

### 3 **History of Tongbai Palace Before the Qing Dynasty**

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**Summary** 3.1 Sima Chengzhen. – 3.2 The Lineage of the Three Masters and Tongbai Palace. – 3.3 Du Guangting. – 3.4 From the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms to the Ming Dynasty. – 3.4.1 The Song Dynasty. – 3.4.2 Yuan and Ming Dynasties. – 3.5 Conclusion.

The focus in this chapter will be on the history of Tongbai Palace during the period between its construction in the Tang dynasty and its decline at the end of the Ming, concentrating primarily on the institutional, social and political aspects of its development and on the relation of these with the symbolic dimension on the one hand and the dimension of meaning on the other.

The building of Tongbai Palace during the Tang dynasty represents a watershed event in the history of the area: before this, Mt. Tongbai and the surrounding area lacked a specific, architecturally determined location that could physically epitomise and represent imperially sponsored Daoism. Tongbai Palace was thus closely related to the court. The start of the history of the temple itself must be traced back to the early 8th century. As is common knowledge among scholars, the Tang dynasty had a special relationship with Daoism, justified both by their pious and sincere devotion and by their interest in exploiting religion for political purposes.

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The most evident link between the Tang dynasty and Daoism was the imperial family's surname, Li 李, which is identical with what has been traditionally handed down as Laozi's own surname. Lord Lao (Laojun 老君, the divinised Laozi) reportedly manifested even before the founding of the dynasty, in 617 and 618, to communicate to Li Yuan 李淵 (Gaozu 高祖, r. 618-626) that he would win over the empire, and in 620 Gaozu bestowed on him the title of Sage Ancestor, Shengzu 聖祖.<sup>1</sup> In 666 Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649-683) visited the temple dedicated to Lord Lao in Bozhou 亳州 (in today's Anhui) and bestowed on him the title of Taishang Xuanyuan Huangdi 太上玄元皇帝 (Supreme Emperor of the Mysterious Origin); among a series of other decisions, he also changed the name of what was traditionally considered to be Laozi's home county, Guyang 谷陽 (sunny side of the valley), into Zhenyuan 真源 (source of truth). Before she became empress, in 689, Wu Zhao 武曩 (Wu Zetian 武則天, r. 690-705) 'demoted' Laozi to the original title of Laojun. In 705, with the restoration of the Tang dynasty, Laojun's title was also restored.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps one of the most striking events is the Daoist ordination of about 28 royal princesses and many palace ladies during the Tang dynasty, the foremost examples being those of Princess Jinxian 金仙 (689-732) and Princess Yuzhen 玉真 (691-762), who received their full ordination between 706 and 712.<sup>3</sup> In fact, in the *Tiantan Wangwu Shan shengyi ji* 天壇王屋山聖迹記 (Account of the Sacred Vestiges of the Altar of Heaven on Mt. Wangwu, DZ 969), Du Guangting records that Tang Ruizong's daughter, princess Yuzhen, "loved the Way and took the Celestial Master Sima [Chengzhen] as her master" 唐睿宗皇帝女玉真公主好道，師司馬天師。<sup>4</sup> Recent scholarship has highlighted the rise of Daoist institutions for women during the Tang dynasty. These temples, inhabited by female residents, could attain economic independence, sometimes thanks to state and private donations. In these institutions, women Daoists (*nüguan* 女冠, *nüguan* 女官 or *nüdaoshi* 女道士) were able to set up and develop autonomous communities that sometimes entertained close relationships with the external world, engaging in artistic, political and religious interactions. In fact, the autonomy of their religious life not only

1 Cf. Kohn, Kirkland, "Daoism in the Tang (618-907)", 340-1; Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong", 258-316.

2 Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong", 282. Wu Zetian 'demoted' Laozi back to his original title of Laojun in 689, which was later restored by Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684, 705-710) in 705.

3 Jia, *Gender, Power, and Talent*, 18-49; Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 49-50; Benn, *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission*.

4 Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 54.

expressed itself in the economic sphere, but also in the cultural one. It should be recalled that Daoist initiation and ritual practice, especially at the highest levels, required education and literacy. This suggests that women Daoists, at least their highest representatives in terms of social rank, were able to satisfy these requirements.<sup>5</sup>

Emperor Zhongzong's 中宗 second reign (705-710) marked the effective restoration of the Tang dynasty. Already in the year 706, he restored Laozi's title of Taishang Xuanyuan Huangdi and ordered the foundation of a Daoist abbey in each prefecture. His successor, Emperor Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 684-690, 710-712), who also authored a commentary on the *Daode jing*, ordered the construction of several Daoist temples, "which in the main capital led to a more rapid expansion [of Daoism] during his brief reign than in any other period of the dynasty".<sup>6</sup> It was he who built the Tongbai Abbey (Tongbai Palace) for the Daoist Sima Chengzhen in 711.

### 3.1 Sima Chengzhen

Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (*zi*: Ziwei 子微;<sup>7</sup> *hao*: Master Zhenyi 貞一先生; Master Baiyun 白雲子; 647-735) was one of the most prominent Daoist masters of the Tang dynasty and the most important of the first half of the dynasty. Cui Shang's *Tongbai Guan bei* describes his familial background as follows:

If not my refined master, who could have made it flourish? [His] *ming* was Chengzhen, his [*hao*] Tiantai Baiyun and he hailed from Wen [County] in Henei. He is a descendant of the younger brother of Emperor Xuan of the Jin [employed] in the Office of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials.<sup>8</sup> His grandfather Sheng was Area Commander in Chief under the Sui [dynasty]. At the beginning of the

<sup>5</sup> Jia, *Gender, Power, and Talent*, 12-15. The significance of women's interest in Daoism during the 8th century, possibly promoted also by the princesses' initiation, is highlighted by an official survey of the Kaiyuan era, which found that 550 out of 1,687 total Daoist temples were female convents. Jia, *Gender, Power, and Talent*, 50.

<sup>6</sup> Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Xu Lingfu recorded that Ziwei was Sima's 'given name' *ming* (cf. *Tiantai Shan ji* 6b), but Sun Yueban, based on the *Tang shu* 唐書, argued that Ziwei was his 'courtesy name' *zi* 字. Cf. *Yuding peiwen zhai shuhua pu* 73:15b. *Ming* is the 'given name', *hao* 號 is the 'alternative name', *zi* 字 is the 'courtesy name'. Daoists would have a *faming* 法名 and/or a *daohao* 道號, a 'Daoist name', bestowed upon ordination.

<sup>8</sup> Emperor Xuandi refers to Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179-251), posthumously named emperor by his grandson and founder of the Jin dynasty, Sima Yan 司馬炎 (r. 266-290). His brother was Sima Kui 司馬廵. *Tang Wangwu Shan Zhongyan Tai Zhengyi Xiansheng Miao jie* (DZ 970) 1a; Dien, Knapp, *The Cambridge History of China*, 42-7, 80-4. Cf. Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 50-1.

Tang dynasty, [his] father Renzui was Grand Master for Closing Court and administrator of the Xiang Prefecture.<sup>9</sup>

微我鍊師，孰能興之？鍊師名承禎，一名子微，號曰天台白雲，河內溫人。晉宣帝弟太常道之後。祖晟仕隋為親侍大都督。父仁最，唐興為朝散大夫，襄州長史。

One fundamental period in Sima Chengzhen's training was the time that he spent on Mt. Song 嵩山, where he studied the Way with Master Pan Shizheng 潘師正 (585-682).<sup>10</sup> Pan Shizheng had already met Emperor Gaozong on that mountain in 676, 679 and 680, when a Daoist monastery there was promoted to the rank of 'palace' (*gong* 宮). The same emperor visited this temple one last time in 683.<sup>11</sup> After his training, Master Sima initially settled on Mt. Tongbai, keeping himself out of the court politics that led to the establishment of the Zhou dynasty in 690 and ended with the demise of Empress Wu Zetian and the reestablishment of the Tang in 705. It is noteworthy that the empress tried to summon both him and his master Pan Shizheng to court.<sup>12</sup> Instead, Sima Chengzhen first accepted Emperor Ruizong's睿宗 summons to court in 711. In that same year, the emperor decided to build a retreat for him on Mt. Tongbai, called 'Tongbai Abbey', which became the most important Daoist temple of Tiantai County.<sup>13</sup>

Details about the edification of this temple are recorded in Xu Lingfu's 徐靈符 (ca. 760-841) *Tiantai Shan ji*. The building of the Tongbai Abbey is described as being marked by wondrous signs: "at the beginning of the building of the Tianzun Hall, five-coloured clouds [gathered] on top of it three times" 初構天尊堂，有五雲其上三。<sup>14</sup> Cui Shang's stele provides a more detailed account:

In the morning, when the construction of the hall to Tianzun started, there were five-coloured clouds floating above it. By the three wells where the dragons are tossed, there were strange clouds that entered the hall and again emerged from it three times.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Chicheng zhi*, 30:6a-b. This information is confirmed in *Tang Wangwu Shan Zhongyan Tai Zhengyi Xiansheng Miao jie* 唐王屋山中巖臺正一先生廟碣 by Wei Sheng 衛升. Cf. Kirkland, "Ssu-Ma Ch'eng-Chen and the Role of Taoism", 118, 127.

<sup>10</sup> *Tang Wangwu Shan Zhongyan Tai Zhengyi Xiansheng Miao jie* 1a, 4a; *Maoshan zhi* (DZ 304) 11:1a-3b; Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 54-9. Cf. Kohn, *Seven Steps to the Tao*.

<sup>11</sup> Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 37-8.

<sup>12</sup> Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 43, 47.

<sup>13</sup> *Tiantai Shan ji* 6b, 8b; *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a-7a. Cf. Ren, Ma, *Taizhou Daojiao kao*, 190.

<sup>14</sup> *Tiantai Shan ji* 9a.

<sup>15</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:6a.

故初構天尊之堂，晝日有雲五色游靄其上。三井投龍之所，時有異雲氣入堂，復出者三。

Only one year later, in 712, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756) ascended the throne and began one of the longest reigns in Chinese history. One of his main concerns upon taking the throne was to affirm dynastic control over other institutions: with this in mind, following 714 he laboured to reduce and eliminate the Buddhist and Daoist clergy's influence over the court. Xuanzong only resumed a more favourable attitude toward Daoists starting from 720, the same year in which the last 'old guard' of powerful court Daoists, Ye Fashan 葉法善 (631-720), passed away. Yet between 729 and 733 the emperor issued a series of decrees that gradually introduced the registration of the Buddhist and Daoist clergy, restrictions on their movement and the obligation for them to revere their parents.<sup>16</sup>

Nonetheless, Emperor Xuanzong is also remembered for his passionate interest in Daoism, which resulted in a series of acts of patronage. Starting with a decree in 732, he implemented a series of policies promoting Daoism. One of the most famous is his order that every household should keep a copy of the *Daode jing* and should worship it. In 737 the emperor placed Daoism under the jurisdiction of the Zongzheng Si 宗正寺 (Court of the Imperial Clan) while keeping Buddhism under that of the Honglu Si 鴻臚寺 (Court for Diplomatic Relations), a move that at once confirmed the fact the imperial family regarded Laozi as its ancestor and consigned Buddhism to the status of a religion of foreign origin.<sup>17</sup> In 742, the emperor promoted Laozi to *shangsheng* 上聖 (superior sage) and granted him priority during sacrificial offerings. He also established Daoist academies (*chongxuan xue* 崇玄學) and elevated the Daoist scriptures to the same rank as the Confucian classics. Then, the following year, the Emperor Xuanyuan's Temple in Chang'an was renamed 'Taiqing Palace' 太清宮 and underwent some architectural modifications and rearrangements of the spaces; similarly, the Temple in Luoyang was renamed 'Taiwei Palace' 太微宮. It is in this period that two new sacrifices were added to the list of state rituals: the Taiqing Palace ritual in Laozi's honour and the worship of the "noble gods of the nine palaces" (*jiugong guishen* 九宮貴神).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 52-8.

<sup>17</sup> The Zonglu Si was responsible for keeping the imperial genealogies, establishing the ranks of the members of the imperial family and monitoring the activities of the imperial relatives. During the Tang dynasty, the Honglu Si was supervised by the Ministry of Rites 禮部 and was in charge of the reception of foreign emissaries and of some imperial rituals. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 264, 530; Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, 411.

<sup>18</sup> Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong", 261-73, 281-3.

