Lü as an instructor of Taoist practitioners.

One of the oldest texts that Miao drew on in composing the *Account* is the *Garden of Yang Wengong Discourse*. As seen above, this Northern Song work contains two of Lü's most famous poems as well as two stories concerning Lü's ability to predict successfully the future careers of two notable officials, Ding Wei and Zhang Ji. The poems are not included in Miao's *Account*, but *MTJ* numbers 15 and 16 describe Lü Dongbin's encounters with these two men. However, while *MTJ* 16 closely resembles the account of Lü's prophecy about Zhang Ji in the *Garden of Yang Wengong Discourse*, *MTJ* 15 contains a very different view of Lü's meeting with Ding Wei. According to Miao's version of these events, Lü met Ding in Boyang (Jiangxi). Lü's prediction that Ding's fate would be similar to that of Li Deyu is the same as in *Discussions in the Garden*, but Miao goes on to state that Ding treated Lü badly because Lü had used Ding's taboo name Wei in the course of mentioning his own grandfather Lü Wei. As a result, Ding ended up suffering a fate similar to Li's by being banished to Hainan Island, something not mentioned in *Discussions in the Garden*. This story is followed by a satirical poem by Miao criticizing Ding for his inability to recognize the true meaning of Lü's prophecy. When and how the story of Lü's meeting with Ding Wei came to be transformed is not clear, but Miao's presentation of these events in his *Account* reveals that he was less interested in the efficacy of Lü's predictions than the worthiness of individuals Lü encountered.

Miao's *Account* also includes the famous story of Lü's encounter with the spirit of a pine tree in Yuezhou, but his version differs markedly from earlier ones. Numerous Song dynasty works describe Lü's encounter with this spirit, and all consistently claim that Lü had presented the tree spirit with a pill of immortality and written a poem in its honor. Miao's version in the *Account* also contains this poem, and portrays Lü as the tree spirit's benefactor, but differs from earlier known versions in placing the entire story in the context of a Taoist conversion experience. This context is most clearly stated when the tree spirit begs Lü to grant him "salvation" *(jidu)*. When Lü

asks the spirit whether he has accumulated any hidden merit *(yinde)*, the spirit replies that he has saved numerous lives by transforming himself into a human being and warning people against being devoured by local pythons, even changing himself into a giant sword to slay these creatures.[97] Lü decides that the spirit is worthy, and he is reincarnated as Guo Shangzao, whose own conversion experience is treated in *MTJ* number 13.[98]

The text that Miao appears to have used most frequently in compiling his *Account* is none other than Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener and Recorder.* At least eight stories in the *Account* (MTJ nos. 11, 77, 80, 86, 87, 89, 94, 97) are based on anecdotes in Hong's *Record,* ranging in content from the story of the girl at the tea shop (she lives to the age of 135 *sui* in the *Account*) to Lü's various encounters with prostitutes. Some stories (*MTJ* nos. 11, 77, 80, 86, 97) appear to have been copied almost verbatim from the *Record* or differ in only minor ways from the anecdotes in this source. However, a number of stories vary significantly from the *Record,* and these differences may clarify Miao's own image of Lü Dongbin.

One example is the story of the low-class prostitute *(chang)* named Cao Sanxiang, who is said to have operated an inn located in Anfeng County (Hebei). According to the version of this story in the *Record,* Cao became infected with a serious and apparently incurable disease but was generous enough to allow a filthy and sick scholar to stay at her inn over her servant's objections. One night the scholar (who was actually Lü in disguise) heard Cao moaning in pain and decided to cure her illness. Taking a chopstick, he poked her groin, saying, "Turn your heart [mind] around, turn your heart around" *(huixin, huixin)*.[99] When Cao asked his name, he repeated these words. Cao's illness quickly disappeared, and she later realized that the words "*huixin*" were a play on Lü's surname. She subsequently abandoned her profession and left Anfeng to search for a Taoist master to instruct her. When she returned to Anfeng in 1144, only a few people recognized her because of her youthful and lovely *(shaoxiu)* appearance (*Yijian zhi* 4:1665).

Miao's version of this story in the *Account* (*MTJ* no. 87) closely follows the *Record* up to the point where Lü cures Cao's illness but has a very different ending.[100] According to the *Account,* Cao blinded herself and removed all her make-up *(huiyan qufen)* before leaving Anfeng. The idea that female adepts would occasionally disfigure themselves in the course of pursuing self-

cultivation was an important aspect of Perfect Realization doctrine,[101] found in early texts of this movement such as the hagiography of Sun Buer in Qin Zhian's *Record* (5:9b).[102] It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a committed Perfect Realization Taoist like Miao would add a description of Cao disfiguring herself to the version of this story in the *Account*.

Another story in the *Account* (*MTJ* no. 89) that differs significantly from that in Hong's *Record* involves the anecdote about the paper seller surnamed Fu (*Yijian zhi* 4:1654–1655).[103] Miao's *Account* merely states that Fu worshiped a statue of Lü, not that he had made it himself, and also claims that the medicine Lü gave Fu not only cured his eye disease, but enabled him to see in the dark. More important, however, the *Account* omits Lü's act of writing the characters "The Immortals He and He bring great profits" *(lishi He-He)*[104] and presenting them to Fu (Fu pasted them outside his shop, which attracted many customers) and fails to mention that Fu lived to be eighty-nine *sui*. Clearly, Lü's ability to grant wealth and long life were of less concern to Miao than the need to worship his image devoutly and to treat visitors who might be immortals with the proper respect.

Perhaps the most recent known story incorporated into Miao's *Account* (*MTJ* no. 45) relates how in the year 1229 a Taoist named Jiang Hui, who resided at the Palace of the Limitless Supreme (Wushang gong) in Yongzhou (Hunan), failed to recognize Lü Dongbin and so did not become enlightened. Jiang himself subsequently composed an accout of this event, which was then carved on stone at the palace (Chen et al. 1988:397). Both Jiang's inscription and Miao's *Account* preserve a poem said to have been written at the palace by Lü (which is also preserved in the *Compendium of Tang Poetry*), but Miao's *Account* adds one significant detail, claiming that Jiang raced out of the palace to find Lü after learning that Lü had failed to recognize him. Here again is seen Miao's concern with the problem of recognizing immortals in disguise.

The differences between stories in Miao's *Account* and earlier versions presented above indicate that Miao Shanshi's own image of Lü was that of a wise immortal who had the potential to provide salvation to worthy practitioners. This image becomes even clearer when one turns one's attention from individual stories in the *Account* to the structure of the text itself. The stories about Lü's mortal career and subsequent conversion to Taoism, which

open Miao's *Account* (*MTJ* nos. 1–8), are the longest of the entire work, covering over two of the text's seven chapters. These stories, as well as the lengthy comments Miao appends to them, provide further clues about Miao's image of Lü. The story of Lü's miraculous birth (*MTJ* no. 1) was well known before Miao composed his *Account*, but Miao's version devotes considerable space to describing Lü's physical features and broad learning.[105] The commentary to *MTJ* number 2 (Lü Dongbin's dream and conversion to Taoism) compares his dream to the dream of the butterfly in *Zhuangzi*, while *MTJ* number 3 contains a new story about Lü that shows him behaving much like other Perfect Realization patriarchs by engaging in charitable deeds before leaving his home to study the Tao under Zhongli Quan. Miao's commentary discusses the importance of charitable deeds but devotes considerably more space to problems of self-cultivation and contains numerous allusions to interior alchemy. The descriptions of Lü's self-cultivation in *MTJ* numbers 4 to 7 as well as Miao's commentaries also feature many technical discussions of interior alchemy, written in language that only initiates could fully understand. While many subsequent stories in the *Account* also deal with self-cultivation and interior alchemy, some of the most lengthy and complex discussions of these practices are found in the *Account's* opening two chapters. Thus, the overall structure of Miao's *Account* is such that at the outset the reader not only learns of Lü's life but receives a thorough grounding in the key tenets of Perfect Realization doctrine and practice. Only then does this text move on to the briefer stories (and commentaries) concerning Lü's deeds in the world after becoming an immortal.

How does one best explain the differences between Miao's *Account* and earlier hagiographical traditions? I approach this problem by considering the concepts of text and textuality discussed in the Introduction. Miao Shanshi and other Southern Lineage Taoists were deeply concerned with the pursuit of immortality and the cult of the immortals. These men and their disciples attempted to spread their views through a variety of "texts," including both written works and sermons. The intended and actual audiences of the texts consisted of other Taoist men and women as well as individuals outside the movement who shared some of its beliefs and practices. These factors of authorship and audience contributed to the textuality of Miao's

Account and help explain why the image of Lü Dongbin in this work differs in important ways from other images that continued to circulate throughout Chinese society.

Another important issue relating to the textuality of Miao's *Account* involves the editing of written texts based on oral traditions. Stephen H. West indicates that, in the case of Chinese drama, the editing process frequently involved "the inscription of ideology" on earlier texts, while also creating "a venue for taming (or even standardizing) an unstable and chaotic vernacular based on orality by submitting it to the rigors of the scholarship associated with the written text" (1997).[106] In the case of Lü Dongbin, the "taming" or "standardization" of various representations appears to have begun during the Song dynasty, when literati began recording anecdotes about him in their miscellaneous notes and collected writings. Nevertheless, the importance of this process is especially clear in the *Account*. As Miao himself stated in his preface, all material he considered to be "superficial" had been eliminated in the process of composing this text. Miao's actions are not surprising, for one of Taoism's main characteristics has consistently been its attempt simultaneously to adopt and reform beliefs and practices that were popular but not always acceptable to practicing Taoists (Dean 1993; Lagerwey 1987; Schipper [1982] 1993). The Perfect Realization movement was no exception to this rule, adopting the cult of the immortals, yet transforming it to fit a Taoist agenda (Ang 1993, 1997; Chen [1941] 1962; Eskildsen 1989; Katz 1994, 1996a).

In the case of Lü Dongbin, the evidence presented above reveals that the themes of recognition and conversion figured prominently in many hagiographical accounts about him, a number of which were incorporated into Miao Shanshi's *Account*. At the same time, however, Miao's text places greater emphasis on these two themes than earlier sources, while also downplaying Lü's powers as a healer and miracle worker. Miao cared little for the reputed efficacy of Lü's predictions or Lü's ability to grant wealth and long life. For him, the ability to recognize immortals like Lü and receive instruction from them was of prime importance. As a result, over four-fifths of the stories in Miao's *Account* deal with the themes of recognition and conversion, while less than one-fifth describe Lü's miraculous powers. In other words, Miao chose to edit out images of Lü that failed to fit his agenda, while instead emphasizing

themes that most appealed to practicing Perfect Realization Taoists, namely, how to recognize and be enlightened by an immortal.

The wide range of hagiographical accounts of Lü Dongbin described above has important implications for the understanding of Chinese local cults. Previous scholarship has attempted to explain hagiographic diversity by postulating a gradual, linear development of textual traditions. In a relatively recent example of such work, Prasenjit Duara has argued that cults to popular deities like Guandi experienced a process of "superscription," namely, the grafting of newer representations onto older ones (Duara 1988a, 1988b). However, such a view proves insufficient in explaining the development of certain Chinese cults. In my book on the cult of Marshal Wen (Katz 1995a), I formulated the concept of "cogeneration" to explain how different representations of the same deity could be found in texts dating from roughly the same time period. Taken as a whole, the development of cults such as those to both Marshal Wen and Lü Dongbin appears to have featured both cogeneration and superscription. The growth of such cults in turn seems analogous to what some evolutionary biologists define as "punctuated evolution" or "punctuated equilibrium": not a slow process of linear progression but relatively brief periods of diversification, such as the "Cambrian explosion," or first appearance of multicellular animals with hard parts in the fossil record. Evolutionary explosions are followed by longer processes of restriction, featuring the decimation of most early life forms and the generation of countless variants on forms of life that survive.[107]

The growth of Lü Dongbin's hagiography, and perhaps even his cult, appears to have followed a similar pattern. The tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed the creation of many different images of this immortal during a relatively brief period of time. Cogeneration also took place when the cult of Lü Dongbin appeared, but as the years passed certain images of this deity slipped from prominence, while others were modified or superscribed by the editors of different written texts. By the Jin and Yuan dynasties, stories about Lü Dongbin began to be adopted by the Perfect Realization movement, whose members chose to emphasize Lü's ability to instruct worthy adepts in Taiost self-cultivation. Thus, an explosion of new hagiographies in the Song was succeeded by a gradual reduction or alteration thereof, resulting in the images of Lü and his cult that survive today.

In the following sections of this book, I consider in greater detail the problem of how elite and Taoist representations of Lü were propagated at the local level and how they interacted with representations that circulated among local populaces. To achieve this goal, I turn to the cult of Lü Dongbin at one particular site—the Palace of Eternal Joy—and the inscriptions and murals created by the palace's patrons.

3 Text 1—Temple Inscriptions

Scholars studying Chinese sacred sites have generally relied on two key sources: local gazetteers and temple inscriptions. However, while the "Treatise on Buddhist Monasteries and Taoist Belvederes" *(Siguan zhi)* and the "Treatise on Ancient Relics" *(Guji zhi)* sections of local gazetteers provide important data on the main events marking the history of sacred sites, they rarely describe in detail the factors underlying their growth. Moreover, because the editors of later gazetteers often copied entries directly from earlier ones, the data presented were rarely up to date.

In the case of the Palace of Eternal Joy, the three editions of the Shanxi provincial gazetteer I have consulted all contain an identical passage that states that the palace was originally a shrine to Lü Dongbin located about forty miles southeast of the county seat at Yongji and that it had been rebuilt as a Taoist palace during the Yuan dynasty. They also note that during the Ming dynasty Taoists from a number of nearby belvederes were required to reside at the Palace of Eternal Joy under regulations to control religious activities issued by the first Ming emperor (Zhu Yuanzhang; r. 1368–1398) (see Yü 1981:144–155; Ren 1990:582–588; Taylor 1990). The

1734 edition of the Shanxi provincial gazetteer also claims that the Yuan scholars Yu Que (1303–1358) and Chen Fu (1259–1309) had written poems about the palace and that two ginkgo trees had been planted there by Lü Dongbin (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1629, 14:20a; 1734, 59:28a; 1892, 57:27b).[1] The Puzhou prefectural gazetteer adds that Lü's Tang dynasty shrine had been transformed into a Taoist belvedere at an unspecified time following his death (*Puzhou fuzhi* 1754, 3:41a–b), while the Yongji county gazetteer mentions the earliest inscription describing the palace's history (see below; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 3:41a).[2]

Because local gazetteers contain relatively little data on the palace of Eternal Joy, one is forced to rely on the thirty-seven stele inscriptions from this site and the Upper Palace for information concerning both the palace's history and the identities of the patrons who supported it. Fortunately, Su Bai has quoted extensively from these inscriptions in his studies of the Palace of Eternal Joy (1962, 1963), while the texts of twenty-one inscriptions have been preserved in Chen Yuan's collection of Taoist epigraphy (Chen et al. 1988; see also the Introduction). Before turning to these texts, however, it is necessary to look briefly at their textuality.

Temple inscriptions represent merely one form of Chinese epigraphy, literally "the study of [writings on] metal and stone" *(jinshixue)* (see Hansen 1987; Ma Wujiu 1967; Yu 1994; Zhu 1940).[3] In imperial China, the term "stone carvings" *(shike)* encompassed engraved stones *(keshi)*, stele inscriptions *(beijie)*, funerary/tomb inscriptions *(muzhi* or *shendao bei)*, funerary inscriptions carved on stupas *(taming)*, inscriptions carved on pagodas (*futu*; the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit term for stupa and Buddha), *dharani* pillars *(jingchuang)*, dedicatory statuary inscriptions (*zaoxiangbei* or *zaoxiangji*), inscriptions carved on stone gates (usually in front of tombs) *(shique)*, cliff inscriptions *(moai)*, and tomb purchase contracts *(maidijuan)* (Ma 1967:2–40; Zhu 1940:171–182). Inscriptions were carved on all manner of stone objects, including wells, bridges, protective animals erected outside tombs, and offerings placed inside them (Ma 1967:56–68; Zhu 1940:182–184).

The types of texts carved on metal and stone included the Confucian classics, Taoist and Buddhist scriptures, oaths *(zumeng)*, imperial decrees, official documents, contracts, prayer texts, biographies, hagiographies, legal codes, genealogies, poems, bibliographies, aphorisms, auspicious verses,

commemorative texts, lists of successful exam candidates, lists of names, medical prescriptions, letters, seals, samples of famous calligraphy, maps, and diagrams (Ma 1967:40–56; Zhu 1940:184–202). The presence of such a wide range of texts has led to numerous efforts at classifying them (see Katz 1997). For the purposes of this study, however, I have simply divided the Palace of Eternal Joy inscriptions into four main types, which are discussed in detail below: historical/commemorative inscriptions, official document inscriptions, poetic inscriptions, and hagiographical inscriptions. All inscriptions preserved at the palace are summarized in Appendix A. Below I present examples from each category.

Most recent scholarship concerning temple inscriptions has focused on their links to Buddhism and local cults.[4] Although scholars such as Edouard Chavannes and Chen Yuan used inscriptions in their work on Taoist movements of the Jin-Yuan era (Chavannes 1904; Chen [1941] 1962), only a small body of research on Taoism based on these texts had been conducted before the 1990s (with the notable exceptions of Chavannes 1910; Seidel 1969, 1987; and Ten Broeck and Yiu 1950). This state of affairs prompted Anna Seidel to point out that "another, strangely neglected source for the study of Taoism is epigraphy" (1989–1990:235). However, as she also noted, the recent publication of hundreds of Taoist inscriptions collected by Chen Yuan and completed by his grandson Chen Zhichao (Chen et al. 1988) has provided an invaluable asset to scholars interested in researching Taoist epigraphy. In the past few years, Kenneth Dean, Vincent Goossaert, John Lagerwey, and Florian Reiter have begun to use temple inscriptions in their work on the history of Taoism, (see note 4), and the 1997 inaugural issue of the journal *Sanjiao wenxian: Materiaux pour l'étude de la religion chinoise* contains three detailed studies of stelae from the Temple of the Eastern Peak in Beijing.

Among the source materials used in the study of Chinese local cults, temple inscriptions have proved to be both of immense value and at the same time also highly problematic. The fact that these texts were carved on stone often enabled them to survive in much better condition than many other contemporary texts. Temple inscriptions served a number of important functions, the most important of which appears to have been preserving a record of a sacred site's history. They also served as monuments that were symbols of power, both of the temple itself and of the patrons who supported it.[5] As

such, inscriptions constituted an integral part of what Prasenjit Duara terms "the cultural nexus of power" (1988a:24–26). Temple inscriptions were also public documents and appear to have contributed to the formation of a Chinese-style "public sphere."[6] As a result, they played a key role in publicizing the numinous powers of a sacred site. Their importance is attested by the fact that people of all classes and backgrounds were willing to make contributions toward their carving, perhaps as one means of attaining what Pierre Bourdieu refers to as "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1977; Brook 1993:xiii, 19). The contents of important stelae could be transferred from one site to another,[7] and some unscrupulous worshipers even plagiarized inscriptions deemed important enough to further their interests (Hansen 1990:125).

Temple inscriptions frequently overlap with other sources, particularly local gazetteers, dynastic histories, collected writings, and even miscellaneous notes. For example, local gazetteers preserve temple inscriptions deemed important by their editors. Valerie Hansen has also shown that some miscellaneous notes were based on temple inscriptions; whether or not the opposite may be true has yet to be determined (Hansen 1990:22–23). Temple inscriptions also influenced Chinese biography. The texts of many biographical or funerary inscriptions (including those preserved at temples) closely resemble, and in some cases even served as the basis for, the biographies preserved in dynastic histories and private writings (see, for example, Twitchett 1961).

In terms of their production and circulation, temple inscriptions featured a rather narrow range of implied/real authors and intended/actual audiences. While authors of temple inscriptions could in theory include deities (see, for example, Lü Dongbin's "autobiography" at Yuezhou discussed in Chapter 2), such texts were usually composed by emperors, scholar-officials, members of the elite who did not serve as officials, pilgrims (particularly elite ones), and classically educated religious specialists. Regardless of authorship, these texts were generally written in a formal style of classical Chinese, which reflects the fact that their authors were usually classically educated literati. The intended audiences of some inscriptions could include a temple's deities, but most appear to have been written for present and future generations of the elite. These men (and a small minority of women) constituted the actual audiences or readers of the texts, as only they possessed the knowledge of classical Chinese required to read them.

Inasmuch as most of the inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy were written by (and also written for and read by) scholar-officials and other members of the elite, the extent to which these texts reflected the mentalities of people from other social classes is highly problematic, especially because scholar-officials and other learned men would not hesitate to change texts they considered "vulgar" *(su)* in order to promote ideas that conformed to their standards of cultural hegemony. Although Valerie Hansen maintains that most inscriptions "were commissioned by and reflect the interests of local residents" (1987:18), their textuality is much more complicated. Some stelae contain more than one inscription. The front sides of stelae usually feature eloquent texts in classical Chinese that describe various historical events as well as authorial comments on these matters. The back sides (referred to as *"beiyin"*) list of names of patrons and occasionally even texts written by the patrons themselves in less than perfect classical Chinese.[8] Patrons frequently hired renowned literati to author stelae inscriptions, presenting them with résumés or outlines of what the text was meant to describe. However, authors were allowed to express their opinions freely and at times even criticized the actions of their patrons (Goossaert 1998).

The complex textuality of temple inscriptions has important implications for scholars who have viewed their contents as statements of historical reality rather than considering the possibility that they may actually represent merely unfulfilled claims to cultural hegemony. One example of this view is found in the work of Prasenjit Duara, who assumes that inscriptions representing Guandi in a manner conforming to state norms confirm the presence of superscription and standardization at the local level (1988a:144–149). I would argue that these texts merely represent a concerted effort by the state to superscribe local cults and that the state's actual success in achieving this goal can be ascertained fully only after examining other representations of Guandi circulating among people living near temples housing such stelae. Similarly, Kenneth Dean claims that certain Song dynasty inscriptions attest to an ongoing standardization of local cults occurring "within the framework of the Taoist liturgical tradition" (1993:37). Again, I maintain that such texts simply reveal efforts to standardize local cults by scholar-officials and Taoist priests, a process that appears to have enjoyed only limited success.

The problems described above have prompted some scholars to view temple inscriptions with a high degree of suspicion. They point out that many inscriptions have been badly damaged over time and are fragmentary and incomplete. Moreover, the authors of temple inscriptions employed a stylized language full of clichés and tended to focus on what they perceived as the more positive aspects of a particular cult. Dudbridge points out that inscriptions often provide "no more than an opaque surface through which we see little of [the] underlying motivation [of cult worship]" (1990:37). Many texts also gloss over or ignore any social tensions or conflicts that might have surrounded a local cult, reflecting instead what Dudbridge terms an "official mythology" (ibid.; see also Hansen 1990:16; Ten Broeck and Yiu 1950:87). Most important, the mentalities expressed in these texts are usually those of a small group of classically educated men who occupied positions of power in local society.

Perhaps the strongest critique of inscriptions in the study of local cults has been put forth by Terry Kleeman. He argues:

> [Inscriptions were] written by literati—most often officials, former officials, or members of their social milieu. More significant, they were written in an official or quasi-official capacity, and expressions of religious sentiment or sensational accounts of supernatural occurrences were frowned upon. Because [these] documents have as their intended audience this same scholar-official elite, and ultimately some abstraction like "posterity," they are primarily concerned with demonstrating that the deity in question is a proper god, worthy of worship by classical standards of orthodoxy. (1993:46)

Kleeman's analysis is extremely valuable but perhaps a bit overdone. Many historical/commemorative inscriptions do contain accounts of miracles performed by deities, while the poetic and hagiographical inscriptions discussed below often allow some expression of religious sentiments. Nevertheless, Kleeman is correct that such sources can only be used with caution, and I believe that any attempt to fathom their meaning needs to take into account the concepts of text and textuality. Patrons of late imperial sacred sites composed or commissioned inscriptions in order to propagate their ideologies and further their interests. Inscriptions like those preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy can thus provide a window through which to catch a glimpse of elite mentalities. Athough they were "public" docu-

ments, however, inscriptions appear to have exerted only a limited degree of influence over local society. In the pages below and particularly in Chapter 5, I will demonstrate that representations of Lü Dongbin contained in more popular texts such as novels and folktales differed significantly from those in the palace's inscriptions.

Historical/Commemorative Inscriptions

Historical/commemorative inscriptions carved on stone at the Palace of Eternal Joy include texts written to describe major events marking the history of this temple, especially various construction and reconstruction projects. This category also encompasses accounts of other events deemed significant enough to be carved on stone, including miraculous occurrences and the performance of important rituals such as Taoist purgation rites *(zhai)* and offerings *(jiao)*.[9]

The oldest historical/commemorative inscription at the Palace of Eternal Joy, composed in 1222 and first carved on stone in 1228, is titled "A Record of the Tang Dynasty Shrine to Perfected Man Lü of Purified Yang" *(You Tang Chunyang Lü zhenren citang ji)*. The stele itself was originally located in front of the Hall of Purified Yang, while a later variant was laid into the eastern corner of the southern wall of the Hall of Redoubled Yang.[10] This text was written by the late Jin literatus turned hermit named Yuan Congyi (1159–1224).[11] The calligraphy was done by Duan Yuanheng, a local scholar who eventually served as a marshal in the Jin army and died defending his home against the Mongols in 1230.[12] The stone was badly damaged by a fire that ravaged the temple in 1244 and subsequently recarved in 1252 (the date much of the construction on the Palace of Eternal Joy was completed). A final recarving took place in 1324. The temple Taoists who sponsored the 1324 recarving of Yuan's work composed an additional inscription describing the stele's own history and various recarvings. Most of Yuan's text is a hagiography of Lü Dongbin, which is translated below. However, it also furnishes a vivid description of both the temple's setting and its early history:

> To the south of the Leishou mountains and to the north of the great river [the Yellow River; see map], the terrain is lush and lovely, the soil highly fertile, and the woods fair. The pure essence of its *qi*, when forming people, will surely create

> mighty immortals and great worthies. From ancient times, there have been many traces of the sages who settled here.
>
> If one walks one hundred paces to the northeast corner of Yongle Town, one comes to Summoning Worthies Village. To the north of the road lies the former residence of Lord Lü, who attained the Way during the Tang dynasty. Because the locals admired his virtuous conduct, they transformed his residence into a temple and offered sacrifices on a strict basis every year.[13] (Chen et al. 1988:447–448)

Yuan Congyi's inscription gives some indication of how members of the Jin dynasty elite may have viewed this sacred site. In particular, it shows how a hermit like Yuan was attracted to this site by its natural setting as well as its reputed history as a residence for individuals practicing self-cultivation as Yuan did himself. At the end of his inscription, Yuan provides important autobiographical data explaining his attraction to Lü's shrine:

> In my youth I lived in a prince's palace *(wanggong)* less than one hundred *li* from the Perfected One's [Lü's] rural home. Although I always revered [Lü], I never [went to his shrine] to make offerings of incense, something I always regretted. Now, in the autumn of this year [1221],[14] having fled from the chaos of fighting in the north [resulting from Mongol incursions], I hid in the suburbs to the west of Ruicheng and finally had the chance to worship at this shrine. A Taoist friend *(daoqi)* residing at the shrine[15] named Yuan Gongyi implored me to write a record of this shrine. Although I have no skill at writing, I dared not stubbornly refuse and have described [the shrine's] history [above]. (Ibid.:448)

The most detailed account of the Palace of Eternal Joy's early history appears in an inscription composed by the scholar-official Wang E (1190–1273) in 1262, titled "A Stele on the Reconstruction of the Great Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity [during] our Great Dynasty" *(Dachao chongjian Chunyang wanshou gong zhi bei)*. The importance of this stele is apparent both from its location (it still stands along the path leading to the Hall of the Three Pure Ones from the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate) and from its size (at over ten feet in height, the largest stele in the entire temple complex). Wang E was a renowned scholar-official of the Jin dynasty who served in the Hanlin Academy and the National History Office. Captured by the Mongols in 1234, he was saved from execution by Zhang Rou, the commander of the Chinese forces under the Mongols and also a patron of Han Chinese scholar-officials. After tutoring Zhang's children, Wang was summoned to the court of Qubilai Qan, where he made

great efforts to preserve traditional Confucian learning and to compile the history of the Jin dynasty.[16] Wang was also a prominent patron of the Perfect Realization movement and composed a number of stele inscriptions for its temples (Reiter 1990). The stele's calligraphy was done by Yao Shu (1202–1279), an ally of Wang at court and an important patron of the Perfect Realization movement (Zheng 1987:96, 147–148, 161; *Yuanchao mingchen shilüe*, 155–164). The text of Wang's inscription at the Palace of Eternal Joy has suffered significant damage over time, and Chen Yuan surprisingly fails to include it in his collection of Taoist epigraphy. Fortunately, Su Bai has transcribed many of the passages on the temple's history in an article published in 1962. The text of Wang's inscription reads as follows:

> From the end of the Tang dynasty, the local people [worshiped Lü at] his former residence . . . named the Shrine of Lord Lü. Each spring, scholar-officials and commoners from near and far would gather in front of his shrine, performing music and making offerings all day long. . . .
>
> In recent times, the local officials were concerned that the temple was too cramped and therefore enlarged it into a Taoist belvedere *(guan)*, selecting some of the area's most worthy Taoists to reside there.[17]. . .
>
> During the winter of 1244, a fire swept through the belvedere. In one night . . . this was taken as a sign of great renewal. In the following year, the status of the belvedere was elevated to that of palace *(gong)*, and Lü was promoted from perfected being *(zhenren)* to heavenly worthy *(tianzun)*. Song Defang, the Perfected Man Cloaked in the Clouds (Piyun zhenren), was in the area at the time and said to his disciples: "Our patriarch has been promoted. His temple's status has been elevated. How can we justify our actions if we do not rebuild it?" Therefore . . . the leaders of the movement, Yin Zhiping [referred to by his Taoist name Qinghe, which means "Pure Harmony"] and Li Zhichang [referred to by his Taoist name Zhenchang (Perfect Constancy)], commanded that the Great Master of Soaring Harmony (Chonghe dashi) Pan Dechong, then Taoist registrar at Yanjing, be appointed to serve as chief superintendent of Taoists in the Northern and Southern Routes of Hedong and oversee the temple's reconstruction. . . .
>
> Laborers for this project came from near and far, with Pan making the greatest efforts in instructing them on the new works to be completed. . . . The Mongol court later decreed that the blocks for the edition of the Taoist Canon compiled by Song Defang be stored in the temple, which augmented its prestige. . . .
>
> In the year 1252, Li Zhichang stayed at the temple on his return trip to the capital after having made sacrifices to the Five Marchmounts [Wuyue] as com-

> manded by the emperor Möngke. The next day he ascended Nine Peaks Mountain and rested at the Cave of Purified Yang. He loved the beauty of its heights, renaming it "Jade Seat." He then commanded his disciple Liu Ruoshui to take charge of the "Upper Palace."[18]. . .
>
> [There are] three [main buildings]: the Hall of the Limitless Ultimate,[19] where the Three Pure ones are worshiped; the Hall of Attainment of the Origin (Huncheng dian),[20] in which [Lü] Chunyang is worshiped; and the Hall of Inherited Brightness (Ximing dian),[21] in which the Seven Perfected (Qizhen) of the Perfect Realization movement are worshiped. The Three Masters[22] have their hall; the perfected man [Lü], his shrine. There are also places for Taoists *(tuzhong)* to reside in and guests to stay at as well as vegetarian kitchens, storehouses, stables, gardens, wells, bathrooms. . . . (Su 1962:80, 81, 83)

The inscription concludes with Wang's account of the circumstances behind its composition. The list of patrons who paid for the construction of this stele has not been reproduced, but Su Bai does say that the leading patron was a Yuan dynasty scholar-official named Xu Delu, who at the time served as director-general of a myriarch *(wanhu zongguan)* in the area (Farquhar 1990:22, 23; Su 1963:55). Xu played a key role in supporting a number of major projects at the Palace of Eternal Joy during the 1260s and 1270s.

On the surface, Wang E's inscription appears to be a straightforward account of the palace's growth during the Jin dynasty and under Mongol rule over north China. Reading it more closely and alongside other contemporary inscriptions at the Palace, however, one realizes that individuals lauded for their efforts in supporting the palace's construction are invariably Perfect Realization masters, particularly Song Defang and Pan Dechong. This discovery is not surprising, given Wang E's links to the Perfect Realization movement. At the same time, though, one wonders to what extent Taoist priests (even prominent ones) from outside the local community could have financially supported such a massive effort. In fact, evidence presented below reveals that while Taoists played a key role in directing this construction project, the palace's land and much of the funding came from members of the Yongle elite who were not Taoist practitioners.

The importance of elite support is attested to in two biographical inscriptions about Song Defang. The first was written in 1262 by Li Ding, a Taiyuan native and a metropolitan graduate *(jinshi)* during the Jin dynasty who was one of Song's renowned disciples.[23] This text was carved on stone shortly after its composition. The second was written in 1274 by Shang Ting

(1209–1288), who at the time held the honorary official title *(sanguan)* Grandee of the Eighth Class *(zhengfeng dafu)* (Farquhar 1990:25) and served as one of two second privy councilors *(canzhi zhengshi)* (ibid.: 171, 368) in the Bureau of Military Affairs (Shumi yuan).[24] The calligraphy for this stele was done by Wang Bowen (1233–1288), who had the honorary official title Grandee of the Thirteenth Class and was serving as regional surveillance officer *(tixing anchashi)* (ibid.:242) for Shanxi. Shang's inscription was first carved on stone in 1274 and recarved sometime around 1335 by the last Yuan dynasty leader of the Perfect Realization movement, Wanyan Deming (Qing et al. 1988–1994, 3:239–240; Su 1963:61). Both Li's and Shang's biographies of Song Defang contain important data concerning his life and career, especially his role in the compilation of the Yuan edition of the Taoist Canon (see Chapter 1). However, only sections concerning his links to the Palace of Eternal Joy are discussed here.

Li's inscription treats Song's experiences at the temple as follows:

> In the year 1240, [Song Defang] came to Yongle on a pilgrimage to Lü Dongbin's shrine. He found it to be desolate and decrepit, with nobody seeing to its repair. He thereupon gathered some Taoist companions *(daolü)*[25] and told them: "To the south of the Zhongtiao mountains and the north of the great flow [the Yellow River], there are famous mountains and great rivers; it is a place where *yin* and *yang* intermingle. When *qi* is at its peak, it will transform, and thus birthed our Patriarch Lü of Purified Yang. The flow of this *qi* has never been interrupted and should be allowed to continue unimpeded in the future. . . . We should expand this shrine into a palace. This will not only enhance and glorify Lü's reputation, but also lay a foundation for his successors. You must do your best!"
>
> Soon after, Marshal Zhang Zhong,[26] the former abbot Wang Zhirui, as well as [the Taoists] Han Zhizhong, Lei Zhihe,[27] and Yang Zhilie drew up a document donating the shrine and its foundation [to the Perfect Realization movement?]. In addition, the campaign commander *(dutong)* Zhang Xing donated thirty *mou* [approximately five acres] of arable land, while the masses also donated a mill. The perfected man [Song], being a man of profound wisdom and also one who could carefully ponder current affairs, once again chose [a Taoist] worthy of the position to serve as abbot, while also making plans for the shrine's restoration. (Chen et al. 1988:547–548)

The remainder of Li's inscription does not describe the construction process itself, but instead focuses on the events leading up to Song's death and burial at Zhongnan shan in 1247. The text also provides a vivid account

of how a number of temples in the region fought to obtain Song's relics in 1254 and how the emperor Möngke eventually ruled in favor of the Palace of Eternal Joy at the behest of Yin Zhiping and Li Zhichang.[28] It then describes how a shrine for Song Defang was founded inside the temple complex by Pan Dechong (p. 548).[29] The inscription concludes with a list of patrons, most of whom were military officials and their families. The names of Xu Delu and his five sons are also recorded here (p. 549).

Li Ding's inscription is important for a number of reasons. First, it documents the important role played by military officials in the growth of Lü Dongbin's cult at the Palace of Eternal Joy. However, the text says little of these men's reasons for supporting Lü's cult, something that may only be determined through extensive biographical research. Second, the text provides information on the Taoists who ran the temple before Song visited Yongle on his pilgrimage. Inasmuch as they had the same character *(zhi)* in their Taoist names, these men may well have been members of the Perfect Realization movement. Regardless of their affiliation, they ended up surrendering control of the temple and being replaced by other Taoists of Song's choice.

Shang Ting had read Li Ding's biography of Song before composing his own text and therefore consciously attempted not to copy his work. Shang does describe how one of Song's disciples, Qi Zhicheng (1219–1293),[30] successfully petitioned the court for a title for Song in 1270. Qi then asked Shang to write a new inscription in 1273, shortly after assuming the leadership of the Perfect Realization movement in 1272 (p. 614) (Qi remained in charge of the movement until 1285). Shang's account of Song's experiences at the Palace of Eternal Joy is very similar to Li's and so is not translated here (p. 613).

Important data on the temple's size, holdings, and links to other Taoist belvederes, abbeys, and nunneries during the Yuan dynasty were carved on a stele originally set up in front of the Hall of Purified Yang. The first portion of the inscription preserves the official documents recording the interaction between one Taoist superintendent at the temple and the central Taoist authorities in 1336 and is discussed below. The second portion of the inscription lists the names of the Taoists residing at the palace and other nearby temples as well as the extent of the palace's property (pp. 792–795). Additional data on the palace's economic clout are also carved on a stele

preserving imperial decrees awarding titles to patriarchs of the Perfect Realization movement, which were issued by the emperor Wuzong in 1310.

Apart from cartouches describing minor repairs made to various halls of the temple complex (Su 1963:57, 59–60) and listing the patrons and artisans responsible for the murals in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones and the Hall of Purified Yang (ibid.:56–57, 59; Wang Shiren 1963:66–78; see also Chapter 4), there is no additional epigraphic evidence concerning the Palace of Eternal Joy's history until the late Ming dynasty, when a number of major reconstruction projects took place. A total of six stelae record the details of these events, while also supplying important data on the identities of the Taoist specialists and lay patrons who supported the temple.

The earliest of these texts, titled "A Stele Inscription on the Commencement of Good Works at the Palace of Purified Yang in Yongle Town" *(Yongle zhen Chunyang gong zhaoxiu shanshi beiwen)*, was carved in 1617 and once stood in front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. The text of this inscription was composed by Zhang Taizheng, son of the former grand secretary Zhang Siwei (1526–1585). The elder Zhang had been a staunch ally of Senior Grand Secretary Zhang Juzheng (1525–1582) and assumed the post of senior grand secretary after his death. The Zhang lineage's history in Puzhou can be traced to the Yuan dynasty, when Zhang Sicheng moved to the area. By the mid-Ming the Zhangs had gained renown as one of the area's wealthiest lineages and frequently intermarried with members of the Wang lineage of Puzhou (Goodrich and Fang 1976:103–105; Zhang Zhengming 1995:206–208). Zhang Taizheng was a regular metropolitan graduate *(jinshi chushen)* who also held the prestige title of Grand Master for Excellent Counsel *(jiayi dafu)* and had served as surveillance commissioner *(ancha shi)* for Shaanxi province. At the time Zhang wrote the inscription for the Palace of Eternal Joy, he was serving as director of a Headquarters Bureau of the Ministry of Rites *(libu lang)*. The text's calligraphy was done by a resident gentleman *(jushi)* named Yang Weijiong.[31] This inscription describes the factors behind the temple's reconstruction during the late Ming as well as the individuals who played a leading role in this effort:

> It has been said throughout the ages that the *Scripture of the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang jing)*[32] is marvelous and profound, possessing great numinous powers. Its origins are ancient indeed, and it can be used to guard the state and protect the people. But it is of immense length, and to chant it from beginning to end

> is not an act that can be calculated in hours or days. In the year 1614, some gentlemen living in Yongle, to the south of the prefectural seat at Puzhou, including Yang Wanqing, Lu Yizheng, Mao Rang . . . planned to save people who had been fortunate enough to survive the floods, droughts, and other calamities that had occurred without cease. They decided to do so by sponsoring a rite for chanting this scripture. All who lived in the area, be they men or women, farmers or merchants, as well as people from neighboring regions contributed a total of over 580 taels of gold. They then sought out a Taoist of great repute from the area around Chang'an[33] named Ge Zhenyu to purify himself and hold a purgation rite to chant this work inside the Hall of the Limitless Ultimate [Hall of the Three Pure Ones]. This lasted for three years, concluding in 1616. It was then determined through divination that a five-day Great Assembly of the Yellow Register (Huanglu dahui)[34] should be held starting on the twenty-fourth of the twelfth lunar month, after which all the rites were considered to have been finished. . . .
>
> This entire project required the efforts of over 1,200 people and used up over 530 taels of the gold that had been donated. The remaining 100-plus taels were used to cover the expenses of building an Upper-Storey Pavilion to the Jade Emperor [Yuhuang ge; see Figure 2 above].[35] (Chen et al. 1988:1301–1302)

This inscription reveals that one reason so little work on the Palace of Eternal Joy had been undertaken before the late Ming was the frequency of natural disasters that ravaged the area. It also indicates the important role Taoist rites could play in local society. Most important, it reveals that the people largely responsible for initiating the palace's revival were not the Taoist monks and scholar-officials who had supported its initial construction during the thirteenth century but members of the local elite such as merchants and literati. The evidence cited below does indicate that Taoist specialists and the local elite continued to play important roles in subsequent late-Ming reconstruction efforts. However, only a few members of the elite appear to have served as high-ranking officials, while the Taoist priests and monks involved belonged to a different branch of the Perfect Realization movement than those who had resided at the temple during the Yuan dynasty. By the Qing dynasty, the Taoists residing at the temple apparently played only a minor role in reconstruction projects undertaken at that time (see below).

Sparked by this new revival of elite support, work on the temple continued, with the repair of spirit tablets to the Taoist deities worshiped in the

Hall of the Three Pure Ones being commemorated in a stele erected next to this hall in 1624 (Su 1963:56). These and other reconstruction efforts are described in further detail in a 1636 inscription, carved on the side of a 1274 stele originally erected outside the former shrine (later a Taoist abbey) of Pan Dechong, titled "A Record of the Reconstruction of Lord Pan's Shrine" *(Chongxiu Pan gong citang ji)*. The text was written by a student in the subprefectural government school *(zhou xiangsheng)* named Li Conglong, with the calligraphy done by a (classically educated?) commoner named Zhang Zhaolin. It was carved on stone by a local artisan named Hao Mei, who had the nickname "Iron Pen" *(tiebi)*.[36] Li Conglong's text describes the history of Pan's shrine as follows:

> In the western corner of the Palace of Eternal Joy temple complex lies Lord Pan's Shrine [see Figure 3 above]. His life and career have been completely recorded on another stele and need not be repeated here.[37] This shrine was first built during the preceding [Yuan] dynasty and has stood for many centuries. [However] the ravages of wind and rain have whipped its walls to shreds, and the trees around it are now decayed and worm-eaten. People who viewed it were filled with fear of its imminent destruction. [Fortunately] locals from the town, particularly Yang Jizeng of Zhaixia Village,[38] agreed on a plan to restore it. Their efforts alone were insufficient;[39] the entire community had to go along for the project to succeed. In addition, the Taoist official at the temple Zhang Heqi and his disciple [Zhang] Deyin, taking advantage of an imperial decree allowing ordination certificates *(dudie)* to be issued by the temple, raised money by begging, while also converting the masses *(muyuan huazhong)*. [The locals and the Taoists] pooled their resources and labored together, resulting in the completion of the Upper-Storey Pavilion to the Jade Emperor as well as the restoration of over five hundred spirit tablets and dozens of offering tables *(gongzhuo)*. The Hall of the Seven Perfected [the Hall of Redoubled Yang], Lord Pan's Shrine, and the meditation hall of Patriarch Qiu [Chuji] were also rebuilt. Over fifty cypress trees were planted along the main path in the temple complex, while the front and rear platforms as well as the eastern and western side gates were remade to look as good as new. Oh, to think that the neglect and decay of decades could be restored in a day! The merits of this act enhance the gods' glory and guarantee [that these men] will leave a fine reputation behind them. (Chen et al. 1988:1308)

The inscription concludes with a list of patrons. Yang Jizeng was the chief patron, contributing five taels, while leading lineages from nearby villages as well as groups of villagers contributed between one and three taels.

