Introduction

John Lagerwey

These volumes, like those that preceded them on early Chinese religion and those that will follow in part two of the present project, are focused on a period of paradigm shift. The basic hypothesis is that, between 960 when the Song and 1368 when the Ming was founded, something radically new emerged that, by becoming state orthodoxy, determined what was to come. The consensus has long been that that something new is Daoxue 道學 or neo-Confucianism, concerning which there is no reason to contest Yu Ying-shih's characterization:

> From a historical point of view, the emergence of the *Tao-hsüeh* community in Sung China may be most fruitfully seen as a result of secularization. There is much evidence suggesting that the *Tao-hsüeh* community was, in important ways, modeled on the Ch'an monastic community. The Neo-Confucian academy, from structure to spirit, bears a remarkable family resemblance to the Ch'an monastery. But the difference is substantial and important. Gradually, quietly, but irreversibly, Chinese society was taking a this-worldly turn with Ch'an masters being replaced by Confucian teachers as spiritual leaders.[1]

But the emergence of this orthodoxy needs at the very least to be contextualized, for if Chan 禪 influences Daoxue, it is also in competition with Tiantai 天台, and Buddhism and Daoism continue both to borrow from and to compete with each other. Under the influence of both esoteric Buddhism 密宗 and Daoist Neidan 內丹 (symbolic alchemy), Tiantai Buddhism and Zhengyi 正一 (Orthodox Unity) Daoism produce vast ritual syntheses that not only transform the relationship between them and medium-based popular religion but continue to define their respective ritual traditions right down to the present.

Changes in the religious realm, meanwhile, are also manifest in law, medicine, the economy, and politics, where the same forces of rationalization, interiorization, and secularization are operative.[2] That is why, in the context of this

1 Yu Ying-shih, "Foreword," Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian discourse and Chu Hsi's ascendancy* (Honolulu, 1992), p. xi.

2 Like Yu Ying-shih, I use the word "secularization" here in its traditional sense as referring to "secular humanism". This in no way precludes agreement with contemporary criticism of the simplistic equation of "modernity" with the substitution of divine by human agency. Indeed,

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project, we have defined religion in the largest way possible, as "the practice of structuring values." Understanding a society consists in understanding these values, as it consists in understanding—or at least taking note of—the specific historical context within which change occurs. The Song-Yuan context shares one salient feature with the two previous periods of paradigm shift: prior to unification by the Yuan, the territory we now call China was ruled by competing Sons of Heaven (Maps 1–3).[3]

The State

The state—or what I prefer to call the church-state—is the fundamental fact that makes it possible to speak about "China". It is the overarching context that at once defines local society and forces the multiple local societies to define themselves in terms that reflect their own interests and traditions.

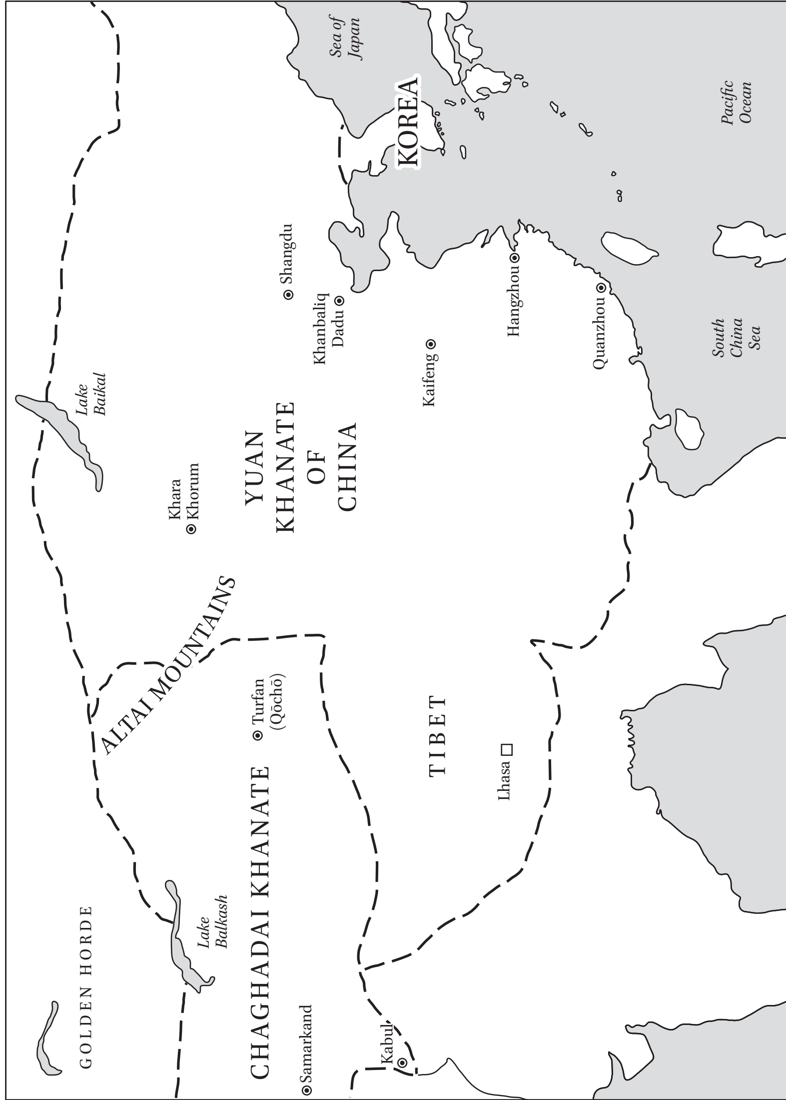
In her chapter on Song government policy Patricia Ebrey notes on the one hand that "the king's connections to the divine both enabled and obligated him to communicate with the highest gods and request their blessings for his people" and that the Song not only continued the practice of keeping track of local gods in the register of sacrifices (*sidian* 祀典) but also that "the numbers of shrines on the register grew so large that prefectures were instructed to maintain their own registers in 1095." The state gave name plaques to Buddhist and Daoist temples and titles to local gods, Confucian teachers, Daoist masters, and Buddhist monks. It also quite regularly outlawed "licentious shrines" (*yinci* 淫祠) and practices. The state controlled not only the gods of the various religions, it printed their canons and allotted ordainment certificates to their monks and nuns. Both the Confucian and Buddhist canons were printed in the early years of the dynasty, while the Daoist canon, compiled already

the whole point of the introductions to the *Early Chinese religion* volumes was that all three processes here named have nothing specific to do with modernity, as we can find them at work at every time of paradigm shift.

3 Starting with the "unequal treaty" of the year 1004, according to which the Song state had to pay an annual tribute to the Liao, whose ruler was also recognized as Son of Heaven, the Song were in a position of inferiority with respect to first the Liao and then the Jin. Throughout the Song, the emergent Daoxue "faction" was as much defined by its position as the "war party" as by any metaphysical stance. See Peter Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in history* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), pp. 10–11; Hoyt Tillman, *Confucian discourse*, pp. 20–22, 37, 232; and Ari Borrell, "Gewu or Gongan? Practice, realization, and teaching in the thought of Zhang Jiucheng," *Buddhism in the Song*, Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. (Honolulu, 1999), pp. 62–108, esp. pp. 63–65, 85–87, and 93.

MAP 1 *Map of China ca. 1100 showing the Liao, Xi Xia, Northern Song, Tibet, and Dali (after: Frederick Mote,* Imperial China: 900–1800, *Map 4, Liao empire in 1100).*

MAP 2 *Map of China ca. 1200 showing the Jin, Xi Xia, Southern Song, Tibet, and Dali (after: Frederick Mote*, Imperial China: 900–1800, *Map 10, circuits of Southern Song and Jin*).



MAP 3 *Map of Mongol khanates, from China in the east to the Golden Horde khanate in the west* (*after: Morris Rossabi*, A history of China, *Map of the Mongol empire in 1279*).

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under Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) in 1016, was not printed until 1119 by Huizong (r. 1100–25). The fact the Tang-era ritual code (*Kaiyuan li* 開元禮), with modifications, was reissued in 973 and then revised in 1113 (*Zhenghe li* 政和禮) shows that the ritual canon was an integral part of overall state control of the value system. One intriguing fact noticed by Ebrey was that of 263 Buddhist texts translated under state auspices between 982 and 1037, about half were esoteric texts, mostly dharanis.

Looking at specific emperors, we find Taizu (r. 960–76) in his first year on the throne ordering that officials visit Buddhist temples every year to burn incense on the death dates of his immediate ancestors. His younger brother Taizong (r. 976–97) built a Daoist temple on the site where a Daoist god was said to have revealed his imminent ascension to the throne, but Ebrey also details his wide-ranging support of Buddhism and notes that nine of his own works were incorporated into the Buddhist canon. Zhenzong is justly remembered for the "heavenly document" 天書 episode of 1008 and his subsequent Feng and Shan 封禪 sacrifices and construction of a massive Daoist palace to house the document. Equally notable are his two dreams in 1012 that led him to identify the dynastic holy ancestor 聖祖 as a descendant of the Yellow Emperor and then order all prefects to place this ancestor's statue in a special hall in the state-financed local prefectural Daoist temple. He also "built a temple to Zhenwu 真武 in the capital in 1017 and is considered important in establishing the identification of Zhenwu (Perfect Warrior) with the Song dynasty."

In frequent contact with Chan Buddhists, Renzong (r. 1022–63) in 1050 "issued an edict calling for prefects and magistrates to report local shrines to mountains and rivers that had responded to prayers for rain so that they could be added to the register of sacrifices" and in 1053 "had Buddhist monasteries built at three places important to the history of his three predecessors." Under the influence of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–86), Shenzong (r. 1067–85) implemented the New Policies that led to a significant rise in the number of popular gods incorporated in the register of sacrifices and to a regularization of the title granting process. Ebrey suggests that this "can be seen as a reflection of the ambition of the New Policies program to bring the government down to the local level." These policies reached a new high point under Huizong who, under the influence of Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076?–1120), came to identify himself as the eldest son of the Lord on High (Shangdi 上帝) and the divine master of the Daoist religion:

> For three years, from 1116 to 1119, Huizong lavishly used imperial resources to promote Daoism and to persuade people of its truths. To reach scholar-officials, Huizong stressed the common origins of Daoism and

> Confucianism and depicted his goal as a larger synthesis that would accommodate the truths of both the Confucian classics and the Daoist revelations.[4]

As was historically often the case, this nativism was accompanied by anti-Buddhist policies. In 1119, Huizong ordered that the Shenxiao 神霄 (Divine Empyrean) temples of this new dispensation should all "open charity clinics, affirming the value of Daoist healing methods." He also incorporated in the Daoist canon both the Divine Empyrean thunder rites and the ritual texts of the Heart of Heaven (Tianxin zhengfa 天心正法) that appear so frequently in the tales of Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202).

A Tang text printed and distributed in the year 999 called on magistrates to have Buddhist and Daoist temples pray for rain, not shamans. In 1023, Xia Song 夏竦 (985–1051), the prefect of Hongzhou in Jiangxi, submitted a memorial in which he said "that the people had more faith in the shamans' words than in government laws and were more in awe of their powers than those of government officials." He then claims to have forced 1900 shamans to return to farming and to have confiscated 11,000 of their artifacts. Ebrey concludes:

> The Song was an era of government centralization and routinization, which helps explain the growing desire to keep track of local shrines. The goals and attitudes of local officials were also subject to change not directed by the government; here the main example would be the growing acceptance of Cheng-Zhu Learning of the Way by the men who held government office. That probably explains the signs that by the 13th century increasing numbers of local officials were on the lookout for popular religious activity that needed to be curbed if not totally suppressed.

When Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) died, Daoxue was under a proscription that was lifted in 1202. By 1212 the court had adopted Zhu's commentaries on the *Lunyu* and the *Mengzi*, and it added the more controversial ones on the *Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the mean) and the *Daxue* (Great learning) in 1227.[5] Emperor

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4 It should be added that Huizong's Confucianism was that of the followers of Wang Anshi, not that of Daoxue, which was banned starting in 1096 and throughout Huizong's reign; see Ari Borrell, "Gewu or Gongan? Practice, realization, and teaching in the thought of Zhang Jiucheng," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., eds (Honolulu, 1999), pp. 62–108, esp. p. 85.

5 Peter Bol, *Neo-Confucianism*, p. 105, writes that the Daoxue shift in primary emphasis from the five traditional classics to the Four Books, with their interest not in the sage as ruler but as

Lizong (r. 1224–64) enfeoffed Zhu Xi in 1227 and again in 1229. Meanwhile, the Mongols defeated the kingdom of Xi Xia in the northwest in 1227 and the Jin in 1234. They proceeded to build a new temple to Confucius, conduct civil service exams, and call back to court two leading Daoxue senior statesmen, Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178–1237) and Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235). In 1238 the Mongols founded the Taiji Academy, with places of honor accorded to Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–73), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–85), Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–77), Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135), and Zhu Xi—a reflection of Daoxue development in the North from the 1190s on. In 1241 a Lizong edict accepted Daoxue as state orthodoxy, and images of Zhu Xi, Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, and the Cheng brothers were placed in the Confucius temple: "Cultural orthodoxy in the South served to counter the Mongols' rebuilding of the Confucius temple in the Northern capital and conducting civil service exams there."[6]

Portions of the chapters by Michael Walsh, Pierre Marsone, and Mark Halperin tell the parallel story unfolding in north China. According to Walsh, the Liao founder Yelü Abaoji 耶律阿保機 (Taizu; r. 907–26) "ordered the construction of Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian temples and brought a high number of Buddhists into his court." In 1063 the Liao dynasty printed and distributed the Buddhist canon. Liao emperors were given Buddhist funerals, and between 942 and 1078, the numbers of monastics went from 50,000 to 360,000. Imperial family members gave massive gifts of cash and land to Buddhist monasteries, with the result that there was an extensive monastic institutional network that the Jin dynasty continued to patronize after they conquered the Liao in 1115.[7] In 1164 the Jin signed a treaty with the Southern Song that fixed the boundary between the

scholar who cultivated himself, was critical to the Daoxue transformation of Chinese society and politics. Tillman, *Confucian discourse*, p. 138, notes that Zhu Xi's use of the term *daotong* 道統 (tradition of the Dao), used in opposition to *zhengtong* 政統 (tradition of state orthodoxy and imperial legitimacy), first appears in his commentaries on the *Zhongyong* 中庸 and *Daxue* 大學, two of the four commentaries that are central to his stamp on Daoxue. As Bol, ibid., p. 132, puts it: with this distinction "moral authority transcended the political."

6 Tillman, *Confucian discourse*, p. 233; this paragraph is based on ibid., pp. 231–33. According to Benjamin Elman, *A cultural history of civil examinations in late imperial China* (Berkeley, 2000), p. 31, "The only time before 1313 that examinations were promulgated was in 1237–38, when the Mongols designed a series of localized tests on belles lettres to identify the members of official literati households (ru 儒戶)." See also the chapter by Chang Woei Ong in volume 2 of this book.

7 In her chapter in these volumes, Shih-shan Susan Huang takes note of "the Liao ruling class' passion for Daoism" and patronage of its institutions.

two empires, and in the same year, according to Marsone, they transferred the blocks of Huizong's Daoist canon from Kaifeng to the Tianchang abbey in Zhongdu 中都 (this is the future White cloud abbey 白雲觀 of Beijing). Zhangzong (r. 1189–1208) had the abbot Sun Mingdao 孫明道 compile a new canon, which was published in 1192 (the blocks burned ten years later).

Marsone recounts the close links of three new Daoist schools, first with the Jin and then with the Yuan. Han Daoxi 韓道熙 of the Great One (Taiyi) school 太一教, for example, was summoned to court in 1181 to explain Daoist doctrine. His successor Wang Zhichong 王志沖 (1151–1216) was ordered by the emperor in the year 1207 to drive off invading locusts with Taiyi rites. Khubilai (r. 1260–94) in 1274 built Taiyi temples in both Beijing and Shangjing 上京. Liu Deren 劉德仁 (1122–81), founder of the school of the Great Way 大道教, was summoned to court in 1167 and made abbot of the Tianchang abbey. Khubilai named the fifth patriarch of the Yuxugong 玉虛宮 (Palace of jade emptiness, usually the name of a Zhenwu temple, as at the foot of Wudangshan 武當山) lineage head of the school in 1261. But it was the third school, of Completion of authenticity, as Marsone translates Quanzhen 全真, founded in 1167 by Wang Chongyang 王重陽 (1113–70), that had the closest relations with the state and the deepest long-term influence on Chinese society. Building on a mutual promise made by four early patriarchs in a Zhenwu temple in the year 1174, another patriarch, Wang Yuyang 王玉陽 (1142–1217), in 1187 accepted a summons to the Jin court by Shizong (r. 1161–89). He returned to the court in 1197, when he was given a title and the Jade emptiness abbey as his own temple. In 1211, the Mongols attacked and in 1214 destroyed the Jin capital of Zhongdu and, with it, the Daoist canon blocks. In 1216, Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148–1227) refused an invitation to the Jin court, which had moved to Kaifeng, but in 1219 he accepted Genghis Khan's invitation to visit him in Central Asia. Qiu returned from his voyage to the west with an imperial grant to the Quanzhen school of power over all religions in north China, with the inevitable result of conflict with the Buddhists. Court sponsored debates beginning in 1258 eventually led to a decree that the Daoist canon be burned in 1281, and in a shift of imperial support for Daoism from the Quanzhen to the Zhengyi school that would last through the Ming.

The Yuan also had a major impact on Buddhist and Confucian history. In his chapter on Buddhists and southern Chinese literati in the Mongol era, Halperin writes that the Yuan "stands apart from other dynasties for its voracious pursuit of karmic merit." Aided by the Tibetan cleric Phags-pa 八思巴 (1235–80), Khubilai "assumed the guise of a cakravartin king." Not only did he engage in large-scale construction of Buddhist monasteries, especially in the new capital of Dadu 大都 (Beijing), his court "sponsored annually 102 Buddhist

ceremonies, and by the 1320s, the program had grown to include over 500 events, entailing great expense." The Buddhist monk Haiyun Yinjian 海雲印簡 (1202–57) intervened successfully not only on behalf of Buddhists but also of Confucians: "He persuaded the authorities to restore sacrifices to Confucius's temple and preferential treatment to his descendants," arguing that Confucian principles "order the state, regulate the family, and rule the world. It is the root of the correct mind and sincere intention." He also "instructed the then-prince Khubilai in the fundamentals of Buddhism and elucidated how Buddhist concepts can assist in governing the empire." Another cleric, Xiaoyin Daxin 笑隱大訢 (1284–1344), was eulogized by both Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348) and Huang Jin 黃溍 (1277–1357), the latter often seen as an exemplar of Jinhua Confucianism: "Both narratives highlight a distinguished monk's efforts on behalf of the general good." Invited to court in 1330, he "spoke on the essentials of the Buddha mind. They matched profoundly the emperor's intentions." He was sent back to Hangzhou as abbot of a major monastery but in 1335, when he sought to retire, was made head of all Buddhists by Shundi (r. 1333–68). Xiaoyin, says Halperin, "embodies perhaps better than anyone else the intimate ties between state and church during the Yuan dynasty."

Although state patronage of Buddhism continued throughout the Yuan, starting with Renzong (r. 1312–20), "a sovereign deeply familiar with elite Chinese ways," Confucianism moved back to center stage with the reinstatement of the exam system in 1313. Wenzong (r. 1328–32) "undertook actively the role of Confucian monarch," restoring sacrifices to Confucius and Heaven and engaging Yu Ji to lead major compilation projects and the translation of the Confucian classics into Mongolian. In his praise of Wenzong, Yu Ji "reflects a general gratitude to the Yuan for uniting an empire that had been divided for nearly four centuries."