In 721, Sima Chengzhen answered the emperor's summon and left the Tiantai Mountains to go to court, helping him to develop measures for the imperial patronage of Daoism.<sup>19</sup> In 724, Emperor Xuanzong set up the Yangtai Abbey 陽臺觀 on Mt. Wangwu 王屋山 for Sima Chengzhen, where the Daoist passed away in 735.<sup>20</sup> According to Xu Lingfu, the construction of this abbey was justified by the emperor's desire to bring Sima Chengzhen nearer to the capital.<sup>21</sup> In fact, Mt. Wangwu is located north of Luoyang, which had been the eastern (second) capital of the Tang dynasty since 657 and was chosen as the de facto capital of the Zhou dynasty as well as by Emperor Xuanzong until the final return of the court to Chang'an in 736.<sup>22</sup> It also seems that the aforementioned Princess Yuzhen visited Sima Chengzhen at Mt. Wangwu less than a year before his death and that the two performed a ritual called *jinlu zhai* 金錄齋 (retreat of the golden register) together.<sup>23</sup>

In the first year of the Tianbao 天寶 reign (742), the Prefect of Linhai, Jia Changyuan 賈長源, together with Sima's disciple Li Hanguang 李含光 (683-769) erected the famous stele composed by Cui Shang; its header was reportedly written by Emperor Xuanzong himself.<sup>24</sup> This early source, whose original is now lost, but whose text is still preserved in local gazetteers such as the *Chicheng zhi*, highlights the mountain's link with Wangzi Qiao. The stele first describes the physical features of Mt. Tongbai, mentioning the Jinting Grotto-Heaven as the palace where Wangzi Qiao resides. This is called "a numinous place for cultivating perfection" (*yangzhen zhi lingjing* 養真之靈境). According to the stele, the location of the most ancient temple indicated the place where Ge Xuan dwelled, and for this reason Daoists continued to visit it.<sup>25</sup>

The close relationship between the Tang emperors and Sima Chengzhen suggests that his Daoist tradition was supported and legitimised by the dynasty. This was possible also thanks to the

<sup>19</sup> Notably, this included the recognition of the five marchmounts as seats of Shangqing deities, the composition of ritual music based on Daoist themes for the emperor and the engraving of the *Daode jing* written by Sima Chengzhen in three different calligraphic styles on a stele erected at the capital in 721. Barrett, *Taoism under the Tang*, 54-5.

<sup>20</sup> *Tang Wangwu Shan Zhongyan Tai Zhengyi Xiansheng Miao jie* 2b-3a. Other sources provide 727 as the year of Sima Chengzhen's death. Chen Guofu considers the year 735 as the most probable. Cf. Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 54-5.

<sup>21</sup> *Tiantai Shan ji* 16a.

<sup>22</sup> Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, 257, 400.

<sup>23</sup> Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 54; Benn, *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission*, 11.

<sup>24</sup> *Tiantai Shan ji* 9a; *Chicheng zhi* 40:17b. This edition of the *Tiantai Shan ji* states that the stele was set up in the sixth year of the Tianbao reign (747).

<sup>25</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a-7a.

Daoists' intimate bonds with some high deities, which heightened the significance of the Shangqing masters for the emperors. Kirkland noticed that Sima Chengzhen brought with him an institutional authority as Shangqing Grand Master, Pan Shicheng's successor, and a spiritual authority represented by a seal that a phoenix had bestowed on him in a dream. The seal read: "Bestowed by (upon?) the Lord of Eastern Florescence, the Shangqing Perfected One". Sima Chengzhen surely had a close connection with Qingtong 青童 (Azure Lad), the Lord of Eastern Florescence, since before passing away he reportedly said: "Today I have been summoned by Qingtong" 吾今為青童君所召. The *Xu xian zhuan* 續仙傳 (DZ 295; 10th century) reports a similar sentence: "Today I have been summoned by Lord Qingtong of the Eastern Sea, I must go" 今為東海一青童君東華君所召, 必須往.<sup>26</sup>

Among the many texts authored by Sima Chengzhen, at least two of his extant works are geographical descriptions of numinous lands: the *Shangqing tiandi gongfu tu* (in DZ 1032, *Yunji qiqian*, juan 27) and the *Shangqing shi dichen Tongbai zhenren zhen tuzan* 上清侍帝晨桐柏真人真圖讚 (DZ 612).<sup>27</sup> The first text describes 72 sacred sites, the majority of which are located in the Jiangnan area, and has been discussed in the previous chapter. The second text contains the biography of the immortal Wangzi Qiao, composed of 11 vignettes, each followed by a picture and a eulogy. This text cites many sources, including the *Shiji* 史記 and the *Liexian zhuan* and follows the deeds of the immortal, including his revelation of scriptures to Yang Xi, following his appointment as 'governor of Mount [Tongbai]'.<sup>28</sup> The *Shangqing shi dichen Tongbai zhenren zhen tuzan* can be read as an exaltation of the figure of Wangzi Qiao as a patriarch of the Shangqing tradition, but also as Sima Chengzhen's attempt to augment the mountain's prestige. I do not think this second interpretation very likely, though, because, as discussed in the previous chapter, traditional historiography and Chinese culture had both long considered Mt. Tongbai and the Tiantai Mountains to be locations with extraordinary qualities. During pre-Tang era, even Mt. Tongbai became entwined with supernatural occurrences and assumed an aura of sacredness. Wangzi Qiao is

<sup>26</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 35:11b; *Xu xian zhuan* 3:3a. Russell Kirkland spoke of a probable identification of Sima Chengzhen with Qingtong, but according to the sources cited above this appears to be not possible. Kirkland, "Ssu-Ma Ch'eng-Chen and the Role of Taoism", 119. On Qingtong, see Kroll, "In the Halls of the Azure Lad", 75-94.

<sup>27</sup> See Kohn, *Seven steps to the Tao*, 21; Ren, Ma, *Taizhou Daojiao kao*, 286. Other texts by Sima Chengzhen included in the *Daozang* are *Zuowang lun* 坐忘論 (DZ 1036), *Fuqi jingyi lun* 服氣精義論 (DZ 830) and *Tianyin zi* 天隱子 (DZ 1026).

<sup>28</sup> Verellen, "Shangqing shi dichen Tongbo zhenren zhen tuzan". This text is not a "collection of eleven short biographies of Shangqing saints connected with Mount Tongbo" as stated in Kohn, *Seven steps to the Tao*, 21. In fact, the development of the cult of the Daoist immortal Wangzi Qiao was quite complex. On this topic see Bujard, "Le Culte de Wangzi Qiao", 115-58 and cf. the previous chapter.

important for the present study, because by focusing on this immortal the text associates the Mao Mountains, the historical setting of the Shangqing revelations and of Xu Mi's retreat, with Mt. Tongbai, where the retreat built by the emperor for Sima Chengzhen was located.<sup>29</sup> Both mountains were already prominent in Tao Hongjing's *Zhengao*, therefore Sima developed a tradition which was already established in its fundamental elements in the 4th century. A Daoist lineage associated with the Shangqing tradition survived in the Tiantai area after Sima Chengzhen and at least until the twilight of the Song dynasty, as will be clear from the following analysis of later generations of Daoists.

Sima Chengzhen's choice to move from Mt. Song, a major mountain located east of Luoyang, to the distant Tiantai Mountains might be justified by the tense political climate at court. In this sense, we find here one instance of the phenomenon called 'political hermitism' – the conscious political choice to live a retired life, far (although never too far) from the social world and the centres of power.<sup>30</sup> Yet, this element alone would not explain Sima Chengzhen's choice of Mt. Tongbai. In the interest of offering a more informed hypothesis, it is useful to remember the close links between the early Shangqing compilers and Mt. Shan. Moreover, we should recall that the earliest accounts of Wangzi Qiao himself linked him to Mt. Song; he thus represents a direct link between that mountain and Mt. Tongbai. Mt. Song was the place where Wangzi Qiao studied the Dao with his master Fuqiu and Mt. Tongbai was the place that he administered after his deification. The parallels between the lives of Wangzi Qiao and Sima Chengzhen lead Thomas Jülch to speculate that Sima Chengzhen might have considered himself to be a sort of second manifestation of Wangzi Qiao, or at least that he consciously stressed the parallels between their two biographies in order to justify his move to Mt. Tongbai.<sup>31</sup> I would rather invert the process of causality, arguing that Sima Chengzhen moved to Mt. Tongbai because he was aware of the sacredness of that area and of its link with a major deity of the Shangqing tradition.

If we consider the Shangqing lineage as recorded in the *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (Gazetteer of the Mao Mountains; 14th century), we find that Mt. Tongbai ceased being a significant outpost for Sima Chengzhen's tradition since the life of his disciple Li Hanguang, who is remembered as the 14th Shangqing ancestral master. Li began his Daoist career at the Longxing Abbey 龍興觀 near Luoyang and in 729 he met Sima Chengzhen on Mt. Wangwu, five years after Master

<sup>29</sup> Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 13.

<sup>30</sup> On political hermitism, cf. Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 6; Mair, "Li Po's Letters in Pursuit of Political Patronage", 123-53.

<sup>31</sup> Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen*, 54.



Sima had moved there. During his life, Li Hanguang did not reside on Mt. Tongbai, preferring instead to care for the Yangtai Abbey, and later to move to the Mao Mountains.<sup>32</sup> The successive generations of disciples related to this place seem to have been equally uninterested in the Tongbai Abbey. Yet, historical sources suggest that Sima Chengzhen had many disciples, each one linked with a different line of transmission. The line recorded in the *Dongxuan Lingbao san shi ji* 洞玄靈寶三師記 (*San shi ji*, DZ 444) differs from that of the *Maoshan zhi*, but it is much more important for the present study, since it provides information on the lineage connecting Sima Chengzhen, Xu Lingfu and Du Guangting 杜光庭 (*zi*: Binsheng 賓聖; *hao*: Dongying zi 東瀛子; ca. 850-ca. 933), all renowned Daoists of the Tang dynasty who dwelled at the Tongbai Abbey and who therefore played a central role in the history of the temple itself.

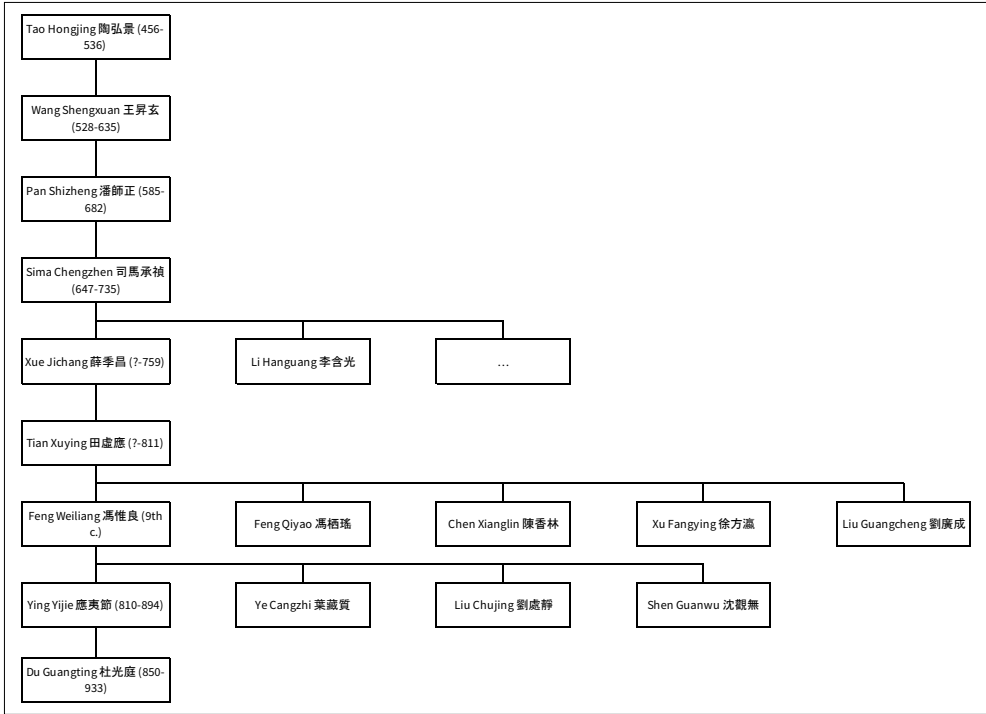
### 3.2 The Lineage of the Three Masters and Tongbai Palace

The *San shi ji* is a text of unclear authorship, probably composed at the beginning of the 10th century, that focuses on a lineage of Daoists who were active in southeast China during the Tang dynasty.<sup>33</sup> The text is divided into two parts: it opens with a preface, followed by the biographies of three Daoist masters, Tian Xuying, Feng Weiliang and Ying Yijie, (hence the title *san shi*, or ‘three masters’). These are the main focus of the text and they were all related to the Southern Marchmount 南嶽 (Mt. Heng 衡山). They represent three successive generations that preceded that of the famous court Daoist of the late Tang, Du Guangting, who was himself related to this lineage. This lineage [table 1] starts with Tao Hongjing (first generation) and includes Sima Chengzhen (fourth generation) and Du Guangting (ninth generation) as part of the same tradition. I am mostly interested in the sixth and seventh generations, dateable to the beginning of the ninth century, not too distant in time from Du Guangting’s life and presumably from the compilation of the text itself: these correspond to the first and second of the three masters.