Further evidence of the reconstruction efforts undertaken at that time is found in an inscription composed in the winter of 1636 by two students from the local prefectural school *(jun xiangsheng)*, Yan Guangda and Zheng Wufu. Titled "A Record of Repairs to the Walls of the Palace of Purified Yang, Limitless Longevity, and Eternal Joy" *(Chunyang wanshou Yongle gong chongxiu qiangyuan ji)*, it was once located outside the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate. The calligraphy was done by Guo Zhengzhong, a Taoist residing at the temple, while the carving was undertaken by Hao Mei. The first portion of this text contains a hagiographical account of Lü, which is treated below. The latter part of the text, describing the repairs undertaken at the temple, reads as follows:

> During the thousand years leading up to this date, the halls still stood but the abbeys fell in ruins, looking almost like desolate graves. [Therefore] Luo Defeng, a Taoist official at the temple, as well as his successor Li Henong displayed their great piety by vowing to repair the walls. They gave an initial contribution of twenty taels of their own money, but that was not enough. They then kowtowed to the local officials and local worthies, who all contributed some of their own resources and together completed this blessed act, which bound their fates to the immortal [Lü Dongbin]. (Chen et al. 1988:1308)

These two inscriptions from 1636 provide significant information on the roles Taoist specialists played in the reconstruction of the Palace of Eternal Joy during the late Ming, because they list the names of numerous generations of Taoists living there. The Taoists responsible for the construction projects during the Yuan dynasty were mostly disciples of Pan Dechong and Song Defang, both of whom were in turn disciples of Qiu Chuji. In the Yuan dynasty inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy, most of the middle characters of the names of the Taoists were "*dao*" and "*de*." This accords with what is known about early Perfect Realization Taoism, inasmuch as before the Ming dynasty most Perfect Realization Taoist names appear to have featured the characters "*dao*," "*de*," and "*zhi*" for men and "*hui*," "*miao*," and "*shou*" for women. In some ways, this system appears similar to that of certain sectarian organizations that flourished during the Song-Yuan era (see Goossaert 1997:136–144; ter Haar 1992).[40] By the late Ming however, members of a different branch of the Perfect Realization movement, the Huashan branch, which traced its lineage back to Wang Chongyang's disciple Hao Datong (Reiter 1981),[41] had taken over the temple's affairs, as can

be seen from the 1636 stele by Yan Guangda and Zheng Wufu mentioned above as well as one from 1643 describing the repairs at the temple in additional detail (Chen et al. 1988:1310–1311).[42] These inscriptions list names of nine generations of Taoists residing at the Palace of Eternal Joy during the Ming. The middle characters of their names read "*quan zhen chong he de zheng ben ren yi,*" following the Huashan lineage poem *(paishi)*[43] that reads "*chong jiao yan quan zhen, chong he de zheng ben, ren yi li zhi xin*" (Igarashi [1938] 1986:89; Li Yangzheng 1989:377–378). How members of the Huashan lineage were able to assume control over the Palace of Eternal Joy as well as how long they were able to sustain it remain unclear.

One final Ming stele carved in 1643, originally located next to the 1624 stele describing repairs to the temple's spirit tablets, commemorates the performance of a Taoist offering ritual (Chen et al. 1988:1310). Its contents are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Early Qing inscriptions commemorating pilgrimages by members of the Yongle community are also preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy.[44] Three pilgrimage inscriptions were originally located outside the Hall of Redoubled Yang; all were composed during the Kangxi reign, and all commemorate pilgrimages by Yongle residents to Mount Wudang, sacred site for the Taoist immortal Zhang Sanfeng (Lagerwey 1992; Seidel 1970; Wong 1988a). The first was composed in 1672 by Lu Gongyi, the second in 1700 by Lu Yangshun, and the third in 1702 by Yang Maojin. Unfortunately, none of these inscriptions is recorded in Chen Yuan's or Su Bai's writings. Furthermore, I have yet to locate any biographical data on these men or to determine whether they were related to members of the Lu and Yang lineages who are listed on other stelae as patrons of the Palace of Eternal Joy. One future project might involve comparing the contents of these inscriptions to texts composed by Shanxi natives at Mount Wudang (Lagerwey 1992:311–312).

The Palace of Eternal Joy's decline by the mid-Qing is vividly portrayed in an inscription carved on a stele in front of the Hall of Purified Yang, titled "A Stele Inscription [Recording] the Lands and Rents of the Palace of Eternal Joy" *(Yongle gong dimu zuke beiji)*. Most of the inscription consists of a list of the palace's properties, but the opening section also portrays how Jiang Rongchang, then serving as prefect of Puzhou, helped save temple lands and organize the reconstruction project of 1804:

> [When Jiang Rongchang] fasted and stayed at the temple, a Taoist priest living there named Liu Ben gave a moving account of how all the fertile land inside and outside the temple had been sold off or pawned *(dianmai)* by the abbot *(zhuchi)* and his "bandit disciples" *(feitu)* and how he, an "impoverished Taoist,"[45] struggled to make ends meet while living there. . . . Jiang listened to this, [and also] fearing that the walls of the palace's halls would soon collapse . . . dared not immediately start planning [to save the temple]. . . . All the temple's irrigated lands *(shuidi)*, totaling many acres, as well as numerous trees were also repurchased. (Su 1962:58)

This Qing inscription provides important information about the Taoists residing in the temple, who apparently had not lived up to the exacting standards of their predecessors. Even if the text's anonymous author, most likely a member of the local elite, exaggerated the Taoists' misdeeds and overemphasized Jiang's role, it does seem clear that problems had occurred, problems that were not at all unusual at sacred sites possessing tracts of prime land (Brook 1993:165–174). Selling monastic land was a common practice, so the fact that the palace's abbot and his disciples were subject to such criticism is all the more striking. Based on the data available, it is impossible to determine to which Taoist movement (if any) these priests belonged, although the character "*ben*" in Liu's name is not a part of the lineage poem of the Huashan branch of the Perfect Realization movement. This breakdown in discipline may partially explain why by the late Qing the Palace of Eternal Joy was not listed among the twenty-three Perfect Realization public belvederes linked to the White Cloud Monastery (Baiyun guan) in Beijing (Yoshioka 1979:229–230).

These historical/commemorative inscriptions present a detailed record of the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy covering over seven centuries. However, they are not the only epigraphic sources that shed light on the palace's development. Official document inscriptions form a second important category related to the history of this temple.

Official Document Inscriptions

The official document inscriptions differ from commemorative inscriptions in being carved on stone not to recount important events but to preserve the texts of documents that proclaimed state support for the Palace of

Eternal Joy and reminded the public of legal, economic, or administrative arrangements. In other words, these inscriptions did not commemorate events but *were* events that served to confirm or even enhance the palace's legitimacy. They were also important symbols of the palace's power, and some even contained warnings to individuals who had designs on its property.[46] Samples of official document inscriptions from the Palace of Eternal Joy are given below.[47]

The earliest official document inscription carved on stone at the palace, a series of texts concerning the career of Pan Dechong, was carved on a stele erected in 1274 outside Pan's shrine (which was later converted into an abbey) to the northwest of the palace (see Chapter 1). The money for carving this stele was donated by the director-general of a myriarch Xu Delu, his wife Liu Zhiyuan,[48] and his son Xu Cheng. The inscription begins with a so-called Mongolian vernacular *(baihua)* decree, written using Chinese characters to transcribe the Mongolian language. This decree was issued in the year 1262 by Mege, Prince of Changtong,[49] and awards Pan Dechong the title of Perfected Man of Soaring Harmony and Subtle Ingenuity (Chonghe weimiao zhenren). The rest of the inscription consists of a series of six memorials *(shu)*, written in 1246 by both Han and non-Han civil and military officials, requesting Pan to serve as abbot at the Palace of Eternal Joy and take charge of its reconstruction (Chen et al. 1988:491–492). One interesting question is why these memorials were carved on a stele at the Palace of Eternal Joy nearly thirty years after they had been issued. A twelve-year gap also exists between the awarding of Pan's title (1262) and its being commemorated on a stele (1274).[50] It is possible that the late carving of these texts as temple inscriptions reflects continuing support for the Palace of Eternal Joy on the part of officials serving in the area, particularly military ones. The decline of the Perfect Realization movement's fortunes at the court of Qubilai Qan does not appear to have hindered these officials' patronage of the Palace of Eternal Joy. In fact, the qan's attacks on Perfect Realization Taoism may have contributed to a sense of urgency that prompted the palace's patrons to pay for the carving of stelae bearing the texts of important documents related to the history of this movement that had been issued many years earlier.

The next official document inscription at the palace was not carved on stone until 1317, a few years after an upward swing in the movement's for-

tunes at court under the Yuan emperor Wuzong. This stele, which once stood in front of the Hall of Purified Yang, is divided into four sections.[51] The first contains an imperial decree issued in 1308 describing the close relationship between the Wuzong emperor and Perfect Realization leader Miao Daoyi. In this decree, the emperor confirmed Miao's leadership of the Perfect Realization movement and appointed him to a position in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies (see Chapter 1). The second section records the titles awarded the Five Patriarchs of the Perfect Realization movement in 1310, while the third and fourth sections list the titles awarded to the Seven Perfected and eighteen of their disciples in the same year.[52] The back of the stele contains a list of names of the Taoist and lay patrons of the palace who paid for the stele, a record of the temple's properties (which included much of Yongle's prime agricultural land), and a list of Taoist abbeys and belvederes with connections to the Palace of Eternal Joy (Chen et al. 1988:727–728, 729–733).[53]

Another significant document in the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy is an imperial decree written in the Mongolian vernacular (most likely in 1325), which was carved on a stele erected outside the Hall of the Three Pure Ones in 1327.[54] Titled "A Stele of an Imperial Decree [Issued to] the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity" *(Chunyang Wanshou gong shengzhi bei)*, it reads as follows:[55]

> An imperial decree relying on the might of everlasting heaven and the fortune of the emperor:[56]
>
> To all military officials and other military personnel, overseers [*daruhachi;* Endicott-West 1989] serving in urban and rural areas, as well as other traveling civil officials, the following decree is hereby announced:
>
> A decree issued by Cinggis Qan [r. 1206–1227] and Ogodei Qayan [r. 1229–1241]:
>
> All members of the Buddhist *sangha*, Nestorian Christians, Taoists, and Muslims are exempt from all manner of duties, their sole task being to pray to heaven and ask for blessings [for the emperor/state]; this has been decreed before. Today, based on the decrees already issued, do not force [these religious specialists] to undertake any duties, [apart from] praying to heaven and asking for blessings.
>
> In Hezhong Prefecture there are three temples built by Pan Dechong[57] [and his disciples]: the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity, the Upper Palace of Nine Peaks [Mountain], and the Numinous Origin Palace to the River Gods (Hedu lingyuan gong).[58] [These are managed] by the superinten-

> dents Wen Zhitong, Bai Zhichun, and Zhu Zhiwan,[59] and this imperial decree is bestowed upon them.
>
> As regards the various buildings inside these temples, you traveling officials should not stay in them, nor should you avail yourselves of the temples' horses. Do not levy any commercial or land taxes on these temples and their lands, gardens, or mills. As for the Taoists [living there], they may not use this decree to act in any way that they please. Would they dare do so?
>
> Issued by the emperor in Dadu [the Yuan dynasty capital, later known as Beijing]. (Chen et al. 1988:781–782)

In the year 1347, similar inscriptions, issued by late Yuan imperial princes in 1332 and 1339, and addressed to Taoists at the Palace of Eternal Joy in order to extend imperial protection, were also carved on a stele that formerly stood outside the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate (Chen et al. 1988:804–805; Su 1963:54–55). The Palace of Eternal Joy was hardly unique in having received such decrees, as similar official documents protecting Taoist (and Buddhist) sacred sites were issued throughout the period of Mongol rule over north China as well as during the Yuan dynasty. Such texts were frequently carved on stelae erected at conspicuous locations in order to symbolize a particular site's legitimacy and to caution anyone who might wish to appropriate its property. However, they could only have been read by individuals trained in Mongolian vernacular, and it is not known how many people in north China possessed such knowledge. Perhaps these temple inscriptions served as monuments to the palace, their texts being in some ways less important than their physical presence at the site.

One other official document, this time written in classical Chinese, was carved on stone and erected outside the Hall of Purified Yang in 1336.[60] Titled "A Stele [Recording] a Communication [to a Subordinate] Issued to the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity" *(Chunyang Wanshou gong zhafu bei)*, its text records an exchange of official documents between temple Taoists and the central Taoist authorities. The inscription reads as follows:

> The [central] Taoist authority of the Dark Gate *(xuanmen daojiao suo)*,[61] established by imperial decree:
>
> A report *(cheng)* from Zhang Daoyu, officially appointed superintendent of the following three palaces in Hezhong Prefecture: the Numinous Origin Palace to the River Gods, the Upper Palace of Nine Peaks [Mountain], and the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity.

[What follows is the text of Zhang's report:]

It is essential for me to explain that [while the Taoist temples] in this [Hezhong] prefecture have been administered by Taoist Registries *(daosi)*[62] belonging to superior prefectures *(sanfu)* (Farquhar 1990:418), the Upper and Lower Palaces at Yongle [the Palace of Nine Peaks Mountain and the Palace of Eternal Joy] are both sites where the Lord Emperor of Purified Yang was born and cultivated perfection *(lianzhen)*. Since the year 1246, when the great patriarch of our movement *(da zongshi)* Yin Zhiping[63] decreed that these were the original palaces of our first patriarch [*bizu;* i.e., Lü Dongbin] and therefore should receive special privileges and attention, these sites were therefore directly controlled by the [Perfect Realization] patriarch, not by the Jinning Route Taoist authorities. For a long time the perfected men of our movement followed this precedent, without daring to deviate from it. [However] when Chang Zhiqing (fl. 1290–1313)[64] chose to retire and lead a life of leisure, being ignorant of [the limits on] his power, he made the unauthorized and confusing change of granting the administration of these temples to the Taoist authorities at Jinning, something that has persisted up to the present date. I therefore begged our new Taoist leader and great perfected man,[65] who is trying to reform the administration of our temples while taking into account their various advantages and disadvantages, to restore our temple's status to what it had been under the administration of our previous Taoist leader [Yin Zhiping]. However, there has been no response. Therefore, I, [Zhang] Daoyu, dare exceed the authority vested in me and boldly submit a report requesting that this matter be dealt with.

[What follows is the response of the Taoist central authorities.]

Received. This matter was already settled, according to a series of reports *(shen)* issued by the Taoist authorities of Hezhong Prefecture in the tenth month of 1280. This [Zhang's] report is correct, and [the administration of these Taoist temples] should be undertaken according to the former [Yin Zhiping's] system. Discuss this matter and draft a communication.[66]

The above-mentioned communication was [also?] sent to the head Taoist superintendent at Jinning Route.

Received.[67] (Chen et al. 1988:791–792)

The importance of this official document to the Taoists living at the Palace of Eternal Joy can hardly be understated. It reveals that this temple was an important sacred site that Taoists and officials fought to control. Although Zhang's petition presents a one-sided version of the events and needs to be checked against other available sources, it was able to convince his superiors, who ruled in his favor. Small wonder then that such a docu-

ment was carved on a stele almost immediately after it had been issued. Whether the support of the central Taoist authorities was actually able to restrain the local authorities and for how long remain unknown.

Hagiographical Inscriptions

Two hagiographical inscriptions about Lü Dongbin are preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy. These texts belong to a sizable genre of such works, the best known of which are hagiographies of Buddhist deities such as Guanyin and various local deities. The earliest hagiographical inscription at the palace was written by the Jin dynasty hermit Yuan Congyi. Following the brief description of Lü's original shrine in Yongle, the text describes Yuan's interest in Lü as well as his efforts at locating Lü's writings. The hagiographical portion of the inscription reads as follows:

> The perfected man [Lü] was named Yan. He later took the style name Dongbin and the Taoist name Chunyang. The vice-minister of Rites Lü Wei was his grandfather. In the year 825, [Lü Dongbin] passed the highest level of the *jinshi* exams. Before being assigned a post, he spent the spring wandering near the Feng River [in Shaanxi], where he encountered the Han hermit Lord Zhongli [Quan]. Lord Zhongli perceived that Lü was of uncommon make[68] and enticed him to study the way of immortals. . . . He orally transmitted to Lü secret instructions for interior alchemy *(neidan bizhi)* as well as the Heaven-Concealing Sword Technique *(tiandun jianfa)*. Lord Lü thereupon broke off all ties with the mortal world, building a hut of grass on Mount Lu, where he became fast friends with Wei Ziming and Liang Bozhen.[69] All three later became immortals. [The text then quotes Lü Dongbin's famous poem titled "Verses about Myself" (*Ziyong;* see Chapter 2).] This [poem] proves the [importance?] of Lü's swordsmanship. In the past, [Lü also] paid homage to the Metal Mother [the Queen Mother of the West] at the Turtle Mountain [Mount Kunlun; see Stein 1990:227–236] and converted Wang [Chongyang] while resting [at Ganhe?] on his way back to Pingliang [in Gansu]. Today [texts] carved on stone exist [that record these events].[70] While on a journey to Mount Hua, [Lü] also met and drank with Chen Tuan [see Chapter 2], an event recorded in scriptures about the immortals.[71] His appearances and divine wonders are extremely numerous; here I only record one or two of them. (Chen et al. 1988:448)

The inscription concludes with an autobiographical account of how Yuan came to visit Lü's shrine and was asked by one of the Taoists residing there to write an inscription for it.

Yuan Congyi's hagiographical inscription resembles the inscriptions carved on stone at Yuezhou during the Song dynasty (see Chapter 2) in portraying Lü as a master of Taoist self-cultivation and interior alchemy who had encountered revered immortals like Zhongli Quan and Chen Tuan. Nevertheless, this text differs markedly from the Yuezhou versions in claiming that Lü had *passed* the *jinshi* exam in 825. Why did this change occur? Perhaps some of Lü's worshipers at Yongle (particularly literati like Yuan who themselves had strived to attain the *jinshi* degree) favored a hagiography that claimed their deity had failed as a traditional scholar. Early Perfect Realization hagiographical works like Qin Zhian's *Record*, while not copying Yuan's stele verbatim, do follow his inscription in recording that Lü had passed his exams before encountering Zhongli Quan (see Chapter 2). However, folktales cited below indicate that local worshipers saw Lü as a poor scholar who had not even sat for the exams (see Chapter 5).

The second hagiographical inscription about Lü at the palace takes up most of the inscription composed by Yan Guangda and Zheng Wufu in 1636. While this text was ostensibly written to commemorate the completion of repairs to the walls of the temple, it also contains a brief account of Lü's life, which reads as follows:

> The Perfected Being of Purified Yang, the Venerable Lü [Dongbin], was descended from the [Lü] lineage that resided at the Hamlet of Water and Bamboo [near] Mount Emei [part of the Zhongtiao mountain range] [and] Summoning Worthies Village of Yongle Town. He possessed an extraordinary appearance, with the bearing of an immortal and the bones of a Taoist. His ambition was to blend purity and stillness [of Taoist self-cultivation] and escape the mortal world. [Despite attaining the status of] tribute student and presented scholar, he downplayed these as having as little weight as a floating cloud and viewed great riches as he would a few strands of hair. He personally received secret formulas from the Han patriarch Zhongli Quan . . . refined mercury and cinnabar . . . and [completed] the Golden Elixir of the Nine Cycles [which enabled him to survive] eighty thousand calamities.[72] . . . He also has a sword of wisdom, which enables him to wipe out all evil vapors and prevent generations of bandits from encroaching on our terrain. . . . The silent recitation of [Lü's?] perfected formulas can cultivate the roots of ancient nature and the vital force. . . . He ascended [to the heavens] during the Tang and is the leader of the celestial immortals. His mighty numinosity and manifest responses [to the prayers of worshipers] are those of a Star of Blessings of the Three Worlds (*sanjie;* Skt. *trailokya*). (Chen et al. 1988:1308)

This inscription follows Yuan Congyi's text in claiming that Lü had passed the exams and had subsequently encountered Zhongli Quan. However, it places great emphasis on Lü's achievements in interior alchemy and his attainment of immortality, while simultaneously treating him as a powerful tutelary deity by stressing how his spiritual powers enabled him to protect Yongle and its environs.

Both inscriptions supply vital data about representations of Lü Dongbin held by members of Yongle's local elite and Perfect Realization Taoists. These men viewed Lü as a successful scholar who had also mastered the essence of interior alchemy and could use his powers to protect others. Many of these men also worshiped Lü as a potential master who would instruct worthy disciples in the secrets of attaining immortality through interior alchemy (see Chapter 2). While these representations of Lü were popular among members of the above-mentioned groups, data presented in Chapter 5 will show that they do not appear to have gained widespread acceptance among other members of the local populace.

Poetic Inscriptions

Poetic inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy include works of verse composed by members of the elite as well as poems attributed to Lü Dongbin. While most poems praise the beauty or miraculous powers of a particular sacred site, some also contain expressions of the author's emotions, particularly the desire to encounter, even join, the ranks of spiritual beings. Other poems are didactic in nature, encouraging their readers to pursue meditation or self-cultivation. These works resemble official document inscriptions in that their presence symbolized the degree of support a temple had attained among religious specialists and the elite (Brook 1993:177; Wu 1995:82, 87). However, while Taoists and literati wrote numerous poems about the palace, only a few of these works were carved on stelae erected inside the temple. Other poems about this site are preserved in local gazetteers and collected writings.[73] Six poems carved on stone have survived at this temple, five of which describe the author's feelings and one of which is more didactic in nature.

The earliest surviving poetic inscription, originally carved on a stele erected outside the Upper Palace on Nine Peaks Mountain, is a poem attrib-

uted to Lü Dongbin. The first known version of this poem is found in a collection of writings attributed to Lü titled *An Anthology of the Perfected Being of Purified Yang on Arising from Turbulence*, compiled by Song Defang's disciple He Zhiyuan (*Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji, juan xia*, 8b). In the *Anthology*'s preface, He states that "someone in charge of the Palace of Purified Yang" (most likely the Palace of Eternal Joy; *zhishi yu Chunyang gong zhe*)[74] encouraged him to publish Lü's writings. Whether or not these writings had been produced at or stored in this Palace of Purified Yang is not indicated (Boltz 1987:141–142). The version of this poem at the Upper Palace was written in seal script calligraphy *(zhuan)* by a lecturer *(jiangshi)* at the temple named Zhu Xiangxian (fl. 1279–1308). Zhu was originally from the province of Jiangsu but later journeyed to north China and became a Perfect Realization Taoist, residing in and eventually becoming the abbot of the famed Tiered Belvedere (Lou guan; located at the foot of Mount Zhongnan) for over thirty years.[75] The poem, translated below, represents Lü's feelings while at the Upper Palace:

Shining weapon[76] *in hand, I dance on the steps of heaven,*
Coming and going at will, atop a dragon I fly;
Lying high atop the white clouds, I gaze upon the sun's home,
Sleeping under the autumn moon, I hold up the entire sky.

Heaven and Earth produce the distant scattered flowers,
Nature the rippling buds along the slopes so fine;
In the evening, drunk atop nine peaks,[77] *I turn my head and gaze,*
Beneath Beimang mountain,[78] *white bones brightly shine.*
(Chen et al. 1988:766)

This poem exalts the carefree life enjoyed by immortals like Lü, yet also explores his more serious thoughts while gazing down on the human world from atop one of his favorite mountain abodes. It seems to have been written with the intent of inspiring readers like Zhu and other Perfect Realization Taoists to pursue the path to immortality, while also suggesting that this site could be an ideal place for engaging in such a pursuit.

Four other poems (composed by mortals) during the Ming and Qing dynasties have also been preserved on temple stelae (see Appendix A). Unfortunately, neither Chen Yuan nor Su Bai recorded their contents. The

only inscription whose text I have been able to locate records a visit to the Palace of Eternal Joy by the prefectural magistrate Zhang Jiayun (1527–1588) in 1564.[79] The stele was originally located in front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. In this work, Zhang describes the temple as being a beautiful site at a peaceful location and also expresses his desire to encounter immortal beings while residing there (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 22:31a–b).

One poetic inscription at the Palace of Eternal Joy appears to be more didactic in nature: the "Hundred-Character Stele by the Venerable Immortal Lü" *(Lü xianweng baizi bei)*, an anonymous and undated text attributed to Lü Dongbin. This poem is also found in He Zhiyuan's *Anthology* under the title "Hundred-Character Poem" *(Baizi shi)* (*juan shang*, 13a–b). The stele itself, originally located atop Nine Peaks Mountain outside the Upper Palace, now stands outside the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü. The inscription reads as follows:

By nature I enjoy peace and quiet,
In order to care for and stabilize the monkey of the mind (xinyuan).
I have no need of wine,
My sexual desires have ceased.
I no longer covet wealth,
Nor do I rage in anger.[80]
Seeing and yet not seeing,
Hearing and yet not hearing.
I criticize not others' errors,
Just search for my own faults.
I need not serve as an official,
For I can survive on my own credit.
During good times I am not frivolous,
In bad times I hold to my task.[81]
[My mind] cares not for the world of mortals,
Transcending all worries and cares.
Softening [my?] glare and settling in the dust,[82]
And mingling with ordinary people.[83]
Because I do not strive for fame,
I have conversed with the exalted ones.[84]

(Chen et al. 1988:766–767)

While this poem does not openly exhort readers to pursue a particular course of action, it does differ from the other poems from the temple in that its main concern is not to describe the Palace of Eternal Joy or to portray Lü's emotional reaction at being there. Instead, it emphasizes the qualities that have enabled Lü to attain immortality, most likely as a means to inspire and instruct other individuals pursuing Taoist self-cultivation.

Patterns of Patronage

The Palace of Eternal Joy inscriptions reveal that it was a truly popular sacred site, enjoying strong support from people representing many different strata of late imperial society. I follow Timothy Brook in dividing the patterns of patronage present at the palace into financial patronage and literary patronage (1993:160–171, 176–181). Financial patronage was essential for large temple complexes like the Palace of Eternal Joy. These sites were in need of constant repair, particularly since signs of physical decay could discourage continuing support. The costs involved in reconstruction efforts could be daunting, in the case of some Buddhist monasteries exceeding hundreds or even thousands of taels. Literary patronage demonstrated patrons' public commitment to a sacred site and helped enhance its prestige. Such patronage could range from writing a poem to composing an essay or inscription to sponsoring or editing a temple gazetteer. No gazetteers appear to have been produced for the Palace of Eternal Joy, but literary patrons did write numerous poems and inscriptions on its behalf, some of which have been discussed above. These two forms of patronage were not dichotomous or mutually exclusive but could coexist as part of an ongoing cycle of support for a sacred site. Literary patrons often made donations, and the works they composed could enhance the prestige of a site and attract further donations. The money could then be used to enhance the physical beauty of the site, which in turn served to attract further patronage, both financial and literary.

I have subdivided the patrons of the Palace of Eternal Joy into three main groups: the imperial family, members of the elite, and Taoist specialists. As is so often the case for late imperial social history, current knowledge of commoner support for the palace is disappointingly limited. Most temple inscriptions, including those at the palace, simply list the names of com-

moners behind or beneath those of Taoist and elite patrons (see Chen et al. 1988:708; Su 1962:55). Nevertheless, the contents of some inscriptions described above do indicate that commoner support played an important role in the Palace of Eternal Joy's growth.

Imperial Patronage

During the period of Mongol rule over China, the palace's most powerful patrons were the qans or emperors and their relatives.[85] Although these rulers do not appear to have supported the palace financially, they did issue imperial decrees intended to protect the palace's properties, which were subsequently carved on stelae at the palace in the years 1327, 1332, 1339, and 1347. The contents of these texts were little different from other decrees issued to numerous Buddhist monasteries and Taoist belvederes throughout China, but their very presence at the Palace of Eternal Joy served as a prominent form of literary patronage and endowed it with significant amounts of symbolic capital. There is little information, however, on how long these texts continued to be viewed as symbols of the palace's legitimacy, or on the extent to which subsequent generations heeded their warnings. The emperors of the Ming and Qing dynasties do not appear to have provided financial or literary patronage for the Palace of Eternal Joy. However, the Wanli emperor did order one copy of the 1598 reprinting of the Ming edition of the Taoist Canon to be stored in the Upper Palace, while the Jiaqing emperor named the Palace of Eternal Joy as a site where state rituals could be performed in an 1804 decree allowing the inclusion of Lü Dongbin's cult into the Register of Sacrifices at the provincial level (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 73:15b–16a).

Elite Patronage

The Palace of Eternal Joy's leading financial and literary patrons were members of the elite (including both gentry and nongentry individuals). During the period of Mongol rule over north China as well as the Yuan dynasty, many of the palace's literary patrons were high-ranking civil officials serving in central government posts. That such individuals supported the palace was due to both the prominence of the Perfect Realization movement in

southern Shanxi and the tendency of high officials to become the disciples of famous Perfect Realization masters at that time (Chen [1941] 1962; Zheng 1987).

In contrast, the palace's most important financial patrons during this period included numerous military officials. As early as the 1240s, military officials are described as having supported the reconstruction of the Taoist belvedere at Yongle. Most prominent are the above-mentioned Marshal Zhang Zhong and Campaign Commander Zhang Xing, who donated the arable land on which the Palace of Eternal Joy was built. Another important financial patron was Director-General Xu Delu, who along with members of his family paid for the carving of many important inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy. These texts included Wang E's account of the main events marking the construction of the palace, the series of memorials from 1246 confirming Pan Dechong's appointment carved on stone in 1274, and the biographical inscription about Song Defang composed by the scholar Li Ding.

Yuan dynasty inscriptions from the Palace of Eternal Joy also reveal that numerous women, particularly female Perfect Realization practitioners and the wives of military officials, were among its financial patrons. While Timothy Brook notes that patrons of large Buddhist establishments during the Ming tended to be males (1993:188–191), the evidence presented above indicates that this may not have been the case during the Yuan. Women also appear to have been important patrons of Buddhist sacred sites in rural north China during medieval times (Liu Shufen 1997). Whether they also patronized Taoist institutions of that era has yet to be explored fully.

Members of the gentry who did not serve as officials were also among the Palace of Eternal Joy's most important literary patrons. The palace's first literary patron was the late Jin literatus Yuan Congyi, who lived as a hermit in the Zhongtiao mountains and composed the inscription about Lü Dongbin and his shrine in 1222. The Yuan scholars Yu Que and Chen Fu are also said to have written poems about the Palace of Eternal Joy, but perhaps the palace's most renowned Yuan literary patron was the scholar-official Wang E, who composed the historical/commemorative inscription carved on a massive stele erected in front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones in 1262. Other key literary patrons included Li Ding and Shang Ting, both of whom composed biographies of Song Defang. Shang also did the calligraphy for a plaque adorning the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate.

Why did the Mongol rulers of north China and the officials who served them choose to support Lü Dongbin's cult site at Yongle? While a few may have shared Taoist concerns about the role Lü had allegedly played in the history of the Perfect Realization movement, these men and their families probably supported the palace because they regarded it as a site of great spiritual power. This perception is apparent in a series of memorials dated 1246 that were carved onto a stele at the palace in 1274. Each memorial opens with a statement reading: "It is respectfully requested that the great teacher Pan Dechong be placed in charge of the Palace of Purified Yang at Yongle . . . in order to burn incense and engage in self-cultivation on behalf of the state as well as perform rites for the limitless longevity of our sage sovereign" (Chen et al. 1988:491–493).[86] Members of the gentry may also have patronized the palace for more personal reasons. Such motivation is particularly apparent in the case of Li Ding, who was one of Song Defang's disciples. Other officials such as Wang E and Shang Ting also had close links to the Perfect Realization movement, and these connections may have encouraged their patronage.

The second period of gentry patronage appears to have occurred during the waning years of the Ming dynasty. The late Ming witnessed an outpouring of support for the reconstruction of Buddhist monasteries and Taoist belvederes as well as the publication of monastic gazetteers (Brook 1993:181–184; Eberhard 1964). In the case of the Palace of Eternal Joy, late-Ming gentry patronage appears to have been more literary than financial. Some of the six late Ming inscriptions state that local officials donated money toward the reconstruction of the palace, but none of these men is actually named (Chen et al. 1988:1308). In general, it appears that during this period officials and the gentry at Yongle tended to engage in acts of literary patronage, while financial patronage came from Taoists, members of the local elite, and commoners.

The earliest known literary patron of the Palace of Eternal Joy during the Ming dynasty was an individual named Jiang Bing, who composed a poem carved on stone in front of the Hall of Purified Yang in 1498 (see Appendix A). One of the highest-ranking literary patrons was the prefectural magistrate Zhang Jiayun, who composed a poem commemorating his visit to the palace in 1564 and was later appointed minister of war in 1583. Other literati wrote poems about the Palace of Eternal Joy during the Ming-

Qing era (see Appendix A), but I have yet to locate detailed biographical data about these individuals. Literary patronage of the Palace of Eternal Joy in the form of poetry may have been a result of the cultural appeal to the gentry the natural setting of this site provided. Thus, men who visited the palace and wrote poems about it based largely on their personal experiences there appear to have placed a high value on the aesthetic environment of this and other sites (Brook 1993:208–213).

By the late Ming, an increasing number of inscriptions were composed by members of the lower gentry, particularly students at government schools who had earned one of the preliminary degrees conferred by the imperial examination system. For example, the 1636 inscription describing repairs to Pan Dechong's shrine and other buildings in the palace was written by a student in the subprefectural government school named Li Conglong. Two students in the local prefectural school named Yan Guangda and Zheng Wufu wrote the other 1636 inscription commemorating additional reconstruction projects at the palace. The beginnings of nongentry literary patronage are also discernible at this time, as the calligraphy for Li's inscription was done by a commoner named Zhang Zhaolin, while the text was carved on stone by a local artisan named Hao Mei. In the case of Yan and Zheng's inscription, the calligraphy was done by a Taoist at the palace named Guo Zhengzhong, while the carving was undertaken by Hao Mei.[87] The one exception to this trend is the high-ranking official Zhang Taizheng, son of the former grand secretary Zhang Siwei, who wrote the 1617 inscription discussed above.

Members of the gentry, especially the officials Liu Muyan and Jiang Rongchang, appear to have regained a prominent role in supporting reconstruction projects at the palace by the Qing dynasty. Local elite support was also important during the Qing, but Taoist patronage appears to have declined dramatically. Only limited data survive concerning literary patronage of the Palace of Eternal Joy during the Qing. The sole author of an inscription for whom I have biographical data is the Qing official Gao Gongxi, who composed one of the inscriptions dated 1773 (Su 1963:58, 59). Gao served as district magistrate of Wenshui as well as subprefectural magistrate of Yizhou (both are in Shanxi) during the mid–eighteenth century. How he came to compose an inscription for the palace has yet to be determined.[88] Another literary patron was Qiao Guanglie (see Chapter 1), who

served as surveillance commissioner of Shanxi during the 1750s and helped organize state relief for Yongle and its environs during a devastating drought (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 22:56a–b). Further research will be necessary to determine the identity of other Qing individuals who authored inscriptions or poems about the temple.

Members of the elite who did not legally belong to the gentry, such as merchants, landlords, scholars without degrees, and the heads of local ritual associations *(huishou)*, also exerted influence over Yongle's affairs, including the maintenance of the Palace of Eternal Joy. It is possible that some of these men went on to pass one of the exams or purchase an official title and became members of the gentry, but I have not found any such evidence to date. In general, the evidence indicates that nongentry individuals supported temples like the Palace of Eternal Joy for three main reasons: as an embodiment of faith in the powers of benevolent immortals like Lü Dongbin, as an expression of local identity, and as a means of acquiring or supplementing symbolic capital.

The earliest evidence of nongentry patronage of the Palace of Eternal Joy can be found in the 1301 inscription commemorating the completion of the foundations of the three main halls of the palace. Unfortunately, the names of most of the leaders of local ritual associations who sponsored this project were not recorded in Chen Yuan's collection of Taoist epigraphy (Chen et al. 1988:708). One can learn more about some of these men and their peers from other inscriptions erected in and around the palace. For example, the 1317 inscription listing the new titles awarded to the patriarchs of the Perfect Realization movement ends with a list of local association heads from the villages around Yongle, most of whom belonged to the Lu, Yang, and Zhang surname groups (ibid.:733). Another inscription, carved on a stele erected at the temple to Cui Fujun, describes how the leaders of six local ritual associations (in this case referred to as earth god altars, or *she*), including Shi Xian, Zhang Jin, and Yang En, helped raise funds for the reconstruction of this temple in 1326 (ibid.:776–777). Another inscription carved in 1349 and set up in front of the nearby temple to the Emperor of the Eastern Peak refers to these leaders using the Buddhist title Overseer (Weina) and recounts how Zhang Jin worked with the Perfect Realization Taoists living in the palace to complete work on this temple. Zhang also sponsored the carving of this particular stele (ibid.:807).

Financial patronage by elite who were not members of the gentry continued during the Ming dynasty as well. For example, the 1617 inscription indicates that a group of resident gentlemen living in the Yongle area, including Yang Wanqing, Lu Yizheng, and Mao Rang, organized and sponsored a ritual for chanting the *Scripture of the Jade Emperor* from 1614 to 1616 as well as the five-day Great Assembly of the Yellow Register held at the end of 1616 (Chen et al. 1988:1301–1302). Yang Wanqing is also listed as a local elder *(xiangqi)* in the 1636 inscription commemorating the repair of the palace's outer walls (ibid.:1309). The 1636 inscription describing the repair of many of the palace's main buildings also states that residents of the town of Yongle, led by Yang Jizeng of Zhaixia Village, worked alongside temple Taoists to complete this project (ibid.:1308). Whether or not Yang Wanqing and Yang Jizeng were members of the locally prominent Yang lineage is undetermined, but it is clear that kinship was a very important factor behind elite patronage of late imperial sacred sites (Brook 1993:191–196; Dean 1993:33–37; Hansen 1990; Hartwell 1982; Hymes 1986).

During the Qing dynasty, the only recorded instance of elite patronage by individuals who were not members of the gentry involves a reconstruction project undertaken in the year 1675. At that time, prefectural scholars *(junshi)* led by Zuo Fengyuan made donations of money and cypress trees totaling over two hundred taels of gold for repairs to the Hall of Purified Yang (Su 1962:59–60). Whether these scholars went on to pass the exams or purchase a title and become members of the gentry class has not been determined.

Taoist Patronage

The third group of patrons who supported the Palace of Eternal Joy consisted of Perfect Realization Taoist specialists. These men and women revered Lü as one of their movement's main patriarchs and also worshiped him as a spiritual preceptor who could instruct them in self-cultivation and interior alchemy. Beginning in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Perfect Realization masters Song Defang, Pan Dechong, and their disciples played crucial roles in organizing the construction of the Palace of Eternal Joy. Temple inscriptions reveal that these men and women frequently contributed their own funds toward completion of this mammoth project (Chen

et al. 1988:491–493, 546–549, 554–556, 613–614; Li and Lin 1986:303–316). Late Yuan inscriptions also indicate that Taoists residing at the palace donated money toward the reconstruction of temples to Cui Fujun in 1326 and the Emperor of the Eastern Peak in 1349 (Chen et al. 1988:776–777, 807). Vincent Goossaert has documented examples of Perfect Realization Taoists founding or leading ritual associations at popular temples that were taken over by the movement (1997:354–367), but this does not appear to have occurred in the case of the Palace of Eternal Joy, where ritual associations were led by lay members of the community.[89]

Taoists at the Palace of Eternal Joy also made key financial contributions toward the reconstruction projects of the late Ming. For example, the 1636 inscription commemorating the reconstruction of Pan Dechong's shrine describes how the Taoist official at the temple named Zhang Heqi and his disciple Zhang Deyin converted numerous members of the Yongle community to Perfect Realization Taoism following the issuance of an imperial decree allowing ordination certificates to be issued by the palace. This inscription also notes that Taoists residing at the palace along with members of the Yongle community pooled their resources and worked together to complete various reconstruction projects, such as the Pavilion of the Jade Emperor, the restoration of over five hundred spirit tablets and dozens of offering tables, and the rebuilding of numerous halls throughout the palace such as the Hall of Redoubled Yang and the meditation hall of Qiu Chuji (Chen et al. 1988:1308). The second inscription from 1636 states that the Taoist official Luo Defeng as well as his disciple and successor Li Henong vowed to repair the palace's outer walls. They made an initial contribution of twenty taels of their own money, but that was not enough. They then proceeded to visit officials and members of the local elite and persuaded them to contribute some of their own resources toward the successful completion of this project (ibid.).

These different forms of patronage had a profound impact on the textuality of inscriptions carved on stelae at the Palace of Eternal Joy. Many historical/commemorative and official document inscriptions are largely descriptive works, while hagiographical and poetic inscriptions tend to present representations of the palace or Lü Dongbin. Taken as a whole, these texts provide important information about the history of the palace, particularly

when read alongside local gazetteers, Taoist scriptural and liturgical writings, and the collected writings of various literati. The Palace of Eternal Joy's inscriptions describe the main events marking its construction and reconstruction, the identities of its patrons (including both religious specialists and lay worshipers), the interactions between the palace and the state, and the representations of Lü Dongbin in the minds of religious specialists and members of the local elite. However, it is important to recall that these texts were not written simply to provide a straightforward, objective history of the Palace of Eternal Joy. The authors of inscriptions also used such texts to promote their own views of the palace's historical significance and their representations of Lü Dongbin. Thus, temple inscriptions can be seen as a form of hegemonic discourse used by the palace's financial and literary patrons in an attempt to privilege their interpretations of the site's significance.[90]

Because texts like temple inscriptions were influenced significantly by patterns of patronage as described above, the "history" of sacred sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy omits, or merely glosses over, events and trends of great interest to the social historian. For example, while inscriptions furnish much evidence of state support for the palace, they also ignore darker events in its history such as the burning of the blocks of the Yuan edition of the Taoist Canon that had been stored in the temple. Furthermore, in describing the conflict between Taoists residing at the palace and local Taoist administrators for control of the palace and its properties, the inscriptions only present the temple Taoists' side of the argument. Another deficiency in the palace's inscriptions as historical sources is that they provide little information on popular temples in the palace's temple complex, such as the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü, nor do they supply much data on local rituals and festivals.[91] Finally, and perhaps most important, the inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy tell nothing of representations of Lü Dongbin on the part of people who did not belong to the upper strata of local society.

In some cases, it is possible to fill some of the gaps in temple inscriptions by examining other sources. One can learn more about the Palace of Eternal Joy's patrons by checking local gazetteers, dynastic histories, genealogies, and private writings, while important data on Taoist purgation and offering rites such as those performed at the palace can be found in the Taoist Canon. More can be learned about popular rituals and festivals by consulting recent

sources and doing fieldwork (see chapters 2 and 5). However, there is another body of source material at the Palace of Eternal Joy that tells a great deal more about the "images" of Lü Dongbin that circulated at this site—the murals that adorned the walls of the main halls.