Chen Shuguo's chapter on state ritual reminds us that underneath the shifting fortunes of the three teachings in the Song-through-Yuan lay the bedrock of the five phases theory of legitimacy. As anachronistic as these concepts may seem—they clearly had far less force than in the Six Dynasties—they engendered endless debate in all dynasties of the period but the Liao. A first debate in 963 led to the identification of Song fortunes with the virtue of fire and its Red Emperor. But in 1010, Zhang Junfang 張君房, chief compiler of the Daoist canon, insisted it should be metal, and a third party weighed in with earth in 1020. Debate organized by Zhenzong led to confirmation of fire. Similar debates occurred in the Jin, notably in 1214, when it was already locked in deadly struggle with the Yuan. According to prefaces dated 1270 in the *Xuantian shangdi qisheng lingyi lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 (Record of miracles and prayers to

the saint, the Lord on High of dark heaven; DZ 961) in the Daoist canon, the Mongols ruled by virtue of water: these texts

> treat of the founding of a Chen-wu (Zhenwu) temple near the newly completed Yuan capital to commemorate the appearances of a "divine snake" and a "numinous tortoise" in Metal River in the dead of winter in the year 1269. These appearances were taken as signs of Chen-wu's approval of the new capital. The first of the three texts, by Han-lin academician Hsu Shih-lung (*chin-shih* 1227), cites the opinion of one Wen Yao-kou to the effect that this sign of divine approval was only natural, given the fact that "our dynasty was founded in the north, whose plenitude of power lies in water."[8]

Chen Shuguo goes on to detail the state sacrifices to gods of heaven, earth, and the ancestors. The Song suburban sacrifice to Heaven was done at the winter solstice. The first such Jin sacrifice was done in the year 1171. Yuan emperors did not take part in person in this most central of Confucian state rituals.[9] The Liao used shamans for the worship of their founder on Muyeshan 木葉山. The Yuan had nineteen sites of sacrifice to mountains and rivers. In 1291 Khubilai asked Confucians and Daoists of note to perform the relevant rituals and imperial officials to represent him.

The proper forms and objects of imperial ancestor worship was likewise a subject amply discussed in the Song. Both Taizu and Taizong went three times to worship Confucius in his temple, as did the founder of the Liao. Many Jin-era inscriptions for the restoration of local Confucius temples are still extant. A first Yuan temple to Confucius was built in Yanjing, and Chengzong (r. 1294–1307) built another in the capital. In his first year on the throne Chengzong "ordered that all prefectures and counties should sacrifice in temples to the three sovereigns," Fuxi, Shennong, and the Yellow Emperor. In conclusion,

8 John Lagerwey, "The pilgrimage to Wu-tang shan," in *Pilgrims and sacred sites in China*, Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü, eds (Berkeley, 1992), pp. 293–332; p. 298. A preface dated 1312 by Zhao Mengfu is even more explicit: "The rise of the Yuan began in the north. The energy of the north being in the ascendance, the god of the north sent down prophetic signs." A preface by Jie Xisi (1274–1344) notes that Renzong's birthday fell on the same day as that of Zhenwu; ibid., p. 299.

9 Chen quotes Khubilai saying to the chancellor in the year 1291 that he prefers to leave the sacrifices to the five peaks and four rivers to "famous Confucian scholars and Daoists who are familiar with these sacrifices." One cannot but wonder whether this is not one more instance of a Yuan practice that became Ming policy, which turned the conduct of the sacrifice to Heaven over to Daoists.

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Chen underscores "the sincerity with which, reverently and fearfully, the emperors and ministers of the Liao, Jin, Song, and Yuan worshiped the gods of heaven and earth as well as the meritorious dead, beginning with their own ancestors." The fact these four ethnically different dynasties nonetheless practiced essentially the same state sacrifices can only be explained by the fact that, "once a dynasty had unified a large area, the influence of the traditional Chinese sacrifices could not be resisted."

Society

In "The village quartet" Joseph McDermott examines the four overlapping religious institutions of village life in Song-Yuan Huizhou 徽州 (Anhui). In the interweaving of their fortunes, the Prime Ancestor (*shizu* 始祖) is particularly interesting because he was not infrequently both ancestor and earth god (*she* 社). In the most remarkable example, however, he was a she, Ms Cheng, concubine of a late 9th century Wu. Murdered by bandits in the Wus' new Xiuning 修寧 home, her beheaded corpse spouted blood at the bandits, who took her for a god, begged for pardon, and did not plunder. In 1235 a Daoist priest built a cloister 道院 next to the shrine of the "little old lady" 小婆, but soon the faithful set up a temple elsewhere for her and the shrine fell on hard times until in 1253 a member of the Mingzhou Wu clan persuaded the government to give the shrine a plaque, with "the original ancestral shrine to 'the Old Lady' attached to it for ancestral sacrifices. In other words, this Daoist shrine served without official authorization as an ancestral hall." By 1377, when the Mingzhou Wus had twenty serving officials and eleven degree holders, a formal record of the family referred to her husband as the Prime Ancestor. But not until after 1713 was her tablet removed from the ancestral hall.

To put this trajectory into perspective, it is vital to know that, around the year 1200, even the Wus of Xiuning "consisted of no more than several hundred families living in separate villages scattered about the county," and very few of these incipient lineages had collective property.

> Yet, however weak Song and Yuan kinship units may have been as institutions above the small family level, the goals and values they espoused were popular. Indeed, they were eagerly adopted by village institutions anxious to improve their position in their village and win the hearts and minds of its residents. A strengthening of the family's kinship institutions and descent line, the regular performance of ancestral worship, and the maintenance of ancestral graves—all deeply concerned with death and

> the afterlife—were central concerns to all these Huizhou village institutions, kinship and non-kinship alike.

Indeed, one of the primary forms of Daoist and Buddhist presence in villages of this period were cloisters of the kind referred to above, often built next to the grave of the ancestor to be remembered. Such merit cloisters (*gongde yuan* 功德院 or *tang* 堂) are known from as early as 711. So popular were these cloisters that Shenzong sought to make their lands subject to labor service charges. Their popularity, in other words, was at least in part because they provided a massive tax loophole. But McDermott quotes the Xiuning scholar official Wang Xun 汪循, who gives another reason altogether:

> Ever since the middle period [of Chinese imperial history], the talented and the wise as well as the rich always undertook to create temple buildings, and accordingly they took up lodging in the buildings of Buddhist monks and Daoists. In their mind, a family's fortune was inconstant. Those with wealth and title in the morning were by evening just a mound of dirt, and so [such blessings] were not worth relying on. What was most worth relying on to extend our sacrifices was the old cloisters and famous temples. They do not shift, even if the world's affairs do. They can stay on in the world for a long time.

Buddhists and Daoists were also a part of village life through their large monasteries and temples, as well as through pilgrimages to their sacred sites and their rituals for the living and the dead. But the most important village religious institution in Song-Yuan Huizhou was the village worship association (*she*). It was a purely territorial institution, usually involving a single village or several small ones. Participation in it was ascriptive for all but migrant households and bondservants, who were excluded. As since the Zhou dynasty, the local earth god was worshiped twice a year, in spring and in autumn. The communal festivals put on by these associations were assuredly nothing new, but their associated parades probably and their opera certainly were new, as was the tendency for the tutelary god to have a name and often to be identified as the founder and protector of the village. The two most famous of these tutelary gods, Cheng Lingxi 程靈洗 and Wang Hua 汪華, came to be seen as guardians of all Huizhou, while Chen Xi 陳喜 of Xiuning was a purely local instance. Said to have been a fisherman while alive, he became the local god prayed to for rain or shine after his death. But by the 16th century, when the Chens had come to dominate the village, his humble origins had been forgotten, and he was just their Prime Ancestor.

After citing the 1304 lament of the Huizhou neo-Confucian scholar Chen Li 陳櫟 (1252–1334) contrasting "his lineage's neglect of the grave of its Prime Ancestor to the care and attention lavished on graves by its village worship association," McDermott evokes the critical functions of these associations:

> Other lineage graves were said to be tended and regulated by "village association rules" (*shegui* 社規) rather than any kinship institution's rules, and the dates of members' birth, honors, death, and burial were kept in "village worship association registers" (*sheji* 社籍) and "village worship association account books" (*shehu bu* 社户簿) rather than lineage genealogies . . .
>
> In north China from 1206 and in the rest of China from 1270 the village worship association served as the government's basic unit of rural administration. In 1206 the Jin dynasty established rural districts (*xiang*) according to the number of their village worship associations (*cunshe* 村社), each of which had one to four heads depending on the size of its population. These heads were to help Village Heads (*lizheng* 里正) in registering the population for regular censuses, collecting taxes, maintaining order, and encouraging the practice of agriculture. During the Yuan period this inclusion of the village worship association within the formal structure of government administration of the countryside was extended, when the Mongol government ordered its establishment for north China in 1270 and then, after the fall of the Southern Song, explicitly for south China as well in 1279 and then 1286. As a rule, one village worship association (*she*) was to be set up per unit of 50 households.

That is, the ordering of local society around the *she*, usually attributed to the Ming founder, should in fact be attributed to their Jin and Yuan predecessors, and then traced back to the central role of the earth god in early medieval Daoist ritual[10] and, behind that, to the *Zhouli*'s account of Zhou dynasty institutions.[11]

In his discussion of popular cults, McDermott mentions one in Mingzhou dedicated to "three old ladies": a Buddhist nun, a Daoist priestess, and a *wu* or spirit medium. This, we might say, represents the unity of the three teachings village style, in which mediums, not Confucian scholar-priests represent

10 John Lagerwey, *China, a religious state* (Hong Kong, 2010), p. 67.

11 Cf. Kominami Ichirô, "Rituals for the earth," *Early Chinese religion*, part one: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)*, John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski, eds (Leiden, 2009), pp. 201–34.

the third of the three. McDermott notes the active presence of mediums in another quite surprising context, namely the home temple to Cheng Lingxi in the famous village of Huangdun 黃墩.[12] After government permission for the temple had been obtained in 1222 and titles for its god in 1224, the Chengs are said in a much later text to have hired first a Buddhist, then a Daoist, and, finally, in the early Ming, a medium-incanter 巫祝 to take care of sacrifices. At that time, however, it was anything but a Cheng lineage temple. In the late 12th century some eighty-odd village worship associations prayed there regularly. Among the two hundred-some worship associations from one hundred-plus villages 里 worshiping at the temple in 1223, "there were, in addition to the Chengs, at least four other surname groups which attended the shrine's communal spring and autumn sacrifice." McDermott refers to such village clusters as "religious alliances".

Fu-shih Lin's chapter on "'Old customs' and 'new fashions'" aims at isolating the unique characteristics of Song shamanism.[13] He begins by underscoring their links to temples and their gods and to earth gods and thicket shrines 叢祠, then agrees with the consensus that imperial interdiction of shamanism is the most salient characteristic of the period. The most famous instance took place in 1111, when Huizong ordered the destruction of 1138 temples 神祠 in the capital, but in the Southern Song, between 1127 and 1224, there were thirteen such interdictions. As in the Six Dynasties, the gods of popular religion were frequently the unfortunate dead (*ligui* 厲鬼), also called *shangshen* 傷/殤神, gods of those cut off in their prime. Lin cites an official text of 1201 to the effect that such gods were even consciously produced by murder or suicide: "Recently, I went to Cishan 祠山 to pray for rain and inquired about this along the way. People told me that the custom of fools killing people in Guangde county 廣德 (Anhui) had gradually entered Wuxing 吳興 (Zhejiang)." Hong Mai says the practice was most prevalent in Hubei but was also current in Jiangxi. Whether

12 Huangdun in She county 歙縣 plays the role in Huizhou lineage myth history of Shibi 石碧 for the Hakka, Zhujixiang 珠璣巷 for the Cantonese, and Dahuaishu 大槐樹 for much of north China. It is said to have become a haven for fleeing refugees from the north during the Huang Chao rebellion. See John Lagerwey, "Ethnographic introduction," *Wuyuan de zongzu, jingji yu minsu*, Lagerwey and Wang Zhenzhong, eds (Shanghai, 2013), 2 vols, 1.1–56, esp. pp. 2–3.

13 As in the volumes on early China, the word "shamanism" is used for convenience. It simply stands in for the Chinese word *wu* 巫, which is anything but precise, especially when used by the intelligentsia. But at a bare and essential minimum it refers to spirit mediums as mouthpieces for the gods and for the dead.

these accusations of human sacrifice were slanderous rumors of the elite or not, they most certainly contributed to government policy on popular religion.

The god of Cishan, King Zhang 張王, was one of the new regional gods characteristic of Song popular religion.[14] Lin notes that he also appears in the early Ming Daoist ritual compendium, the *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (Daoist methods, united in principle) as a "great essence" from the water bureau, all of whose gods "fear and respectfully serve the Northern Emperor 北帝." Huang Zhen 黃震 (1213–81), then prefect of Guangde, memorialized that, in the huge springtime parade in Guangde, a single buffalo was sacrificed to King Zhang, while the souls of the unfortunate dead who were originally his subordinates, received a similar sacrifice in each of the 720 circumscriptions 保. When an official in Fuzhou (Jiangxi), Huang Zhen forbade the custom of rowing boats to welcome the gods 划船迎神, had over 1300 rowboats burned, destroyed the "perverse temples" 邪廟, and forbade epidemic god 瘟神 festivals. Zhang Xun 張巡 (709–57), a general who died fighting An Lushan, also came to be widely worshiped in this period. In a Yuan-era procession in Wuxi (Jiangsu), Zhang Xun was portrayed with red hair, a black face, and four fangs. The locals considered him a *ligui* who had turned into an epidemic god. Such epidemic gods and boat-expelling rituals continue to be a core part of popular religion throughout China's south and southeast right down to the present.[15]

Fu-shih Lin notes that Zhang Xun was linked to the Eastern Peak cult in the Ming and that Hong Mai cites a case in Jiangsu of epidemic gods worshiped in a side hall of the local Eastern peak mobile palace 東岳行宮. Such palaces, whose construction was first encouraged by Zhenzong, were found virtually everywhere in Song China, and they would seem invariably to have been in Daoist hands. Their link to epidemic gods is clear from the tales of the Daoist marshal Wen, whose earliest complete account is that of Huang Gongjin 黃公瑾 in 1274.[16] Lin cites a 1054–56 account of a huge Eastern peak mobile shrine 行祠 festival in Changshu (Jiangsu). Another cult that wavered between shamanistic heterodoxy and Daoist orthodoxy was that of the Wutong 五通,

14 Valerie Hansen, *Changing gods in medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton, 1990), ch. 6, is a study of four of these gods: Cishan's King Zhang, the Wutong, Mazu, and Zitong (Wenchang).

15 See, most recently, Wang Zhenzhong, "Ming Qing yilai Huizhou de bao'anhui yu '*wuyu*' zuzhi," *Minsu quyi* 174 (2011.12), 17–102. It treats of the massive parades of epidemic boats containing Zhang Xun and his counterpart Xu Yuan 許遠 in late imperial Huizhou.

16 *Diqi shangjiang Wen taibao zhuan* 地祇上將溫太保傳 (DZ 780). On the role of Marshal Wen in modern Wenzhou boat-expulsion rites, see Paul Katz, *Demon hordes and burning boats: the cult of Marshal Wen in late imperial Chekiang* (Albany, 1995).

associated by Hong Mai with thicket shrines. Gods who loved sex and money, in their generic form as mountain sprites (*shanxiao* 山魈) the Wutong were combatted in Song Daoist texts, but the Wutong of Wuyuan county, ancestral home of Zhu Xi, were incorporated in the state register of orthodox gods.

Lin agrees with Valerie Hansen that most of these new popular gods were commoners, persons without pedigree. Standard elite criticism of their festivals was that they wasted money and disturbed the peace. Worse, according to Hu Shibi 胡石壁 (1232 *jinshi*) writing about Hunan and Chen Chun 陳淳 (1159–1223) writing about Zhangzhou 漳州 in southeastern Fujian, local populations were too attached to these gods and their temples. Chen singled out for criticism the local festivals in honor of Mazu 媽祖, Hongsheng 南海洪聖, and the Eastern Peak. The last he referred to as going in audience on the Peak 朝嶽, and Lin, who mentions as well a 1054–56 account of a huge Eastern peak mobile shrine 行祠 festival in Changshu (Jiangsu), says that such audience rituals were forbidden by two Northern Song emperors, Renzong in 1027 and Huizong in 1102. While most accounts concern the South, the North had its fox cults, also linked to shamanism and also the object of official wrath. Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007–91) said of the region around Kaifeng that, "The people of Jingdong West all believe in sorcery. However small, all villages set up a spirit shrine . . . They only know fear of the gods and do not dread the law."

Daoist Rituals

In his chapter on Daoism and popular religion Matsumoto Kôichi covers some of the same ground as Fu-shih Lin and cites many of the same figures, but he does so from the perspective of the interaction between Daoism and shamanism. Regarding Zhang Xun, for example, Matsumoto quotes a Yuan source to the effect that, just before death, Zhang declared he would become a *ligui*. Like many other new popular cults, usually involving mediums, that to Zhang Xun spread, and he came to be worshiped in Wuxi and all over Zhejiang. But in the *Daofa huiyuan* he is, like Wen Qiong 溫瓊, converted into a Daoist marshal who could be called on to "summon and interrogate" (*kaozhao* 考召) and thereby exorcise ghostly troublemakers. Festivals to these gods, meanwhile, took on the form that persisted throughout the late imperial period and beyond:

> Tanaka Issei suggests that autonomous village earth gods and their sacrifices gradually faded in importance and were replaced by local god societies organized around central places and worshiping anthropomorphic gods. In order to unify both gods and sacrifices that could pool the resources of many god societies, sacrifices became grander and more artistic and theatrical. This last point is of particular importance, as it

> shows how rituals gave rise to professional theatrical arts. This provided opportunities for the use of both Buddhist and Daoist rituals.

A 1218 inscription written by Zhen Dexiu for the title augmentation of a Quanzhou god shows that intellectuals of his stripe were perfectly aware that Song religious policy was in effect creating a universal pantheon in which the sectarian origin of a god was irrelevant.[17] In a text on the Daoist yellow register offering, Zhen "is in complete agreement with the use of Daoist rituals to substitute for the national sacrifices prescribed by the *Zhouli* 周禮 for meritorious gods." As for the Buddhists, Huang Zhen finds it normal, now Buddhist temples are found everywhere, that prayers for rain once addressed to the gods of mountains and rivers be addressed instead to Guanyin 觀音.[18] Chen Chun, by contrast, insists such prayers should be done in traditional manner: Buddhist and Daoist fasts and offerings, being imitations of popular practices, are not an appropriate way of communicating with the gods. But, says Matsumoto, this "principle-based Confucian stance had lost all pertinence": Buddhism and Daoism had become a part of popular religion, and the concern of intellectuals could only be "to incorporate the gods of the temples into the national sacrificial framework."

Buddhist and Daoist funeral and exorcistic rituals had also become popular to the point of inevitability. Thus when many Daoxue proponents sought to put an end to use of Buddhist funeral rituals, such as Yu Wenbao 俞文豹 retorted that no filial son could imagine not performing such rituals when his parents died. In Matsumoto's words,

> Even Zhu Xi, who explicitly attacks these rites, when asked by Hu Boliang 胡伯量 what he would do if his parents requested their use, says that he would first attempt to dissuade them but, should he fail, he would do as his parents wished.

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17 There is general consensus among specialists about the emergence of a universal pantheon in the Song: in English, see Hansen, *Changing gods*, p. 9; Terry Kleeman, *A god's own tale: the* Book of transformations *of Wenchang, the divine lord of Zitong* (Albany, 1994), p. 26; and Richard von Glahn, *The sinister way: the divine and the demonic in Chinese religious culture* (Berkeley, 2004), pp. 152–58.

18 Such prayers to Guanyin were common in pre-1949 Huizhou. See, for example, John Lagerwey, "Ethnographic introduction," in Wu Zhengfang 吴正芳, *Baiyangyuan: Huizhou chuantong cunluo shehui* (Shanghai, 2011), pp. 1–22; p. 9.