<sup>32</sup> *Maoshan zhi* 11:3b-5a.

<sup>33</sup> See Lagerwey, “Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji”. This text was compiled by multiple hands. The author of the preface, dated 920, and purportedly final editor of the text, is Master Guangcheng 廣成先生. For a discussion on the debated authorship of this text, see Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 17-18.

Table 1 Chart of the lineage of the three masters



Tian Xuying 田虛應 (*zi*: Liangyi 良逸; d. 811) is the first of the three masters, referred to by the title ‘Scripture Master, Great Cavern of Shangqing at the Southern Marchmount (i.e. Mount Heng)’ 經師南嶽上清大洞. This biography contains some problematic elements, as will be made evident in what follows. According to the *San shi ji*, Tian hailed from the region of the state of Qi 齊國, corresponding to today’s Shandong, and starting in the Kaihuang 開皇 era of the Sui dynasty (581-600) he took care of his parents in You County 攸縣. He decided to move, so he travelled until he came to Zigai Peak 紫蓋峰 of the Southern Marchmount (i.e. Mt. Heng), where he dedicated himself to agriculture and waited upon his parents for more than 50 years.<sup>34</sup> He then aspired to cultivate the Way and to pursue self-realisation and travelled to the five peaks (i.e. the five marchmounts). During the Longshuo 龍朔 era (661-663), he met the ‘recluse transcendent Lord

34 *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 2b-4a. Cf. Ren, Ma, *Taizhou Daojiao kao*, 287-8. On Mount Heng, cf. Robson, “Mount Heng”.

He' (*yinxian Hejun* 隱仙何君), who 'silently transmitted his teachings' (*mochuan qi dao* 默傳其道) to Tian Xuying; the latter then returned to Mt. Heng and built (or rebuilt?) the Jiangzhen Hall 降真堂.<sup>35</sup> Master Tian was initiated into the *Shangqing dadong* 上清大洞 tradition by Xue Jichang 薛季昌 (Master Zhenyi 真一先生; d. 759), Sima Chengzhen's disciple, on that very mountain.<sup>36</sup> Having inherited the mysterious essential tenets, he was able to penetrate the realm of the Dao (*zuancheng xuanyao, shenzhen daoyu* 繼承玄要, 深臻道域).

Master Tian had four disciples. Three of them, Feng Qiyao 馮栖瑤, Chen Xianglin 陳香林 (aka Chen Guayan 寡言) and Xu Fangying 徐方瀛 (i.e. Xu Lingfu, *hao*: Moxi 默希), travelled east to Mt. Tiantai during the Yuanhe 元和 era (806-820).<sup>37</sup> According to the *Chicheng zhi*, Xu Lingfu hailed from Qiantang 錢塘, lived on Yungai Peak 雲蓋峰 and went to Mt. Fangying to practise self-cultivation.<sup>38</sup> Liu Guangcheng 劉廣成, on the other hand, who dwelled at Mt. Heng and received the title of Celestial Master from Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 841-846), is described as the founding patriarch of the school of the 'method of the Three Caverns' 三洞之法.<sup>39</sup> The fact that Tian Xuying's life was reportedly a couple of centuries long is the most problematic aspect of his biography, and indeed suggests that we are actually dealing with a hagiographic account. Despite this, it still contains information that is confirmed by other sources, such as Xu Lingfu's historical existence and his presence at the Tongbai Abbey.

The real inheritor of Tian Xuying's legacy, according to what the *San shi ji* records, was Feng Weiliang 馮惟良 (aka Feng Qiyao 栖瑤; 9th century), also known as the 'Registration Master, Great Cavern of Shangqing at the Tongbai Abbey on Mt. Tiantai, Lord Sanzheng' 籍師天台山桐柏觀上清大洞三微君. He hailed from Changle 長樂 (Fujian) and practiced the Way on Mt. Heng together with Xu Lingfu and Chen Xianglin.<sup>40</sup> He received 'true instructions' (*zhenjue* 真訣) and the esoteric teachings of the Three Caverns (*Sandong you'ao* 三洞

<sup>35</sup> The *Nanyue xiaolu* 南嶽小錄 (DZ 453) by Li Chongzhao 李冲昭 (9th century), the *Nanyue zongsheng ji* 南嶽總勝集 (DZ 606; T. 2097) by Chen Tianfu 陳田夫 (12th century) and the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* by Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294-1307) of the Song dynasty all contain information on this temple.

<sup>36</sup> *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 3a-b.

<sup>37</sup> *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji*, 3a-b; *Nanyue xiaolu* 13b-14a. Franciscus Verellen argued that Tian Xuying most probably did not go with them to Tiantai. Verellen, *Du Guangting*, 21.

<sup>38</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 35:12b.

<sup>39</sup> *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 3b.

<sup>40</sup> *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 2a-b. See also *Chicheng zhi* 35:12b, where his surname is miswritten as "馬". In the Song source, his *zi* is Yunyi 雲翼. The brief biography contained in the gazetteers fundamentally agrees with the Daoist text and it specifies that Master Feng employed the "arts of the Three Caverns" 三洞法.

幽奧) at the altar of Master Tian Xuying, the Jiangzhen Hall. As we have seen, Feng Weiliang together with Xu Lingfu and Chen Xianglin moved to Mt. Tiantai, probably between their master's death in 811 and 820, and they settled down at the Tongbai Abbey. The temple, according to this source, had been repaired for the last time by Xue Jichang, so its buildings were covered by vegetation.<sup>41</sup> The three Daoists decided to restore them, erecting the Shangqing Pavilion 上清閣, the Jiangzhen Hall 降真堂, the Baiyun Pavilion 白雲亭 and the Xiaoxian Temple 脩閑院, in order to recover Master Zhenyi's legacy.<sup>42</sup> Feng Weiliang was reportedly summoned by emperors Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 806-820) and Jingzong 敬宗 (r. 824-826), but refused the invitations and instead isolated himself in the Hualin Valley 華林谷, where he built the Bingyao Retreat 柄瑤隱居. Among his disciples, this source lists Ying Sandong 應三洞 (Ying Yijie 夷節), Ye Cangzhi 葉藏質 (zi: Hanxiang 含象), Liu Chujing 劉處靜 (Liu Xiandu 仙都) and Shen Guanwu 沈觀無.<sup>43</sup> The most famous is probably Liu Chujing (whose name is also written Xuanjing 玄靖 or 玄靜), whom the header of the *San shi ji* calls Master Guangcheng. He accepted Wuzong's invitation to court, and in 844 he received the title 'Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with Silver [Seal] and Blue [Ribbon]' 銀青光祿大夫, so he can by all means be considered a court Daoist.<sup>44</sup>

Ying Yijie (zi: Dizhong 適中; 810-894) is the third master, also called Ordination Master, Great Cavern of Shangqing at the Daoyuan Temple of Mount Tiantai, Master Daoyuan Awarded the Purple [Robe] (*dushi tiantaishan daoyuan yuan shangqing dadong daoyuan xiansheng cizi* 度師天台山道元院上清大洞道元先生賜紫).<sup>45</sup> His ancestors hailed

<sup>41</sup> The *San shi ji* states: "At that time, many years had passed since Master Zhenyi had restored the Tongbai Abbey" 時桐柏觀自貞一先生繕修之後, 綿歷歲年. 'Master Zhenyi' was an epithet of both Sima Chengzhen and Xue Jichang, but since the text refers to the restoration of the temple and not to its edification, I suggest that it here indicates the latter.

<sup>42</sup> Here, again, determining who this master was is problematic. Sima Chengzhen would seem to be the most obvious choice, being the most important Daoist of the Tang dynasty related to the abbey. Consistency, though, requires that the two references to Master Zhenyi should be understood as indicating the same individual.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Hu, *Zhonghua Daojiao dacidian*, 105.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hu, *Zhonghua Daojiao dacidian*, 107. Franciscus Verellen noted that the title of "Master Guangcheng" was bestowed at least once per generation on Daoists belonging to the lineage of the three masters. He also argues that it was the same epithet held by Laozi as counsellor of the Yellow Emperor. Cf. Verellen, *Imperilled Destinies*, 297-8; Jia, "Du Guangting and the Hagiographies", 86. On the title *yingqing guanglu dafu*, see Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 581.

<sup>45</sup> It should be noted here that each of the three masters is respectively addressed with a different title: *jingshi* 經師 (scripture master), *jishi* 籍師 (transmission master) and *dushi* (ordination master). While these titles are used to indicate different generations within the same lineage, probably in relation to the author of the text, the same words were used during the Tang dynasty to address offices concurrently involved in

from the area south of Runan 汝南 (Henan) and during the Eastern Jin they settled near Mt. Jinhua 金華山 (Zhejiang).<sup>46</sup> At the age of seven he left his parents to study the Way, so he became the disciple of Wu Xuansu 吳玄素 of the Lingrui Abbey 靈瑞觀 of Lanxi County 蘭溪縣 (today part of Jinhua City 金華市). Master Wu bestowed on him a set of texts belonging to the Daoist and the Confucian corpora: the ‘true scripture’ of Nanhua 南華真經 (i.e. the *Zhuangzi* 莊子), the Chongxu 沖虛 (i.e. the *Liezi* 列子) and Tongling 通靈 (which in fact refers to the *Tongxuan* 通玄, i.e. the *Wenzi* 文子), the *Zhouyi* 周易, the *Xiaojing* 孝經 and Confucius’s *Analects*. When he was 15 years old, he went to Tiantai and received the Zhengyi 正一 initiation, which corresponded to the first rank of Daoist ordination, receiving the title of disciple of the Superior and Mysterious Purple Void (*gaoxuan zixu* 高玄紫虛), when he was 17.<sup>47</sup> At the age of 18, he went to Mt. Longhu, where he received the third rank and the position of Great Inspector of Merit (*da dugong* 大都功) from the 18th Heavenly Master.<sup>48</sup> When he was 24 years old, he received the ‘true writs of Lingbao’ (*Lingbao zhenwen* 靈寶真文) and the ritual methods of the scriptures of the *Dongshen* 洞神 and of the *Dongxuan* 洞玄.<sup>49</sup> Then, we are told, “at 29 he entered the Ascent to Mystery” (*ershijiu jin shengxuan* 二十九進昇玄). This might

ordinations rituals. These titles were already mentioned in the *Wushang biyao* 舞上祕要, where they indicated different liturgical roles. Lin, *Tangdai Daojiao guanli zhidu yanjiu*, 166. For a 19th century use of the three titles to indicate three successive generations of masters, see the interlinear commentary in *Jingai xindeng* 4:21.

**46** *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 5b-8b.

**47** On the Daoist ranks during the Tang dynasty, cf. Kohn, “Ordination and Priesthood” 19; *The Daoist Monastic Manual*; “Medieval Daoist Ordination”; Schipper, “Taoist Ordination Ranks in the Tunhuang Manuscripts”. I have interpreted the expression *gaoxuan zixu* found in the *San shi ji* as a reference to the first level of initiation, Newly Ordained in the Register of the Purple Void (*xinshou taishang daode gaoxuan gaoshang zixu dizi* 新授太上道德高玄高上紫虛弟子). The corresponding ordination ritual is found in *Taishang San Dong chuanshou Daode jing Zixu lu baibiao yi* 太上三洞傳授道德經紫虛錄拜表儀 (Ritual of the Presentation of the Memorials for the Transmission of the Register of the Purple Void and the *Daode jing*; DZ 808), edited by Du Guangting. Cf. Schipper, “Taishang San Dong chuanshou Daode jing Zixu lu baibiao yi”.

**48** The *dugong* (inspector of merit) was the highest office in the Celestial Masters’ hierarchy during the Tang. *Dugong* were heads of dioceses and could bestow all levels of ordination, except for the highest. Schipper, “Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong banyi”. Cf. *Zhengyi fawen chuan dugong banyi* 正一法文傳都功版儀 (DZ 1211), which contains models of ordination documents and memorials. Vincent Goossaert argues that the invention of the new ordination register, the [*sanwu*] *dugong lu* [三五]都功錄, was instrumental for the rise of the ordination monopoly of the Zhangs of Mt. Longhu, as well as of their prestige and influence, from the 9th century on. Goossaert, *Heavenly Masters*, 63-9.