4 Text 2—the Murals

The murals that adorn the walls of temples like the Palace of Eternal Joy resemble the stone carvings and stained glass windows of European cathedrals in the sense of constituting part of a religious public sphere that serves both to inspire intense devotion on the part of the faithful and to stimulate them to donate money toward the maintenance of sacred sites.[1] As early as the Six Dynasties period, muralists like the famed Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–406) realized that their works could be spiritual magnets attracting both worshipers and their money. One story states that Gu promised to make a donation of one million cash to the Waguan Monastery (Waguan si) in Nanjing. The monks called him a braggart, but his mural of the bodhisattva Vimalakirti proved so inspiring that individuals who viewed it donated one hundred thousand cash to the monastery on the first day it was displayed and fifty thousand cash on the second. The entire million was quickly raised (*Lidai minghua ji*, pp. 113–114).[2] In the case of the Palace of Eternal Joy, the murals were a source of local pride, prompting men and women from a wide range of social classes to donate money for their upkeep. They were also highly public texts and a key form of discourse that their

patrons (in this case, the Taoists residing at the palace) tried to use to spread religious doctrines.

The growth of Lü Dongbin's cult at Yongle and the expansion of the temple complex itself were the result of efforts by people representing many different social classes, including Taoist priests, scholar-officials, merchants, and local villagers. Each group of patrons or worshipers possessed very different images or representations of Lü Dongbin, some of which are presented in the sources discussed earlier. Which group's mentalities are expressed most clearly in the Palace of Eternal Joy's murals? A close examination of their contents reveals that they served to depict the Perfect Realization Taoist pantheon and present Taoist representations of the movement's main patriarchs.

This chapter treats two different types of murals painted at the palace during the fourteenth century: the ritual murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, and the didactic murals of the Hall of Purified Yang and the Hall of Redoubled Yang.[3] The palace's ritual murals served as both backgrounds for and objects of worship by the Perfect Realization Taoists during offering and purgation rituals staged in the two front halls. The palace's didactic murals contain scenes from the lives of the Perfect Realization movement's main patriarchs as well as stories that emphasize this movement's goal of pursuing immortality by means of self-cultivation and interior alchemy.

In examining the textuality of the murals at the Palace of Eternal Joy, I pay particular attention to the pictorial hagiography of Lü Dongbin in the Hall of Purified Yang as well as the written works on which this composition is based. Nearly all fifty-two scenes of Lü's pictorial hagiography are accompanied by a cartouche describing the story portrayed. Almost two-thirds of these texts are direct quotations from Miao Shanshi's *Account*, and many can also be found in later Taoist writings. However, the relationship between these written works and the murals is more complex than these figures indicate. According to Nancy Steinhardt, while thirty-nine of the fifty-two murals in the Hall of Purified Yang feature a direct relationship between word and image, ten exhibit only a loose relationship and omit crucial details, while three exhibit no relationship at all.[4] My own research also indicates that a number of cartouches describe events that do not appear in Miao's *Account* or other Taoist texts. Furthermore, even in cases where the cartouches follow Taoist scriptures, the image of Lü Dongbin presented in the murals does not

always correspond to that expressed in written texts. This is particularly true for murals based on the *Account* that stress Lü's mastery of the tenets of self-cultivation and interior alchemy. In Miao Shanshi's written texts, Lü is portrayed as a wise Taoist master; when these stories are recreated as murals, however, Lü often appears as a powerful miracle-working deity.[5]

Before, looking in detail at the murals themselves, I would like to explore two interrelated methodological issues involved in interpreting these texts. The first concerns the relationship between the written word and the visual medium; the second, the complex interaction between patrons and artisans.[6]

It has become increasingly clear to scholars that the beliefs and practices of the Chinese people cannot be understood fully if the researcher relies exclusively on the written word. Visual images were an equally if not more important means of transmitting ideas, particularly when the audience was the semiliterate or illiterate Chinese who made up the overwhelming majority of the populace (Johnson 1989, 1990). The importance of the visual medium has long been recognized in Western scholarship. Just over a century ago, a study of human memory by the psychologist E. A. Kirkpatrick revealed that people were able to recall between 70 and 80 percent of objects they had seen three days earlier, while those who had read a list of the same objects could only recall between 20 and 30 percent, and those who had listened to the list of these objects being read, only about 10 percent (Kirkpatrick 1894). In 1973 a psychologist showed ten thousand slides to a group of subjects and found that they were able to recall about 66 percent of the images they had seen (Standing 1973).[7]

While the memory of historical people is not so readily quantified, a growing body of scholarship has also begun to document the critical role images could play in the history of traditional societies. In an important study of popular prints that circulated throughout Germany during the Reformation, R. W. Scribner argues that popular culture was intensely visual and that overconcentration on printed works combined with neglect of popular prints has seriously distorted scholarly attempts to interpret the spread of Reformation doctrine among the German populace (1981:1–3). However, Scribner and others also stress that how written texts were transferred to the visual medium as well as the hermeneutical implications of such a process are problems yet to be fully understood. For example, W. J. T.

Mitchell argues that many illustrated texts feature a "conjunction of words and images" that involves the "subordination or suturing of one medium to the other," with the written narrative often placed along the boundaries of the image (1994:90–92). Roman Jakobsen (1896–1982) notes that visual signs tend to be representational, involve simultaneous constituents, and deal primarily with space rather than time (1971:334–344).[8] Moreover, in his study of Christian artworks, Meyer Schapiro points out that the "correspondence of word and picture is often problematic and may be surprisingly vague" (1973:9). Some artworks portray merely a portion of the texts on which they are based, while others add details not given in these works (pp. 10–11). Small wonder then that artists in both China and the West often chose to inscribe their works with the names of the figures and sometimes even with phrases identifying the action. Schapiro identifies two types of historical change that may affect the production of works of art: changes in the meaning of a text and changes in the style of representing a text (p. 12). These changes, particularly the former, appear to have influenced the production and later the reception of the Palace of Eternal Joy's murals.

The complex relationship between text and image at the palace appears to be closely related to the interaction between the groups responsible for their creation: the Taoist patrons who sponsored the murals and the local artisans who painted them. The former were members of the Perfect Realization movement and had supervised the palace since its rise to prominence during the thirteenth century. They were responsible for hiring the artisans to paint the murals as well as for choosing the texts to which the artisans were supposed to adhere. However, the actual planning and execution of the murals (including perhaps even the cartouches) lay in the hands of the artisans, who worked within a centuries-old tradition of religious painting.

The relationship between patrons and artisans could vary depending on the nature of the murals to be painted. Ritual murals, on the one hand, are based on a relatively standardized and unified body of texts possessed by initiated Taoists, and artisans (literally "workers who paint," or *huagong*) were often directed to adhere to the formats dictated in these works. For example, one medieval Taoist work titled *Codes and Precepts on the Worship of the Tao of the Lingbao Tradition in the Dongxuan Section of the Three Caverns (Dongxuan Lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi)* (*TT* 760–761; *CT* 1125)

specifically instructs artisans creating images to be used in rituals to portray the features of Taoist deities exactly as they are described in Taoist scriptures (Fang and Jin 1995:209). In addition, evidence presented below indicates that even the location of Taoist deities within ritual murals may have adhered to Taoist scriptures. Didactic murals, on the other hand, tend to be based on written texts that are not the exclusive property of Taoist priests and that constantly compete with other versions for acceptance among both Taoists and lay worshipers.

The complex relationship between patrons and artisans at the palace can be most clearly seen in the case of the murals painted in the Hall of Purified Yang. A 1358 cartouche on the walls of this hall lists the names of forty men who sponsored their creation (Wang Chang'an 1963b:73).[9] Thirty-eight of these patrons were Perfect Realization Taoists (eleven resided at the palace, while the rest were from nearby Taoist sacred sites), the other two local officials. The cartouche also lists their donations in cash (paper money) and in kind (grain). I have not been able to find much biographical data about these patrons. The only information I have about their activities at the palace is that one Taoist named Liang Daocong also helped organize efforts to build the temple to the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, while another named Du Dechun donated money to repair pillars in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones in 1365 (Chen et al. 1988:728, 792, 805, 807; Su 1963:57).

These patrons as well as many other Taoists who resided at the Palace of Eternal Joy possessed the titles of *tidian* or *tiju*. Usually translated as "superintendent" and "supervisor," these titles began to be used during the Song dynasty to refer to sinecures for retired officials. These men helped manage granaries and irrigation projects as well as the salt and tea monopolies (Hucker 1985:494, 497). The Song dynasty also witnessed the appearance of *tidian* and *tiju* in Taoist movements, while the first use of these titles in Perfect Realization Taoism has been dated to 1227. Taoist *tidian* and *tiju* were not retired officials, however, but prominent monks who served terms of indeterminate length and helped manage the affairs of large sacred sites (Goossaert 1997:87–88, 338–342). An example of a *tidian*'s career can be found in the biography of Zhang Zhide (fl. 1300–1320), who joined the Perfect Realization movement at the age of twenty-five following the death of his wife.[10] Zhang resided at the Palace of Sagely Longevity (Shengshou

gong) in Jizhou (Shandong), where in addition to practicing self-cultivation he studied medicine, gaining great popularity among the populace for his healing skills. He initially managed temple affairs on behalf of his master and was officially appointed to the post of superintendent by the Perfect Realization leader Sun Deyi in 1316. According to Zhang's biography, his primary duty as a *tidian* was "to raise money for the expansion of the temple complex" (Chen et al. 1988:745). While not all the supervisors and superintendents at the Palace of Eternal Joy would have shared Zhang's background and training, their responsibilities at the temple appear to have been roughly similar to his. The imperial edicts of the 1320s and 1330s discussed in Chapter 3 all state that these supervisors and superintendents were supposed to be in charge of temple affairs and warned local officials against attempting to usurp their powers.[11]

Perfect Realization Taoists like Miao Shanshi and his contemporaries worshiped Lü Dongbin as a powerful patriarch who could provide personal instruction in the mysteries of interior alchemy. The Taoists residing at the Palace of Eternal Joy during the fourteenth century were influenced by Miao's *Account* and attempted to transfer the representation of Lü contained in this text to the visual medium (Mori 1992:31–47). However, in order to accomplish this task, they had to depend on artisans who specialized in painting religious murals. What representations of Lü Dongbin were common among such individuals? Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to learn about the mentalities of late imperial Chinese artisans, particularly because very few biographical accounts about them or writings composed by them survive. All that remains are the works they created and their names. To learn more about the artisans who painted the Palace of Eternal Joy murals, therefore, one must examine the profession they engaged in and the traditions they followed.

How was work on temple murals like those at the Palace of Eternal Joy carried out? As Ka Bo Tsang and others have shown, the creation of a mural required extensive cooperation between the patrons sponsoring the mural and the artisans commissioned to paint it (Tsang 1992:110). To provide a suitably smooth surface for painting, a thick layer of mud mortar mixed with fragments of straw or rushes was plastered over the wall. After this had been done, a thin layer of pure lime mortar, sometimes bound with bamboo

pulp, was spread on top of the first layer and served as the actual surface for the mural. In the case of the Hall of Purified Yang, three layers of clay and plaster were applied to the walls (ibid.:111). After these had dried, the head artisan sketched the painting on the wall, using as the basis for his work a sketchbook he had prepared ahead of time in consultation with his patrons. The head artisan then painted the more difficult areas of the mural, while his apprentices undertook the more mechanical and time-consuming labor of coloring in the remaining areas of the painting. The entire process could take up to three months or more (Qin 1960:6–7; Tsang 1992:110–113; White 1940:18, 25–32).

Head artisans were also responsible for writing the cartouches appended to murals, although local scholars sometimes carried out this task if the head artisan was not sufficiently literate (Yu 1958:124). There is no indication of who wrote the cartouches in the Hall of Purified Yang, but it is worth noting that these works contain many incorrectly written characters and erroneous transcriptions of passages in the Taoist Canon. For example, in the first cartouche the character "*zhen*" (purity) of the reign period Zhenyuan (785–805) is written as "*zhen*" (true), while in the second cartouche the Tang emperor Xianzong (r. 806–820) is erroneously listed as Lingzong. In YLG 15 (see Appendix B), the character "*gong*" (palace) is written as "*shang*" (above), while in YLG 45 the character "*weng*" (old man) is written as "*gong*" (public). In YLG 46, the year 1108 is said to have occurred during the Zhenghe reign (1111–1117) when it actually occurred during the Daguan reign (1107–1110), and the entire text appears fragmentary and incoherent. These errors suggest that the cartouches may have been based on a faulty version of Miao Shanshi's *Account,* which could have served as the basis for all fifty-two hagiographic murals in the Hall of Purified Yang. It is also possible that the original cartouches contained no errors but that scribal faults occurred during subsequent renovations of the Hall.[12] Based on the evidence above, it seems likely that the cartouches for the Hall of Purified Yang murals, including those based on Miao's *Account,* were transcribed by semiliterate artisans. Willem Grootaers found similar errors in his study of temple murals in north China during the 1940s, leading him to conclude that the stories portrayed in these artworks had been spread by word of mouth (Grootaers 1952). Many New Year's prints (usually referred

to as "*nianhua*" or "*zhima*") that circulated in late imperial China contained similar errors, a fact that reflects the relatively low educational background of the artisans who created them (Bo 1986:66–74; see also Goodrich 1991).

The scribal errors may also be linked to a change in the social status of muralists during the Tang-Song transition. Before the Song, many renowned painters of religious art belonged to the medieval aristocracy, while others were Taoist priests or Buddhist monks. For example, Wu Daozi had served as chief of civil servants in a subprefectural post in Yanzhou (Shandong) before being summoned to the court by the Tang emperor Xuanzong. There were also many commoner artisans whose works survive even though their names do not, but it does appear that painting religious works of art was an acceptable activity for upper class members of medieval Chinese society as well. By the Song dynasty though, most literati artists had begun to devote their efforts to landscape painting, and many (but not all) considered religious art unworthy of their attention. Even muralists who ended up serving as court painters do not appear to have come from the elite. Renowned Song artists who painted religious subjects, like Wang Zhuo and Wang Guan, were commoners before being commissioned by the court to do murals for imperially sponsored temple projects. The one exception was Wu Zongyuan, who came from a gentry family and had served as a civil official before becoming a court painter (Qin 1960:5–6; Wang Yi'e 1997:130; Yu 1958:131–138; Zhai 1987:109–111). It is not entirely clear why elite attitudes toward religious art changed, but as a result of this shift, the creation of religious art (including murals) became almost exclusively the intellectual preserve of a group of semiliterate professionals, many of whom passed on their skills not only to their apprentices but also to their descendents.

Many of the artisans whose names appear on the walls of temples they painted are referred to using the title "*daizhao*," which Bishop William White and Ludwig Bachhofer both translate as "provincial Hanlin poet-scholar" (Bachhofer 1947:2; White 1940:53).[13] This translation appears inaccurate, however, as this title (which Hucker translates as "editorial assistant") was awarded only to lowly compilers in the imperial bureaucracy during the Song and Qing dynasties. During the late imperial era, the title "*daizhao*" was commonly used as an informal form of address for artisans and tradespeople, including barbers, doctors, diviners, and muralists. Therefore, one should not assume that men referred to as *daizhao* who painted the

Hall of Purified Yang murals were members of the gentry serving in the imperial bureaucracy. In fact, they worked as professional artisans who plied their trade in the temples of north China.

Relatively little is known about the artisans who created the murals in the Palace of Eternal Joy's main halls.[14] The cartouches in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones only say that the artisan Ma Junxiang worked on these murals alongside his apprentices and four of his sons. Of the seven students of Zhu Haogu who worked on the murals in the Hall of Purified Yang, all that is known is their names, that they came from different parts of Shanxi (including Ruicheng and other sites near Yongle), and that they specialized in painting Buddhist and Taoist subjects (Guo 1991:61, 67, 68, 74, 83; Guo 1992:51–52). Zhu himself, a native of Xiangling in southern Shanxi, had a reputation for being especially skilled in landscape and figure painting. Two different groups of artisans were responsible for the Hall of Purified Yang murals, although both groups appear to have worked in the same workshop founded by Zhu (Steinhardt 1987:6–7, 9, 11; Huang 1995:49–74).

The Taoists at the Palace of Eternal Joy were able to hire highly skilled, though not highly educated, artisans because Yongle was near the area of southern Shanxi famous for temple murals. This region had long been a home for many of China's most well-known muralists, the most famous of whom was Wu Daozi. Although none of Wu's murals have survived, his influence continued to flourish in north China through the efforts of artisans like Wang Guan, Wang Zhuo, and Wu Zongyuan. These men and their disciples created a style of religious art that served as a model for the artisans who painted the Palace of Eternal Joy murals (Yu 1958:108–164; Qin 1958:59–60). Most scholarship on the Buddhist and Taoist murals of Shanxi province has claimed that they appear to belong to a single genre, sharing similar features in terms of style, pigments, or the use of buildings or natural objects to frame a particular scene (Pan 1958:61–62; Qin 1960:5–7; Steinhardt 1987:13–16; Wang 1963a: 40–41; White 1940:39–48). However, Michelle Baldwin has recently argued that three separate styles of mural painting may have existed in late imperial Shanxi (Baldwin 1994). The resolution of this debate must await further research by art historians.

Stylistically, some evidence indicates that the murals in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones exhibit the influence of Wu Zongyuan, who may in turn have modeled his work on that of Wu Daozi. A sketchbook *(fuben)* attrib-

uted to Wu Zongyuan that still exists, titled the *Immortal Procession for an Audience with the* [*Three*] *Primordials (Chaoyuan xianzhang tu)*, shows a procession of deities resembling that shown on the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals. A second sketchbook attributed to Wu Zongyuan, titled *The Eighty-seven Divine Immortals (Bashiqi shenxian tu)*, includes drawings that also resemble this hall's murals (Hsieh 1994; Pan 1958:61; Xu 1956:57–58). It is not clear if any of the artisans who worked on the Palace of Eternal Joy murals ever saw the works of the above-mentioned artists, but it is important to recall that traditions of mural painting were passed on from one generation to another.

One way aspiring young muralists could learn from a master was to visit a temple and examine its murals. Both Wang Guan and Wu Zongyuan studied the works of Wu Daozi in this way. Wang's biography states: "His family was extremely poor, so there was no money to support his travels in search of a master. Therefore he went to the Laozi temple at Beimang shan [near Luoyang] to look at [Wu Daozi's] works. . . . He frequently went to gaze on these murals, no matter how cold the temperature or how deep the snow in winter" (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 158:20a).

According to mainland Chinese art historians Bo Songnian and Wang Shucun, artisans who made popular prints often watched dramatic performances as a source of inspiration for their work. It is not clear whether Yuan dynasty artisans working on murals did this, but such a practice might explain why the two largest murals in the Hall of Purified Yang appear to portray scenes from dramas (see Bo 1986:84–86; Wang 1991). The interaction between dramatic performances and temple art also worked the other way around, with actors assuming poses on stage identical to those in images or paintings worshiped in temples (Johnson 1989:28–29; Wen 1984:212).

The more common way for an artisan to learn his trade was to study under a master and receive training from him. Masters passed their knowledge on to their disciples through two sources: the first was through sketchbooks, variously known as *diben*, *fenben*, *fuben*, or *xiaoben*; the second was through secret oral formulae known as *huajue*, which provided rhymed instructions on how to paint different compositions. After three years of training, the apprentice could become a master himself, assuming his own master had allowed him to see his sketchbooks and memorize all the essential formulae. Many masters jealously guarded their trade secrets, and such

knowledge was rarely transmitted intact from one generation to another (Bo 1986:65–75; Wang Shucun 1982:4–5).

A sketchbook for the Palace of Eternal Joy murals existed as late as the early twentieth century but was lost during the War of Resistance against Japan. Such a work would have been used by the artisans who created the murals at the palace, although whether the sketchbook in question is a Yuan work or from the Ming-Qing era is unclear. According to the report written by the scholars who first rediscovered the murals, artisans used this work as the basis for making repairs and restorations if the murals were damaged.[15] However, it is not known if such a sketchbook was presented to the Taoists for their approval before the murals were created, although this may well have been the case.

How much control did local artisans have over the subject matter they painted as well as the cartouches that were appended to them? Did artisans or temple Taoists choose which texts were to be painted on the palace's main halls? If the work was left in the hands of the artisans, did the temple Taoists have final say over how Lü Dongbin was to be portrayed? The evidence available to date does not help in determining the degree to which the Taoists directed the artisans who created the murals. There are no records of contracts or other written agreements, which in the case of fifteenth-century Italy clearly stated what the patron required of the artist he hired (Baxandall 1972:3–14). However, there is good reason to suspect that like Titian and Bellini, who worked for the Franciscans (Goffen 1986:73–106), and the painters who adorned medieval French cathedrals (Duby 1981:9, 77–78, 94–135), the artisans at the Palace of Eternal Joy worked to transform their patrons' agenda into the visual medium.

At the same time that they attempted this task, however, artisans were also influenced by their own experiences and artistic impulses. In light of this issue, it is worth noting that the beliefs artisans held were usually closer to the local culture they lived in than the world of the Taoist priests. As the scholar Zhai Zongzhu notes: "The contents [of the Palace of Eternal Joy murals] are designed to spread Taoist doctrine and describe religious stories according to Taoist hagiography. However, these religious stories were also widely known among the populace . . . [and] the artisans used these popular stories as the basis for their work" (1987:115).[16] In his discussion of the artisans who worked on prints and murals, Wang Shucun states: "They had

a rough knowledge of the classics and the histories as well as novels, and were slightly literate. While in terms of technique they followed the teachings of their masters, they also lived among the people and deeply understood society and daily life" (1982:4). Bo Songnian has arrived at similar conclusions about the artists who created popular prints (1986:65–66, 83, 84–86). Although the degree to which artisans working at the palace were allowed to express their views is uncertain, my analysis of the contents of the murals below indicates that some incorporated stories from the popular realm, and even those based on the *Account* presented a view of Lü that was not consistent with this text.

Ritual Murals

The ritual nature of murals and other works of art has only recently begun to attract scholarly interest (Clunas 1997:89–133; Mair 1986; Wu 1992a, 1992b, 1995). Traditional scholarship viewed murals as merely decorative, an idea expressed by Bishop William C. White in his classic work *Chinese Temple Frescoes*. White claimed that murals served the purpose of "providing a religious background or environment for the carved figures which stood before the paintings, which, after all, were the objects of worship in the temples" (White 1940:12; see also pp. 56, 58, 60, 68, 81–82). This may have been the case for murals that depicted landscapes, but deities portrayed in murals frequently served ritual purposes. As Wu Hung points out, works of art at ancient Chinese sacred sites "were always originally a component of a larger assembly, either a set of ritual paraphernalia or a pictorial program. These assemblies in turn always appeared as integral components of special architectural structures—a temple, a palace, or a tomb. . . . [Such sites] provided people with a place and occasions to encounter and utilize these forms—objects and images—in ritual practices" (1995:77).

Scattered references throughout historical sources attest to the ritualistic nature of some religious art, including temple murals. The *History of the Han Dynasty (Han shu)* records that the Han emperor known as the Martial Thearch, or Wudi (r. 140–187 C.E.), ordered paintings of many celestial deities to be painted on the walls of the Palace of the Sweet Spring (Ganquan gong) and set up an altar in front of the murals in order to attract

their presence. It seems likely that these images could also be worshiped, but this is not clearly stated in the text.[17] Victor Mair has described how transformation tableaux *(bianxiang)* painted on the walls of Buddhist caves or monasteries could be used as mandalas in visualization rituals (1986:18, 21–22), while Stephen Teiser has shown that medieval illustrations of the underworld were used in mortuary rituals (1988:459).[18] Buddhist deities portrayed on dedicatory statuary stelae *(zaoxiangbei)* were worshiped during rituals held at such stelae (Liu Shufen 1993, 1997). Wang Yi'e argues that Taoist deities portrayed in murals began to be worshiped by the Tang dynasty, but it is possible that such practices may have begun as early as the Six Dynasties era owing to the influence of Buddhism (1997:125; see also Liu Yang 1997). The worship of deities portrayed in temple murals continued into the late imperial age, as can be seen from murals portraying the deities worshiped during the Buddhist Fast of Water and Land *(shuilu zhai)* preserved at sites such as the Monastery for Preserving Tranquillity (Baoning si) in Shanxi (Gyss-Vermande 1988, 1990). A nineteenth-century pictorial called *Dianshi zhai huabao* contains an illustration of people making offerings to painted images of flower deities *(huashen)*, and today people in Hong Kong and parts of Guangdong who worship the immortal Huang Daxian make offerings not to his statue but to a painted image of him (Lang and Regvald 1993:42, 141).

While no sources from the Palace of Eternal Joy state that the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones were among the objects of Taoist rituals, a great deal of evidence indicates that this may indeed have been the case. According to one 1643 inscription, offering rituals for a total of 360 Taoist deities were held at the palace on an annual basis in order to ensure peace and prosperity in Yongle and its environs (Chen et al. 1988:1310). A 1624 inscription notes that these 360 deities were also featured on the walls of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, and that these buildings also contained an additional four hundred spirit tablets, which were the objects of offerings, as well as over ten tables for use in presenting offerings (Su 1963:56). That the number of deities worshiped in offering rituals (360) was the same as those portrayed on the walls of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones is no mere coincidence. Rather, it reflects the fact that many important Taoist rituals of the Song and Yuan dynasties, par-

ticularly the offering rites performed following the completion of the Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register (Huanglu dazhai), prescribed the worship of exactly 360 deities. The Great Purgation ritual is said to date back to the Lingbao Taoist patriarch Lu Xiujing (406–477) (Bokenkamp 1983), although its earliest liturgical form appears in the *Protocols of the Supreme Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register (Taishang huanglu zhai yi)* (*TT* 270-277; *CT* 507), a work compiled by the famed Taoist Du Guangting (850–933) (*Taishang huanglu zhai yi* 50:2a–4a).[19] The Northern Song encyclopedia titled *Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds (Yunji qiqian)* (*TT* 677–702; *CT* 1032), compiled by Zhang Junfang (fl. 1008–1029) during the reign of the Song emperor Zhenzong and completed in 1028, lists all manner of offering rituals that could be performed on various occasions, among them the offering for 360 deities to be held after the Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register (*Yunji qiqian* 103:4a–5a).

It is not clear how often the Great Purgation and related rites were actually performed at the Palace of Eternal Joy. However, the 1617 inscription from the palace discussed in Chapter 3 does state that a five-day Great Assembly of the Yellow Register (Huanglu dahui) was held at the end of 1616. In addition, the 1643 inscription specifically states that a Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register had been held at the palace. Since the Great Purgation was frequently performed by Perfect Realization Taoists (Chen et al. 1988:432–465, 516, 588; Eskildsen 1989; Goossaert 1997:162–168; Zheng 1987), it is likely that it was performed on regular occasions at the Palace of Eternal Joy during the late imperial era.

Not only is the number of deities portrayed on the walls of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones the same as the number of deities to be worshiped in the course of the Great Purgation, the deities portrayed in these murals are nearly identical to those listed in Taoist liturgical texts used in staging this rite. This overlap implies that the murals of the gate and the hall may have been the objects of rituals and that these two buildings may have constituted a large-scale altar *(daochang)* in their own right. The Chinese scholar Wang Xun mentioned this overlap in a paper on the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals written over thirty years ago (Wang 1963). However, he did not choose to analyze the potential ritual function of these murals.

The most important Taoist liturgical work related to the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones is the forty-four-*juan* version of the *Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao Tradition (Shangqing lingbao dafa)* (*TT* 942–962; *CT* 1221), compiled by Jin Yunzhong (fl. 1224–1225). Jin's ritual compilation describes Lingbao rites performed in north China during the Song and Yuan dynasties, and some of the rituals it contains may even be the "Lingbao" liturgies mentioned in Chapter 1, which were performed by Perfect Realization Taoists like Qiu Chuji and Pan Dechong (Boltz 1987:42, 45–46; Chen et al. 1988:556). Chapters 39 and 40 of the *Great Rites* contain a list of all 360 deities to be worshiped during the offering ritual to be held following the conclusion of the Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register, which is derived from that compiled by Du Guangting (*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 39:1a–2a). The deities included in this list almost exactly match those portrayed in the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones (for the location of these deities in the murals, see Figure 5). I will not analyze the identities of these deities, as this has been done by Wang Xun as well as other scholars studying Chinese religions. This list includes

1. The Three Pure Ones[20]
2. The Six Imperial Lords *(dijun)* and the Two Empresses *(dihou)*[21]
3. The Thirty-two Celestial Emperors *(tiandi)*
4. The Ten Supreme Monads *(taiyi)*
5. Sun, Moon, and Stellar Deities
6. The Three Offices *(sanguan)*
7. The Four Saints *(sisheng)*
8. Famous Taoist Masters of Previous Dynasties
9. The Three Primordials *(sanyuan)*
10. The Emperors of the Five Marchmounts and their subordinates
11. The Emperor Fusang and various aquatic deities
12. The Emperor of Mount Fengdu and his chthonic subordinates[22]
13. Deities from the Ministry of Exorcism, the Ministry of Thunder, and so forth

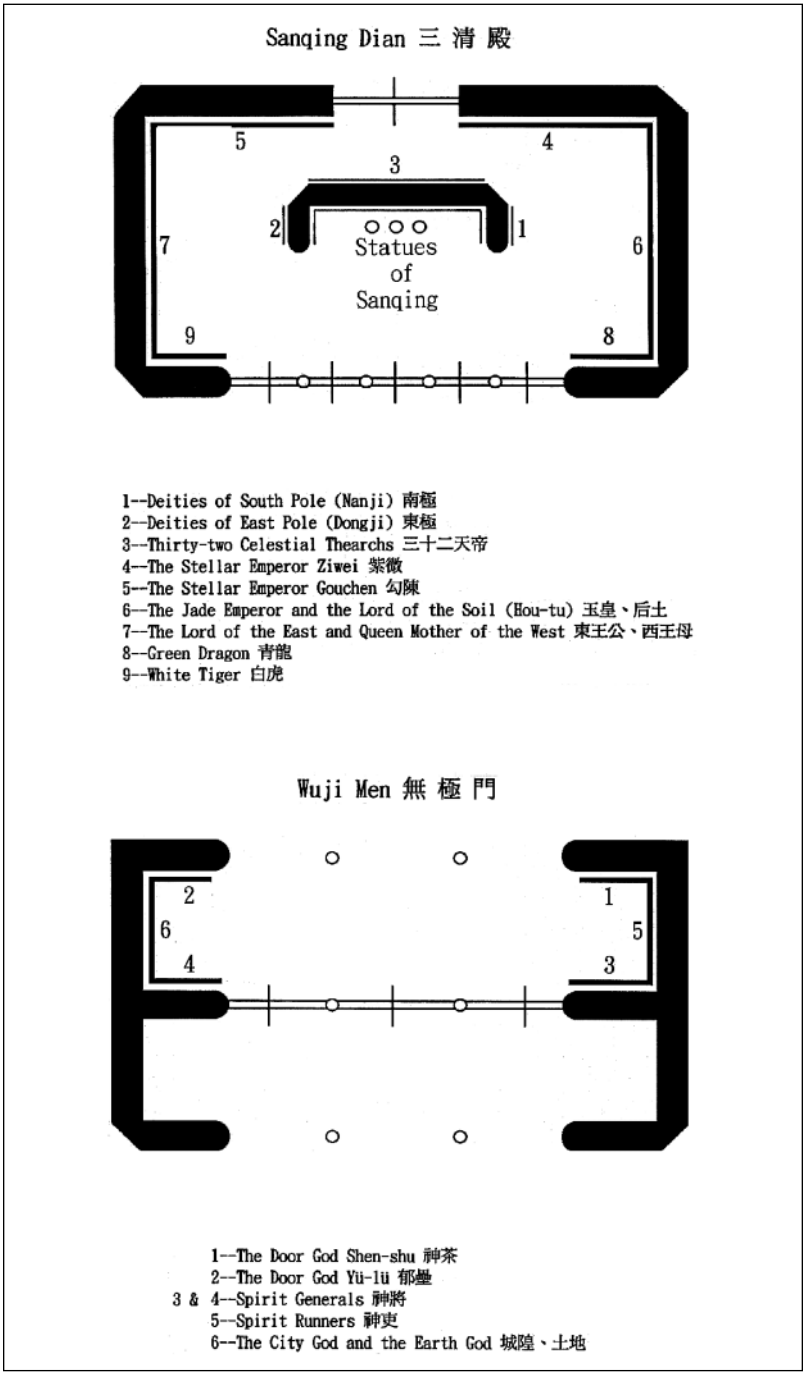


FIGURE 5
Floor plan of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. (Redrawn based on Wang Xun 1963)

14. Various messengers, clerks, golden lads *(jintong)*, and jade maidens *(yunü)*
15. The local Earth God and City God as well as other local deities and their subordinates[23]

(*Shangqing lingbao dafa* 39:4b–23a)

The fact that these deities were also included in the murals adorning the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones strongly implies that these works of art were not merely decorative but were also the objects of offerings during Taoist rituals performed at the Palace of Eternal Joy.

This point is also evident in the way in which the Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register was meant to be performed. According to the *Protocols on the Establishment of the Limitless Great Purgation Rite of the Yellow Register (Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi)* (*TT* 278–290; *CT* 508), compiled by Jiang Shuyu (1156–1217) and based on the teachings of his master Liu Yongguang (1134–1206), the Great Purgation was to be staged for nine days, including four days of preliminary rituals, three days devoted to the Great Purgation itself, an eighth day for concluding rites, and the final day for the offering ritual (*Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 13:15b–18b). The offering ritual was considered to be an act of gratitude, performed after the completion of the Great Purgation (ibid., 15:2b–3b; see also *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 39:3a–4b). Chapter 37 of Jiang's text contains a step-by-step description of how this offering ritual was to be performed (see esp. 37:17a–20b). At a number of points during the offering, the master of rites *(fashi)* is instructed to "circulate around the altar, making offerings of incense in the proper order" *(xuan jiaotan xing xiang yi zhou, yi banxu)*.[24] This instruction indicates that there was a prescribed sequence according to which Taoist priests were required to make offerings to the deities worshiped during the ritual.

What was this prescribed sequence? The answer may be found in chapter 38 of Jiang Shuyu's *Protocols*, in a section concerning the 360 deities to be worshiped during the offering ritual (*Wushang huanglu dazhai licheng yi* 38:5a–20b). These deities were divided into six classes and received different types of offerings according to their rank. The highest class included the Three Pure Ones, the Six Imperial Lords, and the Two Empresses; the lowest featured various local deities such as the Earth God and the City God. This

list also instructs the ritual master on how to place images of these deities at different points around the Taoist altar (relative to the master's position while facing the Three Pure Ones—in other words, facing north). It is probably no coincidence that the deities portrayed in the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones are almost always located in the positions described in the *Protocols*. For example, according to this ritual manual, the Stellar Emperor Ziwei should be located on the eastern side of the altar, while the Stellar Emperor Gouchen should be on the western side; this is exactly where the images of these two deities appear in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals.

Based on the evidence above, it is easier to understand how the offering rites at the Palace of Eternal Joy were meant to be performed. Perfect Realization masters made offerings of incense, fruit, and tea as the ritual prescribed, circulating throughout the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones according to the stages defined in their liturgical manuals. The objects of these rituals were none other than the deities featured on the walls of these two buildings as well as the nearly four hundred spirit tablets mentioned above.

Treating the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones as a ritual unit helps answer a question that has troubled Chinese scholars like Wang Xun and Su Bai: If 360 deities were supposed to be worshiped, why do the murals in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones feature only 286? I maintain that the 360 deities mentioned in the palace's inscriptions and Taoist liturgical manuals were portrayed in *both* the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate and the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals. In Taoist liturgical traditions, the altar consists of an inner altar *(neitan)*, featuring the Three Pure Ones, the Jade Emperor, and other celestial/stellar deities (most of whom are included in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals), and an outer altar *(waitan)*, featuring the Three Offices as well as various martial spirits and local deities (Dean 1993; Kuo 1980; Lagerwey 1987; Schipper [1982] 1993).[25] In the case of the Palace of Eternal Joy, the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate appears to have constituted an outer altar. The murals that once decorated the gate have been badly damaged, but twenty-six images survive, including those of the City God and other deities included in category 15. I would speculate that a total of between sixty and seventy deities (not including the Door Gods) were featured in the Gate of the Limitless

Ultimate murals. These combined with the 286 deities featured on the walls of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones and the statues of the Three Pure Ones themselves made up the total of 360 deities mentioned in temple inscriptions and prescribed in Taoist liturgical manuals.

Anning Jing argues in favor of a reinterpretation of the identities of some of the deities portrayed in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals. In particular, he claims that the emperor portrayed on the exterior east wall of the altar, usually identified as the Great Emperor of Longevity of the South Pole (Nanji changsheng dadi), is in fact Lü Dongbin, while the seven haloed figures behind him are Wang Chongyang and six of the Seven Perfected (Sun Buer is not included). Jing also maintains that the figure on the exterior west wall of the altar, usually identified as the Celestial Worthy of Salvation, the Grand Unity, the Florescence of the East Pole (Dongji qinghua taiyi jiuku tianzun), is in fact Zhongli Quan, while the bearer of a white lotus flower is Chen Tuan and the bearer of a pill is Liu Haichan (1993:291–305; 1995:8–9). While the nature of the Taoist pantheon may have changed from the Song to Yuan dynasties (for example, the inclusion of the Holy Ancestor and Ancestress of the Song would clearly have been ill advised during the Yuan), Jing does not supply enough iconographic and textual evidence to support his claims, particularly in the case of the various Perfect Realization patriarchs and the Seven Perfected. In particular, he fails to note that the iconographic features of the deities in the murals differ markedly from those of an important Perfect Realization scripture completed at roughly the same time as the murals, the *Illustrated Biographies of the Immortal Patriarchs of the Orthodox School of the Golden Lotus* (see Chapter 2). Even if the Taoist pantheon portrayed in the Palace of Eternal Joy murals had been slightly altered, however, the evidence indicates that the deities featured in these murals were worshiped during Taoist rituals held at this sacred site.

Didactic Murals

The murals in the Hall of Purified Yang and the Hall of the Redoubled Yang differed from those just discussed in being representations of Perfect Realization patriarchs or deities created with a didactic purpose in mind.[26]

The hagiographic nature of the murals portraying Lü Dongbin and Wang Chongyang makes it unlikely that these works received offerings, but it is highly possible that the Perfect Realization Taoists who sponsored the creation of these artworks did so in order to instruct worshipers in the tenets and values of their movement. Whether late imperial Taoist priests, temple managers, or even pilgrim troupe leaders used the murals to tell stories in the way that Victor Mair and Wu Hung have described for some transformation tableaux remains a mystery (see Mair 1986, 1988, 1989:71–72, 150–172; Wu 1992b), but such activities do occur at the Palace of Eternal Joy today (*Shanxi mingsheng*, pp. 198–199).

The didactic function of temple murals was, until recently, overlooked by most scholars. However, it now seems clear that murals and other works of art could serve a didactic purpose. One example is the legendary Nine Tripods *(jiuding)*, which were adorned with images in order to help people distinguish between good and evil as well as identify harmful spirits to be exorcised (Wu 1995:5; see also Harper 1985). When Confucius visited the kingdom of Zhou, he saw murals of the sage emperors Yao and Shun, the last Shang emperor, and the Duke of Zhou featured on the walls of the state cult temple known as the Hall of Light (*mingtang*; see *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng* 3:72).[27] During the Han, the Prince of Lu decorated his palace's reception hall with murals intended to inspire moral reflection on the part of individuals who viewed them. Scenes from the Chinese classics and other didactic texts such as the *Biographies of Exemplary Women (Lienü zhuan)* were also painted on walls, one famous example being the Wu Family Shrine (Wuliang ci) (Murray 1995:18–19; Powers 1991; Wu 1989). Pei Xiaoyuan (ca. 639), a medieval literatus writing on the history of painting, commented that: "Ever since Heaven's and Earth's earliest beginnings, pictures have defined and regularized those things that have form and can be understood as well as what remains of the former worthies. . . . Loyal officials and filial sons, the virtuous and the doltish, the beautiful and the ugly—all such examples were depicted on walls to instruct posterity" (Bush and Shih 1985:49–50).

Scenes from Buddhist and Taoist scriptures were also painted for didactic purposes, the tortures suffered in the underworld being a favorite theme. Zhu Jingxuan (ca. 840) states: "I once heard an old monk of the Monastery of Brilliant Clouds (Jingyun si) relate that when Master Wu [Daozi] painted a hell cycle in the temple, the capital's butchers and fishmongers were ter-

rified for their sins on seeing it and occasionally changed their trades" (Bush and Shih 1985:55–56; see also Teiser 1988, 1993, 1994). During the late imperial era, such paintings were prominently displayed in temples to Kṣitigarbha (Dizang wang pusa) the City God, and the Emperor of the Eastern Peak (see, for example, Goodrich 1964, 1981; Vidor 1984), while woodblock prints displaying scenes from Mulian operas and scenes of the underworld from morality books *(shanshu)* were often used to instruct the young (Eberhard 1967; Johnson 1989:5). As Bernard Gallin once noted during fieldwork in Taiwan during the 1960s, "Throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities [involving the use of scroll paintings about the underworld] for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior" (1966:223–224).[28]

Taoist didactic art has received less attention than Buddhist didactic art, although Rao Zongyi has demonstrated the importance of Taoist murals based on the venerable Lingbao *Scripture of Salvation (Duren jing)* (Rao 1974; for more on this scripture, see Strickmann 1978). In addition, hagiographies of Taoist deities such as Xu Xun (239–292) and Wenchang were often illustrated (Kleeman 1994:60–66, 293–295; Schipper 1985a). Examples of illustrated accounts of Perfect Realization patriarchs include a biography of Qiu Chuji titled *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* (preserved in a rare Yuan dynasty edition) and hagiographical accounts of Laozi's eighty-one transformations *(Taishang laojun bashiyi hua tushuo)*. Images of the latter were occasionally painted on the walls of Perfect Realization sacred sites (Yoshioka 1959:172–246).[29]

The visual medium, particularly murals and other works of art based on popular traditions, could at times prove highly effective in the spread of beliefs and practices. Grootaers' research in north China over five decades ago reveals that hagiographic murals based on the popular novel *Journey to the North (Beiyou ji)* adorned dozens of temples dedicated to the Perfect Warrior (Grootaers 1952).[30] Brigitte Baptandier's research on the cult of Lady Linshui shows that murals, engravings, and bas-reliefs in her temples in northern Fujian and Taiwan were usually based on popular novels, a fact that apparently made the interpretation of their contents easier for worshipers who viewed them (Baptandier 1996:106–107, 113, 114, 115, 116, 144). Klaas Ruitenbeek has discovered similar murals in a Mazu temple located in northern Fujian (Ruitenbeek 1998). Liu Shufen, Victor Mair, Julia

Murray, Stephen Teiser, Wu Hung, and others have demonstrated the importance of Buddhist artworks in facilitating that religion's acceptance throughout medieval China, while Yü Chün-fang points out that woodblock prints based on popular Buddhist texts were very important in sparking the growth of Guanyin's cult, particularly at Mount Putuo (1992:220–224). Yü notes: "These media drew pilgrims to the island. They also taught them where to look and what to see" (p. 220).

The above evidence indicates that while some murals may have served decorative or ritual purposes, those portraying scenes from historical or legendary accounts could be didactic. It might even be useful to consider such murals as representing one form of propaganda, inasmuch as through their doctrinal and ideological contents they attempted to mold popular mentalities.[31] W. J. T. Mitchell has used Foucault's analysis of power as a site of action and force (Foucault 1982; Hoy 1986:123–147) to analyze didactic images. Mitchell's analysis of pictorial "realism," defined as "the capacity of pictures to show the truth about things" (Mitchell 1994:325), proves highly instructive. Mitchell demonstrates that such realism involves the presence of both representations and belief systems, which in turn have the potential to "construct a reality" and prove apt media "for wielding power over mass publics" (pp. 356–357).

