

Baiyun guan: the Development and Evolution of a Quanzhen Daoist Temple

By

[Copyright 2012]

Youmi Kim Efurd

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Art History and the Graduate Faculty of
the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

Chairperson Marsha Haufler

David Cateforis

Shawn Eichman

Amy McNair

Daniel Stevenson

Date Defended: August 24, 2012

The Dissertation Committee for Youmi Efurd
certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Baiyun guan: the Development and Evolution of a Quanzhen Daoist Temple

Chairperson Marsha Haufler

Date approved: August 24, 2012

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the development and evolution of the Daoist temple Baiyun guan in Beijing, China. Based on textual sources combined with the analysis of architectural and sculptural features, this study provides the comprehensive history of the temple focusing on its growth, change, and its religious identity.

A detailed study of the temple reveals the plans and intentions of the patrons evident in the change of its architecture, nomenclature, and enshrined images, which demonstrates shifting patterns of the temple pantheon. This study also interprets the meaning and function of its images with primary emphasis on those of Quanzhen Daoists. The contextual analysis of images highlights persisting religious sectarianism involving Quanzhen Daoism in Baiyun guan despite ongoing changes in the temple's patrons and in the iconographic program at the site.

This dissertation provides an exemplary case study demonstrating the dual nature of the site: the enduring presence of religious sectarianism contrasted with constant transformation of the temple. Baiyun guan, still an active center of Quanzhen worship in the present day, continues to respond to shifting trends in Daoist practice in order to incorporate needs of contemporary worshippers while also ensuring the temple's popularity and existence. The history of Baiyun guan, then,

reveals a dynamic landscape of Daoist images and practices, as well as the development of an institution that was a key site in the history of Daoist art and in the wider history of Chinese Daoism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to several people who provided assistance during the research and writing of this dissertation. I am grateful to Professor Marsha Haufler, my advisor and committee chair, for helping me at different stages of my project. Her unremitting zeal and enthusiasm for teaching and research has been and will continue to be an inspiration to me. Her advice and guidance have been a great motivation, and without her support over the years, this dissertation would not have been possible.

I would like to thank Professor Daniel Stevenson, my committee member who taught different perspectives and ways of understanding Chinese religions. His shrewd comments provided careful approaches to look at religious arts that considered ritual adaptation among Chinese religions and sectarian uses of religious art.

I also am grateful to Professor David Cateforis, Dr. Shawn Eichman at Honolulu Museum of Art, and Professor Amy McNair for serving on my committee and their insightful comments.

Lastly, I would like to give special thanks to my family members and friends who have been around and with me. I am especially thankful to David Efur, my husband and fellow art historian. His unfailing support, encouragement and love

have been my greatest motivating force when completing this dissertation. As a token of my love and appreciation, I dedicate this dissertation to him.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	v
List of Illustrations.....	x
Introduction.....	1
1. Religious Background.....	2
2. Scholarship.....	7
3. Issues and Methodology.....	12
4. Content and Organization.....	14
Chapter 1: The Historical Context of Baiyun guan: Patronage, Buildings, and Religious Identity.....	18
1. Origins in the Tang Dynasty (618-907).....	19
2. Jin Dynasty (1115-1234).....	22
3. Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368).....	28
4. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).....	32
Ming Patronage.....	34
Accounts by Ming Literati.....	42
Miscellaneous Records and Gazetteer Accounts.....	47
5. Qing Dynasty (1644-1911).....	49
Qing Patronage.....	50
Qing Literati Accounts.....	56
Re-Constructing a Religious Identity.....	59
6. Conclusion.....	71
Chapter 2: The Present-Day Plan and Buildings of Baiyun guan.....	73
1. Temple Plan and Major Halls.....	73
Main Gate and the First Courtyard.....	74
The Second Courtyard.....	78
The Third Courtyard.....	80
The Fourth Courtyard.....	85