**49** It is not clear whether the ‘true writs’ refer to those employed during the initiation rituals, copied on wooden tablets and tied to gold dragons of the kind mentioned in *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao zhongjian wen* 太上洞玄靈寶眾簡文 (DZ 410), or to the celestial writs that spontaneously appeared at the origin of the cosmos such as those discussed in the *Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing* 元始五老赤書玉篇真天文書經 (Scripture on the True Writs of the Five Ancients of the Primordial Beginning,

refer to initiation into the Shengxuan tradition, which was linked with the *Shengxuan neijiao jing* 昇玄內教經, a text now lost, but partially preserved in the *Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu* 太上靈寶昇玄內教經中和品述議疏 (DZ 1122) and among the Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>50</sup> At 32 he received the talismans of the *Shangqing dadong* 上清大洞, the *Huiju bidao* 回車畢道, the *Ziwen sudai* 紫文素帶, the *jidi shengtian* 藉地騰天.<sup>51</sup> In 843 he was dwelling on the Cuiping Cliff 翠屏巖, west of the Tongbai Abbey.

We are also provided the lineage of the transmission of the *Shangqing dafa* 上清大法, which corresponds to the Shangqing lineage of the Mao Mountains only in its first part: Tao Hongjing > Wang Shengxuan 王昇玄 (528-635) > Pan Tixuan 潘體玄 > Sima Chengzhen > Xue Jichang > Tian Liangyi > Feng Weiliang > Ying Yijie.<sup>52</sup> As has already been observed by John Lagerwey, Xue Jichang and his disciples here present an alternative lineage to the official Shangqing lineage included in the *Maoshan zhi*, although it can be found also in the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (DZ 298).<sup>53</sup> Lagerwey thus hypothesises that the *San shi ji* was written in order to promote this alternative lineage, which led up to Du Guangting, the second most famous court Daoist of the Shangqing lineage of the Tang dynasty.

If we read the *San shi ji* as an attempt to legitimise the specific lineage described therein, we can draw some conclusions on the history of the Tongbai Abbey during the Tang dynasty. The

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Red Writings in Celestial Script on Jade Tablets; DZ 22). *Taishang dongxuan Lingbao zhongjian wen* 255; Schmidt, “Yuanshi wulao chishu yupian zhenwen tianshu jing”.

**50** Cf. Schipper, “General Introduction”, 13; “Taishang lingbao shengxuan neijiao jing zhonghe pin shuyi shu”; Lagerwey, “Taishang dongxuan lingbao xuanjie shouhui zhongzui baohu jing”.

**51** *Huiju bidao* refers to a Shangqing register related to a Daoist’s final retreat to a mountain to practice ascension, but since he received the talismans when he was only 32 years old, this seems improbable. There exists also a *Shangqing tianshu yuan huiju bidao zhengfa* 上清天樞院回車畢道正法 (True Shangqing Method of Returning by Chariot and Completing the Way According to the Department of the Celestial Pivot; DZ 549), which in its current recension was probably edited during the Song dynasty and contains exorcistic methods related to the *Tianxian zhengfa* 天仙正法. Andersen, “Shangqing tianshu yuan huiju bidao zhengfa”.

**52** *Dongxuan lingbao san shi ji* 6a. Wang Shengxuan (*ming*: Yuanzhi 遠智 or 遠知; *zi*: Guangde 廣德) hailed from a family of officials in Shandong. He met emperors of the Sui and of the Tang dynasties. His is responsible for beginning the construction of the Taiping Abbey 太平觀 on the Mao Mountains. In 680 Emperor Gaozong bestowed on him the title Master Shengzhen 昇真先生 and in 684 Empress Wu changed his title to Master Shengxuan 昇玄先生. Xue Jichang also hailed from a family of officials. He reportedly accepted Emperor Xuanzong’s summoning to court, where they discussed Daoist doctrine. Hu, *Zhonghua Daojiao dacidian*, 92, 98.

**53** Lagerwey, “Dongxuan Lingbao sanshi ji”; *Maoshan zhi* 11:2b-5a; *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 40:1a-8b.

three masters Tian, Feng and Ying are undoubtedly portrayed as eminent Shangqing masters. This lineage was originally based on Mt. Heng and traced its tradition to the teachings transmitted by Sima Chengzhen's disciple Xue Jichang. At the beginning of the 9th century, this lineage moved from Mt. Heng to the Tiantai Mountains. Although the reasons for this shift are yet to be determined, they might be related to the competition between the different Shangqing lineages that had been established on the Heng and Mao mountains and other places. In this way, its members were effectively travelling closer to the origins of their own lineage, to one of Sima Chengzhen's residences and to a place of imperial sponsorship. From a symbolic perspective, then, Mt. Tongbai was religiously significant on account of all the strata of meaning it had accumulated during the centuries. It was also politically important, since it was not difficult for the court, the officials, the religious specialists and the commoners to relate the Daoist community living on Mt. Tongbai to its recent history and Ruizong's sponsorship. This is all the truer if we consider that these Daoists stressed their having inherited Sima Chengzhen's tradition.

If we shift our attention toward the three masters' own achievements, the bestowal of imperial honours on Ying Yijie in the form of the 'purple robe' is a very important piece of information. This means that at the end of the 9th century the lineage of the three masters maintained the close relationship with the court that characterised its alleged patriarch, Sima Chengzhen. In this regard, it is important to remember that the Shangqing initiation was but the highest and most prestigious of the series of initiations that these Daoists had received. To unravel the implications of this would draw us very far from the purposes of this book, but fundamentally it means two things: first, that the construction of a Daoist's identity in this period (as well as in later periods, as I will demonstrate in the last chapter) was not based on a unique, univocal tradition; and second, that Mt. Tongbai continued to maintain its prominence for Shangqing Daoism until the 9th century.

In conclusion, at the time the Tang dynasty ended, the Tongbai Abbey was still regarded as part of the network of court Daoist institutions. The intimate ties between the abbey and the court are confirmed by the life of the most prominent court Daoist of this period, Du Guangting. In his youth, Du Guangting was considered an 'eminent literatus' (*juru* 巨儒), but despite his great talent he failed the imperial examinations during Emperor Yizong's 懿宗 reign (r. 859-873).<sup>54</sup> Afterward, Du went to the Tiantai Mountains, where he became a disciple of Ying Yijie, the descendant of the court Daoist Ying Zangzhi (fl. 860-874) and, of course, the last of the three

54 *Chicheng zhi* 35:13b.

masters.<sup>55</sup> During this period, Du had the opportunity to explore the area, study the history of the place and become familiar with the stories related to the mountain: this experience influenced his entire career, and much of the knowledge that he accumulated in this period ended up in his writings.<sup>56</sup>

### 3.3 Du Guangting

Du Guangting launched his career as a court Daoist at his first audience with Emperor Xizong 僖宗 in 875.<sup>57</sup> His activity at court then continued beyond the fall of the Tang dynasty and into the Former Shu Kingdom 前蜀國 (907-925). Du's biography is therefore of paramount importance for our understanding of Daoist history in general, but also for the present study of Daoism in Tiantai County.

Du was a renowned ritualist who performed Lingbao liturgies multiple times for the courts and who authored ritual and biographical collections.<sup>58</sup> These works had two principal functions: systematising Daoist knowledge and legitimising the ruling family that Du was serving. For example, his *Wang shi shenxian zhuan* 王氏神仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals of the Wang Family) is a clear attempt at legitimising the ruling family of the Former Shu, founded by Wang Jian 王建 (r. 907-918).<sup>59</sup> This agenda was at times carried out through the initiation of the emperor to Daoist hierarchies, followed by the imperial bestowal of prestigious titles on Du Guangting. For example, in 923 the Daoist granted a register to Wang Yan 王衍 (r. 918-925), and received the title of *chuanzhen tianshi* 傳真天師 (Celestial Master who Transmits the Truth).<sup>60</sup> This practice of mutual legitimation between

<sup>55</sup> Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 17-27.

<sup>56</sup> For example, Du Guangting included Master Hanshan's 寒山子 biography in his *Xianzhuan shiyi* 仙傳拾遺 (today only available as a quotation in the *Taiping guangji*) and being one of the earliest accounts of Hanshan, it is extremely significant. Rouzer, *On Cold Mountain: A Buddhist Reading of the Hanshan Poems*, 42-3. Interestingly, here Hanshan is included in the group of transcendents 仙, as the title of the work suggests. He reportedly went to Mount Cuiping 翠屏山 (which belongs to the Tiantai mountain range) during the Dali 大曆 reign (766-779) to practice the Dao. Mt. Cuiping was a cold place, where the snow did not melt even during summer: therefore, the peak was also called Mt. Han 寒山 (literally 'cold mountain'), hence his sobriquet. He is described as a poetry lover who authored a total of 300 poems, later collected by Xu Lingfu in an anthology in 3 *juan* with a preface by Xu himself.

<sup>57</sup> Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 35.

<sup>58</sup> For example, fast of the Yellow Register 黃籙齋 for the Tang court in 880 and the Shu in the 910s, see Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 40, 166.

<sup>59</sup> Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 153, 178-80. On another collection of biographies by Du Guangting, the *Yongcheng jixian lu*, see Jia, "Du Guangting and the Hagiographies".

<sup>60</sup> Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 178.



the religious and the political authorities was, of course, not unique to Du's relationship with the court. The Daoist ordination of sovereigns had already been carried out most notably by Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365-448) on Taiwu 太武 (r. 423-452) of the Northern Wei 北魏 and by the Daoists Tao Hongjing, Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406-477), Pan Shizheng (596-684), Sima Chengzhen and Li Hanguang.<sup>61</sup>

Du Guangting's significance for the history of Daoism traces back to a complex interaction of different factors. He had a profound knowledge of Daoist liturgy, which he used both for religious and political aims. He was also a man of letters trained in the Confucian classics and doctrine, and for this reason he could effectively bridge the two traditions and comfortably interact with elite representatives of the most prominent social and religious communities of the 10th century.<sup>62</sup> His ability to relate with other literati and court Buddhist monks, along with his literary and ritual skills, gained him access to the imperial sponsorship that he used to support and promote Daoism.

On the institutional level, Du Guangting linked two geographical extremes of the Tang empire. He was trained in Daoism and practised it in the Jiangnan region, but spent the last years of his life on Mt. Qingcheng 青城山 (Sichuan), at the western frontier of the empire. I cannot thoroughly discuss the magnitude of Du Guangting's influence on Daoism during the Former Shu kingdom, but previous studies have stressed his long-term impact on Daoist development in Sichuan. The magnitude of his influence on the history of Daoism in general can hardly be overestimated, and from the time of the Song dynasty he was considered a fundamental figure of the Lingbao tradition.

So far, I have discussed those Daoists related to Tongbai Palace who belonged to the elite religious specialists operating at court and side by side with the highest levels of society. The construction of the Tongbai Abbey in 711 was the result of imperial sponsorship, aimed at supporting a charismatic representative of the elite clergy with the highest levels of initiation. The presence of elite masters at the Tongbai Abbey certainly continued until the 9th and 10th centuries, up until the time of Du Guangting. The fall of the Tang dynasty also meant that some of these elite Daoists moved westward, following the court. I consider the 10th century as the first watershed in the history of Tongbai Palace, because during this period the centuries-old relationship between it and the court was ultimately broken. Moreover, as I will discuss below, the Tiantai region and Tongbai Palace came to be related with distinct traditions that developed during the Song dynasty, so that by the Yuan the local religious landscape was very different from that at the end of the Tang dynasty.

<sup>61</sup> Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 187.

<sup>62</sup> On this point, see also Verellen, *Du Guangting (850-933)*, 187.

In these paragraphs I chose to focus only on the most significant lineages that were tied to Tongbai Palace and the court, but this does not mean that the Daoist communities operating in Tiantai County were limited to such Daoist communities. In fact, the gazetteers and the Daoist texts contain some records about several other Daoists, including Daoist nuns, who operated in that area during the Tang dynasty, but information on them is patchy at best and their relationship with the broader Daoist network is often unclear.<sup>63</sup> It would still be useful, for future studies, to focus on these Daoists: more data about them would allow us better to understand pre-modern local Daoism. In any case, they bear less significance for the present study of Tongbai Palace, because after the end of the Tang dynasty, Tongbai Palace developed a whole new series of strata of cultural and religious meanings, supplanting even Sima Chengzhen and his tradition.