In endeavoring to manifest cultural power, works of art such as temple murals had to tell their stories in a clear and eye-catching manner that could be understood by the people who viewed them (Baxandall 1988:41). In addition, viewers needed to be able to identify their subjects and associate their contents with stories they had previously read, heard, or seen performed on stage (Murray 1995:19). Julia Murray argues that some scenes "were not necessarily intended to be 'read' in a literal sense. Instead, they may sometimes have served the symbolic purpose of affirming the fundamental values of the moral order that governed the cosmic and human realms" (ibid.). Her remarks may be true for the Palace of Eternal Joy's didactic murals, but the fact that they were arranged in a sequence and had lengthy cartouches appended to them suggests that they may have been meant to be read literally as well. Whether or not murals were able to inculcate or reinforce conventional values successfully is another matter entirely. In the next chapter, I will show that while the palace's murals had the potential to achieve a didactic purpose, they proved unable to do so.

The fact that Perfect Realization Taoists used art while preaching can help further elucidate the didactic nature of the Hall of Purified Yang murals. Wilt Idema points out that Perfect Realization masters beginning with Wang Chongyang himself used paintings of skeletons to instruct disciples. For Perfect Realization masters, skulls and skeletons (and sometimes also marionette puppets) symbolized both the physical reality of death and the unenlightened state of most mortals (Idema 1993:207, 208, 209–210).[32] When Wang lived alongside his first disciple Ma Yu and his wife Sun Buer in the Hermitage of Perfect Realization (Quanzhen an), he made a painting of a skeleton in order to show them the fleeting and illusory nature of human existence (ibid.:202–203). A mural in the Hall of Redoubled Yang portrays this story (see Figure 6), and its cartouche features a poem from Wang Chongyang's collected writings, which reads as follows (the translation follows Idema's):

How sad that everyone lives in pain and sorrow,
So now I have to paint a skeleton;
During their lifetime only lusting after sins,
They will not stop until they are like this!
(*Chongyang quanzhen ji* 10:14; Wang Chang'an 1963b:76)

Ma Yu composed a lyric that mentions the painted skeleton (Idema 1993:203) as well as other works about skulls and skeletons (pp. 205–206). Another of Wang's disciples, Tan Chuduan, also appears to have used images of skeletons while preaching, as one of his works, titled "Song of the Skeleton," describes the ghastly fate awaiting the unenlightened. It ends with the following two lines: "That's why I have painted his [the skeleton's] form to show you/And see whether or not you will today become enlightened" (*Tan xiansheng shuiyun ji, juan* 1; the translation follows Idema). Perfect Realization Taoists appear to have been inspired by the story of Zhuangzi's encounter with a skull as well as by dramatic and dance performances (including those in Shanxi) featuring skulls or skeletons (Idema 1993:194–198, 205). Taoist storytelling *(daoqing)* during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which may have been shaped in part by Perfect Realization practices, also featured stories of Zhuangzi and the skull (ibid.:198–199; Ono 1979:288–309),[33] while Cao Xueqin's eighteenth-century novel *Red Chamber Dream* (or *Story of the Stone*) contains a scene in

FIGURE 6
Lamenting a Skeleton. This mural from the Hall of Redoubled Yang portrays Wang Zhe (Wang Chongyang) using a painting of a skeleton to instruct his first disciple Ma Yu and his wife Sun Buer about the illusory nature of human existence.

which a Taoist master shows a love-struck man a mirror with images of a beautiful woman on one side and a skeleton on the other (Hawkes 1973:252; Idema 1993:209).

Shanxi's artisans produced a number of didactic murals, some examples of which still survive. These include murals from the late eleventh century featuring scenes from Buddhist sutras that were painted on the walls of the main hall of the Kaihua Monastery in Gaoping County as well as late-

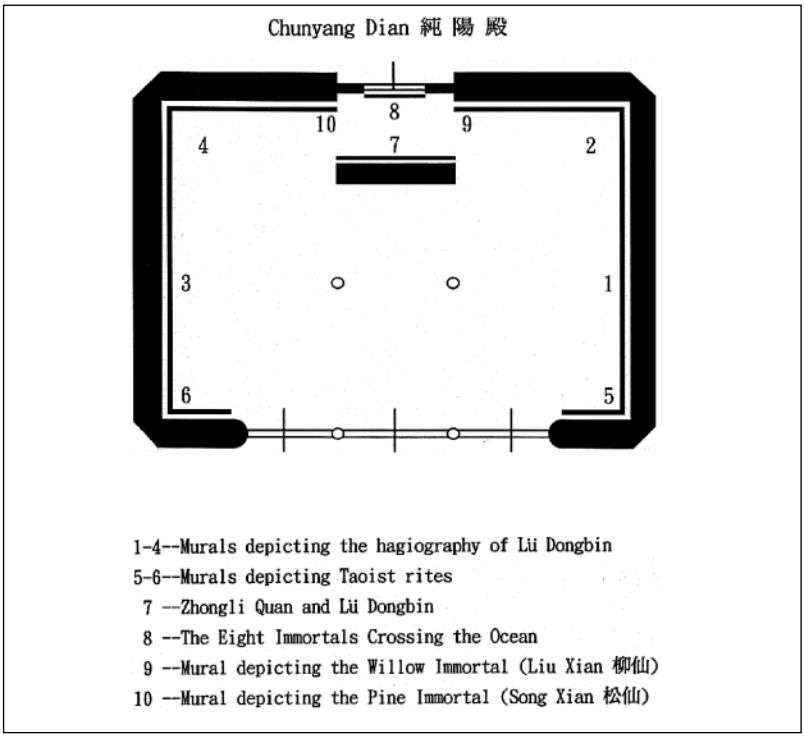


FIGURE 7
Floor plan of the Hall of Purified Yang. (Redrawn based on Wang Chang'an 1963a)

twelfth-century murals from the Yanshan Monastery in Fanchi County, which present the story of Gui Zimu (Bush 1998). A Ming dynasty temple to the earth deity Hou Ji located in southern Shanxi also contained a number of didactic murals (Lü 1998). All this indicates that artisans who painted the murals in the halls of Purified Yang and Redoubled Yang were probably influenced by local artistic traditions that featured didactic as well as ritual murals.[34]

The series of fifty-two murals depicting hagiographical accounts about Lü Dongbin in the Hall of Purified Yang occupies just over half of the available wall space (see Figure 7). Lü's pictorial hagiography begins on the eastern wall of the Hall of Purified Yang and proceeds all the way to the north-

eastern corner of the hall; the story continues along the western wall to the northwestern corner. The contents and themes of the hall's murals are listed in Appendix B. Each scene is set in a frame consisting of buildings, bridges, rivers, and mountains, the story moving from top to bottom and right to left along the wall in the same way Chinese characters were read along the traditional written or printed page. Apart from providing a source for the study of Taoist iconography and hagiography, the murals are invaluable for the social historian because of their depictions of the people, costumes, buildings and activities of Yuan times. Two other murals in the Hall of Purified Yang show Taoist purgation and offering rituals being performed, possibly in the same way as rites held in the palace itself. The tree spirits Lü converted (see Chapter 2) are also portrayed on the walls directly behind Lü's statue, as are the two most famous murals of the hall. The first shows Lü receiving instruction from his master Zhongli Quan, while the second depicts the story of Lü and the other members of the Eight Immortals crossing the ocean (Baxian guohai), a popular theme in folk art also featured in late imperial fiction and drama (see Chapter 5).

The first of the eighteen didactic murals adorning the eastern wall of the Hall of Purified Yang portrays the miraculous birth of Lü Dongbin on the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month in the year 798. A large portion of the cartouche quotes from Miao Shanshi's *Account* in describing Lü's reputed ancestry, but the mural simply portrays the miraculous events surrounding Lü's birth, particularly a crane descending from heaven and multicolored clouds filling the sky. A number of awe-struck passersby appear at the bottom of this scene, including perhaps the fortune-teller Mazu, who predicted that Lü would become an immortal.[35] Thus, the very first mural in the hall reveals a significant gap between images and the texts on which they are based.

The second scene of the Hall of Purified Yang murals (YLG 2) portrays one of the most famous events in the life of Lü Dongbin, the Yellow Millet Dream. Unfortunately, much of this scene has been badly damaged, making its contents difficult to determine. According to this mural's cartouche (which is excerpted from Miao's *Account* 1:5a–6b):

> In the year 810, our lord emperor stayed at an inn while journeying to Chang'an to take part in the examinations. There he met a stange-looking immortal, who attempted to entice him to become a Taoist. [Lü] replied: "Let me first earn an official post and bring honor to my family. After that, it won't be too late to

> follow you." [Lü] then felt sleepy, and the immortal gave him a pillow to rest his head on. [Lü dreamed] that he had attained the top rank in the exams and became an official, enjoying wealth and fame for forty years. Later, however, he [was disgraced] and lost his wealth and family. He awoke to find the immortal laughing beside him, saying: "The millet is not done and you have already dreamed a lifetime." [Lü] bowed to the immortal and asked his name. The immortal replied: "Zhongli Quan, style name Yunfang," and then flew away. Lü returned home in a state of great disappointment.

The importance of the Yellow Millet Dream story, as well as its links to other accounts of Lü Dongbin's conversion to Taoism, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

The next two scenes portrayed in the murals (YLG 3 and 4) are also based on the *Account,* and the cartouches follow Miao's text to the letter. The first scene depicts charitable acts Lü performed at his home before leaving to study the Tao with Zhongli Quan, while the second portrays the five trials Zhongli Quan subjected Lü to in order to ascertain his level of self-cultivation.[36] However, at this point in the pictorial hagiography, the murals begin to diverge from the *Account.* According to Miao's text, three more stories about Lü's training under Zhongli Quan (*MTJ* nos. 5–7) should follow the description of the five trials. These three stories in the *Account* include many references to Perfect Realization beliefs about self-cultivation and also describe alchemical and meditational techniques. None of these stories is portrayed on the walls of the Hall of Purified Yang, a fact that may reflect the difficulties involved in transferring these complicated and at times abstruse doctrines to the visual medium. The three stories in the *Account* concerning Lü's Taoist training are followed by a description of his ascent into the heavens at the Tower of the Yellow Crane in Hubei (*MTJ* no. 8),[37] but this event is not portrayed until the twenty-first scene of the murals (YLG 21). Another story recounting Lü's experiences as a hermit on Mount Hua during the Five Dynasties (*MTJ* no. 9) is also not included in the Hall of Purified Yang murals.

Following the story of the five trials, Lü's pictorial hagiography in the hall proceeds directly to a depiction of Lü using "thunder magic" *(leifa)* to expel demons in Hengzhou (Hunan) (YLG 5). This story is not included in the *Account.* The mural (see Figure 8) shows the female head of the household offering thanks to Lü while her two daughters kneel down to take

FIGURE 8
Subduing Monsters in Hengzhou. The lower portion of this mural from the Hall of Purified Yang shows Lü Dongbin writing a charm on the main gate of a house to expel demonic forces. At the lower left the female head of the household is thanking Lü. Her two daughters have shaved their heads and become Taoist nuns. In the middle of the mural is a statue of Lü in the house, which later became a shrine.

vows to become Taoist nuns. Lü is also shown writing a charm on the main gate of the house (there do not seem to be any Door Gods on the gate), and the cartouche adds that the entire house was later converted into a temple on orders of the local official.

The next two scenes (YLG 6–7) do follow the correct sequence of Miao's *Account* (*MTJ* nos. 10–11). The first shows Lü Dongbin's appearance at the court of the first Song emperor in 961, following which the emperor ordered a painting of Lü to be made. The written version of this story includes a section where Lü preaches to the emperor to refrain from killing his enemies, a story reminiscent of Qiu Chuji's attempts to convert Cinggis Qan. However, all that remains of this particular mural is an image of Lü ascending to the heavens on a cloud after appearing before the Song emperor. The passage in the *Account* describing Lü's preaching to Song Taizu was not included in the cartouche, perhaps because the Taoists in charge of the Palace of Eternal Joy feared that a text showing Perfect Realization patriarchs supporting the Song dynasty might be misinterpreted as subversive. One wonders if some illiterate pilgrims (unless they were accompanied by a guide who explained the murals' contents) or pilgrims unable to make out the cartouche because of its location high up on the temple's walls might have believed that this scene portrayed Lü's transformation into an immortal following his training under Zhongli Quan (*MTJ* no. 8), particularly as the mural showing Lü's actual ascent at the Tower of the Yellow Crane (YLG 21) only shows Zhongli Quan taking leave of Lü *before* he became an immortal.

The seventh scene of the Hall of Purified Yang murals (YLG 7; *MTJ* no. 11) is the first to address the problem of recognizing an immortal, a key theme in Miao's *Account* and other Taoist texts that appears less important in the murals. The mural depicts Lü, disguised as a diseased beggar, asking for alms at a tea shop. Only one young girl is not disgusted by his appearance and proves willing to serve him, even drinking down the dregs from Lü's cup. Lü rewards her by allowing her to become a nursemaid in an imperial family and to live to the advanced age of 135. While the cartouche follows the *Account* in describing Lü as an ugly and filthy beggar (*yifu lanlou, xuerou gouwu*), the murals consistently depict him as a well-clad and attractive-looking Taoist. No disgust can be seen on any of the faces of the people in the tea shop as he is being served by the young girl.[38]

The next five murals (YLG 8–12) all focus on a single theme, which is in fact the main theme of the murals as a whole—that of conversion/salvation.[39] The first four of these murals are based on texts in the *Account* (*MTJ* nos. 12, 13, 17, and 18), while the fifth can only be found in the *Complete Works of the Patriarch Lü*. Moreover, three other stories focusing on the

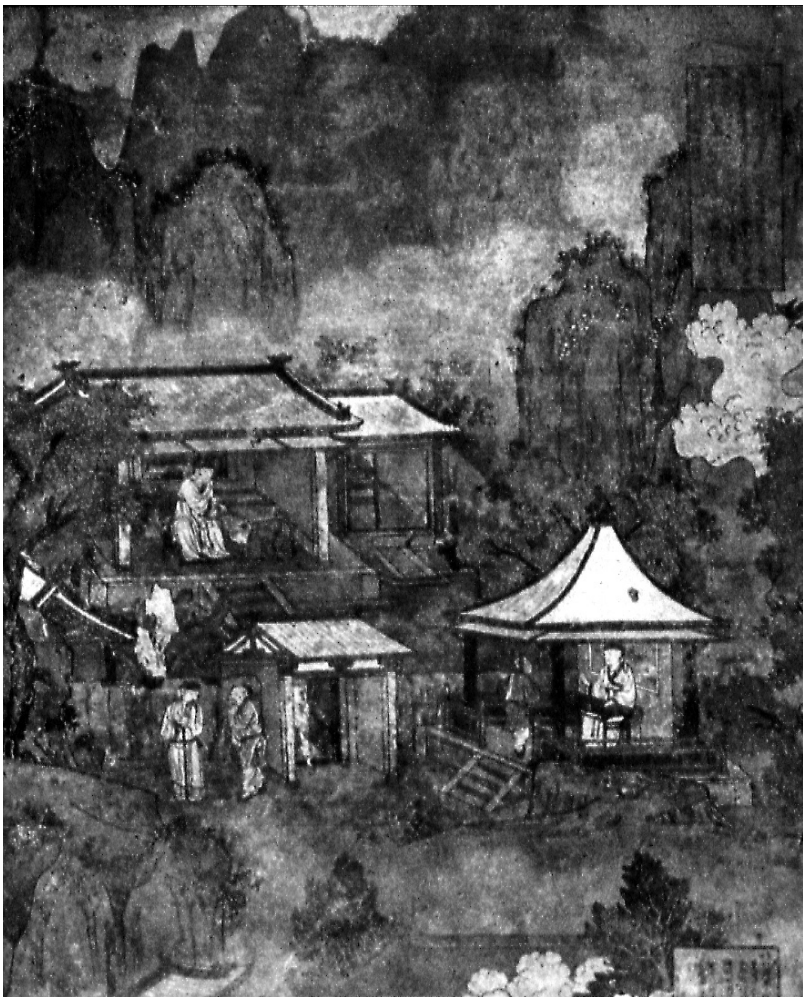


FIGURE 9
The Second Conversion of Immortal Guo. In the lower right portion of this mural, Lü encounters Guo Shangzao, the human reincarnation of the tree spirit he converted in Yuezhou. The left side of the mural depicts Guo kowtowing to Lü in order to become his disciple.

theme of recognition (*MTJ* nos. 14–16), which occur between Lü's conversion of the tree spirit and his conversion of Cao Guojiu, one of the Eight Immortals, were not converted into murals.[40] The murals provide moving

FIGURE 10
The Conversion of the Immortal Maiden He. The lower portion of the mural shows He and other young girls selling medicinal herbs they have picked in the mountains. The top of the mural depicts He kowtowing to Lü in order to become his disciple.

portrayals of the conversion process, particularly those showing the Yuezhou tree spirit and the immortal He Xiangu kowtowing to Lü in order to become his disciples (see Figures 9 and 10).

The remaining six murals on the eastern wall (YLG 13–l8) combine the themes of recognition, conversion, and Lü's miraculous powers. Intellectual historians of the Song dynasty may be interested in the mural that depicts Lü's encounter with the scholar Shao Yong (YLG 18; *MTJ* no. 34).[41] Shao uses *Yijing* divination to predict Lü's arrival and sets up a spirit tablet to worship him.[42] The description of this meeting in the *Account* contains a long and complex discussion of Taoist and Confucian thought, including allusions to the *Mencius*. The absence of these arcane subjects in the cartouche suggests that they were viewed as being of little interest to worshipers. All the murals show is a reputable scholar respectfully welcoming Lü and worshiping his spirit tablet, much as pilgrims and Taoists worshiped tablets that were set up in the Palace of Eternal Joy (see Chen et al. 1988:1308, 1310).

A final point of interest concerning the murals along the eastern wall involves Lü's encounter with a Taoist named Hou Yonghui (YLG 13; *MTJ* no. 52). Hou is intrigued by what he considers to be the exorcistic powers of Lü's sword, while Lü explains that its true function is to drive from one's heart/mind the evil thoughts that prevent the attainment of enlightenment.[43] Finally, perceiving that Hou has not grasped the significance of his instruction, Lü throws his sword into the air and flies away with it. Lü's lesson was probably unclear to most illiterate pilgrims who viewed this scene in the Hall of Purified Yang, as they would not have been able to read the cartouche; all they saw was Lü flying into the heavens with his sword (see Figure 11). Lü was widely worshiped as a deity who used his sword to expel demons and heal diseases, and one sees him performing these acts not only in the murals but also in popular novels like the *Journey to the East* and the *Record of the Immortal Lü's Flying Sword,* the latter of which even mentions Lü's sword in its title.[44] Ironically, pilgrims worshiping at the Palace of Eternal Joy likely interpreted the contents of this mural in a manner consistent with Hou Yonghui's own view.

The eight murals on the northeastern wall of the Hall of Purified Yang (YLG 19–26) stress Lü's miraculous powers. Apart from the scene at the Tower of the Yellow Crane, there are scenes of him carving a statue of himself (YLG 22; *MTJ* no. 105) and giving medicine to a filial son to cure his mother's blindness (see Figure 12) (YLG 25; not in *MTJ*). Two other murals depict Lü in hostile relationships with Buddhist monks. In the first (YLG 23; *MTJ* no. 104), the monks of Suzhou's Cold Mountain Monastery (Hanshan

FIGURE 11
Guiding Hou Yonghui. This mural shows Lü flying off after his sword upon realizing that Hou is incapable of understanding his instructions about the practice of interior alchemy.

si) mock Lü when he complains that the pagoda bells ring too loudly, prompting Lü to cast a spell that silences the bells. The second scene (YLG 26; not in *MTJ*) shows Lü using magic to shatter a pagoda after having been rudely refused hospitality by monks living in Wuzhou (Anhui). In general, the Hall of Purified Yang murals portray Lü as being on poor terms with Buddhists, with three of the four scenes concerning this theme showing con-

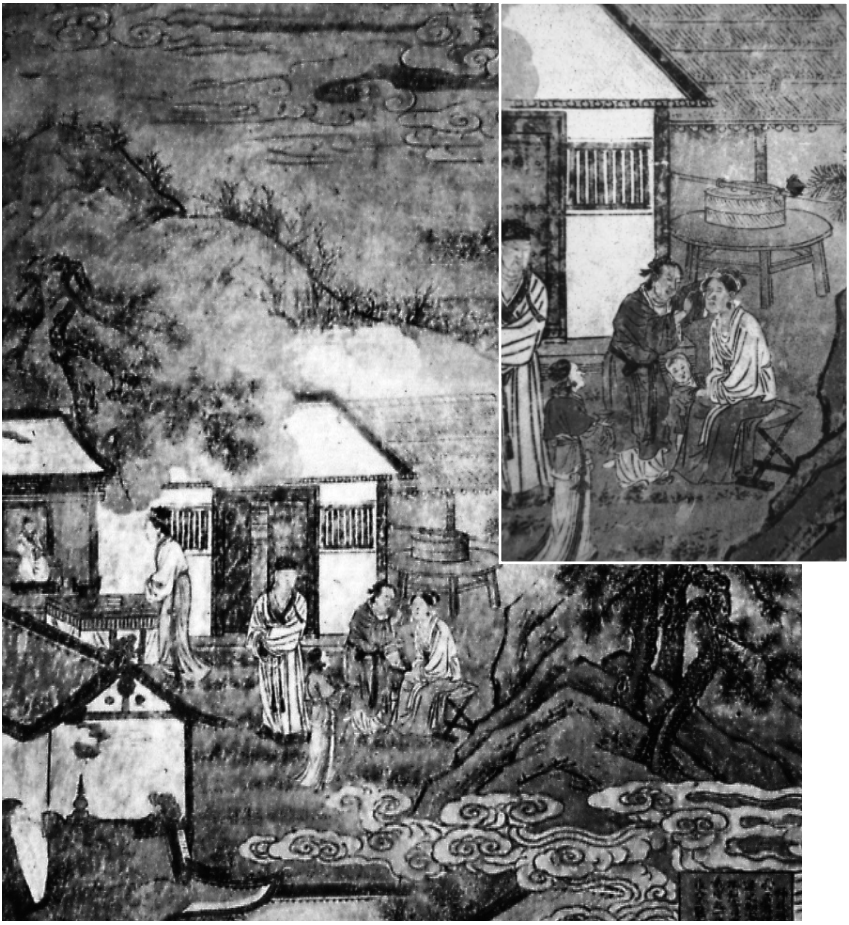


FIGURE 12
Healing the Eye Disease of Old Woman Gou. Lü gives medicine to a filial son to cure his mother's eye disease (see detail).

frontational situations. This portrayal contrasts with the ten stories on this theme in the *Account*, which are evenly divided in depicting confrontation or cooperation (see Table 2 below).[45] In *MTJ* no. 51 (not included in the murals), Lü is even said to have used his powers to provide food to monks who had treated him well. The animosity toward Buddhism expressed in the murals may derive from the Buddhist-Taoist debates of 1255 and 1258 as well

as Qubilai Qan's patronage of Buddhism and burning of the Yuan edition of the Taoist Canon compiled by Song Defang (see Chapter 1).

One other interesting story in the murals on the northeastern wall (YLG 24; not in *MTJ*) shows Lü being lavishly entertained by a lay patron named Ma Tingluan, who at the time was a low-ranking government official. In this story Lü (disguised as an itinerant Taoist) shocks his host by asking to eat dog meat (Perfect Realization Taoists were vegetarians), which Ma provides because he senses that Lü is no ordinary Taoist. After consuming the dog, Lü wraps the skin in silk and places it in a pavilion next to a pond. The next morning, Ma watches the Taoist depart and then throws the wrapped-up skin into the pond. A sound like a clap of thunder is heard, and the dog jumps out of the pond with the silk on his back. An image of Lü Dongbin adorns the silk. Ma then proceeds to found a shrine in Lü's honor and passes away one year after these events occur. This mural is one of only three in the Hall of Purified Yang to feature lay patrons, as opposed to twelve stories in the *Account*. It is also highly significant because it shows Lü Dongbin, one of the Perfect Realization movement's most renowned patriarchs, feasting on dog meat (see Figure 13). This image of Lü strikingly resembles the folktales described in Chapter 5, and the fact that it was allowed to adorn the walls of a belvedere run by Taoists who advocated and practiced vegetarianism again suggests that the patrons of the hall's murals may not have been able to control the artisans completely.

The eighteen murals on the western wall of the Hall of Purified Yang (YLG 27–44) repeat many of the themes discussed above, especially Lü's exorcistic and healing powers as well as people's inability to recognize him. Two story types prominently displayed are Lü Dongbin's encounter with the Song emperor Huizong and Lü's relationship with other Taoists.

It should come as no surprise that three of the fifty-two murals in the Hall of Purified Yang (YLG 30, 31, 43) treat Lü's experiences at the court of Huizong. The Huizong emperor was famous (and, in the eyes of many conservative literati, infamous) for his patronage of Taoists, especially the Divine Empyrean founder Lin Lingsu (see Chapter 2), and leaders of the Perfect Realization movement tried to distance themselves from Lin and his followers (Chen [1941] 1962:30–31; Zheng 1987:15, 61). Yuan dynasty Perfect Realization texts, including those in Miao's *Account*, tend to portray the Huizong emperor in an unflattering light, which was probably more

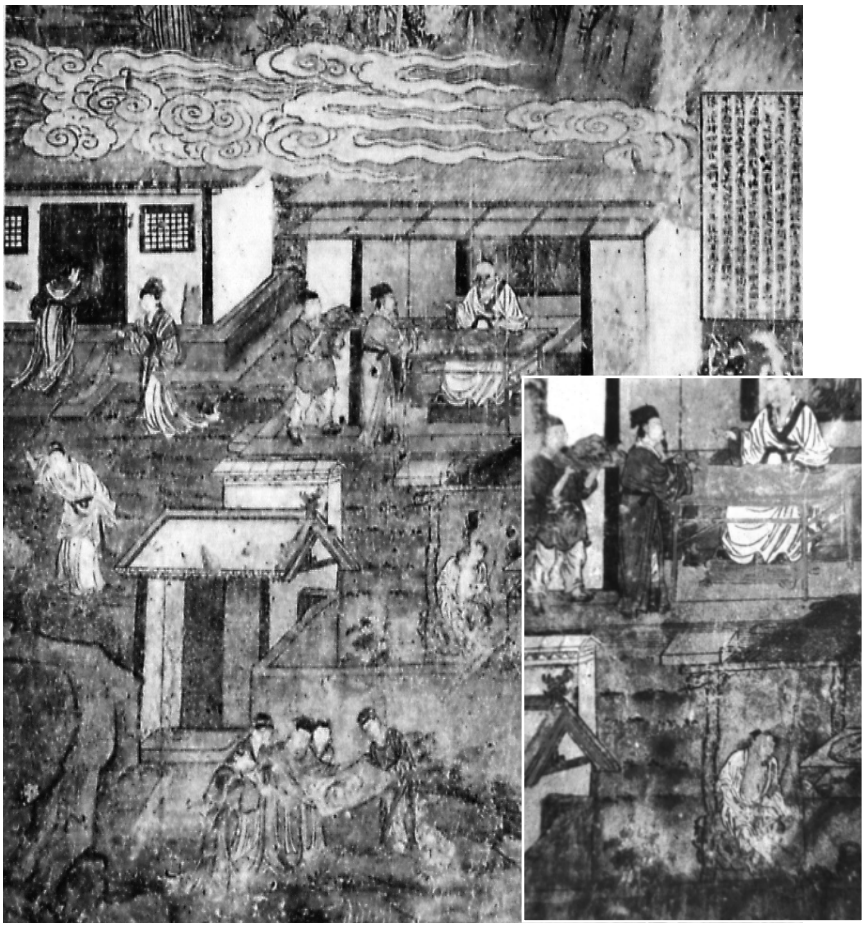


FIGURE 13
The Conversion of Ma Tingluan. In the top portion of the mural, Ma and his servant present dog meat to Lü (see detail). The lower portion shows Ma and other members of his household examining a silk image of Lü found on the back of the resurrected canine. This mural may be based on a folktale that circulated throughout north China, including Yongle and its environs.

politically acceptable than stressing that one of the movement's patriarchs had supported the first Song emperor.

Many episodes describing Huizong's relationship with Lin Lingsu are featured in a Yuan dynasty novel titled *Neglected Records of the Xuanhe Reign*

(1119–1125) (Xuanhe yishi),[46] including one story featured on the western wall of the Hall of Purified Yang (YLG 43; not in the *MTJ*). In this story, the Huizong emperor presides over a large-scale Taoist ritual, only to be visited by Lü Dongbin. Lü stays briefly but then abruptly departs, leaving a cautionary poem for the emperor. The mural does not follow the novel to the letter, as the *Neglected Records* state that Lin Lingsu was present at the ceremony and that Lü's poem was meant to be a challenge to him (*Xuanhe yishi*, pp. 32–39). Nevertheless, it is possible that this scene may have been based on the novel. The mural also provides a vivid picture of palace architecture and imperial ritual.

The rivalry between Lü Dongbin and Lin Lingsu is presented in the fourth scene on the western wall of the Hall of Purified Yang (YLG 30; *MTJ* no. 82; not in the *Neglected Records*), which portrays a contest to exorcise demons that had been haunting the palace of the Song emperor Huizong. Lü succeeds in this effort by summoning none other than the martial deity Guangong (see top left of Figure 14), after which he reprimands the emperor for his fascination with the occult.[47] The other mural portraying the Huizong emperor (YLG 31; *MTJ* no. 99) also shows him in an unflattering light, this time asking Lü to transform mercury into silver. Lü performs this feat but then leaves another cautionary poem warning the emperor of the illusory nature of the world.

Lü Dongbin's relationship with his fellow Taoists as portrayed in the Palace of Eternal Joy murals appears related to a key problem for Perfect Realization practitioners: how to maintain steadfastness in self-cultivation while functioning in the imperial court or in Chinese society. As seen from the stories of Lin Lingsu and Hou Yonghui, Lü's relationships with other Taoists were often filled with tension. Although Lü converts many people to Taoism, he can also be antagonistic toward Taoists who become too attached to their rituals or the mundane world. When Lü encounters such religious specialists, he rebukes them or refuses to grant them enlightenment. In one scene on the western wall (YLG 38; not in *MTJ*), Lü arrives at a Taoist purgation rite being staged in southern Shanxi and asks to participate but is ignored by the other Taoists present because of his disheveled state. He thereupon goes directly into the temple without saying a word and vanishes. When the lay sponsors of the purgation rite search for him inside the temple, all they find is a poem (the so-called poem written with a melon's

FIGURE 14
Exterminating Evil in the Palace. This mural shows Lü summoning the martial deity Guangong in order to expel demonic forces haunting the imperial palace that the Taoist master Lin Lingsu had proved unable to exorcise.

skin, or *guapi shi*) scolding those present for having failed to recognize him. The mural itself, an excellent example of how Taoist purgation rites would have been staged, could be studied alongside the murals of Taoist rites in the Hall of Purified Yang and other Taoist sacred sites (see, for example, Jing 1993; White 1940:164–226).

Another scene on the western wall (YLG 40; not in *MTJ*) presents an irreverent and even scandalous image of Lü Dongbin similar to that of YLG 24, which shows him eating dog meat. In YLG 40, Lü attends an offering rite on the birthday of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heavens (Xuantian shangdi)[48] at a Taoist temple in Hengzhou, this time disguised as a pregnant Buddhist nun who gives birth to a baby during the night. When the nun (Lü) tries to enter the ritual area, she is driven out by the Taoists, who consider her presence polluting.[49] She then smashes the baby's head against the ground and flies off. Those present discover to their shock that the baby is in fact a gourd with an anagram for Lü's name on the inside. It is possible that the baby Lü carries symbolizes the "embryo" *(ying'er)* to be cultivated while practicing interior alchemy and that Lü uses this symbol to reprimand Taoists so busy performing rituals that they have strayed from the path to enlightenment. This story may also be a reflective comment by Perfect Realization Taoists about themselves, as many men (beginning with none other than Wang Chongyang) abandoned their wives and children upon becoming members of this movement. I have yet to find this story in other Taoist or popular texts, but Vincent Goossaert (personal communication) points out that the violence portrayed in this mural resembles scenes from Yuan dynasty *zaju* dramas about Perfect Realization masters like Ma Danyang (Hawkes 1981).

Not all the murals show Lü in conflict with Taoists, however. For example, in one scene showing his experiences at a Taoist temple on Mount Luofu (Guangdong) (YLG 37; *MTJ* no. 83) Lü heals the diseased eyes of a Taoist acolyte by spitting wine he has already swallowed on the afflicted eye.[50] He then paints a landscape mural on one of the temple walls, with the three ponds under a mountain being a pictorial representation of his given name Yan (see Figure 15).

The main theme of all murals showing Lü in the company of other Taoists is that of recognition. These visual texts warn that Taoists who become too attached to worldly affairs may fail to recognize one of their own patriarchs. However, one wonders if this message had any meaningful impact on non-Taoist pilgrims at the palace; such individuals saw only scenes of Lü performing miraculous feats at Taoist sacred sites.

Two other stories painted on the hall's western wall merit mention. The first (YLG 28; *MTJ* no. 64) concerns Lü's efforts at distributing an elixir to

FIGURE 15
Gamboling [Atop Mount] Luofu. Lü's experiences at a Taoist temple on Mount Luofu are portrayed in this mural. The lower portion shows Lü meeting and then healing a young acolyte, while the upper portion depicts him painting a mural. The three ponds beneath a mountain in Lü's mural are a play on his given name Yan.

the citizens of Chengdu. Even though Lü identifies himself by name, the people mock him, and children even throw stones at him as he sits beside a pool in front of a Five Penetrations (Wutong) temple.[51] In the end, Lü keeps the elixir and floats away on a five-colored cloud, much to the dismay of the people of Chengdu when they realize who he is. In another story (YLG

41; not in the *MTJ*), Lü is placed under arrest by the prefect of Dingzhou (Hunan) for having fallen into a drunken stupor while in someone's house. The prefect even orders Lü put in a cangue, only to discover a few hours later that Lü has escaped, leaving only a poem in which he mocks the prefect for failing to gain enlightenment because he didn't recognize Lü.

The murals on the northwestern wall of the Hall of Purified Yang further emphasize the themes of conversion and recognition. Two additional story types emerge here, though, the first concerning Lü Dongbin's links to tradespeople and the second focusing on scholar-officials who decide to abandon their careers in order to follow the Tao.

Apart from being one of the Eight Immortals, Lü Dongbin is also well known as a patron deity of many professions, including barbers, ink makers, metallurgists, magicians, and street performers.[52] Lü's relationship with tradespeople is a frequent theme of stories about him and is also featured in the Hall of Purified Yang murals. In some scenes Lü simply disguises himself as a tradesperson, usually a barber or a seller of ink (see YLG 16, *MTJ* no. 68; YLG 41, not in the *MTJ;* YLG 47, *MTJ* no. 69). In others, such as YLG 15 (*MTJ* no. 67), he converts tradespeople like the barber Chen Qizi.[53] One mural on the northwestern wall (YLG 50; *MTJ* no. 90) shows Lü helping a virtuous female innkeeper make money by writing "Lü Dongbin was here" *(Lü Dongbin lai)* on the wall of her shop in Fuzhou after she treats him to a vegetarian feast. Lü's signature attracts hordes of customers to her shop, including the local prefect, who makes offerings to Lü (see Figure 16).

Two other scenes on the northwestern wall deal with Lü's conversion of scholar-officials, in both cases following intense discussions about Perfect Realization doctrine and interior alchemy (see YLG 49; *MTJ* no. 73; YLG 52; *MTJ* no. 81). Stories like these were of great importance to Perfect Realization Taoists of the Jin and Yuan dynasties, many of whom had been scholar-officials or members of gentry families before converting to Taoism. Perfect Realization masters also converted many other scholar-officials and often established close personal relationships with their disciples (Zheng 1987:73, 75, 88, 95, 98–101, 107–108). While it is unclear whether non-Taoist worshipers shared the same appreciation of these murals as the Perfect Realization masters who sponsored their creation, many would probably have been impressed at seeing Lü in the company of such prominent individuals.[54]

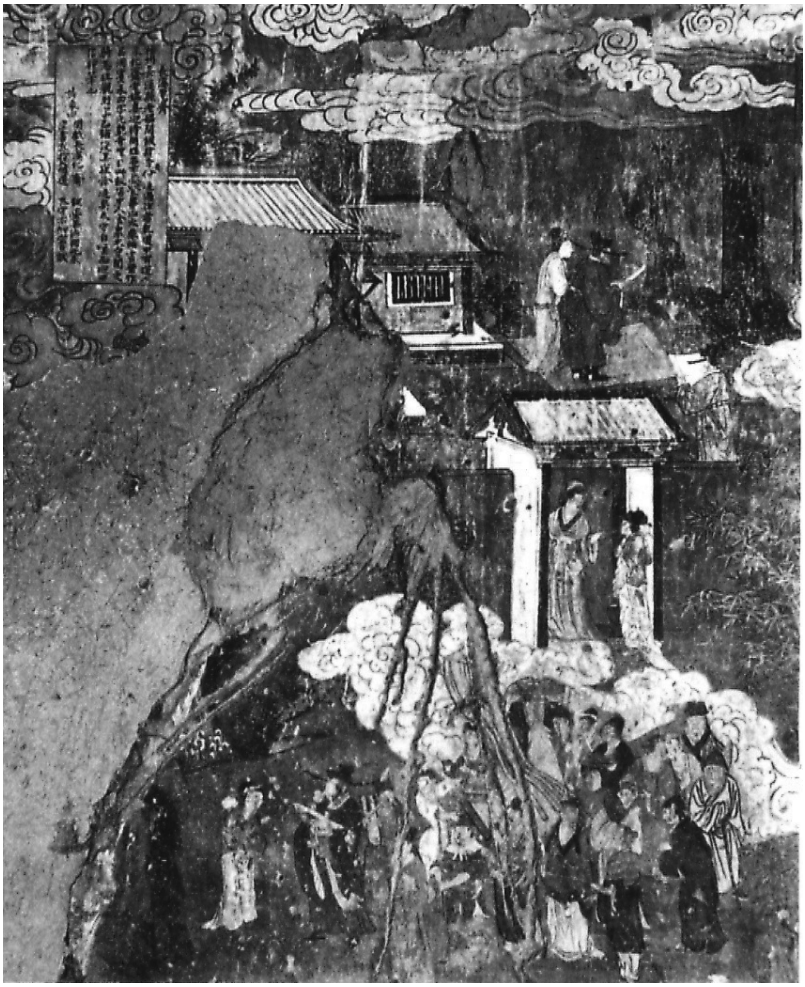


FIGURE 16
Searching for a Vegetarian Feast in Changxi [County]. The middle portion of this mural shows Lü entering a wine shop run by a virtuous old woman. The mural's upper portion depicts the local prefect worshiping before the characters "Lü Dongbin was here," which Lü had written on the shop's wall.

In examining the murals in the Hall of Purified Yang, I have attempted to determine how their image of Lü Dongbin compares to that found in Taoist texts like Miao Shanshi's *Account*. Both texts emphasize four different

TABLE 1 Themes of the Hall of Purified Yang Murals

	MTJ (95)		YLG (52)		YLG (37)		YLG (15)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Biography	8	9	5	9.5	5	13.5	0	0
Conversion	29	30	14	27.5	11	30	3	20
Recognition	41	43	21	40	13	35	6	40
Miracles	17	18	12	23	8	21.5	6	40

themes: (1) biographical accounts of Lü Dongbin's life, (2) tales showing Lü converting others, (3) tales depicting people who fail to recognize Lü, and (4) tales about miracles performed by Lü, especially curing disease (see Table 1).[55] Although some stories combine a number of themes, Table 1 indicates that Miao Shanshi may have been more interested in the issue of recognizing a Taoist master, while the Taoist and artisans who sponsored and worked on the murals were also concerned with Lü's conversion of others and his miraculous powers. Stories portraying Lü Dongbin's miraculous powers take up less than one-fifth of the *Account;* however, six of the Hall of Purified Yang's fifteen murals not based on this text treat this theme, and the six murals about recognition not based on the *Account* also portray Lü's miraculous powers.

It is also important to consider the identities of the individuals with whom Lü Dongbin interacts. In Miao's *Account,* Lü is described as encountering Taoists, tradespeople, patrons, prostitutes, and Buddhists. Lü's interaction with Buddhists features instances of both cooperation and confrontation. The Hall of the Purified Yang murals, particularly those not based on the *Account,* present a very different image of Lü (see Table 2). In these works, Lü spends much more time with emperors, while also frequently visiting Taoist temples and attending Taoist rituals. He has nothing to do with prostitutes, and his relationship with Buddhism is marked more by confrontation than by cooperation. The hostility between Taoists and Buddhists is also clearly displayed, perhaps because the managers of the palace felt threatened by Buddhism after the suppression of 1281. The murals also place less empha-

TABLE 2 Settings and Characters in the Murals

	MTJ (95)		YLG (52)		YLG (37)		YLG (15)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Prostitutes	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tradespeople	19	20	9	17	6	16	3	20
Emperors	3	3	4	8	3	8	1	6.6
Patrons	12	13	3	6	2	5	1	6.6
Buddhists	10	10	4	8	3	8	1	6.6
Confrontation	5	5	3	6	2	5	1	6.6
Cooperation	5	5	1	2	1	3	0	0
Taoists	23	24	18	35	11	29.5	7	46.6
Individuals	16	16.8	8	15.8	7	19	1	6.6
At temples	4	4.1	4	7.7	2	5	2	13
At rites	3	3.1	6	11.5	2	5	4	27

sis on the relationship between Taoists and their lay patrons than does Miao's *Account*. I have yet to determine why this is the case.

Another highly significant aspect of the murals is the way they depict Lü Dongbin himself. In these works, Lü's favorite disguise is that of a Taoist master rather than a beggar or peddler, as so often mentioned in Song dynasty accounts (see Chapter 2 and Ang 1993, 1997). While the cartouches often follow the *Account* in describing Lü as an ugly and filthy beggar, the murals consistently depict him as a well-clad and attractive-looking Taoist. No signs of revulsion can be seen on the faces of the people who encounter him; rather, their expressions are often of reverential awe.

This aspect of Lü's "image" at the Palace of Eternal Joy indicates that an important change had taken place in Lü's iconography by the Yuan dynasty. As discussed in Chapter 2, Northern Song works like Chen Shidao's *Collected Conversations from Houshan* state that during the Southern Tang portraits of Lü Dongbin depicted him as a slovenly ink seller with a

disheveled beard until that kingdom's last ruler commissioned a more "suitable" likeness. Many Song dynasty paintings also portrayed Lü as being slovenly and unkempt (Ebine 1981:189–197; Liu Wensan 1981:139–140). However, post-Yuan iconography presents a cleaned up image of Lü, even though late imperial sources and modern folktales frequently describe him as being filthy (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:154–155, 164; Lin 1933:13–15, 45–46). This iconographical transformation may be due to issues of "decorum," a concept Martin Powers borrowed from E. H. Gombrich in his work on Han dynasty tomb art. In China, the importance of decorum (perhaps best translated as "*li*") meant that works of art at sacred sites should be "normal and proper" for the environment or occasion (Powers 1991:62–65). It would therefore have been considered inappropriate to depict Lü as a beggar in a sacred site at the reputed place of his birth. Moreover, Perfect Realization Taoist leaders would not have taken kindly to irreverent portrayals of one of their leading patriarchs.[56] Such issues may explain why none of the five stories of Lü's relationships with prostitutes in the *Account* was painted in the Hall of Purified Yang, even though he always resists sexual temptation and sometimes even converts the women in question to Taoism. This restraint contrasts markedly with the stories to be discussed in Chapter 5, which depict him as sleeping with prostitutes and even attempting to seduce female deities.