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And if intellectuals asked how one's own ancestors could possibly harm their descendants, fear of *ligui* was far too universal to be dismissed with philosophical arguments. Already in Du Guangting's tales of Daoist ritual efficacy 靈驗, a person killed illegitimately, if he filed a plaint with Heaven, could receive permission to take revenge. One such tale "says explicitly that, once Heaven has approved an act of revenge, 'human means cannot erase the sin.'" Thus Daoist yellow register retreats were done not just for deceased parents but also to save the angry ghosts who, in search of vengeance, caused a victim to fall ill (this then also saved the victim).

The Daoist universal salvation 普度 rite and the Buddhist Yulanpen 盂蘭盆 rite had likewise become part of a common religious culture: according to the *Dongjing menghualu* 東京夢華録, in the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng "government offices organized massive assemblies where paper money was burned and all soldiers who had sacrificed their lives were given offerings." At the end of the Southern Song, the *Mengliang lu* 夢粱録 says the same rites in Hangzhou, performed in temples, Daoist abbeys, and Buddhist monasteries, sought to save elite and commoners alike. In a Buddhist food distribution 施食 text thought to be Yuan, ten different categories of solitary soul were summoned for saving; in Jin Yunzhong's 金允中 (fl. 1225) Daoist version there are twenty-four categories. If the Buddhists saw this rite as an expression of the Buddha's compassion for all souls, for Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933) the solitary souls were troublemakers who had to be fed and sent away, like epidemic spirits. In the Song version of the Daoist rite described at length by Matsumoto, however, compassion seems quite clearly to trump exorcism.

Exorcism was nonetheless a key component of Daoism's success in Song and Yuan society. The two basic modes, thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) and the orthodox rites of the Heart of Heaven, were both introduced into the Daoist canon by Huizong, and Hong Mai's *Yijianzhi* 夷堅志 (Records of the listener) is full of stories about these Daoist exorcists. The tale of one of the most famous, Lu Shizhong 路時中 (fl. 1125–30), author of an important ritual manual in the Daoist canon, illustrates the fact that, like shamans, their vocations as exorcists could be preceded by a "sickness unto death". One version of the origins of the Heart of Heaven tradition says Tan Zixiao 譚紫霄 of the Southern Tang was given a set of talismans from Zhang Daoling 張道陵, the first Heavenly Master. A text from 1105 refers to Tan's

> mastery of Daoist incantations, performance of offerings directed to the stars, worship of the divine lord Black Killer, and use of the Pace of Yu and constellation walks to block demons, drive off catastrophe, and pray for good fortune. He was very good at predicting people's life span.

In another version, it is one Rao Dongtian 饒洞天 who "first discovers some buried texts then receives instruction in their use from Tan Zixiao and receives a spirit army (*yinbing* 陰兵) from the Great emperor of the eastern peak 東嶽大帝."

Close analysis of these new rites shows them to be a synthesis of Tantric-style incantations, mudras, seals, and gods with traditional Daoist practices like offerings, the Pace of Yu 禹步, spirit armies, and the rites to summon and interrogate (*kaozhao*) spiritual troublemakers, a practice which can be traced back to Han times.[19] But in Heart of Heaven rites, as in the Southern Song yellow register retreat, something radically new was incorporated from the possession cults of popular religion: spokespersons for the dead. Among the many dramatic dialogues with the dead reported by Hong Mai is one in which the dying second son of the controller-general of Nanjing is said by a spirit medium to be possessed and the official asks Lu Shizhong for help. When Lu asks the city god why he has not yet seized the demon who is possessing the son, a boy covered in blood is led forward: it is the elder son of the controller-general, who says he was murdered by his father and brother because of his unfilial behavior. He can accept his father's anger at him but not that his younger brother take all the property: "It was for this reason I possessed him." Lu responds that, if he kills his brother, there will be no heir, and his resentment will not be appeased: "I think it would be best if I had your father perform a great offering of the yellow register 黃籙大醮 so that you can ascend to Heaven." The ghost acquiesces and disappears, but when the family fails to fulfill its promise to do the offering, the remaining son dies in a fall.

It is in the context of the thunder rites that the many marshals who will come to play central roles in modern Daoism first appear. From chapter 198 on, the *Daofa huiyuan* is largely given over to their exorcistic techniques, of which the 30th Heavenly Master, Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092–1126), is often presented as the ancestral master. Invited by Huizong to court in the year 1105, Zhang Jixian became the subject of many legends of prowess in praying for rain and exorcizing evil spirits. Matsumoto suggests these tales contributed greatly to the image of the Heavenly Master as chief exorcist in Yuan opera and late Ming novels like the *Shuihu zhuan*. Hong Mai tells of an evil spirit who exclaims, "I only fear the Heavenly Master Zhang of Longhushan, I fear no one else!" It is

19 Cf. the *Hanshu* Bibliography, which contains titles like "capturing the inauspicious and investigating demonic entities" 執不祥劾鬼物. See Li Jianmin, "*They shall expel demons*: etiology, the medical canon and the transformation of medical techniques before the Tang," *Early Chinese religion*, part one: *Shang through Han*, Lagerwey and Kalinowski, eds (Leiden, 2009), pp. 1103–50; p. 1109.

in a poem by Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112) that we first hear that the prophylactic human image of Artemisia hung over doors for the Duanwu 端午 festival was that of the Heavenly Master, and Matsumoto concludes: "The exorcistic techniques associated in the past with the *wu* (spirit mediums) of popular religion were now a part of Orthodox Unity 正一."

The transformation of the relationship between Daoism and shamanism manifests itself in the realm of literature as well.[20] More precisely, the *pinghua* 平話 (plain tales), ancestor of the late Ming novel, first appears in this period. The oldest extant plain tale, "The Martial King attacks [king] Zhou" (*Wuwang fa Zhou pinghua* 武王伐紂平話), published around 1320 as part of a set of three plain tales, tells the story of the founding of the Zhou dynasty (1050–256 BC), but tells it as sacred history in which many of the main human actors are destined to become gods of the thunder bureau that Daoist exorcists call on to help them summon rain or drive away demons. Their stories, first encountered in the plain stories from the Yuan, are told in full in late Ming novels like the *Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義 (Canonization of the gods), and the rituals that correspond to them are found in Daoist canon texts like the *Daofa huiyuan*. Unlike the gods of pure Qi characteristic of medieval Daoism, these gods were of the *ligui* type, violent and bloodthirsty, like the gods of popular religion. In Mark Meulenbeld's words,

> Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the gods who are invoked by ritualists to pacify the spirits of the earth are the same gods who make star appearances in the new vernacular narratives that are printed throughout that period![21]

Meulenbeld shows that, because the same tales were also put on as *zaju* theater at religious festivals, and because the cult of these martial gods was closely linked to local militias, the Yuan prohibited them repeatedly. The last ban, in 1336, referred explicitly to the genre of plain tales, most likely represented by the popular stories of the Martial King and of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo).

20 While original plans to include a chapter on religion and literature did not work out, key elements of that story are too important to ignore altogether. I am grateful to Mark R.E. Meulenbeld for enabling me to fill this gap by summarizing and quoting from his forthcoming work, *Ritual warfare, temple networks, and the birth of a Chinese novel, 1200–1600*.

21 Meulenbeld, *Ritual warfare*, MS, p. 137. For a study of one such god, see Paul Katz, *Demon hordes*.

Buddhist Rituals

According to Daniel Stevenson, state involvement in Song Buddhism led to standardized monastic ordinations and the creation of a secure institutional footing for the first time for sectarian traditions like Chan, Tiantai, and Vinaya. In a clear parallel to what was happening in Song Daoism, there came from within Buddhism itself an impulse to liturgical synthesis and standardization that produced the rituals still used today: "Gesture, utterance, and even mentation are meticulously ruled and imbued with extraordinary symbolic ramification and valence, their every turn unfolding by a clearly prescribed order." At the same time, the Buddhist calendar completed its adaptation to the Chinese year, divided into two segments of six months each, with the pivot coming at the end of the three-month summer retreat on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, the day of the Middle Prime. On that day in Kaifeng, while the Daoists did universal salvation rituals, the Buddhists put on massive Yulanpen rituals. In the week leading up to this day, Mulian 目連 plays were put on nightly. Imperially sponsored Buddhist and Daoist monasteries "were commissioned by the court to hold rites for pacification of war dead who had perished in service to the realm." At the start of the year, according to pure rules (*qinggui* 清規) written for Vinaya monasteries in 1325, all monasteries did rites of repentance for the sins of the past year and of prayers for blessings in the new year. Another set of pure rules, composed by the Chan monk Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323) in the year 1317, shows the Buddhist pantheon, again like the Daoist, had come to incorporate a universal hierarchy of divine figures that started with the Jade Emperor and descended via stellar gods to the mountain and river gods, dragon kings, and city and earth gods.[22]

During the three-month summer rains retreat and the parallel winter retreat (the latter ended on the fifteenth day of the first month), observance of which was mandatory for monks in the larger monasteries, the daily schedule of meditation and repentance litanies sought removal of sinful karma that obstructed meditative transport and personal progress on the Buddhist path, while at the same time collectively generating meritorious blessings on behalf of the imperium. In the words of Zhiyi 智疑 (538–97), body and mind are purified by these ritual procedures,

> and one obtains a taste of dharma joy. Should one then wish singlemindedly to pursue continual quiescence for the purpose of

22 On this subject, see further Daniel Stevenson, "Protocols of power: Tz'u-yun Tsun-shih (964–1032) and T'ien-t'ai lay Buddhist ritual in the Sung," in Gregory and Getz, eds, *Buddhism in the Sung*, pp. 340–408; pp. 370–74.

> entering deep samādhi, it is necessary to dispense with one's previous practice . . . Constantly delighting in seated meditation, one contemplates (*guan* 觀) the emptiness that is the ultimate reality of all things, refrains from committing any internal or external transgressions, and, out of great compassion, empathizes with the plight of all living beings. When the mind can maintain this focus without interruption, then this is [what we call] "cultivating samādhi".

By the mid-11th century special repentance halls (*chantang* 懺堂) designed for undertaking individual penance and contemplative retreats were a standard feature of Tiantai monasteries. By the 13th century, most public Tiantai monasteries also had separate contemplation halls (*guantang* 觀堂), designed in part to accommodate three-year programs of penance and contemplative retreat directed to the buddha Amitābha and future rebirth in his pure land, in part

> responding to a massive enthusiasm among the Song populace for salvation through rebirth in Amitābha's land . . . Local patrons who provided support for retreatants and the halls of repentance were deemed to reap immense quantities of merit in return for their largesse.

Similar retreat halls and repentance rites were adopted in Huayan and Vinaya monasteries as well, but are unknown in Chan monasteries.

That Buddhist rituals were pervasive in Song society can be seen in Hong Mai's *Record of the listener*, with its tales involving the water-land rite (*shuilu* 水陸), distributing food to hungry ghosts (*shishi egui* 施食餓鬼), releasing living creatures (*fangsheng* 放生), various repentance rites, the Yulanpen offering, bathing the Buddha on his birthday, and offerings directed to Yama or designed to gain passage for the dead through the courts of the ten kings of purgatory. The *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Diamond sutra) is the most frequently mentioned scripture and Guanyin the most prominent god, followed by Mile 彌勒, Amituo 阿彌陀 (Amitābha), and Wenshu 文殊. Specific rites like reciting incantations, venerating a buddha, confessing sins, transferring merit, and making vows are also mentioned. Two incantations—Guanyin's of the heart of great compassion (*dabei xin zhou* 大悲心咒) and Ucchuṣma's (*dahuiji zhou* 大穢跡咒)—were used to purify an altar as well as, for Guanyin's, to heal the sick and, for Ucchuṣma's, "to put child mediums into trance (*āveśa*) for the purpose of interrogating ancestors or deities and exorcising ghosts." Scholarly consensus sees Daoist use of child mediums as borrowed from esoteric Buddhism.

At least one Tiantai monk, Zongjian 宗鑑, in a text dated 1237, theorized rituals done for the general populace in terms of benefiting living beings

利生志 and conforming to the popular or vernacular 順俗志. The first category includes rituals done to obtain merit and "remove obstacles of sin" for animals, hungry ghosts, and deceased persons. The second refers primarily to repentance rituals which enable lay persons, "by enlisting the power of the Three Jewels, to cleanse their minds of sin and eliminate grave obstacles," but also to rites seeking rebirth in the pure land, including those done for deceased parents, called filial repayment of parental kindness (*bao'en* 報恩). Rites performed for personal repentance, merit-production, and future liberation typically began and ended with profession of the triple refuge (*san guiyi* 三歸依), a personal affirmation that the vow-sayer was a disciple of the Buddha. In between came discrete phases for veneration of the Three Jewels, confession of sins, and profession of vows before the Three Jewels—a sequence designed to turn one from evil paths and remove the obstacles of prior sin that beclouded the "intrinsically pure and enlightened substrate resident in the minds of all living beings (i.e., the buddha-nature)." The great Tiantai liturgist Ciyun Zunshi 慈雲遵式 (964–1032) captures succinctly the soteriological thrust of this ritual sequence in the following reflection on profession of the three refuges:

> They are called "the three refuges that reverse or turn one from depravity" because they reverse or turn one from the mindset of beginningless depraved belief and enable one to return (*gui* 歸) eternally to the *road* (*lu* 路) of perfect awakening.

Gods, solitary souls, and even animals, once ritually cleansed and converted, could enter the inner altar and pay homage to the Three Jewels:

> The ritual transition from the religious 'outsider' to the 'Buddhist', via preparatory bestowal of the three refuges and choreographed passage from the 'outer' to the 'inner', in effect, imposes a palpable symbolic and performative watershed between the two. Autochthonous Chinese religious idioms and orientations regarding local gods, ghosts, ancestral dead, etc., are accommodated, entertained, fruitfully enlisted. But their significations are hegemonically reinscribed as they are processed (quite literally) from the outer courtyard into the idealized Buddhist liturgical community of the inner altar.

At critical junctures in these public rituals, they were preached to in simple, didactic prose: "So doing, they simultaneously sermonize the human audience as well." As in Daoist rites, these rituals ended with the burning of paper money, grave clothing, horses, and divine emissaries. Song and dance were also

part and parcel of Buddhist funeral rites, at once enhancing their popularity and arousing the ire of neo-Confucians. As Stevenson notes in conclusion, "Field reports on the mortuary rites of contemporary rural dharma or ritual masters (*fashi* 法師)" show their rituals to be the direct descendants of the Song water-land rite.

Archaeology

Dieter Kuhn's chapter, "Religion in the light of archaeology and burial practices," looks first at cremation. Popular in the 10th century, it was forbidden twice in the early Song but continued nonetheless to be practiced by a small proportion of the population, as well as by all Buddhist monks. A high Han official involved in the founding of the Liao, Ma Zhiwen 馬直溫, and his wife were cremated and their ashes placed in true to life effigy manikins. More commonly the Liao shrunk the corpse till only bones remained, or else removed the intestines and replaced them with aromatic herbs. Once the corpse was ready for burial, it was dressed according to rank, with a mask and a suit of gold, silver, or copper wire. When the Liao founder Taizu died in 926, he was buried one year later with several hundreds of his courtiers. His wife, who should have accompanied him as well, cut off her right hand instead and placed it in the tomb. The Song had no such sacrificial burials but the Ming founder, following Mongolian custom, was buried with thirty-eight concubines, Chengzu (r. 1403–24) with sixteen, and Xuanzong (r. 1426–35) with ten.

Land for charity graveyards 義塚 was on occasion provided by the government, more often by local elites, "preferably close to Buddhist monasteries." Men and women were buried separately, and Buddhist or Daoist monks were hired to take care of regular sacrifices. An excavated example of an early 12th century government cemetery contained mainly soldiers from the local garrison and men fulfilling menial labor services. Many had come from the local hospital for the poor or from old people's homes. They were mostly buried in pottery urns. Prisoners and soldiers were often buried in mass tombs, frequently with a Buddhist temple in a corner of the cemetery. In 1129–30, when the Jurchen captured Jiankang, some 70,000 people were killed, and in 1131 the emperor ordered officials to hire Buddhist and Daoist monks to bury them. Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), commander of the city, employed twenty monks from five Buddhist monasteries to organize the burials in eight cemeteries.

A dying person was moved to the main room of the house. Three days after death, the corpse was encoffined, with teeth, hair, and nails put in the corners. The funeral procession was led by exorcists, who struck "the four corners of the grave with their axes to drive away unwanted spirits" before the coffin was lowered into the grave. Burial was often delayed while the search for a good

geomantic site went on, or simply to wait until the flesh had rotted and only the bones remained. In the meanwhile, coffins—as many as three thousand of them!—were often stored in Buddhist monasteries. Coffins were lacquered red on the inside, black on the outside. Iron nails were used to close the coffin because "nail" and "male" were both pronounced *ding*, and the nails thus signified a desire for male progeny in the family. Often, mirrors were placed inside the coffin to provide light. The ancient practice of placing a deed to the grave site inside the coffin continued, especially in Sichuan. In some cases a separate deed for the Hall of Light (*mingtang* 明堂)—the area in front of the tomb where rituals were performed—was supplied.

The single chamber tomb was the most common and corresponded to the scholar-official ideal of "simplicity, modesty, and economy in burials." Double chamber tombs were used for couples across central China. More complex corbelled dome brick chamber tombs were built in north China by the local landed elite. These walk-in tombs were like residences and often had murals painted on the walls: a couple seated across a table from each other; banquets with musicians; agricultural scenes; immortals; Buddhist guardian gods. A Henan tomb dated 1108 shows an old couple kneeling in worship before the Great sage of Sizhou 泗洲大聖. In the dome on the north end of the tomb, the couple is crossing a bridge to the pure land. But the most frequently represented subject of such murals was tales of filial piety, starting in the tombs of Liao nobles and continuing right into the Yuan.

In "Daoism in graves", Bai Bin concludes that, by comparison with the Tang, when Daoist elements were concentrated in upper class graves around the capital, in the Song there is a shift south, with most finds coming from commoner graves in Sichuan and Jiangxi. The Northern Song grave of the Daoist Dai Zhizai 戴知在, found on the Daoist mountain Gezao 閣皂山 in central Jiangxi, shows a man on the western wall facing east, with processions on the two side walls also heading east. According to a stele in the tomb, Dai Zhizai had dreamt of "going in audience on the immortals' island, where there are jade liquors and golden herbs" and where the Imperial lord of eastern florescence 東華帝君, after checking his records, gave him an office in a "cave yamen". Four Northern Song graves in Sichuan—three of them for Daoist couples—had abundant grave goods including clearly Daoist refinement (*liandu* 煉度) texts. The two Jin and seven Yuan Daoist graves excavated thus far were all in Shanxi; most were near Daoist abbeys. One of the Jin graves was for Yan Deyuan 阎德源, "grand master of the lineage from the Abbey of jade emptiness in the Western capital." The name of the abbey suggests it was dedicated to Zhenwu. The Yuan graves were all Quanzhen. In general, northern graves

"showed none of the southern interest in preserving the soul or protection from evil spirits and rebirth as an immortal."

Graves in south China from the Song and the Yuan contained many pottery, stone, and wood figurines, of three kinds: procession figures, servants, and monsters (hybrids). These last have a primarily exorcist function, says Bai Bin, who links many of the figurines to thunder rites. A Chengdu grave for the disciple of the Dao Lü Zhongqing 奉道弟子吕忠慶 contained a stone image of the owner and two grave purchase certificates, the first from when the grave was first dug and sealed with the image inside, the second, dated 1211, when Lü himself was buried. The aim of thus burying a person's image before he died was to turn aside serious illness and ensure the longevity of the future occupant.