### 3.4 From the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms to the Ming Dynasty

During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms 五代十國 era (907-960), we witness a diversification of the religious landscape, following the political fragmentation of the empire's territory. During the Later Zhou 後周 (951-960), Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 954-959) favoured Daoism and persecuted Buddhism, leading to the destruction - according to some sources - of more than 90% of the Buddhist monasteries in his territory.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the political instability that affected the territory of the defunct Tang dynasty, this period was very important for the history of Tongbai Palace. According to the *Chicheng zhi*, the first major event occurred during the Kaiping 開平 era (907-911) of the Later Liang 後梁 dynasty, when the Tongbai Abbey was promoted to the status of palace (gong 宮).<sup>65</sup> This means that the name by which the temple is still known today, i.e. Tongbai Palace 桐柏宮, was initially bestowed on it only after the Tang dynasty.

In the sequence of different realms that ruled during this period, the Wuyue 吳越 kingdom (907-978) influenced the development of Tongbai Palace the most. This dynasty was founded by Qian Liu 錢鏐

<sup>63</sup> For a collection of sources on the various Daoists of Taizhou during the Tang dynasty, see Ren, Ma, *Taizhou Daojiao kao*, 68-95.

<sup>64</sup> Qing and Tang, *Daojiao shi*, 148-9.

<sup>65</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:4b. Tiantai xian dang'an guan, *Chongding Tiantai Shan fangwai zhiyao dianjiaoben*, 162. To count years, the *Chicheng zhi* relies on the era names of what were considered, from the time of the Song dynasty, the 'legitimate' dynasties, ruling over the Central Plains: in this case, the Later Liang. On the determination of the legitimate dynasties during the Song, cf. Mote, *Imperial China*, 8-10.

(852-932) and it extended over a territory corresponding to present day southeast Jiangsu, Zhejiang and northeast Fujian. It was one of the smallest southern kingdoms, but also among the wealthiest. This was partially due to the natural resources in its territory, which favoured certain kinds of high-yield crops (e.g. rice), and to the commercial enterprises of its population, but also to the long period of political stability created by the Qian rulers.<sup>66</sup> The capital, Hangzhou, was one of the major cultural centres of the period together with Chengdu (the capital of the Former Shu) and Nanjing (the capital of the Southern Tang 南唐) and it developed the industry of fine printing. Hangzhou was also a cosmopolitan city that benefited from the rulers' attention to diplomatic relationships with Japan and Korea.<sup>67</sup>

Buddhism was an important diplomatic tool for the Wuyue kingdom, especially in its relations with Japan and the Korean peninsula; it was also a political instrument applicable both on the internal front and in relations with neighbouring kingdoms and dynasties.<sup>68</sup> We should also bear in mind the personal devotion of the rulers of Wuyue. Three examples related to Qian Chu 錢俶 (929-988, r. 947-978), who would become the fifth and last ruler of Wuyue, will clarify the extent of his patronage. In 947, a few months before his ascent to the throne, Qian Chu was appointed governor of Taizhou by the third ruler, Qian Zuo 錢佐 (r. 941-947). This gave him the opportunity to meet Shi Deshao 釋德韶 (891-972) a disciple of the Chan master Fayen Wenyi 法眼文益 (885-958) who lived in the Tiantai Mountains and who reportedly prophesied to Qian Chu that he would become ruler of Wuyue. It so happened that when Qian Chu actually became the new ruler of Wuyue, he bestowed on Deshao the title of Great Chan Master (*da chanshi* 大禪師) and teacher of the state. Deshao also contributed to the restoration and construction of many temples in the Tiantai Mountains and to recovering lost scriptures belonging to the Tiantai school 天台宗 of Buddhism. Moreover, in the preface to the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 by the Buddhist monk Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904-975), Qian Chu defined Confucianism as his own teacher, Daoism as the teacher of Confucianism and Buddhism as the teacher of Daoism. Finally, he received the bodhisattva precepts, the highest level of initiation, from Shi Daoqian 釋道潛 (?-961), one of Fayen Wenyi's disciples.<sup>69</sup>

66 Worthy, "Diplomacy for Survival", 17-44; Mote, *Imperial China*, 19.

67 Mote, *Imperial China*, 21-2.

68 Worthy, "Diplomacy for Survival", 36. For example, the third ruler of Wuyue, Qian Zuo, asked the Japanese court for sutras in 947, after he was informed that the Tiantai school of Buddhism was popular there and Qian Chu made similar requests to Japan and Koryo. Cf. Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 99-100.

69 Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs*, 89-100.

At the same time, the rulers of Wuyue also patronised Daoism, with beneficial consequences for its development as well as for Tongbai Palace: the Wuyue rulers published a new edition of the *Daoist Canon*, built or renovated Daoist temples and paid respect to Daoist priests.<sup>70</sup> It was Qian Chu who rebuilt Tongbai Palace for the Daoist Zhu Xiaowai 朱霄外 (fl. 10th century), bestowing on the temple ‘200 caskets of scriptures written in gold and silver’ (*jinyin zi jing erbai han* 金銀字經二百涵) and the effigies of the Three Pure Ones 三清 made of bronze. The scriptures were stored in a library (*zangjing dian* 藏經殿) located northwest of the Shangqing Pavilion 上清閣 of the temple.<sup>71</sup> This effectively turned Tongbai Palace into one of the two repositories of a Daoist canon of the Five Dynasties era: the other, located in the state of the Former Shu, was developed by Du Guangting who, as we have seen in this chapter, was himself originally linked with the Daoist community of Tongbai Palace.<sup>72</sup>

Zhu Xiaowai was well known at the Wuyue capital, Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou), but I have not found biographical information on him outside of gazetteers dated between the Song and the Ming dynasties. According to one biography found in the *Chicheng zhi*, he refused the honours offered to him by Qian Chu and in 951 left the capital to build a retreat in Tiantai, which during the Jiading 嘉定 era (1208-1224) was known as Xixia Palace 栖霞宮.<sup>73</sup> The section of the gazetteer dedicated to Daoist temples indicates that Xixia Palace was located 260 steps northwest of the prefecture and that it was previously called Baiyun Retreat 白雲菴. The name ‘Xixia Palace’ was bestowed on it in the Dazhong Xiangfu 大中祥符 era (1008-1016).<sup>74</sup> Historical sources mention other temples located within the prefecture that were linked to Zhu Xiaowai’s activities. The first one was located 25 li north of Tiantai County, the place where Zhu Xiaowai reportedly established another retreat in 951. In 1066, the temple received the name of Shengshou Temple 聖壽院, by which it is recorded in the *Chicheng zhi*.<sup>75</sup> The temple was located west of the Tongbai Abbey, a detail that helps us understand why Zhu Xiaowai was involved

<sup>70</sup> Ren, Ma, *Taizhou Daojiao kao*, 69.

<sup>71</sup> “Chongjian Daozang jing ji”, in *Tiantai Shan zhi* 13b-14a; *Chicheng zhi* 30:4b-5a; *Tiantai xian dang’an guan*, *Chongding Tiantai Shan fangwai zhiyao dianjiaoben*, 162. The *Chicheng zhi* states that this happened in the second year of the Guangshun 廣順 era (952). For a short biography on Zhu Xiaowai, cf. *Chicheng zhi* 35:14a-b.

<sup>72</sup> Chen, Wang Qizhen “Shangqing lingbao dafa” yanjiu, 44.

<sup>73</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 35:14a.

<sup>74</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:2b.

<sup>75</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:11b.

in the imperial patronage of Tongbai Palace.<sup>76</sup> Zhu Xiaowai is also mentioned in relation to two other projects. According to the *Chicheng zhi*, in 951 he built a Sanqing Hall 三清殿 at the location of the former Yuxiao Palace 玉霄宮, on top of the Yuxiao Peak 玉霄峰, a temple reportedly established in 854 by the Daoist Ye Cangzhi, whom I have mentioned above as one of Feng Weiliang's disciples. The temple was renamed Dongtian Palace 洞天宮 in 1008.<sup>77</sup> Finally, during the Qianyou 乾佑 era of the Later Han dynasty (948-951), the king renovated a temple located 25 li northwest of Tiantai County for Zhu Xiaowai, and had one hundred statues of sandalwood carved for it. It was supposedly located where Ge Xuan set up his retreat in 238 and where he received the revelation from three Perfected of the *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* 真一勸誡法輪妙經: Ge Xuan was said to have subsequently built the Jiangzhen Altar 降真壇 on the same spot.<sup>78</sup> Similarly to many other places discussed in these pages, and to Tongbai Palace itself, this location also developed special significance thanks to the accumulation of subsequent strata of meaning during the centuries. Finally, in 1008 it was renamed Falun Temple 法輪院.<sup>79</sup>

The obvious interest of the Wuyue court toward Daoism in the 950s might be justified for several reasons, but I find it worthy of note that it coincides chronologically with the political and military ascension of the Later Zhou dynasty; this preceded the latter's invasion of the Southern Tang, which started in 955 with the help of Wuyue. As mentioned above, the Later Zhou were very favourable toward Daoism, but much less toward Buddhism, so one wonders whether the patronage of Daoism in Wuyue was motivated also by the wish for improving the diplomatic relations between the two countries or even as a means of competition for religious and ideological prestige.

<sup>76</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 5:5b. *Tiantai xian dang'an guan*, *Chongding Tiantai Shan fangwai zhiyao dianjiaoben*, 170. The latter calls the temple Shengshou Abbey (*Shengshou guan* 聖壽觀) and states that it was located to the west of Tongbai Palace itself.

<sup>77</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:10a.

<sup>78</sup> The *Chicheng zhi* only reports "during the Qianyou era of the Han [dynasty]" 漢乾祐中. This refers to the Qianyou era of the Later Han (948-951). The *Chicheng zhi* seems to consistently rely on the reign names of the 'legitimate' dynasties, so the sentence should refer specifically to the years 948-51. Based on the fact that the numerous acts of regal patronage in favour of Zhu Xiaowai are often dated to 951, my guess would be that the restoration of the temple happened around that same year. The *Zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* refers to the *Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing* and to three other texts found in the *Daozang*. Cf. Schipper, "Taishang dongxuan lingbao zhenyi quanjie falun miaojing".

<sup>79</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:11a.

### 3.4.1 The Song Dynasty

The relationship between Daoism and the court continued during the Song 宋 dynasty, benefiting both parties and repeating to a certain extent patterns that had already developed under the Tang. Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997) already relied on Daoism to legitimate his ascension to the throne, using oracles revealed by the divine general Yisheng 翊聖. The Song emperors most supportive toward Daoism were Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 998-1023) and Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1101-1125), who both wrote commentaries on the *Daode jing*. The former ordered the establishment of Tianqing abbeys 天慶觀 in every prefecture in 1009. In 1019 the Song edition of the Daoist canon (*Da Song Tiangong baozang* 大宋天宮寶藏), whose compilation started in 990 during Taizong's reign (but was finally presented to Emperor Zhenzong) and employed the large amount of scriptures stored at Tongbai Palace. Another work that appears to be related with the redaction of the Song canon is Zhang Junfang's 張君房 (961?-1042?) *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (DZ 1026) in 122 *juan*, one of the largest anthologies of Daoist scriptures included in the *Zhengtong daozaog*: some scholars argue that also this work contained textual material stored in the library of Tiantai Palace.<sup>80</sup> Although the author dedicated this work to Emperor Zhenzong, internal evidence tells that he must have presented the *Yunji qiqian* to the successor, Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022-1063), after 1025.<sup>81</sup> Emperor Zhenzong elevated Yuhuang 玉皇, the Jade Emperor, to the top of the celestial hierarchy and built a temple to Zhenwu 真武, the Dark Warrior, in the capital, promoting him as the protector of the dynasty. Huizong is probably the most famous sponsor of Daoism among the Song emperors. In 1105, he decreed the precedence of Daoism over Buddhism. The Zhang Celestial Masters 張天師 of Mt. Longhu 龍虎山, whose significance within Daoism had already started to rise at the end of the Tang dynasty, and who would be the main Daoist institution of the Ming, reinforced their position in the Song dynasty thanks to imperial sponsorship. Huizong bestowed titles on the patriarch of the Celestial Masters, Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (2nd century) and on the 29th and 30th Celestial Masters, and ordered the grandiose construction of the headquarters of the Celestial Masters on Mt. Longhu. In 1113, the emperor sponsored a new Daoist canon, the *Zhenghe wanshou zangjing* 政和萬壽藏經, which was completed around 1119. In 1117, having learned that he was the manifestation of a god of the highest heaven (called Shenxiao 神霄), the emperor created a network of Shenxiao palaces 神霄宮 in the empire, converting Buddhist and Daoist temples for the purpose.

<sup>80</sup> Zhu, *Tiantai Shan Daojiao shi*, 104-5.

<sup>81</sup> Schipper, "Yunji qiqian"; Boltz, "Yunji qiqian".