In considering why the images of Lü Dongbin expressed in the Hall of Purified Yang murals differ from those in Miao's *Account*, it is helpful to consider Meyer Schapiro's discussion of historical change (1973:12–13). According to Schapiro, the meaning of a written text may sometimes change when it is transferred to the visual medium, particularly in cases where the doctrine contained in the written text proves highly abstruse. Thus, many fine points concerning Taoist self-cultivation and interior alchemy may have proved difficult for artisans to depict in the murals they had been commissioned to paint. These factors may have led them to focus on the more easily depicted narrative elements of Miao's anecdotes. Schapiro points out that changes in the "imaging" of figures and themes can also occur. In the case of Lü Dongbin, works of art created during the Song dynasty portrayed him as a disheveled beggar, whereas the murals show him as an attractive and dignified Perfect Realization Taoist. Changes

in both meaning and representation thus contributed to the creation of an image of Lü Dongbin in the murals that differed markedly from that in Taoist writings.

5 Reception and Reinterpretation

The previous two chapters have shown that inscriptions and murals were among the most important types of texts circulating at sacred sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy. Moreover, their creation seems to have been a conscious effort at establishing cultural hegemony on the part of the palace's patrons. The evidence presented above reveals that local elites (including those who patronized sacred sites) endeavored to maintain dominance over local society in a number of ways, including control over the production of culture. Yongle's elites took full advantage of the opportunity provided by writing the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy to emphasize the historical legitimacy of this site and the importance of their patronage. The Perfect Realization Taoists who sponsored the palace's murals endeavored to use the visual medium to present their representations of the movement's pantheon as well as to instruct disciples and worshipers in its history and doctrines. I now turn to the thorny problem of how these texts were actually received, by comparing the palace's inscriptions and murals to other texts that circulated at Yongle, especially local folktales.

To begin with, some Perfect Realization texts circulated widely and gained the acceptance of Yongle's populace. For example, the story of Lü Dongbin's conversion of Wang Chongyang presented in Qin Zhian's *Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus* (2:1a–3a) is also portrayed in the murals adorning the walls of the Hall of Redoubled Yang, the cartouche itself being based on Qin's account. This story also survives in a local folktale, the only significant difference being the addition of an anecdote about a stingy woman named Mother Wang, which appears to be linked to Qing dynasty novels about the Perfect Realization movement (Lu et al. 1987:75–81).[1] Although some Taoist and elite stories circulated among the local populace, it appears that the locals did not accept most texts or reinterpreted them in different ways. In exploring these forms of reception, I focus on two main themes: the history of the palace and representations of its main deity, Lü Dongbin.

Building Magic and Natural Wonders

Information on the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy is found mainly in its temple inscriptions, most of which describe the important roles played by Perfect Realization Taoists and members of the local elite. However, of the numerous folktales collected at Yongle and Ruicheng during the twentieth century, only one even refers to these individuals, and it does so in a way that differs from the inscriptions discussed above. This folktale recounts that, during the waning years of the Southern Song dynasty, Qubilai Qan was having great trouble conquering northern China's central plains region. One day, a scout reported that an old Taoist wished to see the qan. Qubilai granted the Taoist an audience, whereupon he proceeded to lecture the qan on the need to abstain from violence in order to win the support of the Han Chinese. Greatly impressed, Qubilai offered to appoint the Taoist as his military adviser. The Taoist accepted and announced that he was none other than the Perfect Realization patriarch Qiu Chuji. During Qubilai's conquest of north China, the qan and his army passed through Yongle. Qiu knew that Yongle had been Lü Dongbin's home and decided to resign his post and spend the rest of his life there.

Qubilai reluctantly agreed but upon founding the Yuan dynasty in 1271 invited Qiu to join the celebrations in the capital. He then learned that Qiu had already passed away and in his sorrow appointed Pan Dechong to build a magnificent Taoist belvedere at Yongle in memory of his beloved Taoist adviser (Lu et al. 1987:40–42).

The trained historian will immediately recognize a number of flaws in this account. Qiu Chuji never met Qubilai Qan, although he did travel countless miles to visit Cinggis Qan at his base in the Hindu Kush in an attempt to persuade him to stop slaughtering the Han Chinese who resisted the Mongol conquest. Pan Dechong was appointed to take charge of the Palace of Eternal Joy's construction, but this happened well before Qubilai's reign. Furthermore, Pan's appointment was not engineered by Qiu Chuji but by disciples of Qiu who wished to rebuild the shrine of one of the Perfect Realization movement's leading patriarchs. Historical fallacies aside, perhaps the most interesting aspect of this folktale lies in its candid description of how Perfect Realization Taoists cooperated (some might say collaborated) with China's Mongol overlords, a part of the movement's history overlooked by scholars emphasizing its patriotism (see the discussion of this problem in Eskildsen 1989:24–36). Whether Perfect Realization Taoists who lived after the Yuan dynasty wished to be reminded of their links to the Mongols is unclear, but there is little doubt that such images persisted in the minds of some Chinese.

Another important theme in folktales about the Palace of Eternal Joy concerns the importance of divine intervention in its construction. Only the inscription composed during the winter of 1636 indirectly alludes to this theme, stating that when the palace was built "the artisans labored like Lu Ban [the patron deity of builders]" (Chen et al. 1988:1308). Most residents of Yongle appear to have adopted a more literal view of this issue, however, believing that Lu Ban or even Lü Dongbin himself was responsible for the palace's construction. In an article describing a visit to the Palace of Eternal Joy during the early 1960s, Wang Yeqiu (born 1909), a native of Anhui who joined the Chinese Communist Party and rose to become a high-ranking official in the Ministry of Culture, refers to this part of the 1636 inscription but also notes that local elders to whom he spoke "said that 'Lord Lu Ban' sent some immortal maidens to build [the palace] in just one day and night"

(Lu et al. 1987:3, 5). Another account recorded over two decades later states that Lu Ban was responsible for building the palace in just one night (ibid.:39).

Other folktales claim that Lü Dongbin's spiritual powers made the palace's construction possible. According to one account:

> It is said that during the construction of the Palace of Eternal Joy all the water for the project had to be carried from the Yellow River, which lay three *li* [one mile] away from the site. It is easy to imagine the amount of water required to build a [temple complex] over 8,600 square meters large. The need for water was not a big problem, but what made matters worse was the outbreak of an epidemic of skin sores *(chuangyi)* along the river, which afflicted the workers responsible for bearing the water to the temple. These men were confined to their beds, causing the project to fall behind schedule.
>
> Later, people heard of a clear stream that flowed through the nearby village of Houyao. Its waters were so clear that one could see its bottom and clean enough to heal hundreds of illnesses. People flocked to it to eliminate disasters and overcome hardships *(xiaozai miannan)*. However, there lived in the village an obsessive tightwad named Yu, who saw people from far and wide coming to the stream and thus came up with this wicked idea: "If I can gain control of this stream, I need no longer worry about making a fortune." He then proceeded to assume control [how he did so is not stated] and then began to charge people ten strings of cash for each bucket of water from the stream. Many people could not afford this amount and could only walk away shaking their heads with empty buckets in hand. Occasionally some people tried to steal water, only to be caught by that dog-legged rascal *(goutuizi)* and beaten viciously. Their buckets were also smashed to pieces. The country people hated the tyrannical behavior of rich man Yu but could only bite their lips in frustration.
>
> One day, an old hunchbacked man, with disheveled hair and repulsive appearance, came to the stream's edge and implored Yu [to give him some water], saying: "Do a good deed and lend me some water to drink!" Yu glanced at the old hunchback and upon seeing his appearance impatiently replied, "Hey! This water is for sale. If you want some, come up with the money!" and promptly stormed off. On seeing how detestable Yu was, the old man became angry, bent over, scooped a bucketful of water from the stream, and headed off towards the east.
>
> The old man had not gone far . . . when [people] suddenly heard a loud noise, following which a white cloud of steam shot up from the stream's source into the clouds. When they looked back, they saw that the entire stream had flowed back to its source—it had dried up, stopped flowing. When rich man Yu heard the news, he rushed to the stream and stared at it in a state of shock. Upon turning away, he saw a poem on a nearby wall, which read:

I advised you to heal the sick,
And not harm others in your greed.
I have now borrowed a bucket of stream water,
At Yongle Town again we will meet.

Rich man Yu realized that the old man had taken the stream's water and caused it to dry up. He ordered his servants to prepare a strong horse, whipping and spurring it toward the Palace of Eternal Joy. The old man was walking along when suddenly he heard the sound of hoofbeats and saw a cloud of dust. He soon saw rich man Yu riding his horse and flailing away with his whip. The old man then started to sprint, while Yu spurred his horse to go faster. But no matter how fast his horse went, he could not catch the old man. Yu became ever more anxious and whipped his horse harder and harder. Just when it looked as if he would finally catch up, Yu heard a loud crash and saw the old man fall to the ground. The bucket burst open and the water poured out, flowing like a silver thread into a ditch.[2]

Yu reached out to grab the old man, but all of a sudden the old man floated off into the sky. He stood atop a white cloud and glided away with ease, saying: "I am the immortal Lü!" When rich man Yu heard this, he realized that things had taken a turn for the worse, his very soul *(hun)* being frightened out of his body. He quickly knelt on the ground and kowtowed repeatedly, pleading: "I have eyes but did not recognize the venerable immortal. I beg for forgiveness!" When he looked up, he saw a poem written in glowing characters on a nearby cliff:

Houyao's water has been moved to Jade Stream Cave,[3]
For years to come it will flow by the Palace of Eternal Joy.
People along its banks can partake of its clear waters,
Their plague of sores healed, they can build the palace.

When Yu finished reading this poem, his heart was full of regret. His entire body cramped up, and he fell down in a state of paralysis. Later, his family came to carry him home.

From that day on, a clear stream flowed out of the Jade Stream Cave and past the Palace of Eternal Joy. . . . The workers who helped build the palace no longer had to sweat under heavy loads of [Yellow River] water, and the sores they and other countrypeople suffered soon healed. Work on the Palace of Eternal Joy was quickly finished. (Lu et al. 1987:43–44).

On the surface, this folktale seems to be a simple cautionary story of the retribution China's wealthy could expect to result from evil or selfish actions. Like many other accounts about Lü, it also touches on the theme of recognition and the fate befalling people who judge others based solely on their

appearance. Lü appears in one of his traditional guises, that of an unkempt vagrant, an image that does not appear in the Palace of Eternal Joy's hagiographical inscriptions or murals. However, the main theme of this folktale appears to be Lü's ability to control natural forces, particularly water. A similar folktale describes how Lü created a stream in order to thwart a rich man who tried to monopolize the waters of Nine Peaks Mountains (Lu et al. 1987:60–62).

Other folktales emphasize Lü's healing powers. One states that Lü told a filial son and his wife to tear out one of their eyes in order to help cure an eye disease afflicting the young man's father. In a scene reminiscent of the Miaoshan legend (Dudbridge 1978), the young couple do as instructed. Lü then grants them new eyes and transforms the ones they tore out into magic pearls that can clean up filth and kill harmful insects. Decades later, during the construction of the palace, hordes of mosquitoes cause an outbreak of malarial fever. Lü finds the pearls underneath the ginkgo tree he once planted (see Chapter 1) and uses them to stop the epidemic (Lu et al. 1987:63-64).

In reading these folktales, one is immediately struck by the fact that the streams, trees, and other natural features at the palace described in these texts are not mentioned in any of its inscriptions or murals. The prominence in folktales of natural features and Lü's spiritual powers as well as their links to the palace's own history indicate that the people of Yongle and its environs had very different representations of the deity they worshiped and the sacred site at which they performed such rituals. Like religious and lay patrons who sponsored the site, the local commoners also "read" the temple complex as a macrotext, but their reading appears to have varied significantly from those presented in chapters 3 and 4.

Enlightened Alchemist or Immoral Immortal?

Both the inscriptions and murals preserved at the Palace of Eternal Joy present images of Lü Dongbin that had circulated among Taoist specialists and members of the elite. Hagiographical inscriptions portray him as a master of Taoist self-cultivation and interior alchemy who had cultivated the Way under the tutelage of Zhongli Quan and Chen Tuan. Poetic inscriptions exalt the carefree life enjoyed by immortals like Lü yet also emphasize the importance of res-

olutely pursuing Taoist self-cultivation. As for the murals, while Miao Shanshi's *Account* emphasized the importance of recognition, the pictorial hagiography of Lü Dongbin in the Hall of Purified Yang also portrayed numerous examples of conversion experiences and miraculous events. All these texts have one thing in common: a representation of Lü as a learned scholar and wise immortal who could use his powers to protect and even instruct others. However, the evidence presented below reveals that rather different representations of Lü existed in the minds of Yongle's populace.

It may be useful to begin with Lü Dongbin's conversion to Taoism, because of all stories about Lü, this one receives the most frequent mention in the widest variety of texts. The Song and Jin dynasty hagiographies of Lü Dongbin, including Yuan Congyi's inscription at the Palace of Eternal Joy, maintain that Lü was converted to Taoism by an immortal, usually named as Zhongli Quan. Yuan's text differs from other hagiographies, however, in stating that Zhongli Quan converted Lü after the latter had passed the *jinshi* exams. Early Perfect Realization hagiographical works such as Qin Zhian's *Record* follow Yuan's inscription in recording that Lü had passed the exams before meeting Zhongli Quan. None of these texts mentions a dream. However, by the time Miao Shanshi had begun to compose the *Account*, the story of Lü's conversion to Taoism had undergone a significant transformation, with new versions claiming that Zhongli Quan had converted Lü to Taoism by means of the Yellow Millet Dream. This story had appeared by the Yuan dynasty and became very popular during the Ming-Qing era. Contemporary Taoist texts and novels invariably associate Lü's conversion to Taoism with a dream experience, regardless of whether or not he had passed the exams. One late-Ming Taoist text, the *Record of the Patriarch Lü*, includes both the Yellow Millet Dream and Shen Jiji's original story.[4]

The story of Lü's dream is the second scene portrayed in the Hall of Purified Yang murals, the cartouche being an abbreviated version of the story by that name in Miao's *Account* (see Chapter 4). Most interesting about this particular mural is that the story portrayed differs strikingly from Yuan Congyi's inscription. What could account for this transformation of Lü Dongbin's hagiography? It appears that people began to misidentify Lü Dongbin as Old Man Lü (Lü Weng) in Shen Jiji's "The World Inside a Pillow" (see Chapter 2), a story that resembles that of Lü's encounter with Zhongli Quan in Miao's *Account*. It appears that people were conflating

accounts about Lü Dongbin and Old Man Lü as early as the Song dynasty.[5] In his *Vast Record of the Changeable Studio*, Wu Zeng cites Shen Jiji's story but also notes that the events it describes had occurred decades before Lü Dongbin was said to have taken the exams and emphatically concludes that "This Old Man Lü is not Lü Dongbin" (*Nenggai zhai manlu* 18.503). However, Wu's very complaint indicates that such a view was relatively common during the twelfth century.

It is likely that stories of Lü's conversion to Taoism by means of a dream became more widespread following the publication, and more importantly the performance, of the *zaju* drama *Yellow Millet Dream*, which was written by Ma Zhiyuan (1260–1325) (Liu Yinbo 1982; Xiao et al. 1995; Yang 1958:3–10; Yu 1994).[6] Although no Yuan dynasty edition of the *Yellow Millet Dream* survives, it is known that *zaju* could be performed at court or for members of the elite, including military officials like those who patronized the Palace of Eternal Joy (Idema and West 1982), and on temple stages during festivals (Liao 1989:82–95; Liu Nianci 1973:58–65). Just such a stage was part of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate, but I have yet to find any evidence that the *Yellow Millet Dream* was ever performed at the palace. Inasmuch as both Ma and Miao lived during the Yuan dynasty, it is difficult to state with certainty whose work influenced whose or whether they composed their texts independently based on a third version already in circulation. In any case, their versions of Lü's hagiography represent an important change in representations of Lü that took place during the Yuan dynasty.

The description of Lü's encounter with Zhongli Quan in the Ming dynasty edition of Ma's *Yellow Millet Dream* resembles Miao's *Account*, but while the *Account* stresses knowledge of interior alchemy, the *Yellow Millet Dream* places greater emphasis on the joys of immortality. Take, for example, the following passage from Ma's drama:

> [Zhongli Quan:] There are many ways to enjoy life. Listen to the pleasures we immortals relish. [Sings] We pick our own flowers and make our own wines. With a cup in my hand, I face the green mountains alone. And at leisure I ride my red-crowned crane soaring high and low. When I am drunk, I return home—my robes brushing past the pine branches along the way. The moon is high, the breeze free, and notes from my iron flute scatter the clouds. Renounce the world and follow me.[7]

Despite the popularity of dramatic performances, an examination of the elite accounts and folktales about Lü Dongbin that circulated in and around

Yongle reveals that none of the stories describing Lü's conversion by means of a dream appear to have had a profound influence on local representations of him. For example, the 1629, 1734, and 1892 editions of the Shanxi provincial gazetteer do not include any dream story. All state that Lü failed the exams, but the latter two editions list him among scholars who had passed the exams during the Tang (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1629, 26:20b; *Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 15:15b, 160:5a–13a; and *Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 14:14a, 160:19b–20a). The biography of Lü in the 1754 edition of the Puzhou prefectural gazetteer also has no dream story. The text follows Yuan Congyi's inscription in stating that Lü had passed the exams, yet his name is not listed with those who had (*Puzhou fuzhi* 1754, 14:18b–19b). Yongle was located in Puzhou prefecture, so the fact that the biography of Lü Dongbin in its gazetteer resembles Yuan's inscription might reflect the persistence of that version among literate members of the local elite. However, I believe it best not to overestimate the influence of Yuan's text on the majority of the Yongle populace in light of the following two folktales.

The first folktale, which differs sharply from all the above-mentioned hagiographies, presents Lü as a poor scholar who tried to steal food for his wife so that she might replenish her strength after giving birth to a son; all the sources mentioned above state that Lü was single, in some Taoist versions even refusing to marry. The text of the folktale is as follows:

> The immortal Lü Dongbin was a poor scholar. One year, his son was born. Lü thought to himself: "My wife is taking her one-month recuperation period [literally "sitting for a month" *(zuo yuezi)*], yet we can't afford to buy eggs. It would be nice to buy some sauces to flavor our food, but we can't afford those either. What should I do? Buy some? No money. Borrow money? I'd never be able to pay it back." The more he thought, the more powerless he felt. To have his wife eat their usual poor fare made him deeply ashamed. . . . [Lü then comes up with the idea of stealing some sauces from his wealthy neighbor.]
>
> . . . That night, Lü dug a hole [to the neighbor's storehouse], entered, and lifted the lid of one of the jars. He dipped his gourd in, when he suddenly heard a "Crack!" which scared him half to death. He pulled back his hand only to find that the top of the gourd had been cut off, leaving only the bottom half. Oh no! He had been discovered! Lü felt both scared and ashamed, his face turning a bright red. It turned out that his neighbor had heard him digging the tunnel and waited for him with knife in hand [which he used to slice the gourd]. Happily his neighbor didn't scold him, thus saving him some face. But, Lü thought: "Even if he hasn't scolded me, can he help talking about it? . . . How will I dare show my face again?" The more he thought things over, the more he felt he

> couldn't stay at home. He made up his mind to go away and wander throughout the world [literally "rivers and lakes" (*jianghu*)].

The story goes on to tell how Lü's son passed the exams. Lü went home to see him, but the son didn't recognize the father. Lü then wrote a poem revealing his identity and left for good.[8]

The second folktale, told by Lü himself disguised as a Taoist, reveals a different representation of him as a family man. As the Taoist (Lü) states:

> Dongbin originally had the surname Li, the given name Qiong, and the style name Boyu. In his later years he devoted himself to studying the Tao, abandoning his four children and taking his wife, whose family name was Jin, to lead a spiritual life together.[9] The two of them lived in a mountain cave. Because they had two mouths to feed, Li changed his name to Lü (because the character "Lü" is composed of two characters for mouth) and his style name to Dongbin (literally "Guest in a Cave"). Later his wife died, leaving Lü all alone. He then assumed the Taoist name Chunyang. (Lu et al. 1987:73)

I have yet to determine the date this folktale first appeared. The earliest known mention of such a story occurs in the *Complete Works of the Patriarch Lü*, which cites an account in a spirit-writing text dated 1621 (Katz 1994:244). Regardless of this story's age, it continues to enjoy widespread popularity in Yongle and its environs. Today, guides inform visitors to the Palace of Eternal Joy that Lü cultivated the Way in the mountains with his wife at his side and that the surname Lü is a pun on the Chinese expression "newly married couple" (literally "two little mouths" or *xiao liangkou*)! (Zhang Chongyou1984:277). I also heard such accounts during my visit to the palace in 1991. In considering the significance of these folktales, one should remember that Lü's alleged tomb at the palace actually contained the skeletons of a man and woman from the Northern Song dynasty (see Chapter 1 and Li Fengshan 1960). This fact indicates that some people may have viewed Lü as a married man (or at least someone with a female companion) and further suggests that folktales about Lü having a wife may predate Perfect Realization accounts that stress his celibacy.

Both folktales seek to resolve an important issue that is largely ignored by Taoist compilers of Lü's hagiography—that of filial piety. In all Perfect Realization texts, Lü is said to have refused to marry and father descendents for his prestigious family. This claim may be related to the

fact that many Perfect Realization monks and nuns also made such a choice before "leaving the world" (Goossaert 1997:120–126). Even though most sources state that he was not an only son, Lü's actions violated the traditional Chinese view that the most unfilial of all acts was to be childless. Many popular deities, such as Guanyin (Miaoshan), Li Nuozha, Linshui furen, and Mazu also failed to live up to this ideal (Baptandier 1996; Sangren 1996). In Lü's case, his worshipers resolved this conflict by providing him with a wife and children.[10] However, this resolution proves to be problematic, as Lü abandons his family in order to pursue Taoist self-cultivation.

Another case where folktales differ from the texts about Lü Dongbin presented at the palace concerns the relationship between Lü and dogs owned by wealthy patrons. One of the murals in the Hall of Purified Yang (YLG 24) shows Lü producing a portrait of himself after eating the canine companion of a patron named Ma Tingluan. Another version of this story still circulates in the area around Yongle and is based on the popular saying "The dog that would bite Lü Dongbin cannot recognize a good person or a bad one" *(gouyao Lü Dongbin, bushi haolai ren)*.[11] According to this folktale, a filial official named Ma was desperately searching for a cure for the ulcers covering his mother's back. One day, a slovenly old Taoist came to his house and offered to use a medicine concocted from a "numinous elixir" *(lingdan)* to cure his mother. However, Ma's dog, named Saihu (Fighting Tiger), took one look at the Taoist and charged over to bite him. The Taoist fended Saihu off with his stick, but the dog would not go away. Ma finally dragged the dog away and invited the Taoist in for tea. The Taoist then repeated his intention to cure Ma's mother but only if Ma killed Saihu and served him along with wine for his evening meal. Ma loved Saihu dearly but for his mother's sake agreed to the Taoist's request and ordered his servants to slaughter Saihu. The Taoist then said: "No need, let me kill the dog!" After disposing of Saihu, the Taoist wrapped the dog's innards inside its skin, which he bound with rope. The Taoist then gorged himself on Saihu's flesh and drank huge quantities of wine. After finishing his meal, he pulled a piece of cloth from inside his clothes, wrapped it around Saihu's skin, and threw it into a pond outside Ma's house. On leaving, he gave Ma some medicine to heal his mother's illness. Just a short while later, Ma heard barking coming from the pond, following which Saihu jumped out. Ma noticed a

bundle hanging from Saihu's neck and on opening it found a painted image of the Taoist with the character "Lü" beside it. On taking Lü's medicine, Ma's mother recovered at once (Lu et al. 1987:53–54).

Although this story resembles the mural in the Hall of Purified Yang, it is not known which version appeared first or influenced the other. This folktale may even be related to a Southern Song story recorded in Hong Mai's *Record* that describes how a dog died at the same time Lü's medicine healed the mother of a filial son (*Yijian zhi* 1:325). Regardless of its origins, the above folktale adds some new elements to the version in the murals, explaining why Lü chose to eat dog meat and emphasizing that his actions were in response to Ma's exemplary filiality.

Another example of the influence of non-Taoist traditions on representations of Lü at the palace is the Hall of Purified Yang mural depicting the Eight Immortals crossing the ocean (see Figure 17). I have not found any reference to this story in Taoist sources, but it was a subject of both Ming dramas and the novel *Journey to the East,* and it remains a scene frequently depicted in folk art today. It also appears in some children's books (Lai 1972; Lü and Luan [1986] 1990:779–832; Yang 1958:7–10). According to this story (which takes up the final ten chapters of the *Journey to the East*), the Eight Immortals got so drunk while attending the Peach Banquet (Pantao hui) given by the Queen Mother of the West that they couldn't ride their clouds home and decided to cross the Eastern Ocean. However, the Dragon King's son spotted the immortal Lan Caihe's jade clappers and, taking a fancy to them, stole them and made off into the depths below, dragging Lan along in his wake. This led to a battle royal between the remaining seven immortals and the Dragon Kings of the Southern and Eastern Oceans, during which Lan was rescued and the dragon prince killed. The Jade Emperor sent his heavenly generals to subdue the immortals, but to no avail. Further conflict was only averted by the appearance of the bodhisattva Guanyin, who agreed to act as mediator and settle the dispute to the satisfaction of all parties involved. This mural expresses the beliefs of local artisans and their neighbors. The fact that the Taoists allowed this noncanonical scene to appear on the walls of the Hall of Purified Yang shows both the influence of local culture and the Taoists' willingness to coexist with it.

Lü Dongbin's relationship with prostitutes is also treated very differently in novels and folktales. Miao Shanshi's *Account* contains five instances of Lü

FIGURE 17
The Eight Immortals Crossing the Ocean. The first six immortals have been identified as (from left to right) Zhongli Quan, Lü Dongbin, Li Tieguai, Cao Guojiu, Zhang Guolao, and Lan Caihe. The eighth immortal is Han Xiangzi, while the seventh immortal is probably either Xu Shenweng or Zhang Silang. The sole female immortal, He Xiangu, does not appear in this mural (similarly, the only female member of the Seven Perfected, Sun Buer, is not enshrined in the Hall of Redoubled Yang).

encountering prostitutes (*MTJ* nos. 56, 60, 75, 80, and 87), all of which portray Lü as being able to resist the temptations of the flesh. He even converts some prostitutes who attempt to seduce him. This view contrasts sharply with representations of Lü in Ming popular fiction and drama, however, particularly stories describing his affair with a courtesan known as the White Peony (Bai Mudan).[12] Both the *Record of the Immortal Lü's Flying Sword* (*Lüxian feijian ji*, pp. 312–315) and the *Journey to the East* (*Dongyou ji*, pp. 42–44) contain this story, which states that one day Lü saw Bai Mudan and, being struck by her beauty, transformed himself into a scholar in order to seduce her. As an adept of the arts of the bedchamber (*fangzhong shu*), he refrains from ejaculating, a feat that enables him to absorb Bai's *yin* essence while also replenishing his own *yang* essence (*caiyin buyang*). After many such encounters, Bai grows progressively weaker until she is told that she can make Lü ejaculate by tickling him during intercourse. Bai thereupon causes Lü to ejaculate, which in turn prompts him to realize his error in seducing

her and to return to the path of self-cultivation. The Bai Mudan stories resemble accounts about the sexual exploits of another nonbureaucratic deity, the eccentric Buddhist monk Jigong (Shahar 1994, 1996, 1998). Glen Dudbridge's fascinating study of the cult of Mount Hua, a sacred site relatively close to the Palace of Eternal Joy, also reveals the coexistence of conventional images of a deity that stress his morality with irreverent ones that explicitly deal with his sexuality (Dudbridge 1995:86–116, esp. 100–112; see also Goossaert 1998).[13]

I am not certain how the story of Bai Mudan came to be linked to Lü Dongbin. One late Ming scholar named Li Rihua (1565–1635) suggests that people confused Lü Dongbin with another immortal named Yan Dongbin (*Zitaoxuan zazhui* 1:18a; see also Pu 1936:116–117), but I have yet to locate any evidence to support this claim. It does appear that the more blatantly sexual aspects of this story were cleaned up over time. A folktale recorded by Lin Lan in north China states that Lü merely flirted with Bai (Lin 1933:48–49), while an illustrated version of the story in the 1984 issue of the journal *Shanxi minjian wenxue* (*Folk Literature from Shanxi*, pp. 1–2) portrays Lü as flirting with Bai in order to convince her to steal a pin from her mistress the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwang Mu). Lü then uses this pin to exorcise a mountain demon.[14] A local novelette recently reprinted by Chinese folklorists doing research near the Palace of Eternal Joy's new home in Ruicheng also recounts this and other heroic exploits of Lü and Bai. It describes them as having a close but generally platonic friendship (Lu et al. 1987:163–224). However, folktales collected by folklorists in Shandong, Zhejiang, and Hong Kong state that Lü and Bai had a son (Kwok and O'Brian 1991:64–71; Liu et al. 1995:113–120, 154–162).

Lü's romantic misadventures do not merely extend to prostitutes, however: other stories even portray him as attempting (unsuccessfully) to seduce the bodhisattva Guanyin (Lin 1933:62–64; Kwok and O'Brian 1991:82–85; Yin 1984:67–69)[15] There is, however, a negative side to Lü Dongbin's image as a dashing young immortal, namely, his jealousy of young lovers, which stems from his "failures" with Bai Mudan and Guanyin. In Taiwan, few unmarried couples dare visit the Palace of Guidance (Zhinan gong; also known as the Immortal's Temple or Xiangong miao), a popular cult site to Lü located in the mountains south of Taipei. The reason is they fear that Lü will cause their rela-

tionship to fail. Even though many people do not know the story of Lü and Bai, they conceive of him as a deity who is not fond of lovers.[16]

Novels and folktales are a particularly valuable source for understanding the cult of Lü Dongbin, because they present him in a manner rarely found in the more conventional sources. These texts consistently portray him as an intent and serious immortal. Even when he gets drunk or behaves eccentrically, he is portrayed as doing so in order to test an individual before enlightening him or her. Few such works show Lü or any of the other Eight Immortals in a humorous or fallible light, perhaps reflecting their authors' own sense of decorum. This portrayal contrasts sharply with folktales and novels like the *Journey to the East*, which portray Lü and the Eight Immortals as a rollicking, fun-loving bunch.[17] Take, for example, this story recorded by Lin Lan, which describes how Lü and another member of the Eight Immortals, Li Tieguai, attempted to trick a clever individual named Li Guangda, who always drank with others but never paid his share of the bill. Lü and Tieguai drink with Li but then order a bowl of broth and propose that each person should contribute to making a bowl of soup. Tieguai promptly cuts off his nose and adds it to the broth, whereupon Lü slices off his ears. When it comes to Li Guangda's turn, however, he merely pulls out three of his hairs and throws them in the bowl, saying that they would make up the noodles in the soup. The two immortals can do nothing but quickly eat up and leave (Lin 1933:56–59).[18]

Comic and irreverent portrayals of Lü Dongbin and other deities appear to have been relatively common in late imperial popular literature. Meir Shahar and Robert Weller have noted that vernacular fiction (both oral and written) tends to emphasize the comic side of popular deities as well as their mischievous, rebellious, and even antinomian aspects (Shahar and Weller 1996:15, 18). Shahar's own research also clearly shows that many deities portrayed in vernacular novels were women, martial figures, or eccentrics who defied or challenged the ethos of China's ruling classes (1996:196–203). Additional and more systematic research is needed on the relationship between images of popular deities in vernacular fiction and the historical development of these deities' cults, but the evidence presented in this book suggests that multivalent images of Lü Dongbin may be part of a larger pattern of cultic development that featured the appearance of different and

even unconventional representations of the divine. Why some cults developed this way and others did not is unclear. Isabelle Ang suggests that, in Lü Dongbin's case, one factor may have been the relatively low social status of many of his worshipers, who by participating in his cult demanded a "right to be dirty" ("droit à la saleté") (1997:474, 496–498, 500–501). This hypothesis seems promising and may also be relevant in the case of the cults of Lady Linshui (Baptandier 1996) and Mazu (Watson 1985). However, more systematic research will be required to determine whether the hypothesis will hold for all Chinese popular deities. Researchers also need to address the larger question of what these cults can tell us about the communities who both created them and were shaped by their development.

While the accounts presented in this chapter permit only a glimpse of the images of Lü Dongbin circulating throughout late imperial China, it should by now be readily apparent that the images of this immortal could be as many and as varied as the groups of people who worshiped him. I do not mean to imply that each group's representation was isolated and insulated; rather, they interacted with each other through the process of reverberation described in the Introduction.[19] In an example given here, even though Taoist hagiographies, novels, and dramas do not follow temple inscriptions and local gazetteers in claiming that Lü had passed the exams, they do agree that he was a scholar and had met Zhongli Quan. Furthermore, while local folktales differ from popular novels like the *Journey to the East* in failing to mention Zhongli Quan as Lü's master, both tend to portray Lü as a more human figure with human failings.

At this point, it is appropriate to return to a key question I posed at the beginning of this study: How can one account for the presence of such a diverse set of texts? After having "read" or "viewed" some of these texts as well as explored their textuality, I think one can tentatively conclude that their existence reflects the diversity of the socioreligious world that produced them. This diversity in turn indicates that the cultural significance of the Palace of Eternal Joy and other Chinese sacred sites lies in their ability to reflect, reproduce, and even create society. As Shahar and Weller so aptly put it, "Religion is not a reflex of Chinese social structure, or even of class, gender, or geographical position. It is instead part of an ongoing dialogue of interpretations, sometimes competing and sometimes cooperating"

(1996:21). In this context, Chinese sacred sites served as a public space for the generation of competing yet interacting forms of discourse, which helps explain their continuing attraction to the people of late imperial China and their descendents.

Conclusion

This study has explored the ways in which the people of late imperial China created sacred sites and responded to the creative efforts of others. However, attempting to bring this study to its conclusion is a complicated and in some ways even contradictory task. This is because, while I have emphasized the importance of diversity, I also recognize that most academic works usually conclude with an attempt to achieve a unified interpretation of the data by formulating a coherent explanation that can "make sense" of the subject being studied. Such efforts are largely illusory, however, for texts are open to a vast variety of readings, as is this book.[1] In order to avoid the pitfalls of much scholarly discourse, I have followed what is known as "textualist" approach, combining a number of methodologies without claiming that any one allows direct accesss to a so-called reality or actuality of the past (Jenkins 1995:32–33).

Taken as a whole, this study of the Palace of Eternal Joy has shown that Chinese sacred sites were important public spaces where different groups attempted to propagate images of the deities they worshiped and the society they belonged to. In the complex society of late imperial China, some texts

gained relatively wide acceptance while others ended up being neglected or rejected, with hegemonic discourse frequently proving unable to overcome other alternative and even oppositional versions. These latter texts did not replace or supersede hegemonic ones, nor were they intended to do so. However, their existence reveals the vitality of social and cultural diversity in late imperial China and the difficulty of imposing any form of ideological control. For scholars studying Chinese religions, the persistence of such diversity indicates that the identification and study of unified or consistent interpretations of various beliefs and rituals merely constitutes the first step of any research effort and needs to be followed by rigorous analysis of the actual prevalence of such discourse among the general populace.

In studying the Palace of Eternal Joy and its texts, I have tested and applied a number of concepts and theories currently employed by social scientists and literary critics, especially those of textuality and reception as well as hegemony and resistance. I have done so because I believe that the selective and critical use of these ideas can benefit research on Chinese religions by helping scholars move beyond simply reading and translating texts to address the more interesting and fundamental questions of who creates texts and for what reasons, and who responds to these texts and in what ways. For me, therefore, the importance of such concepts and theories lies in the ways they can help us further refine our methods of studying the social history of Chinese religions.

For the purposes of this study, I have adhered to Adrian Wilson's call to treat every text as representing the effects of social and cultural processes. This methodology has revealed that sacred sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy do not produce a body of unified or coherent texts but instead spark the creation of a diverse collection of competing texts. As I showed in Chapter 1, the very arrangement of sacred space at the palace permitted the expression of different images of this site and its cult to Lü Dongbin. Elite and Perfect Realization representations were expressed in the inscriptions and murals displayed in the eastern portion of the temple complex, while the shrines and temples in the western portion were and still are sites for popular worship of deities like Lü Dongbin. Chapter 2 revealed that Lü's cult was highly multivalent from its beginnings during the tenth century. Different groups, including literati and Perfect Realization masters, created their own images of this deity, but no single image proved able to supersede all others. It is thus

no surprise that the types of texts produced at one of Lü's leading sacred sites, the Palace of Eternal Joy, also varied greatly. The inscriptions described in Chapter 3 emphasize the importance of elite and Taoist patronage, while presenting representations of Lü as a scholar turned Taoist who had attained immortality and could thus inspire his peers. In Chapter 4 the palace's murals depicted the Perfect Realization pantheon as well as Lü's role as a potential instructor in the arts of Taoist self-cultivation. Chapter 5, however, featured a very different set of sources: dramas, novels, and folktales, texts that reflect mentalities strikingly different from or even opposed to those of the palace's leading patrons.

When considering a cult as widespread yet as diverse as Lü's, an obvious question is, What factors might explain the varying degrees of influence different texts enjoyed? A possible solution to this problem may be found in an essay by Erik Zürcher on the Buddhist influences on Taoism during the early medieval era. Zürcher uses the concept of "hard" and "soft" (characteristics) to determine the degree of influence the former religion had on the latter. According to Zürcher, Taoism possessed a number of well-formed concepts or complexes of concepts before Buddhism's entry into China, such as cults of the immortals and charm writing. These facets of Taoism were "hard" and Buddhism's impact on them, limited. However, Taoism also had relatively unformed concepts or complexes of concepts, most notably karmic retribution and the courts of the underworld. These areas of Taoism were in turn "soft" and Buddhism's impact thus greater (Zürcher 1980; see also Verellen 1992).

Zürcher treats the concept of hard and soft (characteristics) not as firm facts supported by extensive historical evidence but as hypotheses that must be tested by detailed case studies. One can find some evidence that appears to disprove his analysis, such as the influence of Buddhist ideas of karmic retribution and the bodhisattva vow on the supposedly hard cult of the immortals. Nevertheless, it does seem that Zürcher's concept can help explain why different texts exert varying degrees of influence. In the case of Lü Dongbin's cult at the Palace of Eternal Joy, the people of Yongle were worshiping him and telling stories about him long before Song Defang and his fellow Perfect Realization Taoists arrived there. Yuan Congyi's inscription represents one early representation of Lü, although there is no way of measuring its popularity at that time. The presence of both Yuan's inscription and the folktales

mentioned above indicates that, as far as stories about Lü's conversion to Taoism are concerned, this aspect of his cult was hard and the subsequent impact of Perfect Realization and elite texts therefore rather limited. In contrast, stories about Lü Dongbin's conversion of Wang Zhe only began to circulate widely following Wang's death in 1170, the earliest known version being in the *Anthology of the Perfect Realization* [*Master Wang*] *Chongyang*, which was compiled in 1188. Perfect Realization Taoists were active in southern Shanxi during the late twelfth century, but there is no evidence indicating that stories about Wang's conversion experience were popular at Yongle before Perfect Realization Taoists assumed control of Lü Dongbin's cult site there during the thirteenth century. Therefore, this aspect of Lü's cult was soft and the impact of Perfect Realization texts more extensive.

The above discussion reveals that Zürcher's concept of hard and soft (characteristics) can be highly useful in analyzing the degree of influence new beliefs and practices exerted on already extant ones. However, it is important to note that this distinction merely describes the condition of different texts before any interaction (or reverberation) between religious traditions occurs. It does not explain the processes by which texts influence each other or the factors that result in some being accepted and others rejected. The concepts of hegemony and resistance, in contrast, can help in understanding some of the dynamics of textual interaction, especially since the elite patrons who supported large and renowned sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy proved unable to manipulate the cultural nexus of power to enforce a unified interpretation of their texts. There are a number of factors that may explain their failure. The texts they chose to produce, temple inscriptions and murals, were not particularly effective media for transmitting ideas and values. Inscriptions are texts composed by classically educated literati for an audience composed of fellow literati. As such, they could not readily serve as a means for the inculcation of ideas and doctrines among the illiterate or semiliterate. Murals and other works of art did possess the potential to inculcate hegemonic discourse but only if accompanied by detailed oral or written exegesis. Even then, their effectiveness is open to question. As early as the Han dynasty, scholars like the skeptic Wang Chong (27–ca. 100) commented on the difficulties murals faced in achieving a didactic purpose: "People like to look at paintings because noble scholars are

represented in these pictures. How can the sight of these noble scholars' faces equal a view of their words and actions? Placed on a bare wall their formal appearances are preserved in details but people are not inspired by them because their words and actions are not visible" (Bush and Shih 1985:16; see also Liu Yang 1997:116).

Nevertheless, even if the written and visual texts at the Palace of Eternal Joy had been more effectively publicized, the Perfect Realization Taoists and local elites who patronized this site still faced daunting difficulties in attempting to impose or maintain a unified interpretation of the history of this site and the identity of its main deity. Perhaps most important, the palace's patrons lacked the strong social and institutional mechanisms needed to impose unified interpretations, and this lack of unity in turn created a strong possibility for difference, if not resistance (Weller 1994:26, 27). As early as the 1960s, scholars like C. K. Yang observed that the diffused nature of Chinese society frequently impeded the efforts of institutional religions and the state to shape local society according to their wishes. Yang notes: "An institutional religion may be readily observable in its independent existence, and yet its role in the social organization may not be very important. Diffused religion, on the other hand, may be less apparent as a separate factor, but it may be very important as an undergirding force for secular institutions and the general social order as a whole" (1961:295). The dichotomous view of Chinese religions Yang follows may be too simplistic and extreme, and he also seriously underestimates both the structural strength of institutional religions and their potential to influence society during periods of rapid growth and active proselytizing. However, his analysis is a reminder of the difficulties organized religious movements like Perfect Realization Taoism faced in imposing their beliefs on local cults, even in cases where their sacred sites benefited from local support.

As for the imperial state and the elites who frequently allied themselves with it, scholars such as Daniel Overmyer, Michael Szonyi, Romeyn Taylor, and James Watson have convincingly demonstrated that the ideals expressed in state documents were rarely achieved. As Overmyer effectively puts it, "In theory, there was a state monopoly on the worship of the most powerful deities, and the right to worship other gods was delegated by the ruler. . . . In fact, of course, there was a whole realm of popular religion the state was unable to control" (1989–1990:192). The inherently decentralized structure

of Chinese religions combined with the diverse nature of Chinese society and the complex reception texts experienced in such a society made attempts at imposing cultural hegemony largely exercises in futility. Although China's ruling classes attempted to achieve cultural hegemony, they lacked the means to achieve such a goal, and the individuals meant to be indoctrinated appear to have been able to preserve their original mentalities without being forced to resist hegemonic discourse actively.

Based on the above discussion, it is apparent that in the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy and the cult of Lü Dongbin, the palace's patrons were largely unable to inculcate new interpretations or fully eradicate old ones. People living in the area around the palace continued to worship Lü for his miraculous powers and told stories that downplayed the importance of Taoist and elite patronage. Thus, it appears that sacred sites like the Palace of Eternal Joy encompassed numerous different mentalities. As a result, the "history" of such sites ends up being recorded in texts that present hegemonic interpretations of their social and cultural significance as well as texts that differ from or even contradict these hegemonic ones. Scholars adhering to the theory of Oriental Despotism might conclude that the presence of these diverse texts merely reflects the existence of a "beggar's democracy." However, the evidence reviewed in this study suggests that such a view misses the point. I believe that the significance of different or resisting texts is not that they effectively challenge the established order or in some way contribute to its downfall. Instead, their creation and popularity serve as a reminder of the limits of hegemonic discourse and the limited ability of China's ruling classes to impose their mentalities on the people they sought to control.