The Tang practice of placing grave-anchoring texts (*zhenmu wen* 鎮墓文) in tombs continued in the Song. While Bai Bin includes here representations of the four heraldic animals (*siling* 四靈), perfect writs (*zhenwen* 真文)—talismanic texts of Lingbao origin—constitute the majority. One from western Sichuan says explicitly it is a perfect writ for stabilizing the tomb 安墓真文. The earliest eight-power tablet text 八威策文 discovered so far dates to 1080. In his *Daomen dingzhi* 道门定制 (The Daoist system), Lü Yuansu 吕元素 (fl. 1201), a Daoist from western Sichuan, says these texts were used primarily to anchor the houses of the living but could also be used for graves. Perfect writs for refinement 煉度真文, frequent in north China during the Tang, disappear there but become common in the Chengdu area in the Song.

Medicine

In "Medicine for madness", Fabien Simonis shows "the rise of inner etiologies" among Jin and Yuan physicians, as well as a decline in demonological diagnosis, especially in Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1282–1358) and his followers, who argued that possession-like symptoms were simply caused by internal mucus. Like Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101), who actively promoted medical healing as preferable to ritual therapies, Zhu "clearly aimed to reject exorcistic treatments":

> Whereas Jin or Yuan physicians often noted that their mad patients had sought the help of mediums, Ming and Qing doctors almost never mentioned exorcists as competitors . . . After 1500, demonology was no longer the most criticized approach to mad symptoms in medical treatises and case collections . . . It is as if ritual healers and mediums had gone underground.

That ritual healing continued nonetheless we know from such texts as the *Daofa huiyuan*.

In pre-Song medicine, madness was attributed either to wind or to demons. In a first step toward its internalization, wind was "re-imagined as acting inside the body through saliva." The second step was the "progressive conflation of mucus with saliva." Blockages caused by mucus-saliva were then increasingly treated with emetics. Next, Liu Wansu 劉完素 (ca. 1120–1200)—whose "courtesy name Shouzhen 守真 (Preserving the authentic) and self-chosen sobriquet Tongxuan chushi 通玄處士 (Idle scholar who penetrates the mysteries) have distinctive Daoist overtones"—identified wind not as air but as internal fire and heat. He understood the six Qi 氣—wind, heat, dampness, fire, dryness, and cold—"not as climatic influences (their traditional meaning), but largely as manifestations of bodily imbalances." The resultant explanation of madness assumed a body very much like that of internal alchemy:

> Kidney-water governs the will, and water and fire are opposed to each other. Therefore when cardiac fire is overabundant, renal water decays: one thus "loses one's will" and becomes crazy.

Zhang Congzheng 張從正 (1156–1228) of the Jin then became the first "physician who explicitly attributed madness to heat, fire, and mucus, and consistently treated it with purgatives and emetics." After the fall of the Jin to the Mongols, Wang Haogu 王好古 (1200?–1264?) divided madness into two kinds, both of which were internally caused: Yang madness, caused by inner heat, required a purge, while Yin madness, caused by inner cold, demanded replenishment. "Wang's replenishing and attacking therapies would become the two main medical treatments for madness after the 15th century." Zhu Zhenheng, finally, joined Liu Wansu's emphasis on the pathology of fire with Zhou Dunyi's "Explanation of the Taiji diagram" 太極圖說 to produce his influential "cosmo-ethico-medical synthesis . . ., the brand of learning that would dominate Ming scholarly medicine." Born in Wu prefecture 婺州 (later Jinhua 金華, Zhejiang), in the year 1316 Zhu became the disciple of Xu Qian 許謙 (1270–1337), himself a fourth-generation descendant of Zhu Xi. The cosmological and ethical dimensions of his synthesis thus derive from Daoxue.

Law

The first type of case treated by Nap-yin Lau in his chapter on "Changes to women's legal rights in the family from the Song to the Ming" concerns the right of children to sue their mother. Before the Song, such children would have been executed by strangulation. A series of judgments in the Song repeatedly legitimated suits of this kind, usually because the principle of patrilineal succession was considered more important than a son's filial piety toward his

adoptive or stepmother (the cases described do not involve birth mothers). According to Lau, even Zhu Xi "began to accept children's accusation of their non-natural mothers."

Formal concubines, who originally had no inheritance rights, gained some rights during the period, and rights which went from case law to legislative law. In particular, if the concubine was a mother, she came to be able to receive the inheritance share of her own children. In one case, a Southern Song commoner willed that his two sons share his patrimony equally with his concubine. The sons appealed, but the magistrate Du Gao 杜杲 (1173–1248) ruled that a son should obey his father. After this decision, "a childless concubine who stayed chaste could legally receive living pension directly from spousal patrimony." A law passed in the year 1247 confirmed the right of a concubine, even if childless, to a pension. If she had children, she also obtained their share. But did she also have the right to set up an heir? Lau discusses several cases in which the concubine was at odds with the extended family. In one remarkable case, a concubine and the adopted son of the deceased husband both received half of the inheritance in 1286, but three years later the concubine's son died and, charging the adopted son with being unfilial, the concubine won the right to set up an adult kin to continue the household of her husband:

> Her request was granted, and the next year the new heir began to perform the military duties of the household. It is really amazing to see that a concubine could accuse her husband's adopted son of lacking filial piety and deprive him of the opportunity to inherit her husband's household, then choose an heir on her own, and finally have him continue the family line and perform the ancestral worship in the ancestral shrine at her husband's home. Even though she had to choose the heir from her husband's lineage, we do not see any interference from the lineage.

In the Tang all property but a dowry was communal, registered under the paternal head of household's name. A 1037 law protected private property bought by an individual, male or female, with money he or she had earned. By 1244, the Song had also increased considerably the share of the inheritance that an unmarried daughter could receive. In a mid-13th century case in Hunan, when two sons tried to prevent their niece, sole surviving child of a third brother, from inheriting, the judge ruled the niece had full rights to her father's entire patrimony. Lau sees these positive changes for women as reflecting southern as opposed to northern Chinese economic and social culture: "This may explain why most of the big changes occurred in the Southern Song." A number of Song changes that challenged patriarchal principles were "not reflected

in the Ming or Qing codes." In particular, widows lost the right to take their dowry into a new marriage as well as the right to choose an heir, which now fell to the lineage head.[23]

The Three Teachings

Art and Architecture

Tracy Miller starts her chapter on the architecture of the three teachings by showing how the symbolic power of the Zhou dynasty, with its courtyard complex, bilateral symmetry, and north/south axis, continued to define standard use of space. The "Kaojongji" of the *Zhouli* was the *locus classicus* for the prescription of such space, with a palace flanked by an open-air earth god altar and the palatial-style worship hall of the ancestral temple: "When designing architectural complexes for worship, devotees made use of this language both to frame ritual practice and to express the identity and status of divinities housed within." Tang sumptuary laws reserved bracketing and caisson ceilings 藻井 for imperial palaces and temples. Moreover, because roofs were supported by timber columns, it was easy to modify walls and convert a palace into a temple. In the Period of Division (220–589 AD) already, red had become the standard color for columns.

The existence of a basic template, however, did not preclude regional variation. In 10th century coastal Fujian and Zhejiang, complex, non-structural bracket clusters began to be used between columns, in the Hualinsi 華林寺 in Fuzhou 福州 in 964 (Fig. 24), then in the Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀 in Putian 莆田 (Fig. 27), and in 1013 in the Baoguosi 保國寺 in Mingzhou (Ningbo). A mere seven years later, the new style had been adopted in the Fengguosi 奉國寺 in Yixian (Liaoning; Fig. 32). The *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式, an architectural treatise linked to the Wang Anshi era, completed in 1091 and published after revision in 1103, documents a mature imperial Song style based on this coastal

23 That the loss of Song legal gains for women is due to Daoxue comes out clearly in Bettine Birge, "Women and Confucianism from Song to Ming: the institutionalization of patrilineality," *The Song-Yuan-Ming transition in Chinese history*, Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, eds (Cambridge, MA, 2003), pp. 212–40. Cf. Smith's Introduction, "Problematizing the Song-Yuan-Ming transition," pp. 1–34; p. 27: Bettine Birge's chapter "shows that one response of the Daoxue movement to social and political crisis was to formulate new ideals of family structure and identity that undermined the legal status of women and their control over property . . . Daoxue leaders . . . enabled an unprecedented institutionalization of patrilineal descent and inheritance."

style, which Miller suggests the court adopted early on to bolster its cultural legitimacy. By the beginning of the 12th century, decorative bracketing had spread inland as well. It was adopted by Buddhists in a Shaolinsi 少林寺 building dated 1125 (Fig. 33) and can be seen as far north as Yingxian, in former Liao territory, in the main buddha hall of the Jingtusi 淨土寺 of 1184. Patrons of the 13th–14th century Yonglegong 永樂宮, whose Three Purities hall 三清殿 is a "superb example of a palatial hall in the official style as documented in the *Yingzao fashi*" (Fig. 36), appear also to have overtly followed the Northern Song court style. Close conformity to the palatial model, suggests Miller, and "the absence of idiosyncratic architecture is precisely the effect desired by religious Daoists." A large altar for the performance of rituals was built in front of the Three Purities hall, and space was also provided inside the hall for the construction of temporary altars.

The Buddhist stūpa, by contrast, was markedly foreign. In a manner similar to the towering temples of South Asia, Buddhist and Hindu, square pagodas of the Tang incorporated the plan of the Vedic altar and cosmic Mount Sumeru to generate a replica of the cosmic mountain itself, yet accessible to the faithful on earth:

> Rites of worship at a stūpa involve *pradaksina*, or circumambulation, of this central spire as the marker of the presence of the relic within the mound and embodying the movement of the wheel of the law that would help them break the cycles of rebirth and achieve *nirvana*.

The move from square plans in the Tang to octagonal ones in the Liao and Song may be explained by concern the final age of the Dharma would arrive in 1052, and the wheel of the law needed turning. The revolving sutra repository first built in the 11th century may reflect a similar concern.

The Confucius temple in Queli 闕里 was also modified to align more closely with official ritual spaces. An imperial library was added in 997, then a hall for his wife behind the main temple. In 1038 a hall for the five worthies—Mengzi 孟子, Xunzi 荀子, Yang Xiong 楊雄, Wang Tong 王通, and Han Yu 韓愈—was added. In 1104, the main hall was given the name that would survive to the end of empire, Dachengdian 大成殿, based on a phrase from Mencius: "In Confucius we have what is called a complete concert 集大成." After it burned down in 1129, rebuilding began in 1149 but was not completed till the 1190s: "The elaborate carving and color is considered to be a dramatic shift from the simplicity of the Song decoration." The Jin also added a school temple.

According to Julia Murray's chapter on Confucian iconography, images of Confucius and his disciples in Confucius temples, current already in the Tang,

were replaced by tablets only in the year 1530. Also from the Tang on, offerings were made to Confucius in temples attached to government schools at all administrative levels. In such temples Yan Hui 顏回 was a "correlate" object of sacrifice from the year 720, Mencius from 1084, and Wang Anshi from 1104 (he was demoted in 1126 and removed in 1241). In 1267, with the embrace of Daoxue, Zisi 子思, presumed author of the *Zhongyong*, and Zengzi 曾子, linked to the *Daxue*, were added. Among former teachers and worthies represented, the most important changes occurred in 1241, when Lizong added Zhu Xi, Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, and the Cheng brothers. In 1008, Zhenzong wanted to elevate Confucius from king to emperor but was persuaded not to. Huizong ordered all Confucius temples to add "formal imperial headgear with twelve strings of jade beads at front and back." Shizong of the Jin ordered that Confucius' robe bear twelve auspicious emblems, "completing his visual transformation into an emperor without an accompanying elevation in his posthumous rank."

In the year 1022, a three-tiered stone platform was set up in the Qufu temple to represent the place from which Confucius lectured his students, the so-called "apricot platform" 杏壇. A portrait showing Confucius and his disciples at the apricot platform later became quite popular. When renovating the Qufu temple in the early 1190s, the Jin added a pavilion over the platform. Pictures of Confucius with multiple disciples are mentioned in late Northern Song genealogies of the Qufu Kong clan, and copies of their compositions were sometimes displayed in schools. A portrait of Confucius as a recluse, which Murray says may have appeared in late Song and Yuan Daoxue circles, became ubiquitous in Ming and Qing government schools and private academies.

Representation of Confucian principles was also very much a part of the imperial enterprise. Thus the Han and Tang practice of displaying portraits of meritorious officials was continued by Song and Jin emperors.[24] In 1041, Renzong commissioned a set of handscrolls with 120 illustrations as "an illustrated compendium of the admirable or despicable deeds of ancient rulers from the Yellow Emperor to Tang Taizong." For each tale Renzong wrote a summary, and some of the scenes were also painted on the palace walls. A second set of 100 illustrations, done in 1048, displayed the "flourishing virtue" of the first three Song emperors. Renzong also had a woodblock-printed version made for distribution to high officials and imperial clansmen. Both sets were reprinted by the dowager empress Gao for Zhezong (r. 1085–1100): "During her regency, Zhezong received instruction from men who believed that good gov-

24 Zhu Xi also made use of such portraits: "Zhu Xi favored the use of portraits of sages and worthies for devotional exercises at the academies where he taught, encouraging the students to make routine 'reports' to these figures as spiritual ancestors."

ernance depended not on policy reforms but on rectifying the heart-mind of the emperor." In like manner, the official Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304) created a series of illustrated texts of morality and governance in order to teach the crown prince Khubilai Confucian ideals:

> What is striking about the Song-Yuan cases briefly noted here is that the throne accepted initiatives by officials to promote the Son of Heaven's cultivation of virtue; by contrast, Ming emperors asserted a monopoly in this and other areas of moral authority.

A number of senior Kong descendants went south with Gaozong and settled in Quzhou (Zhejiang), where they continued regular sacrifices to Confucius. In the year 1142, right after the signing of his controversial treaty with the Jin, Gaozong reestablished the imperial university. Two years later he visited the university in person and sacrificed in its temple. The encomia he wrote at that time for Confucius and later for the 72 disciples were in 1156 engraved on steles together with idealized portraits of the 72 disciples, and the steles were set up in the university and used to make rubbings that were distributed to other schools. Gaozong also had luxury editions of the Confucian classics produced on silk, with alternating illustrations and text:

> The project to illustrate the entire *Shijing* as transcribed in Gaozong's calligraphy invoked the longstanding associations of imperial authority with Confucian rituals and canonical texts, representing him as a sage emperor.

A series of "Pictures of agriculture and sericulture" (*Gengzhi tu* 耕織圖) was created by Lou Shu 樓璹 (1090–1162), a local magistrate in Hangzhou, "in order to urge Song Gaozong to refrain from overburdening the common people with taxes and corvée labor demands." Gaozong later had the poems and pictures reproduced for circulation to local officials. Zhen Dexiu sought permission to reprint the series for similar reasons, and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) painted a new set in the year 1318 for Renzong, "in order to advocate the government's responsibility for the people and for rituals to maintain cosmic harmony." Zhao also illustrated the *Shijing* poem which lay behind the "Pictures", and Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81), in a 1376 preface, "urged the first Ming crown prince to look at it frequently."

The wealth of material in Zhang Zong's account of Buddhist art is almost overwhelming, with separate sections on Song, Liao, Jin, Xi Xia, Tibet, Huigu

(proto-Uighurs), Dali, and Yuan. Among the most important characteristics of the period, he singles out the commingling of Han and Tibetan Buddhism. Some one hundred kinds of Indian Tantric mandalas are known from western Tibet. Tibetan monasteries frequently had mandala or Vairocana 毗盧遮那 halls, and some Dunhuang caves were also built as mandalas. In three Tibetan monasteries iconographic programs "are generally structured around Vairocana as the principal deity, and the placement of icons within them accords with texts translated by Rinchen Zangpo" 仁欽桑布 (958–1055). One of the murals depicts the white parasol buddha-mother 大白傘蓋佛母 (Sitātapatrā; Fig. 1.13) central to Yuan Buddhism. The Kaibao (968–75) canon included many new Yuqie 瑜伽 (Yogic) scriptures, and the state translation bureau did mainly Tantric texts, many of them related to Guanyin. The thousand-armed Guanyin was perhaps the signature Tantric image (cf. Fig. 3.10, from Shaanxi), and Guanyin was also frequently associated with Wenshu and Puxian 普賢, together forming the triad of bodhisattvas known as the three great masters 三大士 (Fig. 3.14, from Datong under the Liao). Wenshu and Puxian already had separate side halls in front of the main buddha Rocana 盧舍那 in the Daxiangguo temple 大相国寺 in Kaifeng, a temple both Taizong and Zhenzong enlarged.

The Liao founder Taizu brought a statue of a white-robed Guanyin 白衣觀音 from a Beijing temple and worshiped it as dynastic protector god 家神. Liao people referred to themselves as servants of Guanyin 觀音奴 or the Buddha 佛奴. A 16-meter tall statue of an eleven-faced Guanyin was sculpted in the year 984 for the Dule monastery 獨樂寺 (Fig. 3.11; Tianjin). A five-story wooden pagoda first built in 1056 in Ying county, Shanxi, has Vairocana on the top floor, surrounded by the eight great bodhisattvas 八大菩薩曼陀羅: "The careful placement of the icons within the pagoda accords precisely with esoteric ritual manuals." The water-moon Guanyin 水月觀音 made its appearance in Jin-era northern Shaanxi caves, as in the Yanshan temple 岩山寺 on Wutaishan, where murals painted in 1167 by the court painter Wang Kui 王逵 depict Guanyin above billowing waves (Fig. 1.7) and scenes of the Buddha's life "give a vivid sense of contemporary life." In the Chongfu temple 崇福寺 built in Shuoxian 朔縣, Shanxi, in 1143, Amituo was worshiped in the main hall 彌陀殿 together with Guanyin, Wenshu, and Puxian. In Xi Xia Dunhuang caves, the water-moon Guanyin, especially prominent, is a male god; Yulin 榆林 cave 3 has murals of key mandalas as well as of Guanyin with 11 or 51 faces. In Dali likewise, whose Bai people were fervent Buddhists, Guanyin worship was widespread. In one pagoda with 76 statues of bodhisattvas, 58 are of Guanyin. On Mount Shizhong 石鐘山, she is represented in one cave holding a willow branch or sending sons. Cave 6 has the eight great brilliant kings 八大明王, all

with three heads and six arms, arrayed around the central image of Vairocana. A *Long roll of Buddhist images* painted by the professional painter Zhang Shengwen 張勝溫 shows Guanyin saving beings from a variety of difficulties (Fig. 3.12). The depiction of an eleven-headed Guanyin includes donor images of the thirteen kings of Nanzhao and two empresses.

The Dazu 大足 grottoes in Sichuan bear at once the imprint of esoteric Buddhism and the search for common ground among the three teachings. Both Dazu and neighboring Anyue 安岳 have depictions of the ten austerities of Liu Benzun 柳本尊十煉龕.[25] A 1090 text at Shizhuanshan 石篆山 refers to separate niches for Wenshu, Puxian, Dizang 地藏, and Taishang laojun 太上老君, among others. In Shimenshan 石門山 (1095–1136) niches, Guanyin is juxtaposed with Wuxian dadi 五顯大帝, Bingling taizi 炳靈太子, the three sovereigns 三皇, and the Wuliangshou buddha 無量壽佛 (Amitāyus). An early Southern Song cave on Miaogaoshan 妙高山 shows the Buddha in the middle, Kongzi to the left of the Buddha, and Laozi to his right. Three teaching sculpture ensembles are also found in the context of water-land ritual representations, as in what may be a complete Shuilu altar 水路道場 on Shizhuanshan.

The earliest water-land paintings were crafted in Five Dynasties Sichuan, where Zhang Nanben 張南本 painted a complete set of 120 paintings representing a universal pantheon that included the three officers (Sanguan 三官) of Daoist origin and the mountain and river gods of state orthodoxy. Murals in the Yuan-era Qinglong temple 青龍寺 in Shanxi—a beam bears the date 1289—portray the hells, the Burning face ghost king 面然鬼王, hungry ghosts 餓鬼, and resentful souls 冤魂 on the north wall; on the south wall from the top register down, the ten brilliant kings 十大明王, the four officers of merit in charge of time 四值功曹, and the dragon kings; on the west, the buddhas of the three ages in the upper register and, in the lower register, Dizang and the five emperors; on the east Zhenwu, the five sacred peaks, and an earth god. Again, the gods have been organized into a universal pantheon.