This was reportedly justified by the self-imposed mission of saving the empire and getting rid of Buddhism. Later, it was Emperor Lizong 里宗 (r. 1224-1264) who gave authority to the Celestial Masters over the three main mountains of Daoism: Mt. Longhu, Mt. Gezao 葛皂山 and the Mao Mountains. Zhenzong, as well as Renzong, Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067-1087), Huizong and Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126-1127) after him, bestowed titles on Zhenwu or on his temples or on both.<sup>82</sup>

The Tongbai area was still significant at the beginning of the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127). Thanks to Xia Song's 夏竦 (985-1051) "Chongjian Daozang jing ji" 重建道藏經記 (Record of the Reconstruction of the Daoist Library), dated to the year 1010, we know that the collection of the scriptures stored at Tongbai Palace was used by the Song emperors as the basis for the new Daoist canon sponsored by the court. In 985, once the Song dynasty had strengthened its control over the empire, Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997) ordered that the scriptures stored at Tongbai Palace be brought to Yuhang, so that they might be used to compile a new Daoist canon. The scriptures were subsequently brought back to the library on Mt. Tongbai, but only ten years later the building was showing signs of decline and the Daoists were afraid that the weather might compromise the integrity of the scriptures. So, in 995, the building's rotting components were substituted and it was repainted.<sup>83</sup>

The temple continued to draw imperial support during the 11th century. Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 998-1022) renamed it 'Chongdao Abbey of [Mt.] Tongbai' (*Tongbai Chongdao Guan* 桐柏崇道觀) in 1008.<sup>84</sup> In the same year, a series of other temples were renamed: Dongtian Palace and the Falun Hermitage, which I have already mentioned; what was considered the former dwelling of Xu Lingfu on Mt. Tongbai, was renamed 'Guangming Palace' 光明宮; the 'Buddha's Cave' 佛窟, rebuilt as a Daoist temple in the Huichang era 會昌 (841-846), was renamed 'Zhaoqing Abbey' 昭慶觀. Finally, in 1011 the Tiantai Abbey, located southwest of Tongbai Palace, was renamed Fusheng Abbey 福聖觀.<sup>85</sup> In 1027 Emperor Renzong dispatched

<sup>82</sup> Ebrey, "Song Government Policy", 81-93, 99-100; Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature*, 229; Skar, "Ritual Movements", 419-27; Chao, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace", 324-58.

<sup>83</sup> "Chongjian Daozang jing ji", in *Tiantai Shan zhi* 13a-15b. The *Tiantai Shan zhi* is a compilation of texts on the Tiantai Mountains, found in the *Daozang* and probably dated to the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Cf. Allistone, "Tiantai Shan zhi".

<sup>84</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a; "Chongjian Daozang jing ji", in *Tiantai Shan zhi* 14b.

<sup>85</sup> *Chicheng zhi*, 30:9a-10b. According to the tradition, the Fusheng Abbey was built by Ge Xuan in the second year of the Chiwu 赤烏 era (239) and it was previously called Tiantai Abbey. *Chicheng zhi*, 30:8b-9b; *Tiantai xian difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi*, *Qing Kangxi Tiantai Xian zhi dianjiaoben*, 273; *Tiantai xian dang'an guan*, *Chongding Tiantai Shan fangwai zhiyao dianjiaoben*, 162.

a court representative there to perform the ritual tossing of the dragons.<sup>86</sup>

Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1125) was one of the most active supporters of Daoism among all Song rulers. It comes as little surprise, then, that he also sponsored Daoist temples in as prominent an area as Tiantai. In 1116, the Huizong Yuanming Hall 徽宗元命殿 of the Chongdao Abbey was built. The *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* of the Ming dynasty adds that the Yuanming Hall was built “in the style of an (imperial) palace, with green glazed tiles” 一如宮制，瓦用青色琉璃。<sup>87</sup> I could not confirm this description by comparing it with earlier sources, but if what I have translated reflects the truth, then architecturally Tongbai Palace was honoured with the same markers of prestige as those of an imperial palace. The *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* mentions more buildings constructed on this occasion: two bridges built over the Suo Brook 梭溪 and, on top of them, the Huixian Pavilion 會仙亭, the main gate (*dongmen*) to the south, the abbot’s quarters (*fangzhang* 方丈), a refectory (*zhaitang* 齋堂), a gathering hall (*yuntang* 雲堂), the Tudi Hall 土地堂, the Sanzhen Hall 三真殿, the Shangqing Pavilion 上清閣, and the Yushu Pavillion 御書閣.<sup>88</sup> This last building suggests that the temple also hosted examples of imperial calligraphic works. In fact, we already find mention of this in the *Chicheng zhi*, where it is written that handwritten texts of three emperors and Song Gaozong’s books of calligraphic practice in the Jin and Tang styles (*Gaozong suo lin Jin Tang tie* 高宗所臨晉唐貼) were stored in the pavilion; but this source, too, does not provide further details. If we are to trust the *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi*, the documents also included 53 scrolls of texts handwritten by the emperors Taizong and Zhenzong. In any case, by the 13th century, these treasures were no longer extant.<sup>89</sup>

In addition to imperial patronage, private sponsors contributed to the survival and to the prestige of Tongbai Palace. The final part of the entry dedicated to Tongbai Palace in the *Chicheng zhi* records that in 1152, Yang He 楊和 and Wang Cunzhong 王存中 restored the Sanqing Hall and that later, three gates were restored by Cao Xun 曹勛 (1098-1174), who then built a retreat north of Tongbai Palace, called Chongqiang Retreat 沖牆庵.<sup>90</sup> A text authored by Cao Xun himself sheds more light on this occurrence. In the *Chongxiu Tongbai ji* 重修桐柏記 (Record of the Restoration of the Tongbai [Abbey]; 1168)

<sup>86</sup> *Chicheng zhi*, 30:9a.

<sup>87</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:17b.

<sup>88</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:17b.

<sup>89</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a; *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:17b.

<sup>90</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a. For a biography of Cao Xun, see *Chicheng zhi* 34:27b.



he described the efforts of a group of patrons who restored the temple. Cao Xun began his record with a geographical description of the territory: “On the right of Mt. Tiantai there is [Mt.] Tongbai. It is about ten li from [Tiantai]” 天台山之右，曰桐柏。自城距洞門，約十里時至。 Then, after a brief mention of Ge Xianweng 葛仙翁 (Ge Xuan) and Sima Chengzhen, Cao Xun focuses on the extraordinary, even supernatural qualities of the mountain and supports his claim with a quotation from Tao Hongjing’s *Zhengao*. After having clarified the reasons for this place’s importance, he describes its state of disrepair and informs the reader that since the time of the Five Dynasties the temple has been abandoned and its statues are ruined and rotten. As we have seen, this was far from the truth, and one wonders if Cao Xun did not know the recent history of Tongbai Palace, or if he wilfully ignored it. All this leads to the part where he explains that a group of people supported the restoration of the temple. These persons were the Director-in-chief (*dujian* 都監) Shi Qingduan 石慶端, the Daoist Assistant Dignitaries (*daofuzheng* 道副正) Li Yongnian 厲永年, Shi Baozhang 石葆璋 and, as stated above, Cao himself.<sup>91</sup> The magnitude of the restoration was remarkable: the foundations of the halls and of the walkways were enlarged by more than one zhang each, the ancient stone inscriptions were replicated and painted pictures inspired by the *Duren jing* were painted on the walls. In order to build the Sanguan Hall 三官殿, the refectory was moved and huge rafters were added, so that it could host thousands of people. On each side were built two guest houses for travellers in need of rest. The magnificent main gate was flanked by the statues of the Dragon and the Tiger lords (*longhujun* 龍虎君). Finally, the Daoist Tang Zhizhang 唐知章 financed with his own money (*chu siqian* 出私錢) the edification of the Zangbing Hall 藏并殿 to store the aforementioned Daoist scriptures in gold and silver.<sup>92</sup>

Cao Xun’s perspective on the history of the temple tells us a lot about how Tongbai Palace was conceived in this period. The two persons that he mentions are Ge Xuan and Sima Chengzhen. The presence of the second is not surprising, given his importance and prominence during the Tang dynasty. Ge Xuan was related both to the ancient southern practices of self-cultivation, to the proto-Daoist traditions of the region, as well as to the more recent Lingbao revelations and his links with this area were very well established by the 12th century. The fact that Cao Xun quoted the *Zhengao* confirms that during the Northern Song dynasty the ‘Shangqing identity’ of the temple continued to be a significant part of the history of this temple. As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, this image of

91 On Daoist dignitaries, see McGee, “Questioning Convergence”, 58-61.

92 “Chongxiu Tongbai ji”, in *Tiantai Shan zhi* 15b-18b.

Tongbai Palace differs in some crucial aspects from that of the late Ming and Qing dynasties. Although the record does not mention any direct imperial patronage in relation to this restoration, the fact that two or three of the patrons were Daoist officials, makes it possible that this initiative was in some way backed by the court.

One of the most renowned features of Tongbai Palace in late imperial time was the presence of two statues representing the brothers Bo Yi and Su Qi. The *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* of the Kangxi era states that in the past the Tongbai Abbey used to “enshrine two statues of Bo Yi and Shu Qi, carved out of stone, large in size and very ancient, empty in the inside and polished on the outside. If struck, they would emit a sound” 舊桐柏觀有二大石像，鑄製，奇古，內空，外潤。叩之鏗然有聲。<sup>93</sup> Apparently, the statues first belonged to Tongbai Palace, although this fact and also the date of their production are difficult to determine. At a certain point in their history, the statues were removed from the temple, and it was only during the Song dynasty that they were returned to Tongbai Palace. The gazetteers record two versions of this story: according to one of them, a certain Wang Lingbao 王靈寶 asked for their restitution to the Tongbai Palace.<sup>94</sup> Scholars already know one Daoist called Wang Lingbao who operated in the Tiantai Mountains between the 12th and the 13th century. He was also called Wang Maoduan 王茂端 and was a renowned physician and practitioner of Shangqing Dadong rituals (*Shangqing dadong fa* 上清大洞法). He had a disciple, his younger brother, called Wang Qizhen 契真, or Xiao Lingbao 小靈寶 (Young Numinous Treasure), who reportedly authored a text called *Lingbao jiaofa milu* 靈寶教法秘錄 (Secret Registers of the Lingbao Teaching Method) in ten *juan*, which was stored at the Tongbai Abbey.<sup>95</sup> We have little information on the activities of the Wang brothers, but thanks to a meticulous analysis of the sources, Chen Wenlong suggests that Wang Maoduan either arrived at Tongbai Palace or became known as a Daoist master during Huizong’s reign. It also seems that Wang Maoduan resided at that temple, as testified to by a poem of Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀 (1170-1219).<sup>96</sup>

In the second version of the story, during the Xuanhe 玄和 era (1119-1125) it was Emperor Huizong who summoned a certain Daoist Huang 黃道士, a skilful physician, asking him to cure his mother’s illness. The Daoist succeeded in this task, so the emperor wanted to repay him with an official position and material goods (*ci zhi guan yu jinbo* 賜之官與金帛), but Huang refused: instead, he asked the emperor to return the statues of Shu Qi and Bo Yi (*qing er shixiang gui* 請二石

<sup>93</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 5:6b.

<sup>94</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 5:6b.

<sup>95</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 9:15a; *Zhejiang tongzhi* 200:22a.

<sup>96</sup> Chen, *Wang Qizhen “Shangqing lingbao dafa” yanjiu*, 51-6.

像歸) to the Tongbai Palace and for this purpose he had the Jiutuan Puye Shrine 九天僕射祠 (Shrine of the Chief Administrators of the Nine Heavens) built.<sup>97</sup> Late imperial sources usually do not provide any information about who this Daoist was and how he knew the emperor, or better how the emperor knew him, but there is a third version of the story, which the 17th century scholar-official Zhang Lianyuan 張聯元 (see ch. 4) considered to be correct. One day, the Empress Dowager Song Xianren 宋顯仁 (1080-1159) was afflicted by an eye ailment. She dreamt that Daoist Huangfu 皇甫 could heal her, and so it happened. Zhang Lianyuan therefore argued that the name of the Daoist was Huangfu,<sup>98</sup> who might be the same Huangfu mentioned in the poems “Fang Huangfu daoshi” 訪皇甫道士 (Paying a Visit to Daoist Huangfu) by Zhao Rusui 趙汝鑾 (1172-1245), “Huangfu zhenren xiang zan” 皇甫真人像贊 (Praise for the Icon of Perfected Huangfu) by Song Gaozong 宋高宗 (r. 1127-1162) and in Cao Xun’s “He Huangfu xiansheng ti wei’an” 和皇甫先生題唯庵 (Discussing Wei’an with Master Huangfu).