To conclude, I would like to point out that although I have stressed the differences among various representations of Lü Dongbin, it is also important to realize that all have one thing in common—the absence of the so-called bureaucratic metaphor. While many different images of this immortal did circulate, they vary not in terms of portraying him as a bureaucrat but in terms of his conversion to Taoism, his spiritual powers, and his morality. The insignificance of the bureaucratic metaphor in this respect might come as a surprise to scholars who consider the Taoist pantheon to be a vast supernatural bureaucracy. Nobody who has witnessed a Taoist ritual, with its stacks of memorials being sent on fiery transits to deities governing all

manner of celestial and chthonic posts, could possibly overlook the importance of the bureaucratic metaphor in Taoism. However, there are other facets of Taoism besides its mammoth bureaucracies and elaborate hierarchies of spiritual beings, one of the most ancient being cults to immortals like Lü Dongbin. Anna Seidel once pointed out that cults to immortals "may help us *not* to extend the very helpful insight into the bureaucratic character of the Chinese supernatural world beyond its proper limits" (1989–1990:248; italics in original). She has further speculated that "perhaps one function of the immortals was to counterbalance [the Chinese] obsession with rank and all-inclusive hierarchies" (p. 258). Seidel's analysis is particularly enlightening for its suggestion that the Chinese spiritual world, like Chinese society itself, was highly diverse and complex, and may not be effectively described by the use of one all-encompassing metaphor. In fact, I would argue that the enduring popularity of nonbureaucratic deities like Lü Dongbin reveals that the people of late imperial and even modern China worship such deities not because they conform to standard ethical values but because they challenge them.

Appendix A
Stele Inscriptions at the Palace of Eternal Joy

What follows is a list of all stele inscriptions located at the Palace of Eternal Joy and the nearby Upper Palace. These inscriptions are listed in chronological order based on the date the stone was carved, which in some cases is much later than the text's composition. I give the inscription's title, followed by the name of its author (when available) and the date. The stele's location in the palace (before the move to Ruicheng) is also supplied along with a brief summary of each inscription's contents as well as bibliographic data for those wishing to consult the original texts.

1. "A Record of the Tang Dynasty Shrine to the Perfected Lü of Purified Yang" (*You Tang Chunyang Lü zhenren citang ji* 有唐純陽呂真人祠堂記). Yuan Congyi 袁從義. 1228. Located in front of the Hall of Purified Yang. A slight variant of this stele was also laid into the eastern corner of the southern wall of the Hall of Redoubled Yang. Yuan's text, composed in 1222, presents a hagiography of Lü Dongbin as well as a vivid description of the shrine's setting and early history (Chen et al. 1988:447–448; Su 1963:58, 60).

2. "A Stele on the Reconstruction of the Great Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity [during] our Great Dynasty" (*Dachao chongjian Chunyang wanshou gong zhi bei* 大朝重建純陽萬壽宮之碑). Wang E 王鶚. 1262. The largest stele in the entire temple complex (over ten feet in height). It still stands to the east of the path leading from the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate to the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Provides the most detailed account of the palace's growth from a local shrine to a Taoist temple. Describes the involvement of Perfect Realization Taoists like Song Defang and Pan Dechong in the construction of the Palace of Eternal Joy (Su 1962:80, 81, 83).
3. "Funerary Stele and Forward for the Shrine to Heavenly Master Song [Defang], Perfected Being Cloaked in Clouds of the Dark Capital and Unsurpassed Tao" (*Xuandu zhidao piyun zhenren Song tianshi citang beiming bing yin* 玄都至道披雲真人宋天師祠堂碑銘並引). Li Ding 李鼎. 1262. Located outside the belvedere dedicated to Song Defang. Contains a complete biography of Song as well as an account of events leading to the transfer of his remains to the Palace of Eternal Joy (Chen et al. 1988:546–549).
4. "A Stele on the Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Being of the Dark Capital and Unsurpassed Tao Who Honored Culture and Illuminated Transformations" (*Xuandu zhidao chongwen minghua zhenren daoxing zhi bei* 玄都至道崇文明化真人道行之碑). Shang Ting 商挺. 1274. Located outside Song's belvedere. Provides material on Song's life not found in Li Ding's inscription and Perfect Realization sources. Describes in detail Song's role in promoting the construction of the palace (Chen et al. 1988:613–614).
5. "A Stele of an Imperial Edict to the Palace of Purified Yang and Memorials Inviting Lord Pan [Dechong] to Serve as Its Abbot" (*Chunyang gong lingzhi bei ji qing Pan gong zhuchi shu* 純陽宮令旨碑及請潘公住持疏). 1274. Outside the belvedere dedicated to Pan Dechong. The inscription commences with a decree awarding Pan an official title issued in 1262 by Mege, Prince of Changtong. The rest of the inscription consists of a series of six memorials written in 1246 requesting Pan to serve as abbot of the Palace of Eternal Joy and oversee its reconstruction (Chen et al. 1988:491–492).

6. "A Record of Meritorious Contributions [for Repairs to] the Great Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity" (*Da Chunyang wanshou gong hua gong yuan ji* 大純陽萬壽宮化功緣記). 1301. Laid into the eastern side of the forward platform of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate. Mentions the completion of work on the bases of the three main halls in 1301. Also lists the leaders of local ritual associations and other members of the local populace who made contributions to sponsor this project (Chen et al. 1988:708).
7. "...Stele [Recording] Official Titles for the Five Patriarchs and Seven Perfected of the Perfect Realization [Movement]" (...*baofeng Wuzu Qizhen sheng zhi bei* 褒封五祖七真聖旨碑). 1317. This stele, which once stood in front of the Hall of Purified Yang, is divided into four sections. The first section contains an imperial decree issued in 1308 in which the Yuan emperor Wuzong (r. 1308–1311) confirmed Miao Daoyi's leadership of the Perfect Realization movement and appointed him to a position in the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. The second section records the titles awarded to the Five Patriarchs of the Perfect Realization movement in 1310, while the third and fourth sections list the titles awarded to the Seven Perfected and eighteen of their disciples, including Yin Zhiping, Li Zhichang, Pan Dechong, and Song Defang. These titles were also awarded in 1310. The back of the stone contains a list of names of the Taoist and lay supporters of the temple who paid for the stele as well as a record of the temple's properties (Chen et al. 1988:727–728, 729–733).
8. "A Record of the Reconstruction of the Temple of the King of Western Qi Who Protects the Nation" (*Chongxiu huguo Xiqi wang miao ji* 重修護國西齊王廟記). Li Qin 李欽. 1326. Originally erected at a small temple to the deity Cui Fujun, located just south of the Palace of Eternal Joy. Describes how various association heads helped raise funds for the reconstruction of this temple in 1326 (Chen et al. 1988:776–777).
9. "A Stele of an Imperial Decree [Issued to] the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity" (*Chunyang wanshou gong shengzhi bei* 純陽萬壽宮聖旨碑). 1327. In front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Records an imperial decree written in the Mongolian vernacular granted to the

Palace of Eternal Joy (in 1325?). This decree extends imperial protection to the palace and its properties (Chen et al. 1988:781–782).

10. "A Stele of a Communication [to a Subordinate] Issued to the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity" (*Chunyang wanshou gong zhafu bei* 純陽萬壽宮扎付碑). 1336. In front of the Hall of Purified Yang. The first portion of the inscription records an exchange of official documents written by a Taoist superintendent at the Palace of Eternal Joy and the central Taoist authorities. The second portion contains important data on the palace's size, property, and links to other Taoist belvederes and nunneries during the Yuan dynasty (Chen et al. 1988:791–795).
11. "A Stele of Decrees [Issued to] the Palace of Purified Yang and Limitless Longevity" (*Chunyang wanshou gong lingzhi bei* 純陽萬壽宮令旨碑). 1347. In front of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate. This stele records decrees in the Mongolian vernacular issued in 1332 and 1339 extending imperial protection to the Palace of Eternal Joy (Chen et al. 1988:804–805).
12. "A Recarving of a Stele Recording an Imperial Edict Issued by the [Yuan] Emperor Wuzong" (*Chongke Wuzong shengzhi beiji* 重刻武宗聖旨碑). 1347. Carved on the back of stele 4. Records the emperor Wuzong's issuance of a new title to Song Defang (Chen et al. 1988: 805).
13. "A Stele on the Reconstruction of the Temple to the Eastern Peak of Mount Dai" (*Chongxiu Dongyue Daishan miao bei* 重修東嶽岱山廟碑). 1349. Set up in front of a Temple to the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, located just south of the Palace of Eternal Joy. Recounts how local association heads worked with the Taoists living in the palace to rebuild this temple (Chen et al. 1988:807).
14. "[Poetic] Writings Left by the Venerable Immortal [Lü] at Nine Peaks [Mountain]" (*Xianweng liuti Jiufeng* 仙翁留題九峰). Yuan dynasty. This poem, attributed to Lü Dongbin, was originally carved on a stele erected outside the Upper Palace on Nine Peaks Mountain but was later moved to the Palace of Eternal Joy. It was written in seal script calligraphy by a lecturer at the Upper Palace named Zhu Xiangxian 朱象先 (fl. 1279–1308) (Chen et al. 1988:766).

15. "Hundred-Character Stele by Venerable Immortal Lü" (*Lü xianweng baizi bei* 呂仙翁百字碑). Yuan dynasty. This poem, attributed to Lü Dongbin, was carved on a stele originally located atop Nine Peaks Mountain. It now stands outside the Shrine of the Patriarch Lü (Chen et al. 1988:766–767).
16. "A Poem Written by the Presented Scholar Jiang Bing [and Later] Carved on Stone" (*Jinshi Jiang Bing shi keshi* 進士蔣昺詩刻石). Jiang Bing. 1498. In front of the Hall of Purified Yang. I have yet to determine the contents of this inscription (Su 1963:59).
17. "A Poem Written by Zhang Jiayun While Staying at the Palace of Eternal Joy [and Later] Carved on Stone" (*Zhang Jiayun su Yongle gong shi keshi* 張佳允宿永樂宮詩刻石). Zhang Jiayun. 1564. In front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Recounts Zhang's feelings while staying at the site (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 22:31a–b).
18. "A Stele Inscription on the Commencement of Good Works at the Palace of Purified Yang in Yongle Town" (*Yongle zhen Chunyang gong zhaoxiu shanshi beiwen* 永樂鎮純陽宮肇修善事碑文). Zhang Taizheng 張泰正. 1617. In front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Describes Taoist rituals held at the palace as well as the role played by members of the local elite in initiating the temple's reconstruction (Chen et al. 1988:1301–1302).
19. "A Record of Repairs to the Spirit Tablets at the Palace of Eternal Joy" (*Yongle gong chongxiu zhu paiwei ji* 永樂宮重修諸牌位記). 1624. In front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Describes the repair of spirit tablets and other ritual implements located in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones (Su 1963:56).
20. "A Poem Written by Wu Shu of Jingkou [Jiangsu] [and Later] Carved on Stone" (*Jingkou Wu Shu tishi keshi* 京口吳淑題詩刻石). Wu Shu. 1624. Outside the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. I have yet to determine the contents of this inscription (Su 1963:56).
21. "A Record of the Reconstruction of Lord Pan's Shrine" (*Chongxiu Pan gong citang ji* 重修潘公祠堂記). Li Conglong 李從龍. 1636. Carved on the side of stele 5. Contains a detailed account of repairs made to this and other buildings at the palace (Chen et al. 1988:1308).

22. "A Record of Repairs to the Walls of the Palace of Purified Yang, Limitless Longevity, and Eternal Joy" (*Chunyang wanshou Yongle gong chongxiu qiangyuan ji* 純陽萬壽永樂宮重修嗇垣記). Yan Guangda 嚴廣大 and Zheng Wufu 正吾甫. 1636. Outside the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate. The first portion of this text contains a brief hagiography of Lü Dongbin. The latter part describes additional repairs undertaken at the palace (Chen et al. 1988:1308–1309).
23. "A Stele Recording the Meritorious Celebration of a Taoist Offering" (*Chuangli jianjiao gongde beiji* 創立建醮功德碑記). 1643. In front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Emphasizes the symbolic importance of the palace's location as well as the merit accrued from the staging of annual offering rituals at this site (Chen et al. 1988:1310).
24. "A Stele Recording the Reconstruction of the Halls of the Patriarch Qiu [Chuji] and the Seven Perfected" (*Chongxiu Qiuzu Qizhen er dian beiji* 重修丘祖七真二殿碑記). 1643. Located to the southeast of the ruins of the Hall of the Patriarch Qiu. The text appears to have been carved on top of a Tang dynasty Buddhist inscription (Su 1963:61). Contains an account of repairs undertaken during the late Ming as well as the roles played by Perfect Realization Taoists and members of the local elite in sponsoring such repairs (Chen et al. 1988:1310–1311).
25. "A Record of the Reconstruction of the Dragon and Tiger Hall [Gate of the Limitless Ultimate]" (*Chongxiu Longhu dian ji* 重修龍虎殿記). 1656. Outside the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate. Describes repairs to the gate during the early Qing (Su 1963:55).
26. "A Stele Recording Celebrations Marking the Erection of Lamps at the Hall of Patriarch Lü [Hall of Purified Yang]" (*Gongli Lüzu dian changdeng beiji* 恭立呂祖殿長燈碑記). 1656. Outside the Hall of Purified Yang. Commemorates the addition of lamps to this hall (Su 1963:58).
27. "A Stele Recording Prayers for Blessings and the Offering of Vows by Lu Gongyi and Others While on Pilgrimage to Mount Wudang" (*Lu Gongyi deng chaoyi Wudang shan qifu jiaoyuan beiji* 魯公益等朝謁武當山祈福繳願碑記). 1672. In front of the Hall of Redoubled Yang. Describes Qing dynasty pilgrimage to Mount Wudang (Su 1963:60).

28. "A Stele Recording the Reconstruction of the Palace of Limitless Longevity during the Great Qing" (*Da Qing chongxiu Wanshou gong beiji* 大清重修萬壽宮碑記). 1689. Still stands to the west of the pathway leading from the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate to the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Recounts how members of the local populace took the initiative in organizing the palace's reconstruction during the 1680s (Su 1963:55).
29. "List of Names of [Sponsors of the 1689] Reconstruction [Project]" (*Chongxiu timing bei* 重修提名碑). 1689. To the north of stele 28. Lists the names of the donors who paid for the 1689 reconstruction (Su 1963:55).
30. "A Stele Recording Prayers for Blessings and the Offering of Vows by Lu Yangshun While on Pilgrimage to Mount Wudang" (*Lu Yangshun chaoyi Wudang shan qifu jiaoyuan beiji* 魯養順朝謁武當山祈福繳願碑記). 1700. In front of the Hall of Purified Yang. Describes Lu Yangshun's pilgrimage to Mount Wudang in 1700 (Su 1963:60).
31. Title unknown. 1702. In front of the Hall of Redoubled Yang. Only the stone turtle base of this stele survives. Title mentions pilgrimage to Mount Wudang by Yang Maojin and other Yongle residents (Su 1963:60).
32. "A Poem Written by Sun E [about] the Shrine of Lord Lü and the Palace of Eternal Joy [and Later] Carved on Stone" (*Sun E Lugong ci, Yongle gong shi keshi* 孫諤呂公祠, 永樂宮詩刻石). 1759. Outside the Hall of Purified Yang, next to stele 16. I have yet to determine the contents of this inscription (Su 1963:59).
33. "A Stele Recording the Reconstruction of the Palace of Eternal Joy" (*Chongxiu Yongle gong beiji* 重修永樂宮碑記). 1773. In front of the Hall of Purified Yang. Provides an account of how the local official Liu Muyan helped organize this particular reconstruction project (Su 1963:58).
34. "A Record by Gao Gongxi Carved on Stone [Commemorating] the Completion of [the Palace's] Reconstruction" (*Gao Gongxi ji chongxiu gongjun keshi* 高宮璽記重修工竣刻石). 1773. In front of the Hall of Purified Yang. Has more information on the 1773 reconstruction project (Su 1963:59).

35. "A Stele on the Merit of the Puzhou Prefect Surnamed Jiang" (*Puzhou fu zhifu Jiang mou gongde bei* 蒲州府知府蔣謀功德碑). 1804. In front of the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. Commemorates Prefectural Magistrate Jiang Rongchang's 蔣榮昌 recovery of some of the palace's property (see stele 36) (Su 1963:56).
36. "A Stele Recording the Lands and Rents of the Palace of Eternal Joy" (*Yongle gong dimu zuke beiji* 永樂宮地畝租稞碑記). 1804. Outside the Hall of Purified Yang. Most of the inscription consists of a list of the temple's properties, but the opening section also describes how Jiang Rongchang helped organize the repurchase of land and trees that had been pawned by resident Taoists (Su 1963:58).
37. "A Stele Recording the Reconstruction of the Rear Eaves of the Hall of Turbulent Completion [Hall of Purified Yang], the Hall of the Three Pure Ones, and the Upper-Storey Hall to the Perfect Warrior" (*Chongxiu Huncheng dian, Sanqing dian, Zhenwu ge houzhan beiji* 重修混成殿, 三清殿, 真武閣後簷碑記). 1890. Outside the Hall of the Three Pure Ones. This inscription, the most recent late imperial text at the palace, mentions 1773 as having been the last time any significant repairs were made and credits an official surnamed Li as having initiated this most recent effort (Su 1963:56).

Appendix B
Hagiographic Murals in the Hall of Purified Yang

What follows is a list of the fifty-two hagiographical murals about Lü Dongbin contained in the Hall of Purified Yang. This list includes the title of each mural given on its accompanying cartouche (when available). If the mural in question is based on Miao Shanshi's *Account*, its number in that source (*MTJ*) is provided. The title is followed by a brief description of the mural's contents. The Chinese texts of the cartouches can be found in Wang Chang'an 1963b. Finally, the mural's intended theme (according to the cartouche) is given.

YLG 1 (*MTJ* no. 1). "An Auspicious Response at Yongle" (*Ruiying Yongle* 瑞應永樂). Describes Lü Dongbin's ancestry as well as his miraculous birth at Yongle in 798. Also emphasizes his unusual appearance and the fact that he refused to marry. Theme: biography.

YLG 2 (*MTJ* no. 2). "Enlightenment [after] the Yellow Millet Dream" (*Huangliang meng jue* 黃粱夢覺). Tells the story of how Lü encounters Zhongli Quan in Chang'an in 810 while preparing to

sit for the exams. Summarizes the contents of the Yellow Millet Dream. Zhongli Quan flies away after revealing his identity to Lü, and Lü returns to his home in Yongle. Theme: biography.

YLG 3 (MTJ no. 3). "Charitable Deeds and Hidden Merit" (*Ciji yinde* 慈濟陰德). Recounts how Lü gives away his worldly possessions during a famine. He then sets out on a journey to Mount Zhongnan and composes a poem for his family in which he reveals his intention to pursue Taoist self-cultivation. Theme: biography.

YLG 4 (MTJ no. 4). "The Successive Tests of the Five Demons" (*Lishi wumo* 歷試五魔). Briefly summarizes the five tests Lü undergoes to ascertain his potential to become an immortal. Theme: biography.

YLG 5. "Subduing Monsters in Hengzhou" (*Hengzhou suyao* 衡州肅妖). Lü uses thunder rites to exorcise a horde of over eighty animal sprites that have been haunting a widow and her two daughters. He also affixes a charm to the house's door to prevent the sprites from returning. After thanking Lü, the two daughters decide to become nuns and convert their home into an abbey (which later becomes a Taoist belvedere). Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 6 (MTJ no. 10). "A Divine Response for the Emperor" (*Shenying diwang* 神應帝王). Song Taizu fails to recognize Lü when Lü visits him in the year 961. After realizing who his guest really was, the emperor orders a portrait of Lü to be painted and enshrined in the imperial palace. Theme: recognition.

YLG 7 (MTJ no. 11). "The Divine Transformation of Begging for Tea at Shi's Shop" (*Shenhua shisi qiucha* 神化石肆求茶). Lü disguises himself as an ugly beggar and asks for tea at the Shi family tea shop. Only the daughter proves willing to serve him, although she also fails to recognize him. Lü reveals his identity and departs, never to return again. Theme: recognition.

YLG 8 (MTJ no. 12). "The Conversion of the Old Pine Spirit" (*Du lao songjing* 度老松精). Describes how the spirit of the pine tree at Yuezhou recognizes Lü during his visit there. Lü subsequently enlightens the spirit and grants him a pill of immortality. Theme: conversion.

YLG 9 (MTJ no. 13). "A Second Conversion of the Immortal Guo"

(*Zaidu Guo xian* 再度郭仙). The pine spirit has now been reincarnated as a man named Guo Shangzao. Guo serves Lü despite the latter's appearance as a diseased beggar. Lü proceeds to enlighten him, and he later becomes an immortal after "deliverance from the corpse" (*shijie* 尸解). Theme: conversion.

YLG 10 (*MTJ* no. 17). "The Divine Transformation of Converting Cao Guojiu" (*Shenhua du Cao Guojiu* 神化度曹國舅). Cao was originally an imperial relative. When he left the court to wander throughout the world, the emperor granted him a special golden tablet. He subsequently meets a Taoist (Lü) who persuades him to throw the tablet into a river. Lü then transmits secret oral formulas to Cao, which enable him to attain immortality. Theme: conversion.

YLG 11 (*MTJ* no. 19). "... the Conversion of the Immortal Maiden He" (... *du He Xiangu* 度何仙姑). When she is thirteen *sui*, Immortal Maiden He enters the mountains to search for medicinal herbs. There she meets Lü, who gives her a magical fruit to eat. She later attains immortality by deliverance from the corpse. Theme: conversion.

YLG 12. "The Conversion of Shen Donglao" (*Du Shen Donglao* 度沈東老). Lü disguises himself as a Taoist named Hui and enlightens Shen Donglao while visiting him at his hermitage in Huzhou in the year 1068. Lü also composes a poem for Shen before departing. Theme: conversion.

YLG 13 (*MTJ* no. 52). "Guiding Hou Yonghui" (*You Hou Yonghui* 誘侯用晦). A Taoist priest residing in Jiangxi named Hou Yonghui asks Lü about his sword, and Lü replies that it serves to eliminate all unruly things. Lü then uses wine to write a message on the walls of Hou's belvedere. Hou asks his name, and Lü replies "Lü Yan" before throwing his sword in the air and flying away after it. Theme: recognition.

YLG 14. "The Divine Transformation of the Crane Assembly at Nanjing" (*Shenhua Jinling hehui* 神化金陵鶴會). Lü attends a Taoist festival honoring his birthday held at an abbey in Nanjing in the year 1300 but is not recognized by the Taoists. Lü departs, but not before writing a message on a stone in front of the abbey. Theme: recognition.

YLG 15 (*MTJ* no. 67). "The Conversion of Seventh Son Chen" (*Du Chen Qizi* 度陳七子). Seventh Son Chen and his wife work as barbers

in a tea shop. A Taoist asks them to cut his hair, but the hair grows back as soon as it is cut off. They realize that this is no ordinary Taoist and follow him during years of travels. Finally, he announces that he is Lü Dongbin and grants them alchemical pills and formulae. Chen Qizi eventually attains the Tao; his wife's fate is not revealed. Theme: conversion.

YLG 16 (*MTJ* no. 68). "Selling Ink in Wuchang" (*Wuchang huomo* 武昌貨墨). Lü, disguised as an ink seller, is ridiculed by the people of Wuchang for trying to sell two tiny blocks of ink for three thousand pieces of cash each. Only one man named Wang buys a block, after which he and Lü get drunk together. Later that night, Lü returns the block to him and leaves. In the morning, the block turns to gold, with the character "Lü" engraved on it. Lü never returns to Wuchang. Theme: recognition.

YLG 17 (*MTJ* no. 49). "The Divine Transformation of Granting Medicine to the Woman Ma" (*Shenhua ciyao Ma shi* 神化賜藥馬氏). A malaria epidemic breaks out in Kaifeng, but the citizens refuse Lü's attempts to help. Only Woman Ma treats him hospitably, although she and her family have all fallen ill. Lü gives the family a bag of red gauze containing medicine, which cures the family but nobody else in the city. The words "Lü Dongbin" are written on the inside of the bag. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 18 (*MTJ* no. 34). "Assisting Master Shao Kangjie" (*Ti Shao Kangjie xiansheng* 提邵康節先生). The Song dynasty scholar Shao Yong determines Lü's presence by performing divination. Lü subsequently enlightens Shao and transmits oral formulae to him. Theme: conversion.

YLG 19. The cartouche has been destroyed. Based on the mural's contents, Wang Chang'an assumes that it portrays *MTJ* no. 76, "Releasing Life at Mount Lu" (*Lushan fangsheng* 廬山放生). In this story, Lü revives a fish that was about to be eaten (Wang 1963b:68). Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 20. The cartouche has been destroyed. Based on the mural's contents, Wang Chang'an assumes that it portrays the story of Lü converting a fishmonger named Sun, who lived during the 1120s and

1130s (Wang 1963b:68). However, it is also possible that this mural is based on an anecdote preserved in Hong Mai's *Record* describing Lü's conversion of a fisherman named Yang Liu (3:1251–1252). Theme: conversion.

YLG 21 (MTJ no. 8). "The Divine Transformation of Escaping the World at Mount Hua" (*Shenhua feidun Huashan* 神化肥遯華山). After providing Lü with oral instruction and teaching him how to use his sword, Zhongli Quan returns to the immortal world and instructs Lü to pursue Taoist self-cultivation at Mount Hua. Lü does so and attains the Tao forty years later, whereupon he composes a poem describing his accomplishments in interior alchemy. Theme: biography.

YLG 22 (MTJ no. 105). "The Divine Transformation of [Lü's] True Appearance and Painting an Image" (*Shenhua yizhen huixiang* 神化儀真繪像). Disguised as a government student (*xiucai* 秀才), Lü creates an image of himself at the Belvedere of Celestial Rejoicing in Zhenzhou (Sichuan). The image becomes extremely efficacious, responding favorably to all requests for aid. Theme: miraculous powers (and recognition).

YLG 23 (MTJ no. 104). "Journeying to the Monastery at Cold Mountain" (*You Hanshan si* 游寒山寺). Lü spends the night at the Cold Mountain Monastery in Suzhou and tells the monks that his surname is Lü. He also complains of the racket caused by the wind blowing chimes inside the monastery. One of the elder monks jokes that if Lü is the true Lü Dongbin, he should use his powers to stop the noise. Lü does exactly that, to the amazement of the monks, who only then grasp the true identity of their guest. Theme: miraculous powers (and recognition).

YLG 24. "The Conversion of Ma Tingluan" (*Du Ma Tingluan* 度馬庭鸞). Ma Tingluan is a model Taoist patron, who provides vegetarian feasts for itinerant Taoists. One day a Taoist stops by and asks to eat dog meat. Ma complies, whereupon the Taoist strings up the dog's innards in the toilet and consumes the dog meat along with vast quantities of wine. He then wraps the skin in silk and places it in a pavilion next to a pond. After watching the Taoist leave the next morning, Ma throws the wrapped-up skin into the pond. A sound like

a clap of thunder is heard, and the dog jumps out of the pond with the silk on his back. An image of Lü Dongbin adorns the silk. Ma then proceeds to found a shrine in Lü's honor and passes away one year after these events. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 25. "Healing the Eye Disease of Old Woman Gou" (*Jiu Goupo yanji* 救苟嫂眼疾). A filial son provides vegetarian feasts for Taoists in hopes of finding one who can cure his mother's chronic eye illness. Lü partakes of the feast and gives the son medicine, which proves effective. The son then builds a Taoist abbey in Lü's honor. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 26. "The Divine Transformation of Lifting the Pagoda at Wuzhou" (*Shenhua Wuzhou juta* 神化務州舉塔). Lü is refused entry to a Buddhist monastery in Wuzhou (Anhui), following which he lifts a stone pagoda, breaks it in two, and places the pieces on top of each other. Two gold coins representing the character Lü are visible in the crack between the two pieces, but nobody can pull them out. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 27 (MTJ no. 62). "Saving Censor Zhao" (*Jiu Zhao jianyuan* 救趙監院). Lü cures an official named Zhao Yingdao from a near fatal case of consumption. Zhao later realizes that his benefactor is none other than Lü Dongbin. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 28 (MTJ no. 64). "Giving Away an Alchemical Pill in Chengdu" (*Chengdu shi dan* 成都施丹). Disguised as an impoverished Taoist, Lü visit's Chengdu's medicine market, announces his true identity, and offers to give an alchemical pill to anyone who will worship him. Everyone thinks he is mad; some laugh at him, while others insult him. After a few days of this, he consumes the pill himself at the local Temple of the Numinous Officials of the Five Manifestations. He then floats off amidst five-colored clouds. Theme: recognition.

YLG 29 (MTJ no. 79). "Composing a Poem at the [Belvedere] of Celestial Rejoicing" (*Ti shi Tianqing* 題詩天慶). Lü visits the Belvedere of Celestial Rejoicing in Qinzhou (Shanxi), only to find that all the Taoists are gone, with only a young boy left to watch over the temple. Lü asks the boy for a brush with which to write a poem on the belvedere's walls, but the boy refuses, saying his master has forbid any

such graffiti. Lü resorts to using the skin of a melon to write the poem. Theme: recognition.

YLG 30 (MTJ no. 82). "Exterminating Evil in the Palace" (*Gongzhong jiaosui* 宮中剿崇). During the Zhenghe reign (1111–1118), an evil spirit haunts the Song emperor Huizong's palace, stealing treasures and debauching court women. The famed Taoist priest Lin Lingsu performs an exorcism, but the spirit soon returns. One day a Taoist priest appears and summons a strongman clad in golden armor, who succeeds in destroying this spirit. He then reveals that this strongman was actually Guan Yu (Guangong), that his own surname is Yang, and that he was born on the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month. He then admonishes Huizong and tells him to rectify his own mind to prevent future reoccurrences. Theme: miraculous powers (and recognition).

YLG 31 (MTJ no. 99). "Rectifying the Ruler's Mental Wrongs" (*Zheng jun xinfei* 正君心非). The Huizong emperor presides over a massive Taoist ritual. At its conclusion, he asks the assembled Taoists if any of them can turn mercury into silver. None dare answer until the lowest-ranking Taoist claims to be able to turn dirt into silver. Amazed, the emperor orders him to do so, and the Taoist proceeds to transform an earthen ingot into one of silver. On top of the ingot is a poem written in *jueju* 絕句 style mocking the emperor and revealing the Taoist to be Lü Dongbin. Terrified, the emperor orders the assembled Taoists to perform offerings of thanks the very next day. Theme: recognition (and miraculous powers).

YLG 32 (MTJ no. 108). "Converting Monk Zhang" (*Du Zhang heshang* 度張和尚). The Buddhist monk Zhang Zhixuan encounters Lü Dongbin while wandering in the mountains. The two discuss Buddhist doctrine and principles of interior alchemy, and Zhang soon realizes that Lü is the wiser of the two. He asks Lü for further instruction, following which Lü presents Zhang with a poem summarizing his teachings. Theme: conversion.

YLG 33 (MTJ no. 107). "Using an Alchemical Pill to Convert Mo Di" (*Dan du Mo Di* 丹度莫敵). An old soldier named Mo Di lives in Yangzhou, accumulating merit by offering vegetarian feasts to men-

dicant Taoists in order to offset the sins accrued on the battlefield. One day a Taoist asks Mo if he has learned the Way, to which Mo replies that all his life he has known only slaughter and has no hope of achieving this goal. Lü then tells Mo that all wrongs arise in the heart and takes him to a pool in which he sees over a hundred of the wronged souls of people he has killed. Mo cries in fear, but Lü drives them away and gives Mo an alchemical pill to eat. Mo asks his surname and he replies that it is Lü. The pill allows Mo to live to the age of three hundred *sui*. Theme: conversion.

YLG 34 (*MTJ* no. 98). "The Divine Transformation of Converting Second Squire Qiao" (*Shenhua du Qiao Erlang* 神化度喬二郎). Second Squire Qiao lives in the capital, where he does numerous charitable deeds and provides vegetarian feasts for Taoists. These acts move Lü to seek him out. Qiao gives Lü whatever he desires, and after one year, Lü converts him to Taoism. Before departing, Lü composes two poems to encourage Qiao to continue the pursuit of immortality. Theme: conversion.

YLG 35 (*MTJ* no. 93). "Curing the Illness of Woman Liu" (*Jiu Liu shi bing* 救劉氏病). A poor woman in Yuezhou (Zhejiang) surnamed Liu suffers lameness owing to a disease that has afflicted her for almost twenty years. She burns incense and makes offerings to Heaven on a daily basis until a Taoist carrying an iron gourd appears. He instructs Liu to follow him a distance of two *li*, after which he shows her a small five-colored stone. She potates it and is cured. Later, she sees an image of this Taoist (Lü) in a local Taoist abbey. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 36 (*MTJ* no. 53). "The Divine Transformation of Gamboling on Rainbow Bridge" (*Shenhua youxi Hongqiao* 神化游戲虹橋). One day the people of Suzhou see a ragged Taoist drinking prodigious amounts of wine and singing inside a pavilion on Rainbow Bridge. When asked his name, he writes a *ci* 詞 poem revealing his identity in the ashes of an incense burner placed before a Buddhist image enshrined in the pavilion. Theme: recognition.

YLG 37 (*MTJ* no. 83). "Gamboling [Atop Mount] Luofu" (*Youxi Luofu* 游戲羅浮). Lü visits a small abbey located on the premises of the Shining Pearl Belvedere atop Mount Luofu (Guangdong). The

resident Taoists are out, with only a young boy to wait on him. The boy steals the Taoists' supply of wine and gives it to Lü, who drinks his fill and then offers the rest to the boy. The boy refuses, whereupon Lü spits some of the wine he has drunk onto the boy's diseased left eye in order to effect a cure. Lü then asks for a brush and uses it to compose a landscape painting and a prose passage revealing his identity. The boy does not attain immortality but does live to be over one hundred *sui*. Theme: recognition (and miraculous powers).

YLG 38. "The Divine Transformation of Composing a Poem with a Melon's Skin at Linjin [County]" (*Shenhua Linjin guapi shi* 神化臨晉瓜皮詩). Taoist priests participating in a large-scale ritual drive off Lü because of his slovenly appearance. He proceeds to compose a poem that both mocks the Taoists and reveals his true identity, and then departs. Theme: recognition.

YLG 39. "The Divine Transformation of Lord Zhao Xiang" (*Shenhua Zhao Xiang gong* 神化趙相公). The official Zhao Xiang is removed from office and retires to Shaanxi. One day a Taoist attempts to sell him a pair of straw sandals that enable one to become an immortal. Zhao agrees to purchase them, despite their astronomical price of ten *liang* of gold. However, his wife scolds him and prevents him from completing the purchase. When Zhao goes back outside, the Taoist is gone, leaving only a piece of paper containing a poem telling Zhao he has missed his chance at attaining immortality. Theme: conversion (and recognition).

YLG 40. "The Divine Transformation of the Pregnant Nun" (*Shenhua huaiyun shini* 神化懷孕師尼). The Taoists at the Belvedere of the Marchmount Heng atop Mount Heng in Hunan are planning to stage an offering to the Dark Emperor on the third day of the third lunar month in the year 1264. The day before this is to start, a pregnant nun arrives and asks to be admitted to the belvedere. Disgusted, the Taoists order her to sleep outside the gates. That night she gives birth to a child, and the next day she attempts to carry it to the Taoist altar. Refused admittance, she dashes the infant to the ground in a bloody heap and flies off to the heavens while clapping her hands and laughing out loud. Only then do the Taoists realize that the infant is really a

gourd and the blood, cinnabar. The words "Lord Hui" are written on the inside of the gourd. Theme: recognition.

YLG 41. "The Divine Transformation of Selling Ink in Dingzhou" (*Shenhua Dingzhou huomo* 神化鼎州貨墨). One day a Taoist priest tries to sell ink in a market in Dingzhou's Changde Prefecture (Hunan). He ends up getting drunk and sleeping in the house of a woman whose husband happens to be out. When the husband returns, he beats the Taoist and hauls him off to the prefectural yamen, where the prefect orders the Taoist to wear a cangue. Later, they find a cangue lying on the ground with a piece of paper beside it. On the paper is written a poem in which Lü reveals his true identity while also scolding individuals who fail to recognize him. Theme: recognition.

YLG 42. "The Divine Transformation of Granting Medicine to Di Qing" (*Shenhua ci yao Di Qing* 神化賜藥狄青). During the reign of the Song emperor Renzong (1023–1063), the official Di Qinq encounters Immortal Maiden He while leading a military expedition to Yongzhou 永州 (Hunan). While the two are having a discussion, a Taoist master arrives and takes a higher seat than He. Di is furious until this man takes a pill out of his bag and gives it to him, telling him to use it if he suffers sores (*yong* 癰). The Taoist then departs. When Di asks who he was, He replies that it was none other than Lü Dongbin. Di rushes out to find Lü but with no success; only a poem written in the *ci* style remains. Di ends up rubbing the medicine on the gates of Yongzhou 雍州 (Hubei) to storm the city (note the pun on the word "*yong*") but suffers a fatal attack of skin sores after the campaign. Theme: recognition (and miraculous powers).

YLG 43. "The Divine Transformation of Attending the Assembly of a Thousand Taoists" (*Shenhua fu Qiandao hui* 神化赴千道會). The Song emperor Huizong orders the staging of an Assembly of a Thousand Taoists, which all renowned Taoists are to attend. During the ritual, a guard reports that another Taoist has arrived. Huizong allows him to be admitted and treats him with great respect. At the ritual's conclusion, this Taoist transforms some dirt into burning incense. Pleased, the emperor awards him some fine fruits. The Taoist accepts but then vanishes without a trace, leaving only a poem telling the

emperor that he was in fact Lü Dongbin. Theme: miraculous powers (and recognition).

YLG 44. "The Divine Transformation of Granting a Date to Yong [Bao]" (*Shenhua ci Yong Bao zao* 神化賜雍寶棗). On the date of the Mid-Autumn Festival, a fortune-teller with two mouths appears in Xiangyang Prefecture (Hubei). He plays an iron flute with one mouth and tells fortunes with the other. A soldier named Yong Bao follows him to the foot of a tree. The man addresses Yong by name, tells him he has come to show him the path to immortality, and presents him with a date to eat. He then departs, leaving a piece of paper bearing a *ci* poem sitting on a stone. On reading it, Yong is instantly enlightened and gives up soldiering to become a Taoist. The two mouths are a play on Lü's surname. Theme: conversion.

YLG 45 (MTJ no. 36). "Visiting Divine Old Man Xu" (*Tan Xu Shenweng* 探徐神翁). When Divine Old Man Xu attains the Tao in Hailing (Jiangsu), numerous people come to visit him. Among these is a gentleman named Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿. On arriving, however, Lü finds a Taoist who will not rise to greet him and hurls insults at him. Offended, Lü asks his name, and the Taoist replies that they are from the same lineage. The Taoist then proceeds to write a *ci* poem using incense ashes scattered on the ground. The poem contains numerous allusions to the Taoist's identity and concludes by telling Lü Huiqing to consult Divine Old Man Xu. When he does, Xu tells him that the Taoist was Lü Dongbin. Theme: recognition.

YLG 46. "The Divine Transformation of Composing a Poem at the Temple of Supreme Purity" (*Shenhua Shangqing miao ti* 神化上清廟題). This story is set at the Temple of Supreme Purity in Luoyang. It supposedly happened during the Zhenghe reign, but this date is inaccurate, as the year 1108 mentioned in the story occurred before this reign period. Lü, disguised as a Taoist, arrives at the temple but is initially refused entrance. When finally allowed in, he begins to consume large quantities of wine (the rest of the cartouche has been destroyed). Theme: recognition (?).

YLG 47 (MTJ no. 69). "Selling a Filthy Comb at a High Price" (*Huishu gao jia* 穢梳高價). Lü frequents a bridge in Wuchang and tries for

months to sell a filthy comb for the price of one thousand cash. Finally, he sees an old woman aged eighty *sui* with only a few strands of hair in her head. He begins to comb her hair, which grows darker and more lush by the second. The people realize that this is no ordinary comb and offer to buy it, but Lü mocks them for failing to recognize him. He then throws the comb into a river, turns into a dragon, and flies off. The old woman vanishes as well. The cartouche and the story in the *Account* both conclude with a poem stating that people who fail to recognize Lü will never become immortals. Theme: recognition (and miraculous powers).

YLG 48 (MTJ no. 35). "A Divine Warning for Lord Chen" (*Shenjing Chen gong* 神警陳公). Lü disguises himself as a Taoist priest and visits a patron named Chen Zhizhong. When Chen asks Lü what skills he possesses, Lü replies that he can perform the music of the immortals. Lü then produces a painting with the images of twelve immortal maidens, each of whom holds a musical instrument. They come when Lü calls them and stage a wondrous performance. When Chen asks these maidens' identity, Lü replies that they are in fact the jade maidens of the six *jia* 甲 and six *ding* 丁 spirits and proceeds to lecture Chen on some of the secrets of interior alchemy. Chen becomes angry, thinking the Taoist is deceiving him, whereupon Lü commands the maidens to return to the painting, which he then swallows. He then leaves a brief message revealing his identity and departs. Chen realizes his error and attempts to repent but dies soon afterwards. Theme: recognition (and miraculous powers).

YLG 49 (MTJ no. 73). "Converting Presented Scholar Chen" (*Du Chen jinshi* 度陳進士). A presented scholar from Fujian named Chen travels from Mount Luofu to Mount Heng. There he meets Lü and accompanies him for many days, during which Lü instructs him in the tenets of self-cultivation and interior alchemy. The cartouche and the story in the *Account* both conclude with a poem in which Lü encourages Chen to give up his Confucian learning and follow the Tao. Theme: conversion.

YLG 50 (MTJ no. 50). "Searching for a Vegetarian Feast in Changxi [County]" (*Changxi mizhai* 長溪覓齋). An old lady runs a restaurant

in Changxi County (in Fujian), where she often provides vegetarian feasts to traveling Buddhists and Taoists. During the Qiandao reign (1165–1173), a Taoist arrives and receives a warm welcome from her. When she asks his name, he refuses to answer. After finishing his meal, he uses a piece of charcoal to write the words "Lü Dongbin came here" on one of the restaurant's walls. When the news spreads, people flock to her restaurant and business booms. The local prefect hears of this and gallops off to the restaurant, only to find that the characters have vanished. The cartouche and the story in the *Account* both conclude with a poem ridiculing the prefect for failing to attain the Tao. Theme: recognition.

YLG 51 (MTJ no. 50). "Saving the Mother of a Filial Son" (*Jiu xiaozi mu* 救孝子母). The mother of the vice-prefect of Tonglu (Zhejiang) Shen Zhizhen suffers a skin disease that no medicine can heal. In desperation, Shen offers prayers to the gods. His filiality moves Lü to grant him some medicine that cures her affliction. Theme: miraculous powers.

YLG 52 (MTJ no. 81). "The Divine Transformation of Converting Liu Gaoshang" (*Shenhua du Liu Gaoshang* 神化度劉高尚). Liu Gaoshang is an honest man who cares for neither wealth nor fame. Abandoning his Confucian studies, he becomes a Taoist and travels throughout the world. One day he encounters Lü, who instructs him in the essentials of Taoist self-cultivation and grants him some oral formulae. After twenty years, Liu attains the Tao. The emperor Huizong summons him three times before he agrees to visit the capital. Huizong then awards him a title. Liu finally ascends to heaven in broad daylight. A stele inscription describing these events is said to exist as well as an essay titled *A Folio on Returning to the Primordial* (*Huanyuan pian*). Theme: conversion.

Notes

Introduction

1. There is an alternate route to the temple from Yuncheng (in Shanxi province) as well as one that passes through Tongguan (in Shaanxi).
2. The main halls and their murals survived the move in relatively good shape, but the ruins of some halls that had fallen into disrepair were left behind. In addition, while the purported site of Lü Dongbin's grave used to be in front of the main halls, it now lies behind them. His grave as well as those of other Taoists buried at the site were excavated by archaeologists before the move, and some items from these graves (including coffins used to bury these Taoists) are now exhibited in a museum at the palace. For more details, see Chapter 1.
3. A more detailed description of the Palace of Eternal Joy before the move to Ruicheng, complete with illustrations of the entire temple complex, is provided in Chapter 1.
4. The Three Pure Ones are the supreme deities in the Taoist pantheon. They are the Primordial Heavenly Worthy (Yuanshi tianzun), the Heavenly Worthy of the Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun), and the Supreme Lord Lao (Taishang laojun = Laozi).
5. Chunyang was Lü Dongbin's Taoist title *(daohao)*.
6. Chongyang was Wang Zhe's Taoist title. For more on the history of the Perfect Realization movement, see Chen [1941] 1962; Eskildsen 1989; Goossaert 1997; Hachiya 1992; Kubo 1968a; Ren 1990; Yao 1980; and Zheng 1987, 1995).
7. Lü Dongbin is often worshiped by those who practice *qigong* and other forms of self-cultivation.