Yuan worship of Mahākāla 大黑天 and Sitātapatrā was especially fervent. Every year the Yuan held a 16-day festival in Beijing and Shangdu 上都 to welcome the white parasol that shields Sitātapatrā. Yuan-era images in Tibet include many murals, among them one of Phags-pa meeting Khubilai. Tibetan Buddhism also explains the appearance of Dumu 度母 (Tārā) belief among the Han. She is described as having emerged from the light in Guanyin's eyes or from his tears. A Yuan-era Mogao cave contains an especially beautiful representation of the 1000-armed Guanyin. Yuan emperors built numerous monasteries on Wutaishan. The rise of Hangzhou as a center for the transmission

25 Liu (825–943) was the founder of the Yoga school of Chengdu.

of Tibetan Buddhism after the fall of the Song led to the development of Feilaifeng 飛來峰, where Guanyin is the most frequently represented, and there is an especially beautiful image of Tārā in niche 21, where she in fact resembles Guanyin.

Zhang Zong concludes by noting that the Song-Yuan period is the peak of religious academic painting. Many of the murals in major temples were executed by masters of the academy. But the period also saw the emergence of literati painters like Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, whose *Red-robed arhat* 紅衣羅漢 (Fig. 3.23) is an example of a "Buddhist subject meant to be admired by members of the social elite" in a non-religious setting. "After the Yuan, famous painters generally separated themselves from Buddhist and Daoist painting."

Shih-shan Susan Huang takes a radically new approach to Daoist visual culture, paying as much attention to the wide range of graphic illustrations in the Daoist canon as to more conventional modes like sculpture and painting. She explains this approach by quoting the Southern Song scholar Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–62):

> Graphics (*tu*) are the warp threads and writings (*shu*) are the weft. As warp and weft alternate to form the pattern of a fabric (*wen*) [so graphics and writings alternate to form the meaning of a text]. . . . To see writings without graphics is like hearing a voice without seeing the form; to see graphics without writings is like seeing a person but not hearing his words.

In the age of neuroscience and MRI brain scans, when thoughts are used to make artificial limbs move, these images no longer seem so impenetrably foreign to our own mindset. In Huang's words,

> Visualized images are located in the right brain hemisphere, which connects to the unconscious and the mythical, as opposed to the left brain hemisphere, which relates to the conscious and the abstract. More amazingly, as John Ratey notes, the cognitive action associated with visualization is "carried out by the regions of the brain responsible for actual movement."

Or, as I suggested in *Early Chinese religion*, "China's preferred route to abstraction was through interiorization, and this is where Daoism came in."[26]

26 "Introduction," *Early Chinese religion*, part two: *the period of division* (*220–589 AD*), Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi, eds (Leiden, 2010), pp. 1–50; p. 50.

For the many aniconic charts, illustrations, and talismans which Huang treats in the first half of her chapter are just that: abstract representations of "internal work", and work which was not purely mental—as portrayed in Huang's Fig. 1, taken from a late Southern Song Maoshan text, where a cartoon image of the gods emerges from the top of the head of a master engaged in visualization—but astonishingly kinetic in such as Fig. 4, a text attributed to the Heart of Heaven master Lu Shizhong, in which a single calligraphic stroke links the energies of the Northern Dipper 北斗 to the kidneys, which are in turn linked to the adept's head by a woven line that represents the spinal column. The 13th century *Side-view chart of the inner realm* 內境側面圖 shown in Fig. 16 carries this mode of kinetic abstraction to its high point of synthetic inclusiveness, incorporating among other elements the four heraldic animals of the Han, the three vehicles of the *Lotus sutra*, and sophisticated anatomical knowledge to produce a comprehensive representation of Daoist "body work" as practiced in the context of typically Song symbolic or internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹). The earliest known example of such images of the inner body are attributed to one Yanluozi 煙蘿子 of the 10th century (Fig. 15). Both Figures 15 and 16 show the spinal column with 24 vertebrae, an accurate depiction transformed into an abstract symbol of the cosmic Daoist body, as the vertebrae are also identified, like the Heavenly Master parishes of early Daoism, with the 24 energy nodes 節氣 of the Chinese year.

The spinal column is also identified as the bone of the heavenly pillar 天柱骨, a fact which leads us to "a very innovative type of alchemical body chart developed in the Southern Song and Yuan periods [that] features a landscape chart to symbolize an adept's cosmic body."[27] Huang provides one example (Fig. 17), the early 12th century *Illustrated ascent and descent of the* yin *and* yang *energies in the body* 體象陰陽升降圖, and refers to another, the Yuan-era *Picture of the primordial* qi *in the body* 元氣體象圖.

Equally innovative—and utterly abstract—is the curvilinear representation called *Diagram of the chant of the azure sky* 碧落空歌之圖 (Fig. 8) from an early 12th century commentary on the *Durenjing* 度人經 (Scripture of salvation). Together with the *Diagram of the great floating earth at dawn* 大浮黎土之圖 in the same text, it represents "the formation of heaven and earth as a result of cosmic *qi* dividing after the primordial chaos." A more representational form

27 The name given the spinal column here is all the more intriguing in that it is also the name of the central peak on Wudangshan, the mountain of the Perfect Warrior that becomes famous in this period. The present Bronze Hall 金殿 atop the Celestial column peak was built by Chengzu of the Ming, but to build it he had to displace an earlier Bronze Hall built by the Yuan.

is used in the *Illustrated pantheon of the three spheres* 三才定位圖 (DZ 155) image of the thirty-two Lingbao heavens as radiant palaces encircling eight groups of "divine administrators" going in audience before the Jade Emperor in a palace atop Jade Capital mountain 玉京山 on a wide platform supported by a vertical pillar (Fig. 10). According to a study by Wan Chui-ki cited by Huang, the illustrations from this text, which "may be based on a large scroll submitted to Emperor Huizong by grand councilor Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121) in 1100," form "a pantheon that represented the union of various Daoist sects and the state," and at the same time "highlighted the characteristic of the Holy Ancestor 聖祖 of the Zhao ruling family that brought salvation to mankind and prosperity to the state." These abstract representations in turn remind us of the Daoist handscroll entitled *Immortals in audience with the Origin* (*Chaoyuan xianzhang* 朝元仙仗) attributed to Wu Zongyuan 武宗元 (fl. 1004–50), who worked on the murals of the temple built to house the "heavenly document". Already it suggests the attraction for the central government of a procession going in audience to the Origin. The same theme is depicted in the audience before the Origin that occupies three walls of the 14th century Three Purities hall murals in the Yonglegong (Fig. 38):

> The sweeping processions depicted on the east, west, and north walls show more than 290 mobile figures: those on the east and west walls move from south to north, and those on the north complete the movement by converging on the center. That is, two celestial processions move in parallel from the entrance of the hall toward the altar niche near the rear (north) wall. Together, these moving images "frame" the sacred space.

The two "fierce-looking, multi-armed martial figures" depicted at the entry to this space, one on the east, the other on the west wall, "may be pairing guardians functioning like gate gods," which is precisely the function of marshals (*yuanshuai* 元帥) like Wen Qiong in modern Daoist ritual.[28] Central to the thunder rituals introduced above, they are gate gods in the context of sacred space focused on the Origin, but they are also the hinges on the doors that open out on the gods of popular religion that Daoism, with the encouragement of rulers like Zhenzong and Huizong, was trying in this period to domesticate by incorporating them into a state Daoist synthesis.

28 See my *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history* (New York, 1987), pp. 44–45; see ch. 14 for an analysis of the 13th century Daoist myth of Wen Qiong, showing how this god of popular religion is incorporated into the lower rungs of the Daoist hierarchy as "supreme commander of earth spirits".

Huang also draws attention to the rapid expansion of talismanic writs in this period, especially "those visually innovative talismanic designs associated with the rite of the destruction of hell, salvation through refinement (*liandu* 鍊度), and the thunder rite." Whereas earlier talismans were almost exclusively composed of Chinese characters in modified forms, the new talismans commingle text and body. The Talisman of the green mystery heavenly worthy saving from suffering and destroying Fengdu 青玄天尊救苦破酆都符 (Fig. 27), for example, from Jin Yunzhong's *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 (DZ 1221), shows the savior god going in audience dressed in a robe decorated with talismanic writs. The god in fact also represents the presiding priest, who converts himself into the Heavenly worthy who saves from suffering 救苦天尊, as this god is also called, before going into hell to save souls in the universal salvation ritual. An exorcistic talisman (Fig. 29), by contrast, shows the dynamic body of a thunder god. Encompassed "by a coiling line that ends in the character *shui* 水 (water)," this warrior god also represents the priest: "Moving his left foot, thunder and lightning arise; moving his right foot, wind and rain arrive."

Song-era Daoist sculptures at Dazu show a significantly expanded pantheon by comparison with the Tang. Images in the pre-1154 Three Purities grotto on Nanshan, for example, include the Jade Emperor, the Earth Empress 后土, the two celestial sovereigns of the north pole 北極大帝 and august heaven 天皇大帝, and the holy ancestor 聖祖 and ancestress 聖祖母 of the Song. On Shimenshan the Emperor of the eastern peak with his empress, is surrounded by his underworld bureaucracy (Fig. 37). By contrast, the Longshan grottoes near Taiyuan (Shanxi), work of the Quanzhen Daoist Song Defang 宋德方 (1183–1247) and his disciples between 1235 and 1239, are focused on Quanzhen figures like the seven perfected. One figure, who reclines like the Buddha in nirvana except that he lies not on his right but on his left side, has been tentatively identified as the founder, Wang Chongyang. The shift from right to left cannot but remind of the 5th century *Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 (DZ 1205), in which Laozi is born from the left armpit of his mother, Buddha from the right. Murals in the Chongyang and Chunyang 純陽 (Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓) halls of the Yonglegong are also explicitly Quanzhen, with hagiographic representations of miracle and conversion tales (Fig. 39), but also "breath-taking hell scenes", Daoist rituals (Fig. 41), and the eight immortals crossing the sea (Fig. 42). Quanzhen prints preserved in *Illustrations of the felicitous convocations of the sublime spirit* [*of the Dao*] 玄風慶會圖, dated 1305, alternate hagiographic text and image to tell the tale of Qiu Chuji. One shows the holy man meditating in a cave high up where the mountains touch the clouds (Fig. 50). The attached list of names shows that the people involved in the printing project included donors from the Hangzhou area as well "fund-raisers and leading

Daoists from Beijing, Mt. Wudang, and other Daoists affiliated with temples in Hebei and Shanxi."

Zhengyi art is represented by the extraordinary *qi*-infused *Beneficial rain* painting by the 38th Heavenly Master Zhang Yucai 張與材 (ca. 1295–1316) (Fig. 46): "The abundant *qi* embodied in the ecstatic movement of the painter's brush . . . recalls his similar trance-like state of *qi* transfer while drawing a dragon-evoking talisman." The fourteen official portraits of the Zhengyi priest Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269–1346), while they cannot be said to reflect Zhengyi thought or practice, reveal a world very different from that of Chan portraits. While the image of the head 泥丸象 (Fig. 53) suggests the "inner vision or purified state of mind" of a practitioner of internal alchemy, others of these portraits

> make clear references to the painting style and taste of literati, depicting the Daoist master as a scholarly figure with long robes, either sitting meditatively on a rock or playing a *qin* under a tree, surrounded by cranes amid the lofty landscape.[29]

Convergence of the three teachings among the elite is visible in the tomb of the Chinese official Zhang Shiqing 張世卿 (d. 1116) near the Song-Liao frontier in Hebei. One scene shows both the Daoist *Scripture of clarity and stillness* 常清靜經 (DZ 620) and the Buddhist *Diamond sutra* 金剛般若經. In the nearby tomb of Zhang Wenzao 張文藻, dated 1093, a Confucian-looking official is watching what appears to be a Daoist hermit and a Buddhist monk playing chess (Fig. 45).

Self-cultivation

Daoist symbolic alchemy (Neidan), although it first emerges in the Tang, becomes the dominant mode of self-cultivation only in the Song, Jin, and Yuan. Yokote Yutaka presents it as a diverse movement which also attracted many Ru scholars: Su Shi wrote about it to his brother Su Zhe; Zhu Xi wrote a commentary on the *Cantongqi* 參同契 under the pseudonym Zou Xin 鄒訢; Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) wrote essays and poems on symbolic alchemy and hymns to Zhongli Quan 鍾離權 and Lü Dongbin. One of the best-known collections of Daoist self-cultivation texts is the *Daoshu* 道樞 (Pivot of the Dao) by the Fujian literatus Zeng Zao 曾慥 (d. 1151?). And Song Lian, the late Yuan scholar who became Ming Taizu's chief advisor on matters religious, was "particularly interested in Daoism" and knowledgeable about symbolic alchemy.

29 See the cover picture of these volumes.

Neidan was already present at the court of Zhenzong in the person of Zhang Wumeng 張無夢, author of *Reverting to the origin* 還元篇. But the first texts of import date to the late Northern or early Southern Song, namely, the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鍾呂傳道集 (Records of the transmission of the Dao from Zhongli Quan to Lü Dongbin) and the *Lingbao bifa* 靈寶畢法 (Complete methods of the numinous treasure). In these and related texts, the entire process is divided into three major steps, with conjugation of energies done first in the trunk of the body. Once the essence of metal has been sent up the back along the spinal column 肘後飛金精 to the head, the circulation and refining of energies involves the entire body, both head and trunk. The final exercises involve "Going in audience before the Origin and refining breath" 朝元鍊氣, "Inner contemplation and exchange [of the Yin spirit into Yang spirit]" 內觀交換, and "Transcending worldliness and separating from the form" 超脫分形. The aim, thus, is to refine a spirit of pure Yang 純陽 and escape from the body of flesh 肉體.

The Southern school is associated first of all with Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (987–1082) from Tiantai (Zhejiang), author of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (Awakening to reality). Building on the language of the *Cantongqi*, the *Wuzhen pian* describes Neidan practice using images of Yin and Yang like the dragon and the tiger, lead and mercury, or the trigrams Qian, Kun, Kan, and Li. The story then shifts to the deep south, with Chen Nan 陳楠 (d. 1213) of Guangdong and his disciple Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194–1229?) of Hainan. In his *Gushen busi lun* 谷神不死論 (Essay on "The spirit of the valley does not die"), the process involves refining the essence 精 in the lower belly into breath in the heart (called the crimson palace 絳宮), and then breath into spirit 神 in the "muddy pellet" 泥丸 in the head. "The continuous reiteration of this process leads to immortality, which this work describes as unity with the Dao and liberation from birth and death." In another text Bai quotes Tan Qiao's 譚峭 *Huashu* 化書 (Book of transformations) to the effect that each successive step involves forgetting the foundation of the previous one—a process of abstraction, in other words: the adept must "forget the form to nourish breath, forget breath to nourish spirit, and forget spirit to nourish emptiness" 忘形以養氣，忘氣以養神，忘神以養虛. The final destination is thus emptiness, equated with the Dao.

Wang Chongyang, the founder of the Quanzhen school, is said to have been converted in an encounter with Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin in the year 1159, and the texts of the Zhongli- Lü tradition are often cited in Quanzhen literature. Although Wang says the golden elixir is the true nature 真性 and equates it with the buddha nature 佛性, that is, "the awakened nature fundamentally possessed by every human being," early Quanzhen adepts nonetheless insisted on joint cultivation of nature and existence (*xingming shuangxiu* 性命雙修),

with an equivalence drawn between nature and the spirit and between existence and energy/breath. Ma Yu 馬鈺 (1123–84), Wang Chongyang's first disciple, went so far as to say: "If you do not nourish your breath, you may hold Mount Tai in your hand and leap to the other side of the Northern Ocean, but this is not the Dao."

In the early Yuan, Li Daochun 李道純 (fl. 1300) considered the Confucian great ultimate 太極, the Daoist golden elixir 金丹, and Buddhist complete awakening 圓覺 to be identical. All can be symbolized by a ○, which he also uses to refer to the Dao. But if the sudden 頓 version of Neidan does occur, most people need to follow the gradual 漸 route, from essence to breath to spirit to emptiness. This latter method he also calls the way of the external medicine 外藥, which can heal illness and ensure fulfillment of one's life span (*ming*). The internal medicine 內藥, by contrast, "leads to the fulfillment of one's inner nature (*xing*)."

A number of books from the early 14th century, including Chen Zhixu's 陳致虛 (1290–ca. 1368) *Jindan dayao* 金丹大要 (Great essentials of the golden elixir; preface dated 1335) trace the transmission of the northern and southern schools of Neidan in such a way that they both derive from Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin. This unification coincided with a fading interest in physical immortality and an increasing focus on nature as opposed to existence, bringing Neidan even closer to original Quanzhen and Chan.

Neidan also came to be wedded to thunder rites and to salvation by refinement (*liandu*). In his commentary on "Song of the mysterious pearl" ("Xuanzhu ge" 玄珠歌), a work written by Wang Wenqing 王文卿, patriarch of the Divine Empyrean tradition of Daoism, Bai Yuchan states that, if refining essence, breath, and spirit within produces the golden elixir, thunder rites consist in using these same powers on the outside. The three divine generals of the thunder rites, marshals Deng 鄧帥, Xin 辛帥, and Zhang 張帥, are the spirits of the heart, liver, and spleen respectively: Marshal Deng "appears when the fire of the heart comes forth," Marshal Xin "when there is anger in the liver," and Marshal Zhang "when the intention 意 stored in the spleen becomes truthful." In *Taiji jilian neifa* 太極祭鍊內法 (Inner method of the great ultimate for oblatory refinement; DZ 548) by Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (1241–1318), the upper cinnabar field is called the celestial palace (Tiangong 天宮, i.e., paradise), the kidneys are Fengdu 酆都 (hell), and the heart is the southern palace (Nangong 南宮), where refining is done. Zheng states the thorough-going spiritualization of the ritual process in no uncertain terms:

> When I silently go in audience in the muddy pellet (the upper cinnabar field), then all the myriad souls follow me and rise to Heaven. When I thoroughly awaken to the great Dao, then all the myriad souls through

> me attain the realized state 證果. My own mind is the ruler of the ten thousand transformations in heaven and on earth. My own body is the ruler of the oblatory refinement of the souls in the netherworld.

In this completely internalized rite, the Savior from suffering is the adept's "original spirit that resides on the top of my head" 居我頂上之元神.

The story of the Quanzhen movement as told by Pierre Marsone is also one of self-cultivation, beginning with its founder, Wang Double Yang. His alias, Chongyangzi 重陽子, "put himself clearly in the lineage of Zhongli Quan (Zhengyangzi 正陽子) and Lü Dongbin (Chunyangzi 純陽子)." Having in 1159 "changed his disoriented life into a life of ascesis, and his human madness into a mystical one," Wang dug himself a grave and lived in it for two years. In 1165 he met Liu Haichan 劉海蟾, "who made him drink 'divine manure' 神糞." In 1167 he suddenly set fire to the hermitage in which he had been living and set out for Shandong, where he would make his first converts and found a number of three teachings associations. He died in Kaifeng in the year 1170, shortly after telling his disciples that his two masters—probably Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin—had come for him.

In Quanzhen preaching, inner alchemy is the urgent spiritual work needed to escape "the carcass of the body 軀殼, which is just a 'hut of bones' 骸屋. Faced with this situation, everyone must make a decision." One way to incite such conversions was the contemplation of the skull[30] and, once conversion had occurred, it was followed by extreme mortification: "Because of these practices of mortification, the Confucianist officials of the Jin period compared the emerging Quanzhen movement with the Buddhist movement of Dhūta (Toutuo 頭陀, renunciant)." Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257), who "complained in 1237 that since the year 1215 too large a portion of the people followed Daoism," wrote elsewhere that original Quanzhen

> "practiced abyssal tranquillity 淵靜 and not the aberrant Daoist exorcisms, the sitting meditation of Chan, and the mortification of the Dhūta." In fact, this statement should be nuanced. Ma Danyang said that the greatest joy is that of the dhūta 大笑喜頭陀...
>
>> Sometimes talking, sometimes laughing, singing together, dancing together, wandering and idle, relying on the poems, relying on verses.