Later, the county magistrate Zhong Niu 鍾鈕 (fl. 16th century) restored the Jiutian Puye Shrine and renamed it Qingfeng Shrine 清風祠 (‘Shrine of the Pure Attitude’, also known as ‘Qingsheng Shrine’, ‘Shrine of the Pure Sages’).<sup>99</sup> As a side note, this county magistrate is also remembered for completing the renovation of the walls of Tiantai city, adding a southern and a northern gate to the two already opened in 1121 on the west and east sides, plus four gates in the inner circle of walls (*xiaocheng* 小城).<sup>100</sup>

According to these stories, the shrine was built at the end of the Northern Song dynasty, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the Southern Song. It might be of interest that a shrine to Bo Yi and Shu Qi reportedly had also been built in the Fusheng Abbey, located south of Tongbai Palace, in the year 1141.<sup>101</sup> It is possible that the statues were moved to the Fusheng Abbey that year only to be later brought back, maybe even at the time of the restoration of the Sanqing Hall by Wang Cunzhong and Yang He, which occurred in the Shaoxing era, in 1152. It would be very useful to understand whether Wang Cunzhong

<sup>97</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 5:6b; *Tiantai Xian difang zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi, Qing Kangxi Tiantai Xian zhi zhi dianjiaoben*, 163. The text does not specify from where the statues had to be brought back. For the translation of the title of *puye* as ‘chief administrators’, see “p’ü-yèh”, in Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 394-5. Cf. the next chapter.

<sup>98</sup> *Qingsheng Ci zhi* “fanli”:1a.

<sup>99</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 5:6b-7a.

<sup>100</sup> *Zhejiang tongzhi* 24:14b. This is the only mention of Zhong Niu that I could recover in historical sources.

<sup>101</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 30:9a, *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:19a.

and Wang Maoduan were related, but I could not find any data in this regard. I also could not confirm whether the shrine was built under imperial patronage. There are other sources telling the history of the shrine, such as a stele entitled *Tongbai Gong yisi Yi-Qi xiangji* 桐柏宮移祀夷齊像記 (Record on the transfer of the cult of [Bo] Yi and [Shu] Qi to Tongbai Palace) dated to the year 1571 and originally located outside of the Qingfeng Shrine. Its author was the *jinshi* Zhang Tingchen 張廷臣 from Panyu 番禺, prefect of Taizhou between the years 1568 and 1571. As such, he ordered Fang Weiyi 方惟一, county magistrate of Tiantai since the third year of the Longqing era (1568), to restore the shrine and to install the two statues there. The stele inscription is now lost, but its text is recorded in local gazetteers. According to this source the shrine was built during the Shaoxing era (1131-1162), which contrasts with the second of the stories recorded in earlier sources.<sup>102</sup> Regarding the contribution of the Wang brothers or of Huangfu in the restoration of the shrine, both enjoy a degree of plausibility, if nothing else because all the individuals mentioned in each appear to be historical.

Wang Qizhen, Wang Maoduan's younger brother, appears to have been related to the Tiantai region in more than one way and in particular via a ritual tradition that was spreading out of Tiantai as early as the 12th century. Jin Yunzhong 金允中 was a Daoist active around 1225, who wrote a text titled *Shangqing lingbao dafa* (DZ 1223). In this work he attacks vehemently a group of individuals who alter and appropriate a textual tradition that he considers orthodox and that he represents. We find out that his attacks target especially what he calls the 'rites of Tiantai'.<sup>103</sup> In his preface, Jin states: 'Since the Shaoxing [era] (1131-1162), east of Zhejiang the 49 sections of Tiantai are more revered and the meaning of the anthologies of past generations are not studied [anymore]' 紹興之後，瀾江以東，多宗天台四十九品，不究前輩編集之本意。<sup>104</sup> It appears obvious that Jin Yunzhong throws himself against the *Lingbao dafa* produced in Tiantai. Another text titled *Shangqing lingbao dafa* (DZ 1221), authored by Wang Qizhen and possibly later than Jin Yunzhong's, appears to represent the Tiantai school, although it never mentions it. Unfortunately, this text does not provide more information on Wang Qizhen, except that he might have belonged to the lineage of a certain Ning Quanzhen

<sup>102</sup> Xinwenfeng chubanshe gongsibianji bu, *Shike shiliao xinbian* 299. On Fang Weiyi, see Tiantai Xian difang zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi, *Qing Kangxi Tiantai Xian zhi zhi dianjiaoben*, 104. A certain Fang Weiyi is mentioned in the *Guangxi tongzhi*, which states that he received his *juren* degree in 1556, but I cannot confirm unequivocally that he is the same person. *Guangxi tongzhi* 73:23b. On Zhang Tingchen's position in Taizhou see also *Zhejiang tongzhi*, 119:21b.

<sup>103</sup> Lagerwey, "Shangqing lingbao dafa" (b), 1026.

<sup>104</sup> *Shangqing lingbao dafa* (DZ 1223) 3a.

寧全真.<sup>105</sup> It seems that during the Song dynasty the void left by the Shangqing lineage in Tiantai was also filled by a ritual tradition that was widespread in the empire and that received a certain amount of credit.

During the Southern Song 南宋 dynasty (1127-1279), new Daoist traditions arose, characterised by specific rituals and a strong vocation for exorcism and healing. We can expect that some of them may have been linked to the Tiantai area or that they nurtured the aspiration of establishing themselves there. Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (*hao*: Haiqiong zi 海瓊子; 1194-1229?), whose lineage was one of the most prominent among these traditions, travelled southeast China extensively. He had a list of mountains occupying a special position in his religious system that included Mt. Wuyi 武夷山 and the Tiantai Mountains.<sup>106</sup> According to Gai Jianmin, Bai Yuchan also trained a disciple in Tiantai, known as Zhang Yunyou 張雲友 of Yuanming Palace 元明宮.<sup>107</sup> Another Daoist of the Song dynasty who was thought to be related to Tongbai Palace during the Qing dynasty was Zhang Boduan. This Daoist is remembered as the author of the influential treatise *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, which influenced all subsequent discussions on inner alchemy and Daoist self-cultivation. A tradition that developed starting from the early 13th century also describes Zhang Boduan as the first patriarch of the ‘Southern Lineage’ (*Nanzong* 南宗); this tradition was based in south China and counted among its patriarchs the eminent master Bai Yuchan. The lineage linking the two Daoists is as follows: Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 → Liu Haichan 劉海蟾 (*ming*: Cao 操, *Xuanying* 玄英; *zi*: Zongcheng 宗成, *Zhaoyuan* 昭遠; 10th century) → Zhang Boduan (*zi*: Pingshu 平叔; *hao*: Perfected Ziyang 紫陽真人; 987?-1082) → Shi Tai 石泰 (*zi*: Dezhi 得之; *hao*: Xinglin 杏林, *Cuixuan zi* 翠玄子; ?-1158) → [Xue] Daoguang 薛道光 (*zi*: Taiyuan 太源; *hao*: Zixian 紫賢, Chan Master Piling 毗陵禪師; 1078?-1191) → Chen Nan 陳楠 (*hao*: Cuixu weng 翠虛翁; Master Niwan 泥丸先生; ?-1213) → Bai Yuchan. Even though the historical data on Zhang’s life is very limited and his presence at Tongbai Palace probably does not correspond to historical truth, this Daoist became the most important person linked to the palace since the Yongzheng era. There are historical reasons for this that will be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter.

There are other notable Daoists who operated in Tiantai during the Song dynasty, although it is not always easy to assess their relationship with Tongbai Palace. Among them, the most notable is probably Zhang Wumeng 張無夢 (*zi*: Lingyin 靈隱; *hao*: Hongmeng

**105** Lagerwey, “Shangqing lingbao dafa”(a), 1021.

**106** Gai, *Daojiao Jindan pai Nanzong kaolun*, 978-986.

**107** *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 8:15b; Gai, *Daojiao Jindan pai Nanzong kaolun*, 2:984.

zi 鴻蒙子; 952?-1051), who reportedly travelled to Tiantai and lived at the Qiongtai Abbey 瓊臺觀 for more than 10 years, practicing the ‘gymnastics of [Master] Chisong’ 赤松導引 and the ‘technique for reverting the elixir of Anqi [Sheng]’ 安期還丹之法.<sup>108</sup> One of his disciples, Chen Jingyuan 陳景元 (zi: Taixu 太虛; hao: Bixu zi 碧虛子; ?-1094), originated from a family of literati of Nancheng 南城 (Jiangxi). In 1025 he decided to become a Daoist priest and went to the Tiantai Mountains, where he trained with Zhang Wumeng. Eventually, he was called to the capital, where starting from 1072 he lectured Shenzong on the *Daode jing* and the *Zhuangzi* and celebrated a *jiao* ritual that resulted in the emperor bestowing on him the title Zhenjing Dashi 真靖大師 (Great Master of Reality and Tranquillity). Eventually, Chen Jingyuan retired to Mt. Lu 廬山 (Jiangxi) with a stipend.<sup>109</sup> Texts in the *Daoist Canon* are attributed to both masters, testifying to their lasting influence on Chinese Daoism as a whole.

Sources compiled during the Song dynasty provide us with statistical data to better understand how big Tongbai Palace actually was compared to other coeval institutions. The *Chicheng zhi* records 61 Buddhist temples and 10 Daoist temples in Tiantai County.<sup>110</sup> In the first group, the largest were surely the Bao'en Monastery 報恩寺 with 3,998 mu of cultivable fields, 196 mu of land and 6,830 mu of mountainous terrain, and the Guoqing Monastery 國清寺 with 3,461 mu, 420 mu and 3,902 mu respectively: at that time there were few institutions comparable to these in extension in the whole prefecture. Among the Buddhist temples there were also very small institutions, like the Weiyuan Monastery 委巖寺, that possessed only 7 mu of fields, 10 of land and 40 of mountain land. Tongbai Palace (which at that time was called Chongdao Abbey and included also the Changshou Abbey 昌壽觀) held the largest surface of cultivable land among all the Daoist temples of Tiantai County, with 1,618 mu of fields, no land, and 1,345 mu of mountain land. There was just one other comparable temple in Tiantai, the Fusheng Abbey with respectively 994 mu, 491 mu and 1,695 mu, while the third, Dongtian Palace 洞天宮, was a smaller temple, but still comparatively wealthy, with its 903 mu of fields, 44 mu of land and 1,160 mu of mountain land.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 9:13a-b. On Zhang Wumeng, see also Baldrian-Hussein, “Daoshu”; Andersen, “Huashu”; Robinet, “Daode zhenjing cangshi zuanwei pian”.

<sup>109</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 9:16a. For biographical notes on Chen Jingyuan, see Skar, “Chen Jingyuan”.

<sup>110</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 14:22b-29a and 14:38b-39b.

<sup>111</sup> *Chicheng zhi* 14:38b.

### 3.4.2 Yuan and Ming Dynasties

Compared to the previous periods, little is known of Tongbai Palace during the Yuan and the early Ming dynasty. The types of sources that I have so far relied upon, such as local and temple gazetteers and Daoist scriptures, provide very few reliable data on this period. Ming gazetteers mention Wang Zhongli 王中立 (zi: Dingmin 定民; hao: Zu'an 足庵; fl. 2nd half of the 13th century) from Tiantai and describe him as a Daoist of the 'Tongbai Abbey'. At one point, he was the abbot of Taiyi Palace (太一宮 or 太乙宮) in Hangzhou. He enjoyed the favour of emperors of the Southern Song and of the Yuan dynasties, such as Emperor Lizong (r. 1224-1264) and Emperor Shizu 世祖 (i.e. Kublai Khan, r. 1260-1294), who bestowed on Wang the title of Perfected Renjing Chunsu 仁靖純素真人 (Perfected in Calm Humanity and Pure Simplicity) during the Zhiyuan 至元 reign (1264-1294). Consequently, two buildings located at the sides of Tongbai Palace, called 'Chongse Retreat' 冲齋庵 and 'Baiyun Abbey' 白雲觀, were respectively renamed 'Renjing Palace' 仁靖宮 and 'Chunsu Palace' 純素宮 in his honour. During the same reign, Wang Zhongli also built the Yangsu Daoist Temple 養素道院 in Tiantai, which by the early 17th century had fallen into disrepair and had been taken over by a powerful local family.<sup>112</sup> It is also reported that at that time, Tongbai Palace still held a copy of Wang Zhongli's recorded sayings (*Zu'an yulu* 足庵語錄).<sup>113</sup>

Another Daoist mentioned in the gazetteers is the ritual master Cao 曹法師. Like the others, he resided at the Tongbai Abbey during the Yuan dynasty, seeking to become a Daoist. After three years of practice, he realised detachment from worldly affairs, so he visited the Perfected Zhang (i.e. the Celestial Master) to study his techniques. After this, Master Cao went to Hangzhou where he successfully prayed for rain. He lived at home, he exorcised demons, healed people and prayed for auspicious weather.<sup>114</sup> Coincidentally, this biography testifies to the importance of Mt. Longhu as a centre for initiation and demonstrates that Tiantai Daoists were embedded in the broader Daoist network of southern China.