8. See in particular the essays in Naquin and Yü 1992 and Timothy Brook's important book on late Ming Buddhism (Brook 1993).
9. Such texts include temple gazetteers (*shanzhi* or *miaozhi*), records of sermons (particularly *yulu*), morality books (*shanshu*), including those produced during spirit-writing (*fuji* or *fuluan*) sessions that were discoursed upon for the benefit of worshipers during temple lectures (*xuanjiang*), ballads (especially pilgrims' songs), and detailed descriptions of festivals (including field reports by modern scholars).
10. My thoughts on this subject were inspired by a talk given by Peter Bol at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica (Taiwan) in May of 1995, titled "Intellectual History and the Tang-Song Transition."
11. Introductory essays on microhistory can be found in Levi 1991 and Muir 1991.
12. While a substantial body of research exists on Buddhist and popular sacred sites, relatively little is known about sacred sites that were managed by Taoist priests (with the notable exception of works such as Chavannes 1910; Igarashi 1938; Lagerwey 1992; Wang and Yang 1993; and Yoshioka 1979).
13. A large body of research already exists on the cult of Lü Dongbin (Ang 1993, 1997; Baldrian-Hussein 1986; Ma 1986; Ono 1968; Pu 1936; Yang 1958).
14. Vincent Goossaert estimates that approximately one-third of the Perfect Realization priesthood consisted of women.
15. See the introduction and bibliography in Goossaert 1997:565–577.
16. Beginning with Chen Minggui (1824–1881), a Confucian scholar turned Perfect Realization monk, some Chinese scholars have identified Qiu Chuji and his peers as patriots who used martial arts to oppose the Mongol conquest (*Changchun Daojiao yuanliu* [1879] 1974; *Chen* [1941] 1962), a view popularized in modern novels such as Jin Yong's *Shendiao xialü*. However, the movement's own records indicate that Qiu and his followers not only cooperated with the Mongols, but helped them encourage Han Chinese resistance forces in Shandong to surrender (Zheng 1987:63–64, 87–89).
17. For a superb critical treatment of previous scholarship on the Perfect Realization movement, see Eskildsen 1989:24–36. However, even recent studies of Taoist history such as Isabelle Robinet's tour de force still focus almost exclusively on the Perfect Realization movement's syncretic tendencies, overlooking the importance of temples and rituals in the early history of the movement (Robinet [1992] 1997:222–224).
18. Su Bai mentions having had a complete collection of rubbings from the Palace of Eternal Joy titled *Yongle gong beilu* (Su 1962:86), but he recently informed me that this work is now lost.
19. My analysis of Chinese elites has been shaped by scholars such as Philip Kuhn, who distinguish the gentry (*shenshi*), degree holders who may also have served as officials, and the elite (*jingying*), the men and women who exterted considerable influence over local affairs. See Esherick and Rankin 1990:1–24; Kuhn 1970:3–5. Thus, my definition of the elite is a comprehensive one covering all individuals who could shape local society, including the gentry, wealthy peasants and landlords, well-off shopkeepers and laborers, and merchants. The term "scholar-officials" refers to members of the gentry who also held office.
20. For more on Chinese religious art, see Grootaers 1952, 1995; Gyss-Vermande 1988, 1990; Mair 1986; Murray 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Powers 1991; Sommer 1994, 1995; Wu 1989, 1992b, 1995.
21. Interior alchemy involves using various meditational, dietary, and breath control techniques to achieve longevity or immortality. For more on Chinese alchemy, see

the recent annotated bibliography compiled by Fabrizio Pregadio (1996). A wealth of data on the practice of interior alchemy can be found in Baldrian-Hussein 1990; Eskildsen 1989; Needham, 1956 (volume 5); Robinet 1989, 1995, [1992] 1997; Schipper [1982] 1993; and Sivin 1968. Most scholars translate "*neidan*" as "interior alchemy" or "internal alchemy"; however, Stephen Eskildsen translates it "physiological alchemy."

22. Perhaps one-third of late imperial China's male populace, if one accepts Evelyn S. Rawski's estimates (1979:1–23).
23. I have also been influenced by A. L. Becker's analysis of "text-building," which emphasizes the coherence of a text, its relation to other texts, the relation between author and audience, and the relation between a text and the world it belongs to (1979:212, 215–216). See also Dominick LaCapra's important article on "reading texts" (1982:57–78).
24. Relatively little research has been done on various genres of religious text in China (but see Dudbridge 1978, 1982, 1990, 1995; Sutton 1989). For an interesting discussion of how genre shaped accounts of famous physicians such as Hua Tuo, see Cullen 1997.
25. See also Duara 1988a:261–265; Thompson 1978; Rowe 1990; Zunz 1985.
26. Paul A. Cohen has used a similar approach in his path-breaking study of the Boxers (1997).
27. I am grateful to Vivian-Lee Nyitray for bringing the works of Chatman and Hirsch to my attention. Many thanks also to Robert Hymes for directing me to Puhl's writings.
28. For more on problems of author and audience in late imperial China, see Johnson 1985; Lufrano 1997. See also Donald S. Sutton's helpful analysis of how implied authorship influenced literati representations of the deity Ma Yuan (Sutton 1989).
29. Such problems have even prompted some scholars to announce "the death of the author" (Barthes 1977).
30. I have benefited immensely from reading Robert Hymes' discussion of cultural unity and diversity in his forthcoming book.
31. See also Sherry Ortner's critique of Geertz in Ortner 1984:128–132. For a theoretical discussion of these problems in the context of postmodern scholarship, see Jenkins 1995; Marshall 1992.
32. For an overview of practice theory, see Ortner 1984:144–146.
33. Other scholars have used concepts such as "appropriation" or "transgressive reinscription" to describe the reception of texts (Fiske 1989; Hebdige 1979; Holub 1984; see also McGregor and White 1990).
34. The Hall of the Sage Mother is also discussed in Clunas 1997:112–113. Tracy Miller of the University of Pennsylvania is currently writing a Ph.D. dissertation on the Jin Shrine.
35. Liu Yang suggests that medieval Taoist statuary stelae also had a didactic function and that their reception may have been problematic (1997:116).
36. For example, Fredrik Barth argues that "knowledge produced within a tradition of knowledge is judged by the criteria of validation of that tradition and not necessarily embraced in other contexts by the population at large" (1993:309).
37. For analyses of Gramsci's work, see Burke 1992:84–88; Mouffe 1979; Ortner 1984:147, 149; Rude 1980; Texier 1979; Williams 1977. A related concept is that of symbolic violence, which Pierre Bourdieu uses to explain processes of domination and social control (1977:190–197).
38. A number of important works show that hegemonic discourses and other notions of power can shape ideas of gender in China (see, for example, Barlow 1994; Furth

1988; Hershatter 1994; Ko 1994; Mann 1997; Widmer and Chang 1997). Similar concerns also surround much recent scholarship on ethnicity in China (see, for example, Constable 1996; Dikotter 1992; Gladney 1991; Harrell 1995; Honig 1992; Huang et al. 1994). Interesting research on hegemony and resistance in Chinese society includes Brook 1990, 1993; Esherick and Rankin 1990; Fu 1993, 1997; Naquin and Rawski 1987; Zito 1984, 1987, 1998. For a review of much of this scholarship, see Hershatter 1996. Arif Dirlik has recently published an important state of the field essay discussing how some of these issues have shaped the historiography of modern China (Dirlik 1996).

39. Watson also describes how Chinese cultural unity may have been achieved through orthopraxy in Watson 1993.
40. See in particular Hill Gates and Robert P. Weller's critical analysis of hegemony in their introduction to a collection of papers from the Symposium on Hegemony and Folk Ideologies published in *Modern China* (Gates and Weller 1987).
41. While numerous works on Chinese sectarian movements and sectarian rebellions have been published from the 1970s to the present (Ma and Han 1992; Noguchi 1986; Naquin 1976, 1981, 1985; Overmyer 1976; ter Haar 1992), such scholarship has not focused on resistance theory per se but on the nature of such movements and the factors that could occasionally cause them to rebel against the state.
42. In many ways Wang's analysis resembles a "third stage" methodology for studying popular religion as described by Catherine Bell (1989).

Chapter 1: The Site—the Palace of Eternal Joy

1. Another travel account regarding Shanxi was composed by Wang Jingqi in 1724 *(Dushutang xizheng suibi)*.
2. For more on the natural disasters that afflicted the people of Shanxi during the seventeenth century, see Cao 1997.
3. For more on state relief efforts in eighteenth-century north China, see Will 1990; Will and Wong 1991.
4. The post of vice-prefect of Yongle was created in 1732. The holder of this office resided in the building that had served as the Yongle county yamen during the Tang and Song dynasties. See *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 2:11b.
5. One *li* is roughly one-third of a mile.
6. The 1892 edition of the provincial gazetteer notes the presence of a charitable school *(yixue)* in Yongle at that time but gives no further information (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 76:37b).
7. For example, the Taoist immortal Zhang Guolao is said to have ridden his donkey across the Zhongtiao mountains (*Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 160:3a–4b; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 24:14a).
8. For more on mountains and self-cultivation, see Birnbaum 1995; Hahn 1988; Naquin and Yü 1992.
9. *Guan* were originally towers constructed for the purposes of making astronomical observations and meeting with immortals and other spirits. In religious Taoism, the term "*guan*" was eventually used to refer to sites where Taoists practiced self-cultivation (Stein [1987] 1990:238–240). In translating the term as "belvedere," I follow the lead of the late Edward Schafer ([1980], 1989).
10. The Wanli emperor and his mother were also patrons of Buddhism and popular religion in general (Li and Naquin 1988). For example, the emperor and his moth-

er bestowed two sets of the Tripitaka on Guanyin's sacred site off the coast of Zhejiang at Mount Putuo (including apocryphal texts glorifying Guanyin) after auspicious lotuses bloomed in the imperial palace (Yü 1992:210–211, 238).

11. For more on the distribution of this edition of the Taoist Canon, see Chen [1949] 1963:178–179, 190–203. Fragmentary copies of this edition made their way to the Imperial Household Library of Tokyo and the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. The latter edition had been acquired in China by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) on behalf of the École Française d'Extreme-Orient. Edouard Chavannes drew on this edition when he published his path-breaking study of Taoist ritual "Le jet des dragons" in 1919 (Boltz 1987:1–2).
12. The stelae from this site are currently housed in the Palace of Eternal Joy.
13. For data on this deity and his cult, see Hansen 1995:218; Idema 1997; Lü and Luan [1986] 1990:681–687; Ma 1998:167–172; Soymié 1966, 1967; Takahashi 1991.
14. For more on the history of late imperial drama in Shanxi, see Duan 1995:176–178; Idema and West 1982; Tanaka 1968.
15. Jin sources also do not record this belvedere as having applied for a plaque *(e)* from the imperial authorities, something that could involve substantial investments of capital (Imai 1975).
16. During the 1230s and 1240s, many Taoist sites in north China came under Perfect Realization control in this manner (Goossaert 1997:307–311).
17. For more on the Taoists mentioned above, see Boltz 1987; Li and Lin 1986; Ren 1990; Waley 1931; Zheng 1987, 1995.
18. These events are described in a collection of Perfect Realization epigraphy compiled by Li Daoqian (1219–1296), titled *An Account of the Origins of the Immortals at Ganshui (Ganshui xianyuan lu)* (*TT* 611–613; *CT* 973; see 5:11b–13a). Ganshui refers to the town of Ganhe west of Xi'an, where the Perfect Realization patriarch Wang Zhe is said to have attained enlightenment in 1159.
19. For more on these tombs, see Li Fengshan 1960; Xu 1960.
20. The use of the term "*wanshou*" alludes to the fact that the palace was a religious institution that contained a perpetually burning lamp for the emperor's destiny (Vincent Goossaert, personal communication).
21. For a thorough introduction to these organizations, see ter Haar 1995.
22. It is not clear which liturgical text is being referred to here. For more on this problem see Bokenkamp 1983, 1997; Boltz 1987:41–47, 206–217; Qing 1988:165–183. "Lingbao" can also be translated as "Numinous Gem" or "Spiritual Treasure."
23. For biographical data on Miao, see Chen [1941] 1962:7–8, 58, 59–60; Qing 1988–1994, 3:235–236, 239; Zheng 1987:161. Miao is also mentioned in a number of inscriptions, including one about his life and career (which unfortunately has been badly damaged and is incomplete) titled "A Stele on the Meritorious Acts of Lord Miao" (*Miaogong daoxing bei;* Chen et al. 1988:786–787; see also pp. 715, 727, 782, 789).
24. During the Yuan, all Taoist patriarchs received appointments to this academy.
25. The term "*jushi*" can also refer to a Buddhist or Taoist lay devotee but in this context appears to be describing retired scholars who had not necessarily joined a religious movement.
26. The Chinese term "*zhai*" is often translated as "fasting ritual," but in fact *zhai* often featured expiatory rites. I am grateful to Stephen Bokenkamp for raising this important point.
27. One tael, or *liang,* is approximately 1.3 ounces.
28. Literally "hall of the begging bowl." *Botang* were meditation halls in which Perfect

Realization monks could practice interior alchemy meditation, with a double bowl used as a clepsydra (Goossaert 1997:220–258; Li Shuhuan 1979:620).

29. This meditation hall as well as two smaller halls flanking the Hall of Redoubled Yang were destroyed during the War of Resistance against Japan.
30. For more on these classification systems in the case of Chinese Buddhism, see Brook 1993:174–175; Welch 1967. When these systems came into being is unclear, but Timothy Brook shows that they were common by the Ming dynasty. Some Buddhist monasteries were also classified as "sect monasteries," where abbotship was passed from masters to their disciples according to dharma transmission.
31. The practice of *huandu* (1), also written as *huandu* (2), dates back to at least the Southern Dynasties (Shangqing Taoism) and also appears to be linked to the "quiet rooms" (*jingshi*) of early Taoism. Monks and nuns practicing *huandu* would isolate themselves for periods ranging from one hundred days to three years (Goossaert 1997:171–219).
32. For more on Perfect Realization *qinggui*, see Goossaert 1997:259–301.
33. I have been unable to find any additional information on this hall, although I suspect that it was built during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, when people from Yongle began to go on pilgrimages to Wudang shan.
34. For more on these campaigns, particularly in Shanxi, see Duara 1995; Thompson 1988, 1995, 1996.
35. Interested readers may compare this description with Wu Hung's imaginary journey to a Three Dynasties temple (1995:85–88).
36. Much of the discussion of the Palace of Eternal Joy's architectural features, which followed Northern Song architectural style, is based on Steinhardt et al. 1984:133–137 and papers published in the journal *Wenwu* during the early 1960s. See also Steinhardt's detailed analysis of the sacred space of the Esoteric Buddhist Hall (Mizong dian) of the Qinglong Monastery (1991).
37. All statues referred to were destroyed during the Japanese occupation of north China but have been rebuilt in recent years.
38. It is highly fortunate that the French scholar Isabelle Ang has done extensive research on this text as part of her Ph.D. thesis on Lü Dongbin and has also translated the entire work into French (Ang 1993).
39. Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein and Anna Seidel have used an earlier edition of the *Complete Works*, which was apparently produced by a spirit-writing cult in Wuchang (Hubei) during the Kangxi era (Baldrian Hussein 1986:141; Seidel 1970:512). The edition I have used, preserved in the *Daozang jinghua*, was printed in Sichuan in 1846. For more on different editions of the *Complete Works*, see Saeki 1934.
40. The Seven Perfected included (1) Ma Yu (Danyangzi; 1123–1184), (2) Tan Chuduan (Changzhenzi; 1123–1185), (3) Liu Chuxuan (Changshengzi; 1147–1203), (4) Qiu Chuji (Changchunzi; 1148–1227), (5) Wang Chuyi (Yuyangzi; 1142–1217), (6) Hao Datong (Guangningzi; 1140–1213), and (7) Sun Buer (Chingjing sanren; 1119–1184). According to a different classification system, Wang Chongyang is counted among the Seven Perfected while the only woman, Sun Buer, is omitted (Boltz 1987:64–65). The latter system appears to have been used inside the Hall of Redoubled Yang, as no statue of Sun Buer was worshiped there.
41. These buildings no longer stand, but the coffins for Pan and Song, decorated with stories of the twenty-four exemplars of filial piety, are currently preserved in a museum inside the palace at its new location in Ruicheng.

42. Chen's biography is found in *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 6:48a–b.
43. Isabelle Ang reports that Lü's cult still thrives at Yueyang and Mount Hua as well (1997:501–502). A small temple to Lü at the latter site contains a long list of donors, men and women from all over Shaanxi province, including Xi'an (personal communication, August 10, 1998).
44. My study of the palace and its texts has been influenced by research on sacred sites throughout the world. Such research has focused on the architecture and iconography of sacred sites, the rituals associated with them, their role in creating sacred space and sacred time, and the cults that flourished on their grounds. See, for example, Alcock and Osborne 1994; Baxandall 1972; Bhardwaj 1973; Duby 1981; Dupront 1987; Eickelman and Piscatori 1990; Fox 1988; Geary 1978; Le Goff 1980, 1988; Marinatos and Hagg 1993; Park 1994; Schapiro 1973; Scott and Simpson-Housley 1994; and Turner and Turner 1978.
45. The tomb of Lü Dongbin at the palace seems to have been similar to other such sites in symbolizing both death and regeneration (Bloch and Parry 1982; Stein [1987] 1990:201; Watson and Rawski 1988). Lü's tomb also represents an enclosed immortal world, which in China was often conceived of as being inside a cave or a gourd (Faure 1992; Stein [1987] 1990:104–112).
46. The patron deity of carpenters.
47. Also known as the Nine Emperors *(jiuhuang)*, these stars consisted of seven stars of the Big Dipper and two adjoining stars known as "the ministers of the left and the right" *(zuofu youbi)* (Li Shuhuan 1979:38).
48. Those to Pan Dechong and Song Defang (see Figure 2).
49. For more on the subject of monumentality in Chinese tradition, see Wu 1995.
50. Although Figure 3 shows that the temples in the western portion of the complex tended to be smaller than those in the eastern portion, Figure 2 gives the impression that all were relatively the same size.
51. For more on City God temples at Perfect Realization sites, see Goossaert 1997:347.
52. Robert Hymes notes the presence of similar phenomena in his study of Taoism and local cults in Song-Yuan Jiangxi (Hymes n.d.).

Chapter 2: The Cult—the Immortal Lü Dongbin

1. Many important hagiographical sources about Lü Dongbin, particularly those dating from the Ming-Qing era, can be found in Lü and Luan [1986] 1990:795–807.
2. See the research by Ang (1993, 1997), Baldrian-Hussein (1986), Eskildsen (1989), Ma (1986, 1988, 1989a, 1989b), Ono (1968; 1979:263–287), Pu (1936), and Yang (1958).
3. For more on Chen Tuan, see Knaul 1981 as well as Herbert Franke's review in *Monumenta Serica* 35 (1981–1983):603–616.
4. Zhongli Quan's style name was Yunfang. Most Perfect Realization hagiographies identify him as a Han dynasty figure, but there is no evidence that he actually existed (Boltz 1987:64, 123–124, 139–143).
5. In China, *sui* are used to calculate the number of calendar years one has lived. This is different from the Western method, which adds a year to a person's life once every 365 days.
6. For historical studies of hagiography that deal with the methodological issues involved in using such texts, see Brown 1981, 1982, 1983; Geary 1978; Hertz 1983; Kieckhefer 1984; Weinstein and Bell 1982. Stanley Tambiah's fieldwork on forest

monks in Thailand, while containing numerous historical inaccuracies, provides a vivid ethnographic account of the interaction between ascetic specialists and local lay worshipers (1984). I am extremely grateful to John Kieschnick for allowing me to read a bibliographic essay on hagiology that he wrote while a graduate student at Stanford University.

7. Different editions of the *Beimeng suoyan* vary in using the terms "*daoren*" (man of the Way) or "*daoshi*" (Taoist master). While it is likely that the individual in question practiced some form of self-cultivation, it is not clear whether he had been initiated into a Taoist movement.
8. This story was not included in Zhang's biography in the *Xin Tangshu* 185.5411–5414.
9. However, a text composed after 1094 (and now lost), the *Yayan xishu* by Wang Ju (fl. 1034–1038), claims that Lü Dongbin had fled to the Zhongnan mountains (in Shaanxi) during the Huang Chao rebellion (Ang 1993:43–44).
10. Tao's biography is found in *Songshi*, 269.9235–9238.
11. For Yue's biography, see *Songshi*, 306.10111–10112.
12. These poems have been translated by Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein (1986:139). During the reign of the Song emperor Zhenzong (997–1022), state-sponsored Taoist temples throughout China were named or renamed "Tianqing guan" beginning in 1008 (Ang 1997:498–500). It is not clear whether this particular belvedere was located in Anhui or in Hunan (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:138).
13. Biographical data on Chen can be found in *Songshi* 444.13115–13116.
14. For biographical data on Huang, see *Songshi* 442.13086.
15. Biographical data on Yang can be found in *Songshi* 305.10079–10084.
16. My translation is based in part on those of Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein (1986) and Jing Anning (1995).
17. Ding's biography appears in *Songshi* 283.9566–9571.
18. Li's biography can be found in *Xin Tangshu* 180.5327–5340. He was an important official of the Tang dynasty, who, in an ironic twist of fate that Yang Yi and his peers may have been aware of, led a political faction that ended up thwarting the official careers of Lü Dongbin's putative ancestors, Lü Wei and Lü Rang (*Jiu Tangshu* 137.3770).
19. Ding was appointed to a high-ranking position (rank 2a) in the Ministry of Revenue in the ninth month of 1011 (*Songshi* 8.151).
20. For biographical data, see *Songshi* 267.9208–9215.
21. Lü Wei served as vice-minister of Rites *(Libu shilang)*. Sakauchi Sakao was among the first to claim that the *Yang Wengong tanyuan* links Lü Dongbin to Lü Wei's lineage (1984:70). However, Baldrian-Hussein maintains that Sakauchi may have misread the edition he used and that the passage was probably an interpolation or a note (1986:161, note 166).
22. Like Wei, all four sons are historical personages.
23. This may be a reference to the *Jiu Tangshu*, which Yang Yi, who served as a senior compiler *(xiuzhuan guan)* in the Song court's Office of History (Shiguan), could easily have consulted.
24. Zhang Ji ended up serving as an official of both the Southern Tang and Northern Song dynasties.
25. In the poem, the characters "*gongcheng*" refer to Zhang Ji's life span, not his official career.
26. According to the *Bencao gangmu* (37.2163), "green snake branch" *(qingshe zhi)* refers to a bitter bamboo *(kuzhu)* from Jiangxi renowned for its healing powers.

One of Lü Dongbin's reputed masters was the Perfected Man of Bitter Bamboo (Kuzhu zhenren), who lived on Mount Lu in Jiangxi (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:140).

27. Rolf A. Stein has located an anecdote in the Song work *Wudeng huiyuan* that describes how the Chan monk Huinan (1002–1069) helped enlighten Lü Dongbin (Stein [1987] 1990:286–287, note 96).
28. For a detailed discussion of the problems involving recognition, see the first *juan* of the *Record of the Meeting between the Perfected and the Hosts of Immortals at the Western Mountain* (*Xishan qunxian huizhen ji; TT* 116; *CT* 246), attributed to Shi Jianwu (fl. 820s).
29. Lü's links to brothels in both Taoist and popular traditions will be discussed below and in Chapter 5.
30. Wang Zhi claims that this event was chronicled in the *Veritable Records (shilu)* of the Renzong emperor (r. 1023–1063) but that his own account was even more detailed.
31. The bodhisattva Guanyin was also renowned for producing images of herself; see Dudbridge 1978; Yü 1992.
32. For biographical data on Zhang, see *Songshi,* 318.10353–10359.
33. This work contains a preface by the renowned literatus Su Shi (Su Dongpo; 1036–1101) dated 1087.
34. Translation based on Baldrian-Hussein 1986:162.
35. Li claims that this work was completed during the first and second decades of the eleventh century.
36. For more on wine production and taxation in Song China, see Li Huarui 1995.
37. The folklorist Wang Shucun has in his collection a popular print *(shenma)* from late Qing Beijing portraying Lü as the patron deity of ink makers (1992:47).
38. Another story of an encounter between Lü and He Xiangu can be found in *Qingsuo gaoyi,* 8.41. He Xiangu is often equated with another female immortal named Zhao Xiangu, as some Song sources state that He was either Zhao's family name or her Taoist name (Ang 1993:30–34; Baldrian-Hussein 1986:164, note 183). For more data on He, see Pu 1936:108–113; Yang 1958:16–17; and Lü and Luan [1986] 1990:807–813.
39. Chinese towers *(lou)* were often symbolically linked to sacred mountains like Kunlun and were viewed as homes of the immortals (Stein [1987] 1990:181, 217, 223, 237–238).
40. The Three Caverns are the three main sections of the Taoist Canon.
41. Two stories in Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener and Recorder* also indicate Lü's possible links to China's spirit-writing tradition. In the first anecdote, dated 1165, a fraudulent spirit medium claims to be possessed by Lü and also produces texts through spirit writing attributed to Lü (*Yijian zhi* 1:328–330). The second, dated after 1197, describes a renowned hermit with the surname He who apparently became one of Lü's spirit mediums, thereby performing miraculous cures as well as producing "immortal scriptures" *(xianjing)* and alchemical poems attributed to Lü (ibid., 4:1657–1660; see also Ang 1997:8–9).
42. Guo's hagiography is found in Zhao Daoyi's *Comprehensive Mirror* (48:9b). He is also featured in Miao Shanshi's *Account* and the Palace of Eternal Joy murals (see below).
43. Worn by scholars before entering the civil service.
44. For more on this work, see Baldrian-Hussein 1986:136.
45. Isabelle Ang reports that Lü Dongbin is worshiped as a patron deity of prostitutes in Indonesia (1997:502) but does not specify whether or not these women are ethnically Chinese.

46. In these works, Lü often identifies himself by means of anagrams such as "Taoist Hui" (Hui daoren), "Guest Hui" (Huike), and "Guest of the Peaks" (Yanke).
47. This story was originally included in a biography of Lin written by the Hanlin academician Geng Yanxi and preserved in Zhao's *Records*.
48. For more on the events surrounding Lin's career at court, see Boltz 1987:26–27; Strickmann 1978; Sun 1965.
49. Some scholars, including Chen Yuan, have argued that the Perfect Realization movement was a reaction to and an improvement on the "magic" rituals emphasized by the Divine Empyrean movement. They also lament the fact that its members performed rituals. See Chen [1941] 1962:3–4, 67–80; Kubo 1968a:198–199; Sun 1965:77–122; Yao 1980:8–17, 85–89, 102–111. For a critique of these arguments, see Eskildsen 1989.
50. Part of this poem is also mentioned in a story in the *Record of the Listener and Recorder* (1:300).
51. A poem ridiculing Huizong attributed to Lü is contained in the *Compendium of Tang Poetry (Quan Tangshi)*, which was edited and compiled by the Qing scholar Peng Dingqiu (1645–1715), 858.9697. However, the circumstances behind the composition of this poem are unclear.
52. The Perfected Master of True Yang refers to Zhongli Quan. A complete translation of the *Lingbao bifa* can be found in Baldrian-Hussein 1984.
53. While this belief may reflect some Buddhist influence, it is also important to note that cults to immortals dating back to ancient times also portray these men and women as being active in the world long after attaining immortality. See Cahill 1993; Schafer 1973; Schipper 1965, [1982] 1993.
54. Hong Mai's *Record of the Listener and Recorder* mentions an "assembly for worship of Lord Lü of Purified Yang" (Lügong Chunyang hui) in Yuanan (Hubei), which was responsible for organizing purgation assemblies *(zhaihui)* (*Yijian zhi* 2:755–756). Whether this assembly was affiliated with a sacred site dedicated to Lü is unclear.
55. The story of Lü's healing Ci Yue can also be found in *Yijian zhi* 1:434–435. For more on local shrines at Buddhist monasteries, see Brook 1993; Katz 1995a; Yü 1992.
56. For biographical data on Teng, see *Songshi* 303.10037–10038.
57. A variant of this story appears in Wei Tai's *Jottings from the Eastern Balcony* (*Dongxuan bilu* 10:9b). For a detailed study of Chan Buddhist portraiture, see Foulk and Sharf 1993–1994.
58. For biographical data on Zhang, see *Songshi* 347.11005–11006.
59. Authorship of this work is generally attributed to Zheng Jingbi (1031–1095). However, the editors of the *Siku quanshu* claimed that the text's author was Ye Mengde (1077–1148).
60. For more on these stories, see Baldrian-Hussein 1986:155–157.
61. Ironically, the texts of the Divine Empyrean movement presented to Huizong by Lin Lingsu predicted that the year before Wang's birth (1112) would witness the advent of China's savior (Strickmann 1978:337).
62. For more on the early years of Wang's life as well as his divine encounters, see *Changchun Daojiao yuanliu* [1879] 1974; Hachiya 1992.
63. These accounts include the *Anthology of the Perfect Realization [Master Wang] Chongyang* (*Chongyang quanzhen ji; TT* 793–795; *CT* 1153) (1188) and two Jin dynasty inscriptions. This first inscription is titled "A Stele about the Divine Immortal of Zhongnan Mountain, the Perfected Wang Chongyang, Patriarch of

the Perfect Realization Movement" *(Zhongnan shan shenxian Chongyang zhenren Quanzhen jiaozu bei)* (composed in 1225; carved on stone in 1275) (Chen et al. 1988:450–452); the second is called "A Record of the Immortal Traces of the Patriarch [Wang] Chongyang of Zhongnan Mountain" *(Zhongnan shan Chongyang zushi xianji ji)* (composed in 1232; carved on stone in 1276) (pp. 460–462). These inscriptions are also preserved in the *Ganshui xianyuan lu*.

64. Liu's name was Liu Cao, and he is said to have served as an official during the Liao dynasty. He was worshiped as a patriarch of both the Perfect Realization movement and the Southern Lineage (Boltz 1987:64, 173).
65. For more on ascetic practices of Perfect Realization monks and nuns, see Eskildsen 1989:38–66; 1990; Goossaert 1997:171–219; Hachiya 1992:94–103.
66. For more on Perfect Realization assemblies, see Goossaert 1997:354–375.
67. This movement was also bestowed the title of True Great Way (Zhen Dadao) in 1254 by the Mongol emperor Möngke.
68. Many poems and songs were relatively simple and could be memorized easily by disciples and lay believers. Others were subtle works of aesthetic beauty. Perfect Realizations songs are still sung by worshipers at sacred sites such as the Palace of the Eight Immortals in Xi'an (Hachiya 1990:41).
69. The Mongol conquest of the Jin empire began in 1210, and by 1215 the region north of the Yellow River was in Mongol hands.
70. An account of Qiu's journey and encounters with Cinggis Qan, titled *The Journey to the West of the Perfected [Qiu] Changchun* (*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji; TT* 1056; *CT* 1429), was written by Qiu's disciple Li Zhichang. For an English translation, see Waley 1931; see also Yao 1986. A transcript also exists of Qiu's meetings with the qan, titled *A Record of Felicitous Convocation on the Sublime Spirit of the Tao* (*Xuanfeng qinghui lu; TT* 76; *CT* 176). The 1232 preface to this work is unsigned, but the text appears to have been completed by the qan's secretary Yelü Chucai (1190–1244).
71. The text of this and other relevant edicts can be found in Cai 1955; Feng 1931.
72. For the ritual role of the Taoist deity Zhenwu in Song dynasty campaigns against its northern nomadic neighbors, see Lagerwey 1992:295; see also Seidel 1970:489, 493. For the use of Tantric Buddhist rituals in Tang military campaigns, see Weinstein 1987:77–89.
73. 'Phags-pa also devised a script used for writing Mongol, Tibetan, and other languages, but it was not used after the Yuan dynasty.
74. Before this incident, Qubilai had shown some favor toward Perfect Realization Taoism. In 1269 he had bestowed honorific titles on the movement's patriarchs: Lü Dongbin was promoted from Perfected Being *(zhenren)* to Perfected Lord *(zhenjun)*.
75. The change in fortunes of Perfect Realization Taoism was in part linked to the growth of Taoism in south China, particularly the presence in the official bureaucracy of the Southern Lineage and Profound Teachings (Xuanjiao) movements (Chen Bing 1986; Sun 1968, 1981).
76. See Cai 1955:39–41, 51, 56, 59, 66–69, 72, 76, 78–81, 85–88. For imperial inscriptions related to the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy, see Chapter 3.
77. For more on this phase of the Perfect Realization movement's history, see Chen [1941] 1962:56–60; Goossaert 1997:102–109; Ren 1990: 525–527.
78. Perfect Realization Taoism appears to have had some influence on spirit-writing groups in Taiwan (Jordan and Overmyer 1986). Certain cult sites in Taiwan, such as the Palace of Guidance (Zhinan gong), also show such influence (Katz 1996b).

However, the Palace of Guidance is a local cult site, and I have yet to find any evidence that it or any other such sites in Taiwan ever claimed allegiance to Perfect Realization Taoism or were managed by Taoists belonging to that movement.

79. For an overview of research on Taoist immortals, see Seidel 1989–1990:246–248. For research on immortal women, see Cahill 1993; Despeux 1990. Important scholarship on pre-Song immortals can also be found in Dudbridge 1995; Schipper 1995.
80. The Five Patriarchs were (1) Laozi, (2) The Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence (Donghua dijun), (3) Zhongli Quan, (4) Lü Dongbin, and (5) Liu Haichan; see Boltz 1987:64–66.
81. The renowned thunder master Bai Yuchan (ca. 1134–1229) was said to have been Chen Nan's disciple (Berling 1993; Boltz 1987:173–179).
82. Whether or not Chen and Zhao belonged to the Perfect Realization movement is unclear.
83. For more on the influence of Chan Buddhism on Chen's writings, see Boltz 1987:184–185.
84. Stephen Eskildsen provides an annotated translation of this text on pp. 388–400 of his 1989 M.A. thesis.
85. According to Isabelle Robinet (personal communication), the term "*xiantian*" as used here refers literally to the "emperors of the prior heavens" *(xiantian di)*, including Laozi. However, it also refers to the primordial *qi (yuanqi)* that existed before the creation of Heaven and Earth. In Perfect Realization scriptures, "*xiantian*" is often used to describe the state of embryonic perfection in the womb that adepts attempted to recreate through the practice of interior alchemy.
86. For a story of how the Perfect Realization master Liu Chuxuan withstood similar temptation in a house of joy, see *Qizhen yinguo zhuan*, pp. 100–105. See also Eva Wong's translation of this novel, titled *Seven Taoist Masters*, pp. 115–119 (1990).
87. The date given in this account is clearly problematic. If Lü had really passed the *jinshi* exam at twenty-two *sui*, that would have been in the year 819, the fourteenth year of the reign of the emperor Xianzong (r. 806–820). The closest *dingyou* year occurred in 817, and the first year of the Kaicheng period was in 836.
88. The term "*daozhe*" can also be used to describe Buddhists.
89. I have yet to locate an anthology bearing this title.
90. This is most likely a reference to the *Anthology on Turbulent Completion of the Perfected Being of Purified Yang* (*Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji*; *TT* 727; *CT* 1055) (see Chapter 3). The *Anthology* was compiled by He Zhiyuan, a disciple of Song Defang who helped him collect Taoist writings from Shanxi for the Yuan edition of the Taoist Canon. According to He's preface to the *Anthology* (dated 1251), he chose to use the term "arising from turbulence" *(huncheng)* because Lü's writings "were formed from the turbulence of the heavens and were not the products of mortal authorship" *(yi qi hunran tiancheng, fei ren suo neng ji ye)*. I am deeply grateful to Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein for reminding me of the importance of He's *Anthology*.
91. Shen's story is preserved in *juan* 833 of a Song dynasty text titled *Wenyuan yinghua*. An English version of this story can be found in Ma and Lau 1978:435–438.
92. This story was highly popular in the Hebei village of Handan, also known as Yellow Millet Dream (Huangliang meng) in memory of this story. A large temple to Lü was built in this town, and festivals were held there every year on the third day of the third lunar month (see Liu et al. 1995:140–143, 148–150).
93. Li practiced interior alchemy under the tutelage of the southern master Wang Jinchan (fl. 1230?), a direct disciple of Bai Yuchan.

94. These lectures are followed by three additional entries titled "Entering the Oratory" *(rushi)*, which correspond to the Three Ultimates (*sanji;* heaven, earth, and humanity) of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*.
95. In attempting to fathom the contents of Miao's lecture, I have relied extensively on Zhang Guangbao 1995. I also wish to thank Hung Chin-fu, Li Chien-min, and Liu Shufen of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, for their help in translating this passage.
96. For an English summary, see Eskildsen 1989:57–58. According to the following three sources, Zhongli Quan subjected Lü to *ten* trials: *Lüzu zhi* 1:10a–11b; *Xiaoyao xujing*, 2a–3a; and *Dongyou ji*, pp. 37–39. The *Lüxian feijian ji* follows Miao's *Account* in describing only five trials.
97. These events may be related to stories about Lü's own exploits against local pythons (Baldrian-Hussein 1986:142–143).
98. These two stories are also discussed in Eskildsen 1989:175–176.
99. The expression "*huixin*" might also be translated as "to repent" or "to restore the mind" (Overmyer 1985:233).
100. This story has also been discussed in Eskildsen 1989:181–182.
101. For more on female self-cultivation in Perfect Realization Taoism, see Eskildsen 1989:87, 90–94, 113–122. One key facet of this self-cultivation involved the cessation of the menstrual cycle, a problem that is treated in *MTJ* no. 106 (English summary in Eskildsen 1989:92–93).
102. According to the late Qing novel *Biographies of the Karmic Outcomes of the Seven Masters (Qizhen yinguo zhuan)*, Sun disfigured herself by splashing her face with boiling oil (see *Qizhen yinguo zhuan*, pp. 57–61). An English version of this story is found in *Seven Taoist Masters* 1990:54–59. This novel has also been reprinted in two morality books I have found in Taiwan, one published by the Shengde baogong (Taichung) and one by the Mingdao Publishing Company (Taipei).
103. Also discussed in Eskildsen 1989:178.
104. For more on these two immortals, see Berliner 1986; Day 1940; Po and Johnson 1995.
105. Miao's commentary also mentions both the Palace of Eternal Joy and the nearby Upper Palace at Nine Peaks Mountain.
106. See also Idema 1990; West 1991.
107. For more on these ideas, see Gould 1989. Many thanks to my father for bringing this work to my attention.

Chapter 3: Text 1—Temple Inscriptions

1. I have not found any poems about the Palace of Eternal Joy in these men's collected works. One poem about a temple to Lü is in Yu Que's *Qingyang xiansheng wenji* (*Sibu congkan* edition), but it concerns the shrine in Yuezhou (1:8b). Two poems about temples to Lü can be found in Chen Fu's *Chen Gangzhong shiji* (*Tuobachan congke* edition [1928]), but these concern shrines in Yuezhou and Handan (1:16b; 2:8b–9a).
2. The text of this inscription is not preserved in the "Treatise on Belles-Lettres" *(Yiwen zhi)* of this gazetteer.
3. For historical studies of texts carved on stone that are considered to be the forerunners of stele inscriptions, including ancient stone drums, prayer tablets, and rounded boulders *(jie)*, see Tsien 1962:64–69; Zhao 1992:257–262.

4. For more on Chinese temple inscriptions, see Baldrian-Hussein 1986:138–140, 146, 160; Brook 1993:174, 176–178; Dean 1993:38; Duara 1988a:144–146; Dudbridge 1978:10–20; 1990:34–37; Faure 1992:158; Goossaert 1997:11, 471–484, 531–557; 1998; Hansen 1987, 1990:14–16, 73, 125; Katz 1995a, 1997; Kleeman 1993, 1994; Lagerwey 1992:311–319, 326; Li Xianzhang 1979; Ma Wujiu 1967; Naquin 1992:337–339, 342, 346, 351–352, 363; Reiter 1983, 1988, 1990; Ten Broeck and Yiu 1950:86–87; Tsien 1962:74; Ye 1909; Yü 1992:208; Zhu 1940.
5. See the discussion of monumentality in Chapter 1 and Wu 1995.
6. For more on religion and the public sphere in China, see the Introduction.
7. See, for example, the case of a Northern Song stele inscription about the filial Buddhist daughter Miaoshan, which was transferred from Henan to Hangzhou (Dudbridge 1982:590–593)
8. For an example of one such text, see the *Record of the Perfected Dong Ningyang's Encounters with Immortals (Ningyang Dong zhenren yuxian ji)* (*TT* 160; *CT* 308), which describes the religious experiences of a Jurchen soldier turned Taoist named Dong Shouzhi (1160–1227); see Goossaert 1997:55–58.
9. For examples of historical/commemorative inscriptions from sacred sites other than the Palace of Eternal Joy, see Baldrian-Hussein 1986:146, 158–160; Chavannes 1910; Dean 1993:34–41; Duara 1988a:145–146; Dudbridge 1978:12–14, 18; Faure 1992:180; Lagerwey 1992:312; Yü 1992:195.
10. Unless otherwise noted, all stelae were moved to two "halls of stelae" *(beilang)* inside the temple complex following its move to Ruicheng.
11. For biographical data on Yuan, see *Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 161:2a–b.
12. Biographical data on Duan can be found in *Shanxi tongzhi* 1734, 124:69b and 1892, 136:9a. See also *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 7:32a.
13. Such sacrifices were offered on the date of Lü's birthday, the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month.
14. Yuan's inscription was composed two days after the "Clear Brightness" (Qingming) Festival (around April 6 in the Gregorian calendar) in the year 1222.
15. Yuan does not use the term for Taoist belvedere *(guan)*, even though later accounts indicate that the shrine had become a belvedere by the Jin dynasty (see Chapter 1 and below).
16. For more on Wang E's life and works, see Chan 1975, 1993. A detailed biography of Wang appears in *Yuanchao mingchen shilue (Brief Biographies of Famous Officials of the Yuan Dynasty)* originally titled *Guochao mingchen shilüe*, edited and compiled by Su Tianjue (1294–1352); see pp. 237–241. Zhang Rou's biography can also be found in this text (pp. 95–100).
17. No information is given regarding when exactly Lü's shrine was transformed into a Taoist belvedere or which movement the Taoists living there were affiliated with. Based on evidence in a biographical inscription about Song Defang, I believe that by the thirteenth century such Taoists may have been members of the Perfect Realization movement (see below).
18. For more on these events, see Chen et al. 1988:555.
19. Not to be confused with the *Gate* of the Limitless Ultimate.
20. Another name for the Hall of Purified Yang. This name may be linked to He Zhiyuan's *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji*.
21. Another name for the Hall of Redoubled Yang.
22. A reference to Laozi's "transformation bodies" *(huashen)* (Li Shuhuan 1979:14; Schipper [1982] 1993:113–129).