The Fifth Courtyard.....	87
The Sixth Courtyard.....	88
2. Minor Halls in Ancillary Lines.....	91
Peripheral Halls on East.....	91
Peripheral Halls on West.....	93
3. Conclusion.....	97
 Chapter 3: The Evolution of Baiyun guan Pantheon.....	 99
1. Original Baiyun guan Divinities.....	100
Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian).....	101
Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian).....	103
Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang).....	108
Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiuzu dian).....	109
Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge).....	113
Four Rulers Hall (Siyu dian).....	115
Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian).....	117
Shrine Hall (Citang).....	118
Yuanjun Hall (Yuanjun dian).....	120
Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian).....	122
2. New Divinities at Baiyun guan.....	124
Three Officials Hall (San'guan dian) and Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian).....	124
Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian) and Savior from Suffering Hall (Jiuku dian).....	127
Hall of Three Star Lords (Sanxing dian).....	129
Hall of the Compassionate Sailor (Cihang dian).....	130
Hall of the God of Thunder (Leizu dian).....	131
Hall of the God of Literature (Wenchang dian).....	132
Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian).....	134
Hall of the Lords of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian).....	135
3. Conclusion.....	136
 Chapter 4: Development and Change of the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang).....	 139
1. Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (Chushun tang).....	140
Portrayal of Quanzhen Daoists and Patriarch Worship.....	147
A Birthday Celebration as a Case Study of Quanzhen Patriarch Worship...	152
2. Patronage of the Changchun Hall and Religious Lineages during the Ming Dynasty.....	160
3. Hall of the Seven Perfected and Its Reestablished Function during the Qing Dynasty.....	169
4. Conclusion.....	179

Chapter 5: A Study of Qiu’s Iconography in Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiu zu dian).....	181
1. The New Iconography in the Patriarch Qiu Hall.....	182
The Cult of Qiu Changchun.....	184
<i>Yanjiu</i>	193
The New Iconography of Qiu Changchun.....	196
The Change in Iconography during the Late Qing.....	201
2. Cult of Qiu since the Qing Dynasty.....	205
3. Conclusion.....	209
Conclusion.....	210
Bibliography.....	217
Illustrations.....	243

List of Illustrations

Chapter 1

- 1.1 Map of Tang dynasty China.
- 1.2 Rough plan of Tianchang guan in the Jin dynasty after Liu Houhu.
- 1.3 Plan of Yuan dynasty capital Dadu and Tianchang guan (later Changchun gong).
- 1.4 Anonymous, *Miraculous Manifestations of Zhenwu at Mount Wudang (Wuliang fushou tu)*. Ming, early 15th century. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 56 x 85 cm (each section). Baiyun guan.

Chapter 2

- 2.1 Baiyun guan. A bird's eye view.
- 2.2 Screen Wall. *Wan'gu changchun* from right to left.
- 2.3. Baiyun guan. Ground plan. 2008.
- 2.4. *Pailou*.
- 2.5. *Pailou*. Back view.
- 2.6. *Pailou*. Detail.
- 2.7. *Pailou*. Palace of Harmony and Peace (Yonghe gong), Beijing.
- 2.8. *Shanmen*.
- 2.9. *Shanmen*. Detail. People touching a carved monkey.
- 2.10.1. *Shanmen*. Detail. God of Longevity.
- 2.10.2. *Shanmen*. Detail. Eight Auspicious Symbols.
- 2.11. Short wall connected to *shanmen*. Detail. Peonies.
- 2.12. Arched gateway to Temple of Jade Void (Yuxu guan) on Mount Wudang after Qiao Yun.
- 2.13.1. Bridge of Harboring Wind (Wofeng qiao).
- 2.13.2. Bridge of Harboring Wind (Wofeng qiao). Side view.
- 2.14. Bridge in early 20th century after Hedda Morrison.
- 2.15.1. Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian).
- 2.15.2. Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian). Back view.
- 2.16. Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian). Detail. Lintel.
- 2.17. General view of Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian) in early 20th century after Oyanagi.
- 2.18. Drum Tower (Gulou).
- 2.19. Bell Tower (Zhonglou).
- 2.20. Bell Tower. Ten Thousand Years Longevity Monastery (Wanshou si), Beijing.
- 2.21. Bell Tower. Great Clarity Monastery (Guangji si), Beijing.
- 2.22. Hall of Three Officials (San'guan dian).
- 2.23. Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian).
- 2.24. Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian). Detail. Brackets.
- 2.25. Hall of Three Officials (San'guan dian). Interior. Detail. Brackets.
- 2.26.1. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian).