30 See in ~~this volume~~ the chapter by Shih-shan Susan Huang, Fig. 40.

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> In this sentence, Wang Chongyang talks simultaneously of joy and literature, two issues of particular importance. Joy (歡樂, 歡悅) is a topic dear to him. This joy is natural but it needs to be maintained and upgraded, especially through asceticism, in order to become true joy (真歡樂 or 真歡真樂).

Or, as Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (1123–85) put it: "In an empty room, in silence, to make the incense of the heart burn, this is the true ritual of our school."

To understand Wang Chongyang's symbolic alchemy, writes Marsone, we must first have a clear definition of Neidan. It is

> a set of physical and mental techniques using symbolically the materials and concepts of alchemy and implying in particular the control of breath and the swallowing of saliva in order to refine and combine the energies of the body and create an "embryo of immortality", a "body outside of the body" 身外身 which brings to its practitioners, if not immortality, at least longevity.

Essence, breath, and spirit are referred to by Wang Chongyang as the three brightnesses 三光, the three luminaries 三曜[耀], or the three refined things 三秀. They "are not fundamentally different forces ... Rather, they designate three forms or states of the vital energy of the body." The word "spirit" refers not to the "psychological activity of the person", but to "the innate spirit and the spirit acquired by ascetic practice":

> The "acquired" spirit is some kind of offshoot of qi/breath, but more subtle, the result of sustained practice. Emanating from the spleen-earth, it establishes a link between qi and emptiness 虛 that evokes salvation. Some Daoists say: "To stop the qi makes a ghost but to refine the qi produces a spirit/divinity." This means that letting the qi run out produces the state of a tormented soul 鬼, while making the qi subtle produces the unchanging life of the spirit. It is the same for the spirit: "When the spirit controls its way, immortality is the result. When the spirit loses its way, a demonic state is the result."

As already stated, the Neidan actually practiced was that of the Zhong-Lü tradition, in which the the culminating event is "the *qi* of the five viscera going in audience before the Origin" 五氣朝元 or "the union of the three yang energies".

"Wang Chongyang never mentions any Daoist deity," but only upper Heaven 上天 and the Lord on High 上帝. To the first, man can be united by the practice

of filial piety and virtue; on the second Quanzhen adepts are invited to rely. A key word in Wang's poems is the "point" 一點, which is also the (authentic) point of the spiritual heart 心靈[真一]點 or the point of the original beginning 元初一點, assimilated to a shining pearl 一棵明珠. This pearl is the original yang produced by inner alchemy, but it is also man's luminous master 明師 that the ascetic must "venerate in himself in order to make the true joy appear." This life, which is available to anyone ready to practice hard, is "a presence, an inner master everyone can find and who is also the 'eternal peaceful lord one has to call upon'."

Juhn Ahn begins and ends his chapter on Buddhist self-cultivation in the Song by looking at the new institutional context and its impact on practice. It is the public monastery 十方剎 that was new, and it generated a need for charismatic abbots who could attract crowds. Having sharp 鋒 *chan* sparring skills or *chan* locution 機用 "as fast as lightning" was more attractive than a reputation for austerity or personal awakening. Books of *chan* repartee were printed and widely read, producing an "epistemological turn in the education of a Chan monk during the Song." Moreover, these changes were forthrightly defended, as by Zhantang Wenzhun 湛堂文準 (1061–1115):

> Someone who possesses the Way and virtue values an assembly. Someone who does not possess the Way and virtue values himself. Those who value an assembly improve and those who value themselves perish. As for the so-called abbots today, many of them lead their assemblies based on their own preferences. The assemblies therefore dismiss them.

One Yuetang Daochang 月堂道昌 (1089–1171), of the Yunmen 雲門 lineage, was so strict that he attracted few students, with the result that his seven-generation branch of the lineage died out with him.

In other words, a kind of star system prevailed, in which talent was more important than virtue and in which there was competition for good students in a national religious market to which both the state and leading literati paid close attention. At first, the state recognized only Chan monasteries as public, and it was often involved in the naming of abbots. The Tiantai rival of Chan gained similar state recognition for some of its monasteries under Zhenzong.[31] The competition made itself felt within Chan itself as well, between the more

31 Peter N. Gregory, "The vitality of Buddhism in the Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung* (Honolulu, 1999), Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., eds pp. 1–19; p. 9.

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traditional silent meditation proponents and the promoters of the new "critical point of a story" (*huatou* 話頭). Thus Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163)

> vehemently criticized teachers of the so-called "heretical *chan* of silent illumination" 默照邪禪. Obsessed with the story of Bodhidharma facing a wall and practicing seated meditation for nine years, these teachers, Dahui claimed, taught their students to sit for many years in a "ghost cave" (i.e., inside one's head) and rest and relax like cold ashes, a withered tree, a strip of white silk, and an incense burner in an old shrine . . . Dahui was also aware that silent illumination was particularly popular among literati who sought solace from their intellectual and emotional burdens.

One such literatus was Su Dongpo, who even wrote instructions for counting inhalations and exhalations: "Count from one to ten, from ten to a hundred, and from a hundred to several hundred. Your body will become upright and your mind will become silent like the empty sky."

Ahn summarizes as follows the heavily stylized and ritualized training characteristic of all Buddhist monasteries by the early Song:

> Communal training on long platforms in the sangha hall 僧堂, entering the abbot's quarters for instruction, practicing long hours of seated meditation (*zuochan* 坐禪), and gathering in the morning and evening to listen to the abbot preach the dharma from an elevated seat in the dharma hall 法堂.

Part of the sequence was an exchange of questions and answers "as host and guest", that is, *chan* locution. To learn how to play this game, there were even handwritten *chan* notebooks 禪策 that students could consult. Whereas in Quanzhen Daoism, following Chen Tuan 陳摶 (?–989), who was said to be capable of sleeping a hundred days in a row, uninterrupted and dreamless sleeping was prized—Wang Chongyang even called himself the "sleeping immortal" 睡仙—"the trope of practicing seated meditation all night was used frequently to demonstrate a Chan monk's will and determination to cultivate himself." One way to fight sleep was to think intensely about a *huatou* while standing or pacing up and down the corridors: "After making two or three circuits [between the two corridors], I returned to the [sangha] hall to make a critical move (*yizhuo*一著)." Ahn points out that the term "critical move" used here by Chan master Po'an Zuxian 破庵祖先 (1136–1211) "is a term borrowed from the classical Chinese chess game *qi* 棋."

Tiantai had no *huatou* or critical moves, and its seated meditation also differed significantly from the Chan version. Ciyun Zunshi, one its most eminent practitioners, wrote a manual that "requires the practitioner to calm the mind and to either single-mindedly visualize himself being reborn in the pure land or directly produce a vision of the buddha Amitābha." To this end, Tiantai monks created three kinds of hall: of sixteen contemplations 十六觀堂, for pure land contemplation 淨土觀堂), and the repentance hall 懺堂. Retreats in these halls could last a thousand days, during which

> monks chanted scriptures, venerated and mindfully contemplated the buddha Amitābha, and practiced penance (*chan* 懺)... The center of the contemplation hall was occupied by an image of Amitābha. Built around this central icon were sixteen individual chambers with murals depicting this buddha's pure land.

According to Curie Virág, the shift from Xunzi to Mengzi in the Daoxue movement is emblematic of the Song transformation of Confucianism. Whereas in Xunzi, human nature was bad because humans were ready victims of desire who therefore needed legal and ritual constraints, in Mencius the "four sprouts" 四端 of virtue were innate and needed only to be cultivated. The turn inward of the neo-Confucians was thus not a retreat from the world but a joyous discovery of the potential in every person for sagehood. For this new Confucian there was a new curriculum based on the Four Books, starting with the *Great learning* and Zhu Xi's commentary on it, which affirmed that self-cultivation was the fundamental task to which all human beings should devote themselves: "From the Son of Heaven to the common people, everyone should regard self-cultivation as the root 修身為本." Following Mencius, Zhu Xi underlined the ethical significance of emotions and "emphasized the task of achieving the proper balance of one's feelings and desires." The history, poetry, and rites of the Five Classics took a back seat to the "underlying normative patterns of the cosmos" found also in the self. Like the Daoists described by Shih-shan Susan Huang, moreover, the new Confucians combined use of technical terms and diagrams of concepts in their endeavor to make human and cosmic events intelligible. To access this intelligibility of self and cosmos, Zhu Xi "elaborated extensive guidelines for *how* one should cultivate the self by reading 讀書, practicing inner mental attentiveness 敬, and abiding by ritually correct action 禮."

In order to break down the subject/object barrier that made the world a place full of temptations, Zhang Zai 張載 (1028–77) adopted the Daoist view of the self as a microcosm in every way identical to the macrocosm:

> Qian is called "the father" and Kun is called "the mother". Even such a small creature as myself resides inextricably in their midst. Therefore, what fills heaven and earth, I take as my body; what guides heaven and earth, I take as my nature. I am brothers with all people, and things are my companions.

The *qi*-based cosmology had from the outset meant that all things shared a common substance, and Zhang Zai's definition of being and non-being in terms of the manifest and the hidden—as later Zhu Xi's definition of gods and ghosts—simply took over what had long been the Daoist and medical definitions: "When *qi* collects together, differentiation is manifest and there is form; when *qi* does not collect together, then differentiation is not manifest and there is no form." Because all things are made of Yin and Yang, *gan* 感 was not part of a process of stimulus-response (*ganying* 感應) but was an intrinsic part of human nature: "All is in a constant state of arousal 感. Thus, what is called 'the nature' is none other than the heavenly Dao." One important implication of this was that

> knowledge, feelings, and desires were no longer to be explained as symptoms of the self's encounter with the world. Instead, they were qualities of the inherent constitution of human beings: they arose spontaneously from within the moral nature. Indeed, it was the potential for *gan* that allowed the moral nature to partake of the marvelous quality of *shen* 神.

In Zhu Xi, this ontological unity notwithstanding, there was a duality between the human mind 人心 and the Dao mind 道心 that opposed selfishness of the physical body 形氣之私 and correctness of the innate nature and destiny 性命之正. But whereas earlier Confucians like Li Ao 李翱 (772–841) thought that, "if the mind is still and unmoving, corrupt thoughts would cease by themselves," meaning the mind had to remain "unmoved", Zhu Xi saw this as an alternating process governed by the following polarities:

> Substance 體 vs. function 用
> Before movement 未動 vs. after movement 已動
> Before issuing forth 未發 vs. after issuing forth 已發

Disallowing all legitimacy to feeling and emotion—to movement and manifestation—would have entailed denying as well the Mencian idea that "humaneness (*ren* 仁), rightness, ritual propriety, and wisdom are rooted in the mind." Commenting on Mencius' statement that "the feeling of compassion is

the beginning of humaneness," Zhu Xi wrote that "humaneness is the nature and compassion is the feeling . . . The nature is the substance and the feelings are the function." It is in the *Zhongyong* that Zhu Xi found the justification for his views:

> The state before joy and anger, sadness and happiness, have been aroused is called "equilibrium" and when they are aroused and all hit their proper measure, it is called "harmony".

Learning for Zhu Xi was therefore not about passing exams and having a career but about self-reflection, as Virág translates the term *jinsi* in the title of one of Zhu's most famous texts, the *Jinsilu* 近思錄. Self-reflection requires mental energy 精神 as well as "*jing* 敬, or inner mental attentiveness, and *gewu* 格物, or intuiting principle through the investigation of things." *Jing* is an "attitude of mind that was to accompany all action in the world, serving to ensure the proper workings of one's moral compass."[32] By maintaining *jing* in the activity of investigation, one maintained a proper balance between "broad investigation" and "inner examination".

Reading was a critical part of the investigation of things, and again the aim was not to master a text to pass an exam but to appropriate the text for oneself. This was a "physical process in which both mind and body came to reside in the text." One had to enter 入 the text and deeply submerge 深沉 oneself in it. Zhu compared the act of reading to Butcher Ding's knife sliding through ox joints without being dulled. The best way into a text was not to memorize it but to recite it over and over until it spontaneously came to be stored in one's memory: "Only when you remember all of it together have you gotten it." Proper reading led to self-transformation:

> There are those who, upon reading [the *Analects*], have nothing whatsoever happen to them. There are those who, after reading it, are pleased with one or two sentences. There are those who, after reading it, know how to love it. And there are those who, upon reading it, "unconsciously dance it with their arms and tap it with their feet."

Good reading led to harmony of mind and body: to joy.

32 In insisting on the importance of *jing*, Cheng Yi was a faithful follower of Confucius himself: see Mark Csikszentmihàlyi, "Ethics and self-cultivation practice in early China," *Early Chinese Religion*, part one: *Shang through Han*, pp. 519–42; p. 525.

Thus if human nature was the same for all, like Mencius, Zhu Xi saw a difference between more spiritual and more physical persons. He explained the difference in terms of *qi* which was more refined or more turbid and admitted men endowed with the latter had to work harder and "also be subject to disciplinary forces from without." After Zhu, the focus would seem to have been increasingly on those with turbid *qi*, at least if we are to judge by the fact that "self-cultivation came increasingly to be defined in terms of adherence to behavioral norms and a suppression of one's feelings and desires." Virág illustrates this with Zhen Dexiu, a student of one of Zhu Xi's disciples. In his own writings he makes "a fundamental distinction between moral correctness and feelings and desires":

> The surging of the physical nature is more powerful than galloping horses. Inner mental attentiveness is the reins [that control them]. Emotions unleashed are deeper than a flooding river. Inner mental attentiveness is the dike [that holds them back].

For Zhen, all strong emotions prevent understanding, and he is much more wary than Zhu of emotions getting the upper hand. Not surprisingly, he has recourse to Han and Tang commentators to support his views. Virág suggests this evolution "was a function of the institutionalization of neo-Confucianism and its greater propagation among broader and less literate audiences." Institutionalization was the result of a "negotiation over political and moral authority between neo-Confucian court scholars and the emperor."

Institutions

From the outset, writes Linda Walton, the Song state treated academies (*shuyuan* 書院) much as it did Buddhist and Daoist temples, giving them name plaques, endowments of land, and collections of books. These privileges were extended to Daoxue academies from the mid-13th century. The fact the academies were often associated with shrines and sacrifices to Confucian scholars made them even more clearly the counterparts of the temples of the other two religions and thereby "created a new institutional balance among these religions." One example given by Walton is the Elephant Mountain academy linked to Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139–94). When founding it, Yuan Fu 袁甫 wrote: "The master's spirit is in his former residence at Jinxi, where he contemplated in quietude and ease. It is [also] in the retreat at Elephant Mountain, where he orally [transmitted his teachings to students]." The lecture hall was the largest and most central in the academies and had the same elevated lecture platform

as in Buddhist monasteries. Rules for conduct were also reminiscent of monasteries, and image halls of Chan patriarch halls.

The Angling Terrace 釣台 academy began as a shrine dedicated to the Han hermit Yan Guang 嚴廣 (37 BC–AD 43). Rebuilt in 1185 after a fire, its sacrifices continued, according to a 1205 inscription by Lu You, to be done by Buddhists. Land was set aside by the prefect to feed the Buddhists, and the prefect himself came there to meditate. In 1228, the shrine was turned into an academy. In 1241, officials were appointed to manage it and in 1251 its land allotment was increased. By 1261, there was friction with the Buddhists over land. An inscription written by Huang Jin for the 1341 restoration of the academy refers to ongoing conflict with the Buddhists and "a subsequent legal settlement that only restored half the property to the academy." In like manner, the Hanshan 韓山 academy began as a temple dedicated to Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824). Built by a prefect in the year 1090, it had become an academy by the year 1269, when Lin Xiyi 林希逸 wrote in an inscription: "Daily viewing the images, how can we not know what to respect and honor?"

In the early Yuan the Tibetan Buddhist Sangha 桑哥 and his protégé, the Tibetan/Tangut monk Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真加, turned both Daoist and Confucian establishments into Buddhist, leading local monks in usurping land and destroying Confucian images. After Sangha fell from favor in 1291, official Yuan policy allowed the establishment of academies on sites where Confucians had been active, and many academies were restored in the mid-1290s. Throughout the Yuan, shrines remained central to academies. Indeed an inscription written by Ouyang Xuan 歐陽玄 (1283–1357) to commemorate the Zhenwen 真文 academy complains that "what schools [today] regard as important is sacrifice, and the court has accordingly set up a system that increasingly [promotes this], favoring form over substance." Walton concludes:

> The centrality of shrines and sacrifice to academies can be seen as a a culmination of developments that date to the Southern Song, when shrines to local worthies proliferated and converged with the academy movement led by neo-Confucian scholars. The attention paid to ritual and sacrifice in academy life is testimony to the religiosity of neo-Confucian practice.

Ever since Jacques Gernet described the inexhaustible treasury (*wujinzang* 無盡藏) in medieval Buddhism, we have known that individual vows of poverty made by monks and nuns led to the extraordinary communal wealth

of the sangha, which used this wealth not only to build beautiful monasteries and commission beautiful works of art but also to create China's first pawnshops-cum-banks and a whole series of capital intensive industries like milling and oil presses.[33] To this was added in the Tang the merit monastery 功德院, with its tax-free land provided by lay patrons who received rituals of merit for their parents in exchange for their gift of land. In the Song, writes Michael Walsh in his chapter,

> monks engaged in commercial practices such as the growing and selling of tea, trading in salt, operated hostels, and even sometimes smelting silver. Pawnshops were quite common ... Buddhists produced paper, ink sticks, and ink stones. Some monasteries held auctions. Monasteries often held festivals in conjunction with market fairs ... Some monasteries ran printing presses and made books. Others operated as medical clinics and their resident monks became famous as medical doctors. Some convents produced and sold silk and embroidery.

In the Southern Song, some pawnshops were operated in partnership with the wealthy. Tea was a high-profit industry, and monasteries, frequently built in the hills, "often controlled water sources to make the tea."

Walsh gives the example of the famous Tiantong monastery 天童寺 in Zhejiang, showing how it reached the height of its economic strength in the early Song and maintained it right into the Ming. Key to this flourishing was the reception in 1007 of an imperial plaque designating it as a Chan monastery. In 1132, a new abbot built a new sangha hall and then, two years later, had 1000 buddhas cast in bronze. By the 13th century, the monastery owned some 36 estates with 3,284 *mu* of permanent land, and 18,950 *mu* of mountain land. When the monastery burned down in 1256, local patronage made it possible to rebuild. By 1360, an abbot was able to buy 17 *qing* of land (1,700 *mu*, approx. 236.3 acres), and "by 1382, the monastery had once again been renamed Tiantong Chan and was ranked number two in the empire." In Fujian, Buddhists controlled between one-third and half of the land in the early 12th century, and still controlled one-fifth at the end of the Song. To work these vast tracts of land the monasteries had both slaves and tenant farmers. Again as an example, the Jingci monastery 淨慈寺 on West Lake in Hangzhou, built in 954, had 1700 monks and dozens of estates. In 1265 it owned 3,733 *mu* of mountain land, paddy fields, and cultivatable land. The Jingshansi 徑山寺, in

33 Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society: an economic history from the fifth to the tenth centuries*, Franciscus Verellen, tr. (New York, 1995).

the hills outside Hangzhou, founded in 741, had 13,000 *mu* of tax-exempt land in the 12th century.