23. Li wrote a number of works on behalf of Perfect Realization Taoism, including a number of temple inscriptions (Su 1962:81). See *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 3:18b, 5:20b, 6:11b, and 10:25b.
24. For more on Shang's links to the Perfect Realization movement, see Zheng 1987:8, 100, 107, 181; see also *Yuanchao mingchen shilüe*, pp. 217–224. Despite his close ties to this movement, he does not appear to have been the disciple of a Perfect Realization master.
25. It is not clear whether these men were his disciples, Taoists residing at the belvedere, or other Taoists in the area.
26. Whether Zhang Xing and Zhang Zhong belonged to Yongle's prominent Zhang lineage has yet to be determined.
27. For more on Lei, see Chen et al. 1988:490, 506.
28. For a fascinating study of relic thefts in medieval Europe, see Geary 1978.
29. This shrine was later converted into a Taoist abbey (see Chapter 1).
30. Qi's biography is preserved in the *Yuanshi, juan* 202, pp. 4525–4526. Further biographical data is found in Chen [1941] 1962:7, 53–55; Chen et al. 1988:699–701; Qing et al. 1988–1994, 3:233–234.
31. The carving of the stone was financed by a group of people bearing the surname Gao (members of the same lineage?) who lived in Fuping County of Shaanxi province. Their relationship to the Palace of Eternal Joy may be based on the fact that one of them, Gao Yingshi, was probably related to a local elder named Gao Yingkui. See the list of patrons on a 1636 stele in Chen et al. 1988:1309. Another patron, Yang Wanqing, is also mentioned in the text of the 1617 stele (see below).
32. Probably the *Gaoshang yuhuang benxing jijing* (*TT* 23; *CT* 10), composed during the Song dynasty (see Li Yangzheng 1989:363–365). For more on the growth of the cult of the Jade Emperor, see Feng 1936; Lü and Luan [1986] 1990:31–44; Sun 1965.
33. The term used here is "*guannei*," which literally means "the land inside the passes" (China). Here, however, this term seems to refer to a Tang dynasty place name for an area near Chang'an north of the Zhongnan mountains (a Perfect Realization sacred site).
34. For more on this rite and its links to the history of the Palace of Eternal Joy, see Chapter 4.
35. This building is also mentioned in Chen et al. 1988:1308, 1311.
36. Hao also carved the texts on three other late-Ming stelae at the temple (Chen et al. 1988:1309, 1310, 1311) and helped pay for a stele erected to commemorate the performance of a Taoist offering ritual (ibid.:1310).
37. The author is probably alluding to the biography of Pan Dechong preserved in *Ganshui xianyuan lu*. This inscription is also found in Chen et al. 1988:554–556; see Chapter 1.
38. This village was located near the Fengling Ferry (*Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 1:35b).
39. Literally "one tree cannot hold up a tall building" (*yi mu nan zhi daxia*).
40. The characters "*dao*" and "*de*" were later incorporated into generation names of the Longmen branch of the Perfect Realization movement. For more on Longmen Taoism, see Ren 1990:649–660; Igarashi [1938] 1986:61–74; Wang Zhizhong 1995a, 1995b, 1997.
41. Many Song dynasty hagiographies of Lü claimed he had encountered Zhongli Quan and/or Chen Tuan at Huashan (see Chapter 2).
42. This inscription once stood outside the Hall to Patriarch Qiu, which had already collapsed by the time Chinese archaeological teams reached the temple in the

1950s. According to Su Bai, this inscription may have been carved on top of a Buddhist inscription dating back to the Tang dynasty (1963:61).

43. For analyses of Taoist lineage poems, see Goossaert 1997:136–144; Igarashi [1938] 1986:75–108; Li Yangzheng 1989:374–389; Yoshioka 1979:229–231.
44. Pilgrimage inscriptions are particularly valuable for social historians, because they furnish vivid accounts of pilgrims' experiences, particularly vision quests. While the extent to which such inscriptions may or may not reflect the experiences of so-called ordinary pilgrims has been the subject of considerable debate (compare the comments by Lagerwey 1992:315; Naquin 1992:346; and Yü 1992:208, 226–231), it is clear that such texts make up an important part of the sacred geography of pilgrimage sites (Naquin 1992:363).
45. The text contains the term *"pindao,"* which Liu would have used in humble reference to himself.
46. For similar texts from other sacred sites, see Brook 1993:174; Cai 1955; Chavannes 1904; Feng 1931.
47. Other types of official documents not found at the palace include those warning pilgrims against acts of ritual suicide (Lagerwey 1992:319; Yü 1992:233) as well as documents composed by a temple's patrons admonishing their descendents not to misuse its property (Brook 1993:170–171).
48. As the middle character in her name was *"zhi,"* it is possible that she was also a member of the Perfect Realization movement.
49. A grandson of Cinggis Qan. His biography is found in *Xin Yuanshi* 110:9a–b, p. 1155. See also Su 1962:82 (note 8).
50. The same is true in the case of the biographical inscription describing the life of Song Defang written by Li Ding, which was paid for by Xu Delu and other local officials plus their families (see above).
51. Chen Yuan's collection of Taoist epigraphy includes all four sections of the inscription but has only recorded the stelae from the Palace of Eternal Joy (these decrees were also carved on stelae at other temples, which are preserved in Chen's work). In addition, the order of these sections in Chen's text differs from their order on the palace's stele. Finally, Chen does not give the actual title of the palace's inscription, ". . . Stele [Recording] Official Titles for the Five Patriarchs and Seven Perfected of the Perfect Realization [Movement]" *(. . . baofeng Wuzu Qizhen shengzhi bei)*. I have reproduced the inscription in its proper order in Katz 1995b.
52. Another inscription commemorating Song Defang's 1310 title was later carved on the back of the 1274 stele containing his biography (Chen et al. 1988:805; Su 1963:62).
53. Whether or not these relationships involved the performance of "division of incense" *(fenxiang)* rituals is unclear. More likely, the relationships were between main and secondary monastic establishments known as *bieyuan* or *xiayuan*.
54. The inscription was written during a Year of the Ox. However, since the text refers to Pan Dechong as a Perfected Man, it must have been written after he was awarded that title in 1310. The only ox years falling between 1310 and 1327 (the date the text was carved on stone) were 1313 and 1325.
55. In translating this text, I have relied extensively on Cai 1955; Chavannes 1904; and Feng 1931.
56. For more on the initial formulae of Mongolian inscriptions, see Cleaves 1979.
57. Referred to by his title Perfected Man of the Dark Capital, Broad Tao, and Soaring Harmony (Xuandu guangdao chonghe zhenren).

58. For more on this temple, see Chen et al. 1988:792, 793; *Yongji xianzhi* 1886, 1:7–8 (print of temple complex), 12:22a–23b.
59. The text erroneously gives his name as Zhu Shiwan.
60. This stele also contains the long list of temple properties mentioned above.
61. I have yet to find any data on this organization. Vincent Goossaert (personal communication) suggests that this term might refer generically to various autonomous Taoist institutions or to a part of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. One can learn more about how this organization functioned from the document translated below.
62. Probably an abbreviation of "*daolusi*."
63. Referred to by his Taoist name Qinghe.
64. Referred to in the text as the Perfected Man of Celestial Yang (Tianyang zhenren). Chang was an important leader of the Perfect Realization movement in north China during the 1290s (Chen et al. 1988:740, 741).
65. This would be Wanyan Deming, who assumed leadership of the Perfect Realization movement in 1335 (Chen [1941] 1962:8, 59–60; Chen et al. 1988:788, 796, 799, 812, 816; Zheng 1987:161). Wanyan Deming was also an important supporter of the Palace of Eternal Joy (see above and Chen et al. 1988:614, 731, 805).
66. This last sentence is apparently an order issued by a senior official of the central Taoist authority to junior officials serving under him.
67. It is not clear whether it was the Taoist authorities at Jinning or the Taoists at the Palace of Eternal Joy (or both) who had received this communication.
68. Literally "of uncommon bearing and bones" (*fenggu bufan*). In order to serve as a Taoist priest, one must have "the bones," that is, the skeleton of an immortal (Schipper [1982] 1993:58).
69. I have been unable to identify these men.
70. It is not clear exactly which inscriptions Yuan is referring to.
71. Again, I do not know which texts Yuan is referring to.
72. For more on these and other elixirs in Chinese alchemy, see Eskildsen 1989; Strickmann 1979.
73. For example, of the seven poems about the Palace of Eternal Joy preserved in the 1886 edition of the Yongji county gazetteer, only one appears to have been carved on a stele.
74. Judith Boltz assumes that the "Chunyang gong" He Zhiyuan mentions was the Palace of Eternal Joy (1987:142). I suspect that her inference may be correct but would hesitate to jump to any definite conclusions without further evidence. There were other temples in north China named Chunyang gong, and in many epigraphic sources the formal name for the Palace of Eternal Joy is usually listed as Chunyang wanshou gong.
75. Zhu's journey to north China, which took place during the fall of the Southern Song dynasty, inspired him to compile two epigraphic anthologies about Yin Xi, the legendary guardian of the Hangu Pass between China and Central Asia (Boltz 1987:124–126). For other inscriptions by Zhu, see Chen et al. 1988:679, 682, 702, 708, 746, and 765.
76. An allusion to Lü's sword.
77. The term "*yan*" here is probably a play on Lü's given name.
78. Among other things, a famous burial site.
79. Zhang was later appointed minister of war in 1583 (Goodrich and Fang 1976:45–46).

80. The first characters of the above four lines are *jiu* (wine), *se* (sensual pleasure), *cai* (wealth), and *qi* (anger). These allude to the desires the adept should eliminate through self-cultivation. Four poems attributed to Lü that warn the adept about these desires can also be found in He Zhiyuan's *Anthology* (*juan shang,* 9a–b).
81. Of self-cultivation and the conversion of people to Taoism.
82. An allusion to one line of chapter 4 in Laozi's *Daode jing (The Classic of the Way and Its Power)*. My translation is based on Henricks 1989:56.
83. A reference to the many stories describing Lü's descent to the mortal realm in disguise to test potential disciples and help people in need.
84. A reference to immortals such as his master Zhongli Quan.
85. Other examples of imperial patronage of Taoist and popular sacred sites include the Tang emperor Xuanzong's patronage of Mount Hua (Dudbridge 1995:91–92) and the Ming emperor Chengzu's patronage of Mount Wudang (Lagerwey 1992; Seidel 1970).
86. Similar formulae were often used in official document inscriptions from other sacred sites. It is interesting to note that following the founding of the Yuan dynasty, Taoist and Buddhist clergy were prohibited from "making announcements to Heaven and praying for long life [for the ruler]" (see *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* 33.465–466; Overmyer 1989–1990:217).
87. Wu Shu of Jingkou (in Jiangsu) also wrote a poem that was recorded on a stele erected outside the Hall of the Three Pure Ones in 1624, but no information is available regarding his social status (see Appendix A).
88. Biographical data on Gao can be found in *Shanxi tongzhi* 1892, 110:14a and *Da Qing jifu xianzhe zhuan* 32:30b.
89. Kristofer Schipper, Allan Arrault, Fang Ling, Vincent Goossaert, and other scholars now researching the socioreligious history of late imperial Beijing have also found evidence for Taoists founding and leading ritual organizations at that city's Temple of the Eastern Peak. See their essays in the inaugural issue of *Sanjiao wenxian*.
90. For comparative examples, see Brook 1993; Lagerwey 1992; Naquin 1992; Yü 1992.
91. As Vincent Goossaert notes in the conclusion of his article on temples to the Eastern Peak, most inscriptions by their very nature do not touch on the normal or regular events occurring at sacred sites (Goossaert 1998).

Chapter 4: Text 2—the Murals

1. Color or black-and-white photos of the Palace of Eternal Joy murals can be found in the following works: *Yongle gong bihua xuanji* (1958), *Yongle gong* (1964), *Eiraku-kyū hekiga* 1981, *Lü Dongbin de gushi—Yongle gong de bihua* (1982), and *The Yongle Palace Murals* (1985). There is also a French edition, titled *Les fresques du palais Yongle* (1983). I would like to thank Professor R. J. Z. Werblowsky for informing me of this book's existence. A complete collection of the palace's murals, titled *Yongle gong bihua quanji,* was (at long last!) published in 1997.
2. For a description of the emotive power of Wu Daozi's paintings, see Bush and Shih 1985:56.
3. When I visited the palace in 1991, I found that some of the murals were beginning to molder. Officials in Beijing assured me that the situation would be remedied.
4. Nancy Steinhardt, personal communication, February 21, 1996. Steinhardt also presented this analysis at a talk for the College Art Association in New York in February 1982.

5. Another interesting example involves the cult of the immortal known as Huang Daxian (Wong Tai Sin). Paintings portraying his miraculous feats adorn his main temple in Hong Kong (Lang and Regvald 1993:5). However, the ways in which these artworks may differ from canonical sources have yet to be explored.
6. I would like to thank Professor Martin Powers for introducing me to a number of important works that deal with patronage, including his own prize-winning book. See Baxandall 1972; Goffen 1986; Li Chu-tsing et al. 1989; Powers 1991. See also Abe 1991; Haskell and Penny 1995; Weidner 1994.
7. These studies are discussed in Carnes 1996.
8. I am grateful to Robert P. Weller for this important reference.
9. This inscription was written on the day the murals were completed, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, which was also the date of the Double Yang (Chongyang) festival. This date may have been chosen because Chongyang is Wang Zhe's Taoist name. Chinese works of religious art were often completed on holidays.
10. Vincent Goossaert has discovered that many Perfect Realization Taoists joined the movement during their teens or twenties (1997:119–124).
11. The titles "*tidian*" and "*tiju*" are also included in the Ming Taoist encyclopedia *The Jade Fascicles of Taiqing on the Ultimate Tao of the Celestial Sovereign (Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce)*, which was composed in 1444 by Zhu Quan (1378–1448), the sixteenth son of the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang (Boltz 1987:237–242). This work lists *tidian* and *tiju* as being middle-ranking members of the Taoist hierarchy just below the position of abbot (*guanzhu;* see *juan* 4).
12. I am grateful to Stephen Bokenkamp for pointing out these intriguing possibilities.
13. For more on Bishop White and the murals he collected from Shanxi, see Shih 1969.
14. A Taiwanese graduate student named Huang Shih-shan has recently published an important M.A. thesis on this subject (Huang 1995). See also Hsieh 1994.
15. See the field report in *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 11 (1954):72.
16. For a similar analysis of Tang dynasty Taoist murals, see Liu Yang 1997:273–274; see also Chen et al. 1988:182.
17. See the Treatise on Sacrifices (*Jiaosi zhi*) of the *Han shu* 25.1219. See also Wu 1992a for an important discussion of the ritual context of Han funerary art.
18. Teiser also points out that some of the artists who created these works were said to have been to the underworld and back.
19. For more on Du Guangting, see Verellen 1989.
20. Statues of these deities were set up in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones but not included in its murals.
21. These were the largest and most prominent of all the deities portrayed in the Hall of the Three Pure Ones murals.
22. For more on this mountain, see Chenivesse 1997. Chenivesse has also written a Ph.D. thesis on this topic.
23. These deities are featured in the murals of the Gate of the Limitless Ultimate.
24. The term used here (*xuan*) literally means to revolve in a complete circle and is often used to describe the movements of planets and stars. In this context, it indicates that the Taoists presiding at the offering ritual were supposed to move from the main altar to other altar tables in a circular pattern and return to where they started after concluding the offerings of incense to the deities mentioned above.
25. For a recent reevaluation of the significance of the layout of Taoist altars, particularly the complex relationship between Taoist and local deities, see Hymes n.d.

26. I consider the hagiographic murals discussed below to be a subcategory of the "narrative illustrations" discussed by Julia K. Murray and other art historians. See Dehejia 1993; Murray 1995; Shih 1993.
27. The *Kongzi jiayu*, a text produced in the third century, may preserve some of Confucius' sayings that were not recorded in other works.
28. I am grateful to Linda Learman for bringing Bernard Gallin's work to my attention.
29. I am grateful to Vincent Goossaert for calling my attention to many of these works.
30. For more on this novel, see Seaman 1985, 1988.
31. For more on works of art as propaganda, see Scribner 1981:8–9. For a fascinating case study of art serving as propaganda in twentieth-century China, see Holm 1991.
32. I am grateful to Vincent Goossaert for informing me of Idema's essay.
33. When considering skulls and skeletons in Taoist literature, it is also important to recall Laozi's encounter with his disciple Xu Jia, a skeleton the master brought back to life (Schipper 1985b).
34. Books containing pictures of these temples' murals are listed in the bibliography. I am extremely grateful to Professor Ellen Laing for providing these references.
35. The story of Mazu's prophecy appears in Ming dynasty Taoist texts like the *Record of the Patriarch Lü* and the *Scripture on Wandering in the Wilds* (*Lüzu zhi*, l:3b; *Xiaoyao xujing*, 1a) but does not appear in either Miao's *Account* or Zhao Daoyi's *Comprehensive Mirror*. However, this story also appears in Ming novels like the *Journey to the East* (*Dongyou ji*, p. 36) and *The Record of the Flying Sword of the Immortal Lü* (*Lüxian feijian ji*, pp. 294–295).
36. For an English translation of a Taoist hagiography describing Lü's birth, dream, and testing by Zhongli Quan, see Kohn 1993:126–132. Kohn's translation is based on that of Percifal Yetts (1916:790–797; see also Yetts 1922).
37. No mention is made in the murals of the cult site at Yueyang in Hunan. Miao Shanshi deplores the proliferation of cult sites to Lü in his commentary to the story of Lü's ascent at the Tower of the Yellow Crane; see *MTJ* 3:2a.
38. For more on this mural, including an illustration, see Katz 1996a:90.
39. See Hawkes 1981:157–158 on the distinction between these two terms.
40. For data on Cao, see Pu 1936:133–134; Yang 1958:15–16; and Lü and Luan [1986] 1990:829–832.
41. For data on Shao, see Arrault 1995; Franke 1976:848–857; Needham 1956, 2:455–456, 5:87–88, 158–159, 244–245.
42. For more on this mural, including an illustration, see Katz 1996a:89.
43. For similar comments on the function of Lü's sword in self-cultivation, see *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 45:3b; *Lüzu zhi* 1:8b, 1:15a; and *Lüxian feijian ji*, p. 307.
44. Lü's role as an exorcistic deity is discussed in Baldrian-Hussein 1986:139–145. See also *Dongyou ji*, p. 41.
45. In addition, Song dynasty sources such as the *Fozu tongji* and the *Wudeng huiyuan* portray Lü as having converted to Buddhism or having been enlightened by Buddhist monks (see Chapter 2).
46. See also William O. Henessey's translation of the *Xuanhe yishi*, titled *Proclaiming Harmony* (1981).
47. This story is also in the novel *Journey to the East* as well as in Taoist Canon texts like the *Record of the Patriarch Lü*, but neither Lin Lingsu nor Lü's reprimand of the emperor is always included. See *Xiaoyao xujing*, 3b–4a; *Lüzu zhi*, 1:9b–10a; and, *Dongyou ji*, pp. 46–47. According to Zhao Daoyi, Lü was awarded a title by the Huizong emperor; see *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, 45:3b–4a.

48. For more on the history of this cult, see Grootaers 1952; Seaman 1985, 1988.
49. For more issues of gender and pollution, see Ahern 1975; Baptandier 1996.
50. The practice of spitting wine in exorcistic and healing rites can still be seen in Taiwan and parts of China today.
51. For more on this cult, see Cedzich 1995; von Glahn 1991.
52. See Kuo 1967:9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 68, 112; Li Qiao 1990:130, 140–141, 155, 260–262, 282–283, 381, 434, 435–436, 438, 444; Liu et al. 1995:129–136. For stories about Lü interacting with tradespeople, see *Dongyou ji*, p. 45; and Lin 1933:2–3, 16–18, 23–25, 43–45, 55–56. This theme is also included Ma Zhiyuan's *zaju* drama *The Yueyang Tower (Yueyang lou)*, a work that has been translated by Richard Yang (1972:47–96).
53. Some folktales circulating in south China describe how Lü, disguised as a barber, healed a scalp disease (favus, *lali*) afflicting the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang (Liu et al. 1995:129–136). Such stories also circulate in modern Taiwan but do not appear to have been popular in north China.
54. There is some question as to how people during the Yuan would have looked on Confucian scholars because of their relatively low official status during most of that dynasty's history; see Dardess 1973; Rossabi 1988:15–17, 131–139.
55. The numbers in parentheses in tables 1 and 2 refer to the ninety-five stories preserved in Miao's *Account*, the fifty-two murals from the Hall of Purified Yang, the thirty-seven murals based on the *Account*, and the fifteen other murals for which the source is either unknown or not the *Account*.
56. I am grateful to Vincent Goossaert for raising this point.

Chapter 5: Reception and Reinterpretation

1. For more on this folktale and its links to Taoist traditions, see Katz 1994:238–242.
2. Lü's bucket thus appears strikingly similar to gourds in its power to contain the waters of an entire stream (Stein [1987] 1990).
3. For more on this stream, see Chapter 1.
4. See *Lüzu zhi* 1:3b–4b, 15a–b, as well as *Lidai zhenxian tidao tongjian* 45:1a–3b; *Xiaoyao xujing*, 1a–2a. For the story in novels, see *Dongyou ji*, pp. 36–37; and *Lüxian feijian ji*, pp. 295–298.
5. The earliest record of Lü Dongbin bestowing a dream on others that I have been able to find to date is an early Southern Song anecdote in Hong Mai's *Record* (*Yijian zhi* 2:949–950).
6. A total of six Yuan *zaju* featuring Lü Dongbin survive, being part of a class of operas referred to by scholars such as David Hawkes as "deliverance plays" (*dutuoju*; see Hawkes 1981:153–170).
7. The entire Yellow Millet Dream drama was translated into English by Yen Yuanshu for a special double issue on the Eight Immortals in the Taiwan magazine *Echo* 5, nos. 2/3 (1975), pp. 13–23, 94. The above passage is on p. 14. The Chinese version of this text can be found in Xiao et al. 1995:95.
8. See *Shanxi minjian wenxue* 3 (1984), p. 12. There is also a story in the same journal depicting the Eight Immortals as thieves! See 29 (1986), pp. 24–26. The story of Lü caught stealing is also found in *Zhongguo minjian gushi quanji*, Shanxi volume, pp. 269–272.

9. The text uses the term for becoming a monk or nun, "*chujia*" (literally "leaving the family"), indicating that Lü and his wife maintained a celibate lifestyle.
10. Such forms of resolution do not appear unique to Lü's cult. Many Mazu temples in Taiwan now include statues of her parents in order to portray her as a filial daughter despite having died before marrying. In Fujian, the Lady Linshui (Linshui furen) is often worshiped alongside statues of her husband (Baptandier 1996:119).
11. In other parts of China and Taiwan, this saying is rendered as "The dog that would bite Lü Dongbin does not recognize the heart [mind] of a good person" (*gouyao Lü Dongbin, bushi haoren xin)*.
12. The peony has long been a symbol of love and affection to the Chinese (C. A. S. Williams 1976:320–321).
13. For a book-length study of Mount Hua, see Xia et al. 1992.
14. This story was also popular in Henan; see Liu et al. 1995:109–112.
15. For a variant of this story, which is included in the hagiography of Lady Linshui, see Baptandier 1996:109–110, 117–118, 129, 133–134. It is also important to remember that some texts, including those written by members of the *sangha*, also alluded to or even explicitly treated Guanyin's sexual life (see in particular Stein 1986).
16. For more on the Palace of Guidance, see Thompson 1988; Katz 1996b.
17. Such a contrast also appears to have occurred in the case of Jigong, as Buddhist monks and members of sectarian groups downplayed eccentricities that are emphasized in popular traditions (Shahar 1996, 1998).
18. This story is still told in parts of Shandong (Liu et al. 1995:289–291), as is a similar story of Lü being outwitted by an elderly tribute student *(gongsheng)* (pp. 163–166).
19. This process apparently contrasts with that at Mount Hua during the Tang dynasty, inasmuch as Glen Dudbridge concludes that "distinct forms of cult activity went on [at this site] in parallel, but independently" (1995:115).

Conclusion

1. The ideas expressed here are based on Duara 1995; McGregor and White 1990:5–6; Pellowe 1990:90; Sharpe 1990:190; and Weller 1994:165–166.

Glossary

ancha shi 按察使
ba 跋
bafen 八分
Bai Mudan 白牧丹
Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾
Baihe guan 白鶴觀
Baihe si 白鶴寺
baihua 白話
baihuo 百貨
Bailong ci 白龍祠
Baiwen pian 百問篇
Baiyun guan 白雲觀
Baizi shi 百字詩
banyun 搬運
Baogong ci 報功祠
Baoning si 寶寧寺
Bashiqi shenxian tu 八十七神仙圖
Baxian 八仙
Baxian an 八仙庵
Baxian gong 八仙宮
Baxian guohai 八仙過海
Bei wuzu 北五祖
beijie 碑碣
beilang 碑廊
beiyin 碑陰
Beiyou ji 北遊記
Bencao gangmu 本草綱目
Bichuan Zhengyang zhenren Lingbao bifa 祕傳正陽真人靈寶畢法
biji 筆記
bizu 鼻祖
bianxiang 變相
bieyuan 別院
bing 病
bingzi 丙子
botang 缽堂
Boyi 伯夷
Boyu 伯玉

cai 財
caiyin buyang 採陰補陽
canzhi zhengshi 參知政事
Cao Sanxiang 曹三香
chan (prediction) 譫
Chan (Zen) 禪
chang 娼
Chang Zhiqing 常志清
changsheng bu si zhi jue 長生不死之訣
Changsheng dadi 長生大帝
Chaoyuan tu 朝元圖
Chaoyuan xianzhang tu 朝元仙仗圖
Chen Fu 陳孚
Chen Nan 陳楠
Chen Shichang 陳世昌
Chen Tuan 陳摶
cheng 呈
chi 尺
chong jiao yan quan zhen, chong he de zheng ben, ren yi li zhi xin 崇教演全真, 冲和德正本, 仁義禮智信
Chonghe dashi 冲和大師
Chonghe weimiao zhenren 冲和微妙真人
Chongyang 重陽
Chongyang dian 重陽殿
Chongyuan guan 重陽觀
chujia 出家
Chuandao pian 傳道篇
chuangyi 瘡疫
Chuanjian ji 傳劍集
Chunyang 純陽
Chunyang dian 純陽殿
Chunyang dijun shenyou xianhua tu 純陽帝君神游仙化圖
Chunyang shanggong 純陽上宮
Chunyang wanshou gong 純陽萬壽宮
ci (poem) 詞
ci (shrine) 祠
Ci Yue 慈悅
cibei 慈悲
Cui Fujun 崔府君
Cui Yu 崔鈺
da zongshi 大宗師
Dadao tiandun jianfa 大道天遁劍法
daizhao 待詔
dan (picul) 石
dan (elixir) 丹
dao (Taoist name) 道
daochang 道場
Daode jing 道德經
daode tongxuan jing 道德通玄靜
daohao 道號
daolü 道侶
daolusi 道錄司
daoqi 道契
daoqing 道情
daoren 道人
daoshi 道士
daosi 道司
daoxi 導屣
daoye 道業
daoyuan 道院
daozhe 道者
Daxue 大學
de (Taoist name) 德
dianmai 典賣
diben 底本
dihou 帝后
dijun 帝君
Dizang wang pusa 地藏王菩薩
Ding Wei 丁謂
dingyou 丁酉
Donghua dijun 東華帝君
Dongji qinghua taiyi jiuku tianzun 東極青華太乙救苦天尊
dou 斗
du 度
Du Dechun 杜德春
du tidian 都提點
Duan Yuanheng 段元亨
dudie 度牒
Duren jing 度人經
dutuoju 度脫劇

e (plaque) 額
e (strategic) 扼
Emei 峨嵋
Erxian ci 二仙祠
fa 法
Fan Mingshu 范明述
fangbian 方便
fangzhong shu 房中術
fashi 法師
feitu 匪徒
fenben 粉本
Fengdu 酆都
fenggu bufan 風骨不凡
fenxiang 分香
Fu (surname) 傅
fuben 副本
fudi 福地
fuji 扶乩
fuluan 扶鸞
Fusang 扶桑
futu 浮圖
ganlu 甘露
Ganquan gong 甘泉宮
ge 閣
Ge Yuan 戈源
gong (lord) 公
gong (palace) 宮
gongan 功案
gongcheng 功成
gongsheng 貢生
gongzhuo 供桌
goutuizi 狗腿子
Gouyao Lü Dongbin, bushi haolai ren 狗咬呂洞賓不識好賴人
Gouyao Lü Dongbin, bushi haoren xin 狗咬呂洞賓不識好人心
Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之
guan 觀
Guandi 關帝
Guangsheng si 廣勝寺
guannei 關內
Guangong 關公
Guanyin 觀音
guanzhu 觀主
guapi shi 瓜皮詩
gui 歸
Gui Zimu 鬼子母
Guji zhi 古蹟志
Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠
hanchun wang 含春王
Han Xiangzi 韓湘子
Hangu guan 函古關
Hanshan si 寒山寺
Hao Datong 郝大通 (Guangningzi 廣寧子)
Hao Mei 郝梅
He Xiangu 何仙姑
Hedu lingyuan gong 河瀆靈源宮
Hou Ji 后稷
Hua Tuo 華陀
huagong 畫工
Huahu jing 化胡經
huajue 畫訣
huandu (1) 環堵
huandu (2) 圜都
Huang Daxian (Wong Tai Sin) 黃大仙
Huang Daipin 黃待聘
Huanghe lou 黃鶴樓
huanghu ru zui 恍惚入醉
Huanglu dahui 黃籙大會
Huanglu dazhai 黃籙大齋
huangtu 黃土
Huanyuan pian 還元篇
Huashan chongxiu Yuntai guan ji 華山重修雲臺觀記
huashen (flower deities) 花神
huashen (transformation body) 化身
hui (association) 會
hui (taboo name) 諱
hui (Taoist name) 慧 / 惠
Hui daoren 回道人
Hui daoshi 回道士
Hui shanren 回山人

Hui yanke 回嚴客
huiming 慧命
Huinan 慧南
huishou 會首
Huixian guan 回仙觀
Huixian lu 回仙錄
huixin 回心
huiyan qufen 毀眼去粉
Huizhen gong 會真宮
hun 魂
huncheng 混成
Huncheng dian 混成殿
Huncheng ji 混成集
Huosi ren mu 活死人墓
ji (market) 集
Ji Chanshi 機禪師
jian jiushui 監酒稅
Jiang Hui 蔣暉
jianghu 江湖
jianshi 講師
jianshu 劍術
jiao 醮
Jiaosi zhi 郊祀志
jiayi dafu 嘉議大夫
jidu 濟度
jie 戒
jietai 戒台
Jin 金
Jin Yong 金鏞
Jinci 晉祠
Jindan da yaofang 金丹大藥方
jingchuang 經幢
jingshi 靜室
jingying 精英
Jingyun si 景雲寺
jinshi 進士
jinshi chushen 進士出身
jinshixue 金石學
jintong 金童
jiu 酒
jiuding 九鼎
Jiufeng shan 九峰山
jiuhuang 九皇
jiushi 舊史
jiuxing 九星
Jixian yuan 集賢院
juan (chapter) 卷
juan (silk) 絹
junshi 郡士
junxiangsheng 郡庠生
juren 舉人
jushi 居士
keshi 刻石
Kunlun 崑崙
kuzhu 苦竹
Kuzhu zhenren 苦竹真人
lali 痢痢
Lan Caihe 藍采和
langzhong 郎中
lanshan 襴衫
Laozi 老子
leifa 雷法
Leishou 雷首
li (one-third of a mile) 里
li (decorum) 礼
Li Daochun 李道純
Li Deyu 李德裕
Li Guan 李觀
Li Guangda 李光達
Li Henong 李和筭
Li Jiao 李教
Li Nuozha 李哪吒
Li Qi 李琪
Li Tieguai 李鐵拐
Li Yu 李煜
Li Zhichang 李志常
lian 聯
liang 兩
lianzhen 煉真
libu lang 礼部郎
Libu shilang 礼部侍郎
Lienü zhuan 烈女傳
Liexian zhuan 列仙傳
Lin Lingsu 林靈素

Lingbao jing 靈寶經
Lingbao tianzun 靈寶天尊
lingdan 靈丹
lingzong shengji 靈蹤聖跡
Linshui furen 臨水夫人
lishi He-He 利市和合
Liu Cao 劉操 (Liu Haichan 劉海蟾)
Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (Changshengzi 長生子)
Liu-Jiang 劉蔣
Liu Muyan 劉木言
Liu Yongguang 留用光
Liu Zhiyuan 劉志原
Longhu jindan 龍虎金丹
Longhu shan 龍虎山
Longmen 龍門
Lou guan 樓觀
Lu (surname) 盧
Lu Ban 魯班
Lu sheng 盧生
Lu Xiujing 陸修靜
Lu Yizheng 魯一正
Lu Yuanguang 陸元光
Luo Defeng 羅德風
Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓
Lü Dongbin lai 呂洞賓來
Lü Rang 呂讓
Lü Wei 呂渭
Lü weng 呂翁
Lü Yan 呂巖
Lü xianweng ci 呂仙翁祠
Lü zhenren ci 呂真人祠
Lügong Chunyang hui 呂公純陽會
Lügong ci 呂公祠
Lügong jindan mijue 呂公金丹祕訣
Lüzu ci 呂祖祠
Ma Danyang 馬丹陽
Ma Junxiang 馬君祥
Ma Yu 馬鈺 (Danyangzi 丹陽子)
maidijuan 買地券
Mao Rang 毛讓
Mao Xianweng 毛仙翁
Maoer shan 貓耳山
Mazu (the fortune-teller) 馬祖
Mazu (the goddess) 媽祖
Miao (Taoist name) 妙
Miao Daoyi 苗道一
Miaogong daoxing bei 苗公道行碑
Miaoshan 妙善
miaozhi 廟志
mingtang 明堂
mingxin jianxing 明心見性
Mizong dian 密宗殿
moai 摩崖
muyuan huazhong 募緣化眾
muzhi 墓誌
Nanji changsheng dadi 南極長生大帝
Nanshi 南時
Nanyue 南嶽
Nanzong 南宗
neidan 內丹
neidan bizhi 內丹祕旨
neitan 內壇
neizhuan 內傳
nianhua 年畫
paishi 派詩
paiwei 牌位
Pan Dechong 潘德冲
Pei Xiaoyuan 裴孝元
pindao 貧道
Piyun zhenren 披雲真人
pogua nian 破瓜年
pujing 鋪境
Pujiu si 普救寺
Putuo 普陀
Puyang shuyuan 蒲陽書院
Puzhou bangzi 蒲州梆子
qi 氣 (炁)
Qi Zhicheng 祁志誠
qian 籤
Qiao Guanglie 喬光烈
qigong 氣功
qilao 耆老
qinggui 清規

Qinglong 青龍
Qingming 清明
Qingshe 青蛇
qingshe zhi 青蛇枝
Qinyuan chun 沁園春
Qiong 瓊
Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (Changchunzi 長春子)
Qixia guan 棲霞觀
Qiyuan si 祇園寺
Qizhen 七真
Qizhen yinguo zhuan 七真因果傳
quan zhen chong he de zheng ben ren yi 全真沖和德正本仁義
Quanzhen 全真
Quanzhen an 全真庵
qushen 屈伸
qushi guishen 驅使鬼神
renao 熱鬧
ruoguan 弱冠
rusheng 入聖
rushi 入室
sai 賽
Saihu 賽虎
san ru Yueyang ren bu shi 三入岳陽人不識
Sanchao guoshi 三朝國史
sanfu 散府
sanguan (prestige title) 散官
sanguan (Three Offices) 三官
sanji 三極
sanjiao 三教
Sanjiao kaimi guizheng yanyi 三教開迷歸正演義
sanjie 三界
Sanqing dian 三清殿
sanyi 散逸
Sanyi jiao 三一教
sanyuan 三元
se 色
shang 上
Shangqing 上清
shanshu 善書
shanzhi 山志
Shao Yong 邵雍
shaoxiu 少秀
shehui 社會
shehuo 社火
shen (report) 申
shen (spirit) 神
Shen Donglao 沈東老
Shen Jiji 沈既濟
Shendiao xialü 神鵰俠侶
shengguo 聖果
shengji 勝蹟
Shengmu dian 聖母殿
Shengshou gong 聖壽宮
Shengtang minggu 升堂明古
shenma 神禡
shenshi 紳士
shenxian 神仙
Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳
Shenxiao 神霄
shi (recognize) 識
shi (room) 室
shi (test) 試
Shi Tai 石泰
Shi Xian 石顯
Shiba wanggong 十八王公
shiba xian baijiu 十八仙白酒
shifang conglin 十方叢林
Shiguan 史館
shike 石刻
shilu 實錄
shique 石闕
shishen 識神
shizu 氏族
shou (defend; Taoist name) 守
shu 疏
shuidi 水地
shuilu zhai 水陸齋
Shumi yuan 樞密院
Shuqi 叔齊
si 寺

sidian 祀典
Siguan zhi 寺觀志
Siku quanshu 四庫全書
sisheng 四聖
song 頌
Song Defang 宋德方
su 俗
Su (River) 涑
sui 歲
Sun Buer 孫不二 (Qingjing sanren 清靜散人)
Sun Deyi 孫德彧
Taiping gong 太平宮
Taishang laojun 太上老君
Taishang laojun bashiyi hua tushuo 太上老君八十一化圖說
Taixue zhai 太學齋
taiyi 太乙
Taiyi Dadao 太一大道
taizi 太子
taming 塔銘
Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (Changzhenzi 長真子)
tang 堂
Tang Gongfang 唐公房
Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞
Tangshu 唐書
Teng Zongliang 滕宗諒
tiandi 天帝
tiandun jianfa 天遁劍法
Tianhou 天后
Tianqing guan 天慶觀
Tianshi Dao 天師道
Tianyang zhenren 天陽真人
tianzun 天尊
tidian 提點
tiebi 鐵筆
tiji 題記
tiju 提舉
tixing anchashi 提刑按察使
tongpan 通判
Tongyuan guan 通元觀
tuzhong 徒眾
Waguan si 瓦官寺
waidan 外丹
waitan 外壇
Wang Anshi 王安石
Wang Bowen 王博文
Wang Chongyang 王重陽
Wang Chuyi 王處一 (Yuyangzi 玉陽子)
Wang Guan 王瓘
Wang Ju 王舉
Wang Kui 王逵
Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋
Wang Ze 王則
Wang Zhe 王嚞 (Chongyangzi 重陽子)
Wang Zhuo 王拙
wanggong 王宮
Wangu Si 萬固寺
wanhu zongguan 萬戶總官
Wanshou 萬壽
Wanyan Deming 完顏德明
Weina 維那
Wen Yanbo 文彥博
Wenchang 文昌
weng 翁
Wenyuan yinghua 文苑英華
Wu Daozi 吳道子
Wu jindan san chengfa shu 五金丹三成法書
Wu Zongyuan 武宗元
Wudang shan 武當山
Wudeng huiyuan 五燈會元
Wuji men 無極門
Wuliang ci 武梁祠
Wushang gong 無上宮
Wutong 五通
Wuyue 五嶽
xian 仙
xian xiangxi yi zhi bao 獻香資以致報
Xiang Zhang 項樟
xiangguo 相國

Xiangong miao 仙公廟
xiangqi 鄉耆
xianji 仙跡
xianjing 仙境
xiantian 先天
xiantian di 先天帝
xiao liangkou 小倆口
xiaoben 小本
xiaozai miannan 消災免難
xiayuan 下院
xieshen 邪神
Ximing dian 龔明殿
xing 行
Xinghua si 興化寺
xingming 性命
xinyuan 心猿
xiong wu ningzhi 胸無凝滯
xiulian 修煉
xiuzhuan guan 修撰官
Xiwang Mu 西王母
Xixiang ji 西廂記
Xiyi 希夷
Xu Cheng 徐澂
Xu Delu 徐德錄
Xu Xun 許遜
xuan jiaotan xing xiang yi zhou, yi banxu 旋醮壇行香一週, 依班序
Xuandu baozang 玄都寶藏
Xuandu guangdao chonghe zhenren 玄都廣道冲和真人
Xuanfeng qinghui tu 玄風慶會圖
xuanjiang 宣講
Xuanjiao 玄教
xuanmen daojiao suo 玄門道教所
Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝
Xue Zixian 薛紫賢
xunjian si 巡檢司
Yan 巖
Yan Dongbin 顏洞賓
Yang En 楊恩
Yang Jizeng 楊繼增
Yang Maojin 楊茂晉
Yang Wanqing 楊萬頃
Yang Yi 楊億
yangkuang 佯狂
Yao Shu 姚樞
yaoshu 妖術
Yayan xishu 雅言系述
Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材
Yi Jiang 邑姜
yi mu nan zhi daxia 一木難支大廈
yi qi hunran tiancheng, fei ren suo neng ji ye 以其混然天成, 非人所能及也
yifu lanlou, xuerou gouwu 衣服藍縷, 血肉垢污
yin 陰
Yin Xi 尹喜
Yin Zhiping 尹志平
yinde 陰德
ying'er 嬰兒
yinshi 隱士
yinsi 淫祀
yinxing 銀杏
yiren (recluse) 逸人
yiren (unusual being) 異人
Yiwen zhi 藝文志
yixue 義學
Yongle gong 永樂宮
Yongle gong beilu 永樂宮碑錄
Yu Que 余闕
Yuan Gongyi 袁公益
yuanqi 元氣
Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊
yuetai 月台
Yueyang lou 岳陽樓
Yuhuang ge 玉皇閣
Yuhuang jing 玉皇經
yulu 語錄
Yunfang 雲房
yunü 玉女
Yuquan 玉泉
yushi 羽士
Yuyi shan 玉椅山

Yuzan shan 玉簪山
Yuzhen shi 遇真室
zaju 雜劇
zan 贊
zaoxiangbei 造像碑
zaoxiangji 造像記
zhai 齋
zhaihui 齋會
zhang 障
Zhang Boduan 張伯端
Zhang Deyin 張德印
Zhang Guolao 張國老
Zhang Heqi 張和氣
Zhang Ji 張洎
Zhang Jin 張進
Zhang Jun 張濬
Zhang Juzheng 張居正
Zhang Rou 張柔
Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰
Zhang Sicheng 張思誠
Zhang Silang 張四郎
Zhang Siwei 張四維
Zhang Xing 張興
Zhang Zhaolin 張兆麟
Zhang Zhennu 張珍奴
Zhang Zhide 張志德
Zhang Zhong 張中
Zhang Zhou 張驟
Zhao Xiangu 趙仙姑
Zhao Youqin 趙友欽
Zhaoxian li 招賢里
zhen (purity) 貞
zhen (town) 鎮
zhen (true) 真
Zhen Dadao 真大道
zhengfeng dafu 正奉大夫
Zhengtong daozang 正統道藏
Zhengyang xiansheng 正陽先生
Zhengyi Dao 正一道
zhenjun 真君
zhenkong 真空
zhenren 真人
Zhenren ci 真人祠
Zhenwu 真武
Zhenwu ge 真武閣
Zhenxian tang 真仙堂
Zhenyuan 貞元
Zhenzhong ji 枕中記
zhi (Taoist name) 志
zhima 紙禡
Zhinan gong 指南宮
zhiren 至人
zhishi yu Chunyang gong zhe 執事於純陽宮者
Zhong-Lü chuandao ji 鍾呂傳道集
Zhong-Lü erxian qingdan yi 鍾呂二仙慶誕儀
Zhongli Quan 鍾離権
Zhongnan shan Chongyang zushi xianji ji 終南山重陽祖師仙迹記
Zhongnan shan shenxian Chongyang zhenren Quanzhen jiaozu bei 終南山神仙重陽真人全真教祖碑
Zhongtiaoshan 中條山
zhou xiangsheng 州庠生
Zhouyi cantong qi 周易參同契
Zhu Haogu 朱好古
Zhu Jingxuan 朱景玄
zhuan 篆
Zhuangzi 莊子
zhuchi 住持
zi 字
zisun 子孫
zisun conglin 子孫叢林
Ziyong 自詠
zizhuan 自傳
zongshi 宗師
zumeng 詛盟
Zuo Fengyuan 左逢元
zuo yuezi 坐月子
zuofu youbi 左輔右弼

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