The "Xuanru Lü xiansheng daoxing ji" 玄儒呂先生道行記 by Wei Su 危素 (1303-1372) tells the story of Daoist Lü Xuyi 呂虛夷 (zi: Yuzhi 與之; ?-1344) from Fenghua 奉化 (today Ningbo). He initially held modest bureaucratic positions in Yin 鄞 and Xiangshan 象山 counties that afforded him a small salary, which he used to care for his mother.

<sup>112</sup> *Tiantai Shan zhi* 21b; *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:18b, 21a.

<sup>113</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 9:16b-17a. The Chongse Retreat 冲齋庵 was built in 1152 by the aforementioned Wang Cunzhong. *Chicheng zhi* 30:5a.

<sup>114</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 9:17a.

When she passed away, he decided to leave the lay world and retired to Tongbai Palace (in this source called Chongdao Abbey), where he focused on writing. In the Huangqing 皇慶 era (1312-1313) he paid a visit to the Venerable Master Wu 吳尊師 of the Bao'en Abbey 報恩觀 in the Qingyuan Circuit 慶元路. There, Lü learnt “the arts of praying for wind and rain and of controlling ghosts and spirits” (*qi fengyu, yishi guishen zhi fa* 祈風雨, 役使鬼神之法) and, after having successfully prayed for rain in 1341, he retired to Mt. Wu near Hangzhou.<sup>115</sup>

Zhang Yu 張雨 (1277-1348) was another coeval Daoist who practiced in the Tiantai Mountains, although I have not found evidence that could confirm his presence at Tongbai Palace. He is particularly interesting because after he left Tiantai he first took Zhou Dajing 周大經, related to the Shangqing tradition of the Mao Mountains, as his master and then he became a disciple of Wang Shouyan 王壽衍 at Kaiyuan Palace 開元宮 of Hangzhou. Later, he followed Master Wang to the capital and finally retired on the Mao Mountains since Kaiyuan Palace burnt down in 1322. The *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* describes him Zhang Yu as a Daoist who spread the ‘methods of Zhengyi’ 正一之法.<sup>116</sup>

From these biographies, we can conclude that Tongbai Palace was still an attracting institution for prospective Daoists in the first half of the 14th century, who were probably initiated and trained there. It is not clear, though, if this place was prestigious enough or if its Daoists possessed the required knowledge for advanced training during the Yuan dynasty: the case of Wang Zhongli suggests a connection between the court and Tongbai Palace in the 13th century, and that of Zhang Yu highlights the relations between the Tiantai Mountains and the Mao Mountains, but in the first both Master Cao and Lü Xuyi eventually left Tiantai to reside near a big urban centre such as Hangzhou, as did Zhang Yu in the second.

The Yuan dynasty closed with Tongbai Palace burnt to the ground. This happened in 1367, during the rebellion against the Mongol dynasty: the only thing that survived was the shrine with the sandalwood statues of the Three Purities.<sup>117</sup> This event was not unique: reading local gazetteers, we discover that many other temples in different parts of the region were destroyed around the same period, all probably due to the disorders that afflicted the area.<sup>118</sup> Despite this tragic event, the temple was very soon rebuilt, at some point during the Hongwu 洪武 reign (1368-1398), by the

<sup>115</sup> “Xuanru Lü xiansheng daoxing ji”, 978.

<sup>116</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 8:16a; Hu, *Zhonghua Daojiao dacidian*, 169.

<sup>117</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:18a.

<sup>118</sup> See the examples of the Ciyun Monastery 慈雲寺, Tiangong Monastery 天宮寺, Dongguang Fu Monastery 東廣福寺, all in disrepair at the beginning of the Ming dynasty,



official Wu Weijing 吳惟敬 and by the Daoist Jin Jingguan 金靜觀.<sup>119</sup> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty the Daoist institutions of Mt. Tongbai were rearranged: the aforementioned Fusheng Abbey was ‘merged’ with Tongbai Palace (*guochao chu bingru Tongbai* 國朝初併入桐柏).<sup>120</sup>

Between 1368 and 1600, the name of the temple was changed back to Tongbai Palace, although I could not find more information about this event.<sup>121</sup> Tongbai Palace continued to be active throughout the early Ming dynasty: in the year 1411, the Daoist Bao Liaojing 鮑了靜 restored it and changed its overall structure.<sup>122</sup> By the 16th century, at the time the *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* was compiled, the temple was in decline. Its Daoist community was “impoverished and deficient [in means]” (*daozhong pinkui* 道眾貧匱) and the buildings “ever more dilapidated” (*dianyū rǐjiū tuìhuai* 殿宇日就頹壞). Of the more than ten inscribed stelae, only Cui Shang’s remained.<sup>123</sup>

Despite its decline, during the 16th century Tongbai Palace was still inhabited by Daoists. Xiao Wenqing 蕭文清 (fl. 1521-1566) tells us of his meeting with a Daoist living at the temple, and we also know that the Qingsheng Shrine of Tongbai Palace was restored by Fang Weiyi.<sup>124</sup> Literati of the Ming dynasty recorded that the temple had already fallen into disrepair between the end of the 16th and the 17th century.<sup>125</sup> Its state of decline lasted during the whole 17th and early 18th centuries, as is confirmed by numerous statements found in the poems and travelogues of various literati. Tao Wangling (zi: Shikui 石簀; 1562-1609) was native of Guiji 會稽 (today Shaoxing, Zhejiang) and in the year Wanli *yichou* 己丑 (1589) obtained first place in the metropolitan examination (會元).<sup>126</sup> Tao was one of a group of intellectuals who gathered around Li Zhi 李贄 (1527-1602), the famous literatus, official and lay Buddhist. Despite their Confucian education, these intellectuals were committed

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but restored during the reigns of the first Ming emperors. *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:10b-11a.

<sup>119</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:18a.

<sup>120</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:19b; Tiantai Xian dang’an ju, *Chongding Tiantai Shan fangwai zhiyao dianjiaoben*, 174.

<sup>121</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:18a.

<sup>122</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:18a.

<sup>123</sup> *Tiantai Shan fangwai zhi* 4:18a.

<sup>124</sup> On Fang Weiyi, see note 101, ch. 3.

<sup>125</sup> See for example Dai Ao’s 戴澳 and Tao Wangling’s 陶望齡 here below.

<sup>126</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi*, 12:6a; Zhao, *Tongbai chunqiu*, 205-6; Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 49-53, 71-7; Eichman, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*.

patrons of Chan Buddhism.<sup>127</sup> Tao Wangling's "Journey on Roads of the Tiantai Mountains" 遊天台山上路程記<sup>128</sup> confirms the temple's state of disrepair:

[I] walked for about 10 li and finally arrived in the valley. [Then] I saw a river and a plain surrounded by small hills. In the middle there were some buildings: it was the defunct Tongbai Palace. [All that remains of] the temple are just three halls. One enshrines the Three Worthies and the one on the right contains the stone effigies of Bo Yi and Shu Qi that [look] very ancient. At its side has been built a big granary to store the products of the temple land, taken under the management of the [local] officials.<sup>129</sup>

得平地約行十里。下瞰川原，有小山環繞。中闢一境，即桐柏廢宮。宮僅三楹祀三清、右小屋有夷、齊石像，甚古。旁設大庾皮粟，即宮田官收之耳飯。

Dai Ao (zi: Youfei 有斐; *jinshi* in 1613) was originally from Fenghua 奉化 (today within the prefecture of Ningbo, Zhejiang).<sup>130</sup> In his "Travelling Again on Mount Tiantai" 重遊天台山記 he wrote:

At the end of the hill ridge there is a flat field. It is so vast that [my] eyes cannot embrace it and it's crossed by Qing Brook, whose waters flow into the nearby waterfall. Tongbai Palace is in disrepair. The platform for worshipping the Big Dipper has been demolished and is now wasteland [...] The temple has two stone statues of Bo Yi and Shu Qi that are very ancient...<sup>131</sup>

嶺盡平田彌望貫。以清溪瀑布飛流即此溪所瀉。道宮廢甚。禮斗臺爲煙草。[...]宮有伯夷、叔齊石像衣冠，甚古...

"Journey from Tongbai Palace to Qiongtai" by Yan Yunjue 顏允珏 (fl. 1655) basically confirms the information provided by the previous reports. In the ninth month of the year *yiwei* 乙未 (1655) he, together with "the refined scholar, Master Li 李子士雅" from Qiantang 錢塘 (near today Hangzhou), went to visit Tongbai Palace and other nearby famous places, such as the Two Towers and the Qiongtai (Jade Platform) 瓊台雙闕. Once they arrived on the mountain, Yan recorded:

<sup>127</sup> Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 50-2.

<sup>128</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 12:6a-9b.

<sup>129</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 12:8b.

<sup>130</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 13:1a.

<sup>131</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 13:1a-b.

We asked where Tongbai Palace was and were directed toward a Daoist's retreat, which stood on the old foundations of the temple. On one side of the retreat there were the two stone effigies of [Bo] Yi and [Shu] Qi.<sup>132</sup>

問桐柏宮何在，指道士茅屋一間，即其故址。旁有夷齊二大石像。

Other sources provide information on the Palace for the latter part of the Ming dynasty, such as Chen Hanhui's 陳函輝 poem "Writing Verses on the Walls while Travelling with Hong Jiuxia and Wang Suidong to Tongbai Palace" 游桐柏宮和洪久霞王遂東題壁韻. Chen Hanhui (*zi*: Mushu 木叔; *hao*: Xiaohan zi 小寒子; 1590-?) from Linhai, obtained the *jinshi* degree in 1634.<sup>133</sup> He wrote:

The transcendent officials in this place live in an ancient temple. Its old wood in a wasteland is full of grass. It is easy to find the al-chemic furnace and a stone bed.<sup>134</sup>

仙官此地有遺宮。古木荒煙草一叢。丹竈石牀容易到。

The original text mentions *xian* 仙, 'transcendent(s)', but this term sometimes referred to Daoists as well: could it indicated that Daoists were still living at the temple? Yan Yunjue's text seems to suggest that there was a Daoist retreat on the site of Tongbai Palace.

More details on the situation of the Tongbai Palace were reported by two authors of the early Qing dynasty, Zhang Lianyuan and Pan Lei 潘耒 (1646-1708), recorded that since the Tianqi era (1620-1627) the majority of the temple land had been taken over by the local gentry and that the income from the remaining land was confiscated by the county magistrate to pay the stipend of Tiantai students. The lack of economic means and the pressure of the Tiantai elite weakened the Daoist community even more, to such an extent that by the end of the Kangxi era only one Daoist, called Fan Qingyun 范青雲, remained. At the time of the compilation of the *Tiantai Shan quanzhi*, in 1717, the Jiutian Puye Shrine was also in disrepair, but a memorial requesting its restoration had already been sent to the throne.<sup>135</sup> I will analyse the history and the significance of this shrine in greater detail in the following chapter.

<sup>132</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 13:17b-18b.

<sup>133</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 16:16b; Zhao, *Tongbai chungiu*, 206-7.

<sup>134</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 16:16b.

<sup>135</sup> *Tiantai Shan quanzhi* 5:7a.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have focused mainly on the social and institutional history of Tongbai Palace from its origins in 711 up to the end of the Ming dynasty, paying particular attention to the first part of its history during the Tang and Song dynasties. I have described how the history of the temple during this period was intimately connected with imperial patronage and elite Daoism. I have also discussed the main traditions that were historically present at the palace. There is no doubt that the Shangqing tradition was in control of the institution for much of the Tang dynasty and a community tracing its line of transmission to Sima Chengzhen continued to be present at Tongbai Palace until at least the end of that dynasty, after which the political fragmentation of the territory promoted a re-configuration of the Daoist communities that were active in the area. In particular, we see a westward relocation of the lineage of court Daoists of the Tiantai Mountains by means of Du Guangting and the rise of a ritualistic community in Tiantai, related to one version of the *Shangqing Lingbao dafa*.

In the following dynasties, Tongbai Palace continued to receive patronage, but it appears to have become less central to the elite Daoist communities related to the court, and this may be the reason why we have less reliable information on the temple during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Finally, by the last period of the Ming dynasty, the temple was in constant decline, resulting in its demise by the beginning of the Qing dynasty. I will discuss the resurgence of Tongbai Palace during the Qing dynasty in the next two chapters.