Walsh describes the relationship between Song society and the Buddhist community as one of "transaction exchange": donors ensured institutional longevity in exchange for long life, prosperity, and good karma for themselves and their ancestors. Although the state controlled Buddhism through its regulation of ordination, plaque-giving, and taxation, "The only social group in imperial China that could possibly counterbalance the imperium was the Buddhist sangha." Why?—because the Chinese populace, from top to bottom and with rare exceptions, subscribed to the Buddhist value system based on the notions and practice of karma and "fields of merit" 福田—a system that, by the Song, had become entirely compatible with Confucianism, as can be seen from this description by the monk Zongmi 宗密 (780–841):

> The heart of compassion, the heart of respect, and the heart of filiality are the seeds. Food, clothing, and valuables are the ox and plow. The destitute and the sick, the Three Jewels, and parents are the field. There are disciples of the Buddha who want to obtain a store-consciousness with all kinds of merit so splendid that it is never exhausted. They must pull together the hearts of compassion, respect, and filiality; take food, clothing, valuables, and their own lives; and donate them respectfully for the support and aid of the destitute and sick, the Three Jewels, and parents. This is called "planting merit." If they do not plant merit, they will be poor; lacking merit and wisdom, they will enter the dangerous path of birth-and-death.

It is Daoxue that, by incorporating the doctrine of compassion into lineage practice, would eventually challenge Buddhism as the chief organizational force in Chinese society. The premises of this challenge are to be found in the debates within Song Daoxue and in the Yuan contests over land evoked above.

Daoxue

Thought

In "Moral intuitions and aesthetic judgments," Michael Fuller begins by reaching back to Mencius' "affectively mediated ethical intuitionism": a person who sees a child fall into a well will be spontaneously moved to help. That is, moral dispositions are innate and need only be cultivated. This "Confucian foundational intuitionism" reappears in the Tang, in such as Han Yu and Li Ao, whose

differing approaches "already define the central polarity in Song Confucian moral epistemology." In contrast with the Buddhist focus on the mind, Han Yu insisted on concrete actions to provide for human needs: "Broad concern 博愛 is what I deem humaneness 仁. Enacting and finding what is appropriate to it I deem rightness 義." In other words, the disposition to humaneness (*ren*) should lead to right action (*yi*): "[People] were cold, and then the sages made them clothing. They were hungry, and then the sages made them food." Li Ao, by contrast, was acutely aware of how emotions can overwhelm broad concern: "When feelings 情 become darkened, the Nature 性 then is hidden." Li therefore sought a return to the Nature and its moral intuitions prior to the interference of the emotions. These intuitions, Fuller suggests, fall within what Immanuel Kant meant by the term "aesthetic judgment": a judgment of coherence—intuitions about patterns—without which there is no basis for discursive knowledge. Insofar as for Han Yu these intuitions are in fact emotional responses to events and thus mirror the canonical account for how poetry was written, there is a "deep kinship between the processes of moral epistemology and of writing." Rejecting the mediation of emotions, Li Ao posits a congruence between the sage and the universe which means the sage's "inner moral order [need] not rely on the random vicissitudes of experience to reveal itself."

Very much the inheritor of Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72) sought to steer Confucians away from abstract discussions of human nature in order to keep the focus on proper ordering of the human realm. But this implied postulates like "the unity of the canon as the embodiment of sage intentions" and "the capacity of men of the present age to grasp the relevant sage intentions." These assumptions did not survive the factionalism engendered by Wang Anshi's New Policies. In his approach to governance and writing, Su Shi sought to preserve spontaneous emotional responses, whether to beauty in nature or misrule in government: the noble person is "like water in its ability to conform to the shape of what it encounters and yet remain fully intact." Like the Way itself, human nature is a transcendental category which can only be known through its effects, and the equally transcendental ruler within, if it receives events without pre-conceptions, will not only react correctly but creatively, in a way that brings him renewal.

Zhu Xi could not be more contemptuous in his condemnation of Su: "He waits until he is composing, then goes to look for a Way to stick in." To Su's idea that human nature was hard to see, Zhu said:

> The gentleman of ancient times completely realized his mind and thus knew his Nature. He never was concerned that it was hard to see. When

> speaking of Nature, he also always directly referred to it: it was not a case of just speaking of its semblance. Now as for the Nature, how can there be any phenomenal object that resembles it that can be taken to stand in for it? Thus what Mr. Su saw probably was just its semblance, and he never knew that there has never been anything that resembles the Nature.

But before coming to the Zhu Xi synthesis, Fuller pursues what he sees as a crisis of Confucian humanism, in which "the ground shifted under poetry as well as moral epistemology." Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) insisted that composing poetry required mastery of the poetry of the past. Above all, seeing that Su's critical poems had earned him exile, Huang prescribed a much tamer "letting off of steam" that would simply reaffirm attachment to moral norms. By thus "moving meaning inward to focus on the Nature, Huang . . . diminished the meaningfulness of the world beyond the self." Both Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206) and Lu You at first saw poetry as "a craft focused on language" but later saw it as capable of catching "compelling patterns immanent in the phenomenal realm". Yang's change came as the result of a sudden awakening that led him to think in terms of inspiration 興: "The encounter is first, the response follows, and this poem comes out. How is it my creation? It is Heaven's. This is called inspiration." The poet uses images to express the intuitions of meanings he senses in things or events. Lu is "also a poet of intentions immanent in the landscape" who experienced an illumined state: "At their basis, compositions are formed by Heaven: The marvelous hand by chance attains them." For him, poetry writing then became a "subtle form of resistance" to the world of officialdom.

If the background assumption of these poets was "that the phenomenal realm offered human nature deep responses that were enduring from generation to generation and worthy of commemoration," then Daoxue represented "the withdrawal of meaning from the phenomenal world": a turn inward. Like Li Ao, the Cheng brothers turned to Mencius' basic mind and to human nature; like Su Shi, they saw *li* 理 (principle, coherence) as upstream from experience. How then was the mind of the sage to be linked to the world? Through *li*, which is common to the self and the world: "The oneness of *li*, its full presence in all objects, including the self, guaranteed the possibility of both knowing the patterns of the world and understanding one's own Nature." People are identical with regard to their nature, which is *li*, but are different because of their *qi*, pure or turbid: "Those who receive the pure are the worthy; those who receive the turbid are the dolts." For Zhu Xi, too, principle was eternal and unchanging, not yet manifest (*weifa*); intuitions, being responses, belonged already to the manifest (*yifa*). The *Doctrine of the mean* identifies right action in just those terms:

> Before delight, anger, sorrow, and joy have come forth (*weifa* 未發) is called 'centeredness'; coming forth (*fa*) and in every case attaining just measure is called harmony: centeredness is the great root of all under heaven, and harmony is all under heaven's attaining the Way.

Reverent attentiveness (*jing*) to the manifest was the way to "bind together the boundaries of stillness and activity." The meaningfulness sought in things can be found only because it is assumed to be there: "The challenge, then, is to nurture this pre-condition of faith and commitment." One key way to do this was to read the texts of the sages, starting with the Four Books.

For Lu Jiuyuan, by contrast, "the mind as a transcendental category assured the *a priori* coherence of the phenomenal realm." But Lu, says Fuller, died young and had no system. The real difficulty for Zhu Xi was Su Shi—whence the virulence of his attack on Su. For Zhu, Su was utterly dependent on the phenomenal realm—the manifest—for inspiration. Moreover, this inspiration was as often determined by prior writings as by immediate experience. It was, therefore, utterly contingent. Focusing on the "upstream"—the Way, nature, principle—was the only sure path to right thoughts and actions.

Zhu's approach is criticized as too abstract and too far removed from experience already by his contemporaries Xue Jixuan 薛季宣 (1134–73) and Chen Fuliang 陳傅良 (1137–1203), as well as by Ye Shi 葉適 (1150–1223) of the next generation. The impact of "these attacks on Daoxue inwardness, abstractness, and alienation from the phenomenal realm" may be seen in such as Zhen Dexiu, who insisted that while learning about human nature was important, so also was history (which Zhu Xi, like Aristotle, had seen as characterized by too many accidental events). The immanent order and concrete action cannot be neglected, and they are accessed through the senses: "'Calm and unmoving': this is the structure (*ti*) of the mind; 'moved and then reaching through': this is the mind's functioning (*yong*)." As long as the human mind remains pure and desires in a way that is "obedient", it is also of Heaven, and there is no need for Zhu Xi's "radical *li*/*qi* distinction". On the contrary, the variety of *qi* is not just the basis for a moral hierarchy of enlightened sages and benighted people, it is also the basis for individual talents:

> The question is just what a person has received [of it]. Therefore a man of virtue attains it to enact virtue; a man of ability attains it to enact his ability. One who likes writing attains it and writes, while the skilled in poetry attain it to write poems.

This more open stance toward the "downstream" made possible an accommodation between Daoxue and poetry that Fuller illustrates in such as Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187–1269), who "affirmed the centrality of the problem of revealing the individuated self within the Daoxue framework." That is, he saw poetry as "moral self-revelation": "The aesthetic coherence of a poem is grounded in the coherence of the self," that is the individual self who, building on his endowment, has also worked hard both to master his craft and to express himself. Like Su Shi, late Song poets criticized those in power and "asserted indifference to any service to the state that required moral compromise":

> This new order of ontology, epistemology, ethics, and aesthetics shared between Daoxue and poetry was a radical shift from that of middle period China, but it was powerful and endured to shape the culture of late imperial China.

Ong Chang Woei begins his chapter on "Confucian thoughts" by asking how Daoxue, which was but one voice among many in the 11th century, "managed to persuade the intellectual world at large to accept its vision and course and become the dominant school by the turn of the 14th century." The starting point of his analysis is the key political fact of having to recognize the equal if not superior status of non Chinese dynasties. The first literatus he mentions is Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916–91), who gives a classic definition of the Confucian subject:

> The Way of a gentleman begins from the self and covers [external] things, it originates from within and reaches its ultimate without. That which puts it into practice is his words, and that which extends his words far and wide is his *wen*.

Han Yu defined this *wen* practically as *renyi* 仁義, "which refers to the actions taken and institutions created by the sages to take care of the material well-being of the people." Han Yu, of course, had also famously attacked imperial and popular infatuation with Buddhism, and such as Shi Jie 石介 (1005–45) followed suit, vituperating against Daoism as well. In taking it upon himself "to resist the influence of Buddhism and Daoism and rediscover the normal Way 常道"—Ong also translates the "eternal Way"—Shi Jie sounded a battle cry that would echo down the centuries inside Daoxue circles.

Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–83), protégé of the far less dogmatic and less metaphysical Ouyang Xiu, although he did not speak of an eternal Way, clearly believed in universal truth:

> In ancient times, those who ruled the world would seek to unite morality and make all customs to be the same. Once the teaching is illumined and practice perfected, even with the vast territory of the nine continents, the abundance of the population, and the lengthy time-span of a thousand years, what had been preserved was only a single way and what had been transmitted was only a single teaching.

Zeng's cousin, Wang Anshi, believed that he had found the underlying principle of the perfectly coherent system of antiquity in the state because it alone "had the authority and power to 'unify customs and make morality the same'" 一道德, 同風俗. The state, therefore, should intervene to ensure that the private interests of any social group not threaten the communal interests of the state: "The basic rationale of the New Policies that Wang developed was therefore to curb all private profit-seeking activities and channel all resources toward serving the public interest of the state." Again, while such as Su Shi believed that "the truth of unity could only be grasped and realized by individuals who could free themselves from self-interest and self-indulgence and respond spontaneously and appropriately to things in an unobstructed and impartial manner," he also believed in the existence of a "universal principle of unity, creativity, and transformation". What Ong is suggesting is that all Song thinkers, whether belonging to Daoxue or not, were looking for a universal truth. What distinguished the Daoxue people can be seen in their rejection of Su Shi's "accommodative stance toward Buddhism and Daoism" and in their search for a "universal truth beyond *wen*", in the Dao.

It is in this context, with the Dao at the center of the Daoxue search for coherence, that the persistent interest in Zhou Dunyi's diagram of the great ultimate and in Zhang Zai's adoption of a *qi*-based cosmology must be seen. Ong underscores that, in Zhou, it is the thoroughly Confucian notion of *cheng* 誠 that enables the sagely individual to "connect with the cosmos, the supernatural world, and everyone in society":

> *Cheng* forms the basis of sagely qualities because it takes as its origin the creative, transformative, and nurturing power of the universe ... In other words, an individual could fully realize the positive power of the cosmos that he received as his nature and attain sagehood by simply cultivating his mental capacity.

Zhang Zai, in appropriating the Buddhist notion of emptiness 虛空 as synonymous with *qi*, incorporated into the emerging synthesis Daoist notions of the Dao as at once utterly abstract and thoroughly concrete that first appeared

in the Warring States period.[34] Cheng Hao, later often seen as too Buddhist, in focusing on *ren* 仁 as Zhou had on *cheng*, provided another key element of the unification of Daoxue thought around core but hitherto not transcendent Confucian concepts:

> The student must first of all understand the nature of benevolence. The man of benevolence forms one body with all things without any differentiation. Righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness are all [expressions of] benevolence.
>
> [One's duty] is to understand this principle and preserve benevolence with sincerity and seriousness, that is all . . . Mencius said that "all things are already complete in oneself" and that one must "examine oneself and be sincere (or absolutely real)" and only then will there be great joy.[35]

We see here as well the importance of the shift to Mencius, and of his incorporation of basic Laozian ideas. Cheng Yi, finally, is the principal early proponent of two concepts destined in Zhu Xi's synthesis to become foundational in Daoxue, namely, *li* 理 and *gewu* 格物: principle or coherence, and investigation of things. Whereas Zhou, Zhang, and Cheng Hao could all be described as religious to the point of being mystical in their sense of unity with all things, for Cheng Yi as for Zhu Xi, Daoxue was not just about the Dao and Daoist self-cultivation, but also about *xue*, study, above all of selected texts. All men had the potential to be a Yao or a Shun, but only those with refined *qi* and the leisure to study could realize this potential.

Ong sees one of Zhu Xi's primary contributions to the Daoxue movement in his turning away from the "ruler-oriented approach" to a focus on leadership roles in local communities for individuals committed to Confucian self-cultivation. Opposed to the statism of such as Wang Anshi, Zhu called for "local initiatives and a sense of compassion, encouraging mutual aid within local communities." Ontologically, Zhu clearly preferred Cheng Yi to Zhang Zai: "The heart is the spirit of man, and is something that contains all *li* for responding to all affairs. Nature is then a *li* that is included in the heart; and Heaven is where the *li* comes from." A string of equivalencies—heart, spirit, coherence, human

34 See Jean Levi, "The rite, the norm and the Dao: philosophy of sacrifice and transcendence of power in ancient China," *Early Chinese religion*, part one: *Shang through Han*, pp. 645–92.

35 Thus the idea of joy appears as the goal of practice in both neo-Confucian (Ong and Virág) and Daoist (Marsone) thought in this period. According to Stevenson, citing Zhiyi, "dharma joy" was also an important aspect of Buddhist practice.

nature, Heaven—was the foundation to be cultivated so that emotions would always manifest the originally good human nature which, being of Heaven, was attuned to the coherence of all things: as in Chan, Zhu's self-cultivation was a matter of the heart (mind). But if the heart was central in all Daoxue proponents, there were two competing understandings of the heart, that of Zhu Xi and Cheng Yi being more intellectual (mind), with an emphasis on investigation of things, while that of such as Lu Jiuyuan was more intuitive (heart), as can be seen from his definition of the universe (*yuzhou* 宇宙):

> (The space within) the four directions and the above and below is called *yu*; (the time between) the past and the present is called *zhou*. The *yuzhou* is my heart and my heart is *yuzhou*. The sages who appeared thousands of generations before shared this heart and this principle; the sages who will appear thousands of generations later will share this heart and this principle.

Unlike Zhu and more like Buddhism or Daoism, Lu insists on the proximity of the Way, that it is easy to understand: "Because this heart is shared by all humans, inclusive of sages and commoners, the Way is therefore accessible to all, regardless of the intelligence or capability of individuals." Consensus in favor of Zhu's positions had emerged in south China by the mid-13th century.

In north China under the Jin, Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159–1232), while affirming the Daoxue conviction that all men have an intuitive moral sense, pioneered the more inclusive approach to Buddhism and Daoism that we encountered also in Quanzhen and which would seem to have been generally characteristic of the North. Zhao in turn influenced Xu Heng 許衡 (1209–81) who, when put in charge of education upon Khubilai's accession to the throne in 1260, promoted the idea that political legitimacy depended on winning the hearts of the people and that to do this an emperor should "follow a step-by-step method of self-cultivation and government presented in the *Great learning*." Xiao Ju 蕭𣂏 (1241–1318), who had till then refused to serve because he wanted Xu Heng's educational system implemented, accepted an appointment as examiner when in 1313 the examinations were restored "with a heavy Daoxue flavor".

By contrast, southern Daoxue masters in this period remained aloof from power, at least until the Jinhua scholars accompanied the rise of the Ming founder. In Jiangxi Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249–1333) carried on the tradition of Lu Jiuyuan, focusing on "what an individual should do to maintain his independence and dignity in a chaotic world" and shifting "Daoxue from emphasis on the intellect to emphasis on introspection and intuitive insight into the universal truth." This tradition would later beget Wang Yangming 王陽明

(1472–1529). Wu Cheng's student Yu Ji "worked to blend Daoxue's philosophy with ideas and religious practices associated with the Celestial Masters." These differences between regions and currents notwithstanding,

> it is undeniable that by the late Yuan period, Daoxue had come to define *ru* learning . . . The new approach was one that emphasized the central role of morally enlightened individuals more than political or cultural models in bringing that ideal to fruition. Even as Daoxue lost its appeal to the mainstream intellectuals from the 17th century onwards, this vision of taking personal moral responsibility for building a better society continued to influence the Chinese mind right down to the present.

Yuan Daoxue and Buddhism

What is, therefore, most interesting is to see how China, in the Yuan, remained a polity in which the three teachings thrived together, in dialogue. We have already alluded to Mark Halperin's description of "Mongol emperors as Chinese Buddhists" and Buddhist "clerics as officials". His account of the clerics relies primarily on inscriptions written by Daoxue literati like Yu Ji and Huang Jin. Yu Ji, whom we have just seen also to have been deeply involved with Daoism, wrote 35 works for Buddhist monks and temples, while Huang Jin composed over 60. In writing on such people and places, suggests Halperin, not only did the Daoxue literati find common ground with their Buddhist sovereigns, they sought common moral ground as well, seeing that Buddhism "presumably would foster the spread of the values of generosity, humility, and civility" of their own tradition.

In the last half of his chapter, Halperin looks at Buddhism in the southern countryside. Again we encounter Huang Jin and Yu Ji, this time praising the Chan code associated with Baizhang 百丈 (749–814): "Confucian gentlemen of earlier times probably for this reason indeed sighed that [the code] contained the leftover intentions of the rites and music." In 1346, writing on the restoration of a Hangzhou monastery in which the abbot's quarters were left to the last, Huang Jin wrote: "There is that which matches the [Confucian] rituals' putting the living quarters last. His refined mastery of the vinaya and conversance with [Confucian] rituals are indeed what we Confucians delight in hearing and happily speak of." In a 1350 preface, Chen Ji 陳基 (1314–70) tells of a monk who wished to go home to care for his elderly mother, but the mother refused, "judging his religious vocation more important than her remaining years." Chen duly noted that "the three schools of Buddhism all regarded compassion as their tradition and filial respect as their root 孝敬為本." The master/disciple relationship in Buddhism had also long impressed Confucians.

When a Shandong nun, eager for him to write a text for her master, supplied the necessary historical documents, Zhao Mengfu mused:

> Even in eminent official families, most do not know the taboo names of their earlier generations or where their clans came from. Yet these two or three nuns then could with great earnestness, amid the chaos and disorder, collect the surviving documents of previous dynasties and use them to make a historical account which tallied with what the Five Dynasties histories recorded—how could one not praise this?