- 2.26.2. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Back view.
- 2.27. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Side view.
- 2.28. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Interior. Detail. Ceiling.
- 2.29. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Detail. Brackets.
- 2.30. Precious Hall of Great Hero (Daxiong baodian). Dharma Source Monastery (Fayuan si), Beijing. Detail. Brackets.
- 2.31. Hall of God of Medicine King (Yaowang dian).
- 2.32. Hall of Savior of Suffering (Jiuku dian).
- 2.33. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang).
- 2.34.1. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Side view. Photograph taken in early 1980s after Qiao Yun.
- 2.34.2. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Roofs.
- 2.35. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Hipped and gabled roof on the northern part of the building.
- 2.36. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Lintel.
- 2.37. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Corner brackets.
- 2.38. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Back view. Detail. Four intermediate brackets in the central bay.
- 2.39. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Detail. Ceiling in the front part of building.
- 2.40. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Detail. Ceiling in the back part of building.
- 2.41. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Detail. Brackets from the original building.
- 2.42. Diamond Hall (Jingang dian). Protect the Nation Monastery (Huguo si), Beijing. Detail. Brackets.
- 2.43.1. Hall of Patriarch Qiu (Qiuzu dian).
- 2.43.2. Hall of Patriarch Qiu (Qiuzu dian). Back view.
- 2.44. Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge) with Four Rulers Hall (Siyu dian).
- 2.45. Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge). Detail. Lintels.
- 2.46. Abbot's hall on east of Four Rulers Hall (Siyu dian).
- 2.47. Ordination platform behind Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge).
- 2.48. Hall of the Three Star-Lords (Sanxing dian).
- 2.49.1. Hall of the Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian).
- 2.49.2. Hall of the Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian). Back view.
- 2.50. Hall of the Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian). Side view.
- 2.51. Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian).
- 2.52. Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder (Leizu dian).
- 2.53. Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder (Leizu dian). Interior. Detail. Painted panels in the ceiling.
- 2.54. Pagoda dedicated to an Adept Luo.
- 2.55.1. Shrine Hall (Citang).
- 2.55.2. Shrine Hall (Citang). Detail. Title plaque.
- 2.55.3. Shrine Hall (Citang). Back view.
- 2.56.1. Yuanjun Hall (Yuanjun dian).

- 2.56.2. Yuanjun Hall (Yuanjun dian). Back view.
- 2.57. Hall of the God of the Literature (Wenchang dian).
- 2.58. Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian).
- 2.59. Entrance to the cloister of Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian) and Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian).
- 2.60. Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian).
- 2.61.1. *Chongxiu Lüzü dian beiji* [Record of Stele in Restoring the Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü] (1887) by Gao Rentong at the western corner of Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian).
- 2.61.2. *Chongxiu Lüzü dian linggan beiji* [Stele of Inspiration in Restoration of the Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü] (1889) by Gao Rentong at the eastern corner of Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian).
- 2.62. Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian). Detail. Roof.
- 2.63.1. Hall of the Dipper Mother with Gods of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian).
- 2.63.2. Hall of the Dipper Mother with Gods of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian). Entrance.

Chapter 3

- 3.1. Ground plan of 1931 Baiyun guan after Oyanagi.
- 3.2. *Wang lingguan*. Ming. Wood, approximately 120 cm.
- 3.3.1. Anonymous, *Marshal Zhao*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.
- 3.3.2. Anonymous, *Marshal Ma*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.
- 3.3.3. Anonymous, *Marshal Wen*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.
- 3.3.4. Anonymous, *Marshal Yue*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.
- 3.4. Screen surrounding the statue of Wang lingguan (back view). Modern after 1994. Wood.
- 3.5. Plan of location of statues in Jade Emperor Hall (Yuhuang dian) in early 20th century after Yoshioka.
- 3.6. *Jade Emperor*. Ming. Wood, approximately 180 cm.
- 3.7. *Jade Emperor*. Detail. Throne. Ming. Wood, approximately 180 cm.
- 3.8. Qing imperial throne in Shenyang.
- 3.9. Anonymous, *Portrait of Ming Yongle Emperor*. Detail. Dragon head indicated by square. Ming. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 220 x 150 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- 3.10.1. *Daoist adept, Zhang Daoling, Xu Xun* from left. Ming. Bronze.
- 3.10.2. *Daoist adept, Ge Xuan, Sa Shoujian* from right. Ming. Bronze.
- 3.11. Anonymous, *Stars of Northern Dipper*. Late Qing or modern. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.12. Anonymous, *Stars of Southern Dipper*. Late Qing or modern. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.