In 1323, Wu Cheng denounced state patronage of the Buddhist church, and in particular of the project to have the canon copied in gold. In one of the eleven commemorations Wu wrote for Jiangxi temples, he criticized the greed of some monks—"The more they have, the more they are unsatisfied"—but also praised the public-mindedness 心之公 of the abbot. Indeed, he too saw in the Buddhists a model for literati:

> So I have said, as for contemporary *shidaifu* who study Confucius's teachings and those who feed off the emperor's salary and receive the trust of the people and land, if everyone could match the Buddha's disciples, what could not be done?

In a 1343 text, Huang Jin isolates giving and good works as the core of Buddhism:

> If one can trust that, with respect to the contributions of wealth and those of dharma [preaching], there is no distinction between the two, then one knows that contributing is the ultimate reality: it gives rise to the compassionate mind, elicits vows to transfer merit, makes complete the skillful means, and attains the Buddha fruits of the supreme bodhi. Although [giving] is regarded as a [worldly] phenomena, in the end it reaches the other shore and saves without limit.

Song Lian was Huang Jin's student.

Rationalization, Interiorization, Secularization

What we have seen clearly confirms that the emergence of Daoxue as state orthodoxy is a paradigm shift as critical to an understanding of the Song-Yuan as the emergence of philosophy and self-cultivation was to the Warring

States and of the three teachings to the Period of Division. We can also confirm that the rise of Daoxue is the product of a process of rationalization and interiorization.[36]

But if Daoxue represented what was new—and pregnant with meaning for the future emergence of the lineage, which would replace Buddhist monasteries as the dominant mode of incorporation and capital-formation—it was not the only state orthodoxy first defined by the Yuan and then definitively chosen by the Ming founder. Picking up where Huizong had left off, and building on the Yuan turn to Orthodox Unity Daoism, Zhu Yuanzhang made exorcising Daoism—the Daoism of thunder rites—an integral part of state orthodoxy, no doubt thinking like Huizong that Confucianism and Daoism were in fact different expressions of the same religion—an idea surely facilitated by the fact one was called "Dao learning" and the other "Dao teaching".

Already in 1360, Zhu Yuanzhang summoned the 42nd Heavenly Master Zhang Zhengchang 張正常 (1335–78) to discuss thunder rites:

> I have heard that you, Celestial Master of the Han lineage, are endowed with the Way and its Power. With your every move you can obtain the assistance of demons and gods. Within one breath, exhaling, inhaling, the Heavenly Way can be made to darken. Of the gods of Thunder, none will not obey your commands. With this you support the empire and help the people; you eradicate fiendish evils among them; you aid them in times of flood and drought.[37]

Soon after he came to the throne, Zhu put Daoist specialists of thunder ritual in charge of both the music and the rituals of the annual sacrifice to Heaven and set a precedent for the use of Qingwei 清微 thunder rituals as standard state liturgy. The city gods whose temples the Ming founder ordered built in every county and prefecture were placed in charge of earth gods of often demonic origin, with the city gods in turn under the Emperor of the eastern

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36 Peter Bol, *Neo-Confucianism*, p. 217, gives this remarkable summary of what, in Daoxue, is internalized: "The Neo-Confucians shifted the focus of a belief in unity away from the imperial system and into the mind as something individuals embodied and could act on. They had internalized the classical idea of empire." In so doing, of course, they reveal themselves to be the direct spiritual descendants of the first theoreticians of self-cultivation in the Warring States period; see Romain Graziani, "The subject and the sovereign: exploring the self in early Chinese self-cultivation," *Early Chinese religion,* part one: *Shang through Han*, pp. 459–517.

37 Mark Meulenbeld, *Ritual warfare* (MS), pp. 224–25. He is citing the *Huang Ming enming shilu* 皇明恩命實錄 (DZ 1462) 2.2a–b.

peak, lord of the underworld. To this largely Song hierarchy, again building on Yuan precedents, Zhu Yuanzhang added the Dark Emperor 玄帝 worshiped on the Celestial pillar peak 天柱峰 of Wudangshan, high above the Emperor of the eastern peak.[38] Like Daoxue, this second—martial and Daoist—orthodoxy would continue throughout the Ming, in its case helping to ensure that Zhengyi rather than Quanzhen Daoism benefitted from state patronage.[39] We have already noted that the same Daoism played a no less vital role in the creation of Ming vernacular fiction and, of course, Ming society.[40]

But perhaps most persuasive of all as regards parallels between the two Ming orthodoxies is the fact that the Ming founder gradually moved to an anti-Buddhist stance—making him a true successor to Song Huizong, the emperor who first incorporated Zhengyi exorcisms into the Daoist canon.[41] According to Meulenbeld, when in 1370 Zhu sent out a general inquiry about demons and gods, he inquired of both Buddhists and Daoists, and in 1374, in an imperial preface to the *Daming xuanjiao licheng zhaijiao yi* 大明玄教立成齋醮儀 (DZ 467), Zhu states clearly his appreciation of both ritual traditions:

> Chan and Quanzhen devote themselves to the cultivation of the person and the improvement of the individual endowment. They are just for the self. The [Buddhist] Teaching and Zhengyi Daoism focus on salvation and lay special emphasis on filial children and compassionate parents. They improve human relations and enrich local customs: great indeed is their merit![42]

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38 This vital historical fact, together with its remarkable Yuan antecedents, was first related in detail by Pierre-Henry de Bruyn, "Wudang shan: The origins of a major center of modern Taoism," in *Religion and society in Chinese history*, vol. 2: *Taoism and local religion in modern China*, John Lagerwey, ed. (Hong Kong, 2004), pp. 553–90. Meulenbeld, *Ritual warfare*, pp. 217–18, notes that Zhu Yuanzhang felt Xuandi had helped him win the throne and therefore built a temple for him in Nanjing. When his son the Yongle emperor built Beijing, the temple to Xuandi was explicitly ranked higher than that of the Eastern peak (Meulenbeld, p. 220).

39 See Richard Wang, *The Ming prince and Daoism: institutional patronage of an elite* (New York, 2012).

40 See above, based on Mark Meulenbeld, *Ritual warfare*.

41 It is worth noting as well that both emperors were authors of commentaries on the *Daodejing*, a text which, by virtue of its use of the word *sheng* 聖, sage, to refer both to the individual engaged in self-cultivation and the ruler, makes normative the unity of moral and political authority; see the articles by Jean Levi and Romain Graziani cited above in notes 32 and 34 respectively.

42 Translated in John Lagerwey, *Taoist ritual in Chinese society and history*, p. 260. According to Timothy Brook, *The Chinese state in Ming society* (London, 2005), p. 136, "The Teaching sect, created at Hongwu's initiative, comprised monks who went out among the people

According to Timothy Brook, however, Zhu, if he ordered several Buddhist masses for the civil war dead at the start of his reign, did so no more after 1372:

> After 1380, Hongwu no longer conceived of Buddhism as a component in the state-centred structure of public authority; it loomed instead as a potentially destabilizing, even autonomous, realm that, if left unchecked, could only undermine public authority. Buddhism was no longer a resource of rule but a threat to it. Monks were no longer men of wisdom but charlatans and tax dodgers whose very existence symbolized the failure of that authority to take hold . . . With the late-Hongwu reorganization, Buddhism was ruled out of playing any role in the composition of public authority, ideological or otherwise. It was now simply an object of that rule, representing a sphere of activity subject to state regulation and excluded from the realm of the political. It had been moved to the margin of public authority.[43]

Meulenbeld, basing himself on the *Taizu shilu* 太祖實錄, puts these anti-Buddhist policies in the context of the founder's pro-Daoism:

> In 1391, he condemns Buddhism to a position of irrelevance in demonic matters by enunciating a definition of Buddhism on the basis of the tenet that "its cultivation is best at getting rid of form and outer appearances, cutting off cravings and desires, and binding the body to good [deeds]." That is, Buddhism is declared useful only in the pursuit of personal salvation. Daoism, on the other hand, is defined as being able to "prevent disasters and ward off calamities, summoning demonic gods with extraordinary techniques."[44]

Nor can we ignore, if our aim is a comprehensive understanding of paradigm shift over the Song-Yuan period—and as the references above to the Buddhist "Teaching" imply—the redefinition of Buddhist liturgies by Tiantai monks and the central role played by these new liturgies not only in elite society but also

to preach and conduct rites, especially funerary rites." According to the chapter by Daniel Stevenson in this book, in the Yuan dynasty the term "Teaching" referred to both Tiantai and Huayan.

43 Brook, *The Chinese state*, pp. 135, 138.

44 Meulenbeld, *Ritual warfare*, MS pp. 227–28.

in the great new Buddhist lay movements that would become a permanent feature of late imperial society.[45]

The simple mention of the Buddhist and Daoist ritual changes reminds us that, in talking of Daoxue at this point in Chinese history, we are still talking about elite China and the state, for Confucian rites do not yet go down to the people. By 1368, Daoxue had already become influential and even dominant in the realms of law, medicine, and state ideology, but not in Chinese society. With regard to Chinese society it is unquestionably legitimate to speak of paradigm shift as well, but to understand it we must still turn to Buddhism and Daoism. In both we find extraordinary evidence of rationalization and interiorization. The clearest sign of the first is perhaps the water-land and yellow register rituals, both of which featured newly elaborated universal pantheons and standardized rituals for universal salvation.[46] In Daoism, the comprehensive new funeral rites even incorporated mediumistic practices, while new Zhengyi thunder rites admitted the very blood sacrifices Daoism had originally sought to abolish. The clearest sign of interiorization is the universal penetration of esoteric Buddhism, in water-land and yellow register rituals not only but also in literature and iconography. Daoist murals of going in audience before the Origin—which echo an identical practice in symbolic alchemy—are a striking example of Tantric-inspired interiorized and synthetic rationality, as are of course the mandala and its impact on Buddhist architecture and self-cultivation. It is perhaps in the *Inner method of the great ultimate for oblatory refinement* by Zheng Sixiao that Tantric-influenced interiorization reaches its fullest expression in Daoist ritual.

Nor should we forget the symbolic alchemical traditions so influential in literati circles or the Tantric transformation of Daoism in the emergent ritual master 法師 traditions. In his comparison of the water-land and yellow register rituals, Edward Davis notes their "convergence around the summoning of the soul" and links this to Tantric-derived use of child-mediums to cause the dead to appear right after the summons during the yellow register funeral

45 See Barend J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus teachings in Chinese religious history* (Leiden, 1992). Cf. Richard von Glahn, *The sinister way.* p. 144, where he states that pure land theology "became the substrate upon which much vernacular religious devotion and practice rested."

46 For reasons of space, the lengthy account of Southern Song yellow register rituals prepared for this volume by Matsumoto Kôichi has not been included. Accounts may be found in the Edward Davis text mentioned in the following note, as well as in Lowell Skar, "Ritual movements, deity cults and the transformation of Daoism in Song and Yuan times," in *Daoism handbook*, Livia Kohn, ed. (Leiden, 2000), pp. 413–62.

ritual done on their behalf.[47] He summarizes his study of the Tantric origins of this practice as follows: "The unity of practitioner and divinity is a defining feature of Esoteric Buddhism and a mark of the extent to which even Daoist therapeutic rituals had become 'tantricized' in the Song."[48]

A further word needs also to be said of Daoxue itself with respect to the centrality of the concept and practice of *ren*. In Hoyt Tillman's words, the Daoxue Confucians turned *ren* into a cosmic "life-force that linked all things in one."[49] When Zhu Xi was writing his own essay on *ren*, he was in regular contact with Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133–80), who, in 1173, wrote:

> What is called the principle of love is the mind of Heaven and Earth to give birth to things and that from which they are born. Therefore, humaneness is the chief of the four virtues and can also encompass them.[50]

Versus Han Yu, who had identified humaneness and love/compassion, Zhang followed Cheng Yi's idea that *ren* was the principle of love and therefore an intrinsic part of human nature. What Zhu Xi wrote later on the subject was virtually identical:

> The moral qualities of the mind of Heaven and Earth are four: origination, growth, benefit, and firmness. And the principle of origination unites and controls them all. In their operation they constitute the course of the four seasons, and the vital energy of spring permeates all.[51]

Ren is the Mencian "sprout" corresponding to spring:

> What mind is this? In Heaven and Earth, it is the mind to produce things infinitely. In people, it is the mind to treat people gently and to benefit things . . . Humaneness constituting the Dao refers to the fact that the mind of Heaven and Earth to produce things is present in everything. Before feelings are aroused, this essence is already existing in its

47 Edward Davis, *Society and the supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, 2001), p. 173. For a comparison of the water-land and yellow register rituals, see especially the "Appendix: *Huanglu jiao* and *Shuilu zhai*," pp. 227–41.

48 Ibid., p. 125.

49 Tillman, *Confucian discourse*, p. 12.

50 Ibid., p. 47.

51 Ibid., p. 71.

> completeness. After feelings are aroused, its function is infinite. If we can truly practice love and preserve it, then we have in it the spring of all virtues and the root of all good deeds . . . When one realizes that humaneness is the source of love and that love can never exhaust humaneness, then one has gained a definite comprehension of *ren*.[52]

Why is this important?—first, it illustrates the intensity of the drive to synthetic unity, to finding coherence that could be summarized in transcendental concepts like Dao, *qi*, *li*, and *ren*; second, it reveals a spiritualization of Daoxue anthropology that depends on a radicalization of the mind/body distinction; third, it shows how the "synthesizing machine" works, by incorporating rival schemes. Stephen Bokenkamp has described how the Lingbao school of Daoism, having single-handedly created "Mahayana Daoism" by mining the rich lodes of Buddhist rites and concepts, could then present itself as the religious synthesis that superseded all others.[53] Daoxue did much the same and, in its accelerating campaign in late imperial China to rid society of Buddhist economic and religious dominance, the creation of the institutions of charity that embodied the Daoxue equivalent of Buddhist compassion 慈悲, *ren*, was among its most crucial moves.[54]

This turn to charity derived from a radicalized dualism, in which the physical body with its variable *qi* was clearly designated as the legitimizing source of social hierarchy, and was replaced by a spiritual body. The most extreme statement of this may be found in Zhang Zai's "Western inscription": "That which fills the universe I regard as my body."[55] But Cheng Yi says pretty much the same thing: "One who is humane forms one body with things without differentiation."[56] Later, Cheng Yi's idea of genealogical unity through *qi* became the justification for lineage construction and lineage charity:

> Although descendants multiply and procreate without cease, in the beginning it was one person and one allotment of *qi* . . . And if perchance the centered, harmonious *qi* is in this one branch, then how could the rich

52 Ibid., pp. 71, 74.

53 "The silkworm and the bodhi tree: the Lingbao attempt to replace Buddhism in China and our attempt to place Lingbao Daoism," *Religion and Chinese society*, vol. 1: *Ancient and medieval China*, in John Lagerwey, ed. (Hong Kong, 2004), pp 317–39.

54 In the return of contemporary China to its elitist Daoxue roots, we see all the more clearly the relevance of the present account of its rise to orthodoxy.

55 Peter Bol, *Neo-Confucianism*, p. 142.

56 Ibid., p. 176.

> and noble not care about their poor and humble [kin], or the wise not care about the foolish . . . Thus one treats a lineage like one family and those of the same *qi* as one body.[57]

This new Confucian spiritual body is one of the best illustrations of Daoxue's "secularization" of China's other two teachings: Laojun's body in Daoism and the Dharma body in Buddhism.[58]

Turning once again to the other two teachings, we may note that the most radical forms of rationalization and interiorization were to be found in Chan and in Quanzhen, both of which are extremely mentalist and spiritualized. This is hardly surprising in a Buddhist context, but it is downright shocking in Daoism, where bodily self-cultivation and immortality had always been central. It is therefore totally unexpected to see that, in Quanzhen Daoism, belief in bodily immortality disappeared altogether. And yet, this did not prevent it from demanding of its adherents the cultivation of both the *xing* 性 and the *ming* 命, that is, of both their spiritual and physical components. This maintenance of a duality within unity, moreover, is strictly parallel to the Daoxue insistence on both *li* 理 and *qi* 氣, an ontology corresponding in practical or epistemological terms to the distinction between *weifa* 未發 and *yifa* 已發, before and after the appearance of emotions in response to the world, as Curie Virág shows. That is, both neo-Confucianism and what we may call neo-Daoism (Quanzhen) drew back, *in extremis*, from the Buddhist brink of radical mind/body dualism and non-duality.[59]

If, then, rationalization and interiorization are clearly valid summaries of each of the three teachings in this period, what of secularization? If we understand secularization as the transfer of the powers of decision and prognostication

57 Ibid., pp. 241–42. The quote is from a text dated 1346 by the Wuzhou neo-Confucian Lü Pu 呂浦.

58 On Laojun, see Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist body*, Karen Duval, tr. (Berkeley, 1993). On the Dharma body, cf. *The Vimalakirti sutra*, tr. Burton Watson (New York, 1997), p. 35: "This body has no reality . . . is impure . . . empty and unreal . . . and therefore you should seek the Buddha body. Why? Because the Buddha body is the Dharma body."

59 A discussion between authors of chapters in this book aimed at unifying translation of the Chinese term *xin* 心 revealed interesting differences between Buddhologists, who opted unanimously and exclusively for "mind", and specialists of Daoxue, who preferred keeping all options open and therefore translate "heart", "mind", and "heart-mind" by turns. This contrasting choice of translations reflects clearly the difference between the radical mind/body dualism of Buddhism and the mitigated dualism of Daoxue.

from external divinities to human hearts,[60] that is, in terms of secular humanism, then it is quite clear that the term is wholly appropriate as a description of the movement of thought and practice in all three teachings. Insofar as the Tantric-inspired transformations of Buddhist and Daoist ritual depended on—assumed, entailed—a "humanized" ritual practice, that is, one entirely focused on the inner work of the adept or priest, there is no reason not to see them as part of the same secularizing movement Yu Ying-shih found in Daoxue. Whether it be in the "single point" of the Quanzhen founder or the "sudden awakening" of Chan, in the creation of one-size-fits-all ritual machines in Buddhism and Daoism or the parallel emergence of fully interiorized versions of the same elaborate and theatrical external rites, Buddhism and Daoism in this period, precisely by virtue of these radically interiorized forms of rationalized practice, moved just as far toward secular humanism as Daoxue. All could now say, in chorus, "My destiny is not in Heaven but in me" 我的命在我, 不在天.

But then, lest the word "secularization" be misunderstood, we must also, together with Meulenbeld's evocation of the "enchanted" world of Daoist thunder rites, take note of the "re-enchantment" of the world in Daoxue, which reserved for itself—thus denying it to emperors—the moral high ground of the "tradition of the Dao" (*daotong* 道統).[61] Unfortunately for Daoxue, this creation of a religious Daoxue over against a political empire—a City of Dao versus a City of Man—did not survive the Ming founder who, like Zhou Xuandi sitting down flanked by the Buddha and the Celestial worthy of primordial beginning, claimed for himself the status of sage-king, combining both political and moral authority.[62] The combined orthodoxies of Daoxue and thunder rites made the Chinese state once again a church.[63]

60 Cf. Marc Kalinowski, "Diviners and astrologers under the Eastern Zhou: transmitted texts and recent archaeological discoveries," *Early Chinese religion*, part one: *Shang through Han*, pp. 341–96.

61 That this high ground must be understood in religious terms is expressed most clearly by Peter Bol in his chapter on "Belief" in *Neo-Confucianism*; for example: "I shall argue that the core of the Neo-Confucian self is belief—a conscious commitment of faith" (p. 195); "The idea that there could only be one true doctrine was a necessary part of Neo-Confucianism" (p. 211).

62 Bol, *Neo-Confucianism*, p. 146: "I suspect Taizu saw himself as a sage-king who had united politics and morality."

63 Cf. Gil Raz, "Daoist sacred geography," p. 141, speaking of the Northern Wei and Northern Zhou attempts to make of Daoism the national religion and foundation of political legitimacy: "Both programs fused the Daoist imagination with the imperial program."

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