- 3.13. Anonymous, *Inspection Tour*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.14. Anonymous, *Inspection Tour*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.15.1. Anonymous, *Stars of East in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.15.2. Anonymous, *Stars of West in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.15.3. Anonymous, *Stars of South in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.15.4. Anonymous, *Stars of North in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.
- 3.16.1. *Ma Yu, Tan Chudian, and Liu Chuxuan* from right. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in 1931 after Oyanagi.
- 3.16.2. *Sun Bu'er, Wang Chuyi, and Hao Datong* from left. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in 1931 after Oyanagi.
- 3.17.1. *Ma Yu, Tan Chudian, and Liu Chuxuan* from right. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in since early 1990s after Hachiya.
- 3.17.2. *Sun Bu'er, Hao Datong, and Wang Chuyi* from left. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in since early 1990s after Hachiya.
- 3.18. *Qiu Changchun*. Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiuzu dian). Photograph taken in 1931 after Oyanagi.
- 3.19. *Qiu Changchun with two attendant figures*. Ming. Dry lacquer, approximately 160 cm.
- 3.20. Hanging sculpture depicting Qiu's journey to the Central Asia. Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiuzu dian). Ca. 2000.
- 3.21. Statue of Laozi in front of Three Purities after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.22.1. *Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.
- 3.22.2. *Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.
- 3.22.3. *Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.
- 3.23. *Triad of Three Religions in Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force (Xingming guizhi)*. 1669 edition.
- 3.24.1. *Emperors of Southern Pole and Purple Tenuity* with the tablet of the Jade Emperor in the center. Qing. Clay-mold dry lacquer, 130 cm.
- 3.24.2. *Empress of the Earth, Emperor of Southern Pole, Emperor of Purple Tenuity, Celestial Emperor* (clockwise). Qing. Clay-mold dry lacquer, 130 cm.
- 3.25. *Zhenwu*. Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian). Photograph taken by Hedda Morrison.
- 3.26. *Zhenwu*. Late Ming?. Bronze, approximately 200 cm.
- 3.27.1. *Tianpeng*. Ming. Bronze.
- 3.27.2. *Tianyou*. Ming. Bronze.

- 3.28. *Wang Changyue*. Late Qing.
- 3.29. East wall of Offspring Hall (Zisun tang) after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.30.1. *Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn (Bixia yuanjun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 140 cm.
- 3.30.2. *Goddess of Heavenly Flower (Tianhua niangniang), Goddess of Eyesight (Yan'guang niangniang), Goddess of Children (Songzi niangniang), Goddess of Birth (Cuisheng niangniang)* (clockwise). Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 120 cm.
- 3.31. *Lü Dongbin*. Ming. Wood, 95 cm.
- 3.32.1. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *Han Xiangzi and Cao Guojiu*. Late Qing. Framed hangingscroll, ink and light colors on paper.
- 3.32.2. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *Lan Caihe and Zhang Guolao*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.
- 3.32.3. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.
- 3.32.4. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *He Xian'gu and Li Tieguai*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.
- 3.33.1. Ancestral Patriarch Lü Hall (Lüzü dian). Detail. Plaques.
- 3.33.2. Ancestral Patriarch Lü Hall (Lüzü dian). Detail. Plaques.
- 3.34. *Zhang Sanfeng*. Hall of Abundant Truth (Fengzhen dian) after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.35. *Zhang Ben*. Hall of Confucian Immortal (Ruxian dian) after Oyanagi.
- 3.36. *Jingsu Jiuku Sanguan Caishen Yaowang sidian shengxiang ji* [Record of Reverently Enshrining Statues in Savior from Suffering Hall, Hall of the Three Officials, Wealth-god Hall and Medicine King Hall] (1990) on the south-western corner of exterior wall in Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian).
- 3.37.1. *God of Earth*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.
- 3.37.2. *God of Heaven*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.
- 3.37.3. *God of Water*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.
- 3.38.1. *Martial Wealth-god Zhao Gongming*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.38.2. *Civil Wealth-god Bi Gan*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.38.3. *Martial Wealth-god Guan Yu*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.39. *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* [Record of Restoring/Building Halls of Ancestral Masters in Baiyun guan] (1828) by Wanyan Linqing on the north-western corner of exterior wall in Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian) (upper one).
- 3.40.1. *Sun Simiao*. After 1990. Painted wood, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.40.2. *Hua Tuo*. After 1990. Painted wood, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.40.3. *Zhang Xian*. After 1990. Painted wood, approximately 190 cm.

- 3.41. *Heavenly Worthy Savior from Suffering (Jiuku tianzun)*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.
- 3.42. *Zhenjun dian xianghuo jie* [Stele of Donating Incense in Zhenjun Hall] (1844) on the eastern corner of southern wall at Hall of Three Star Lords (Sanxing dian).
- 3.43.1. Hua Tuo after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.43.2. Three doctors on the west side of Hua Tuo after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.44.1. *God of Happiness*. 2000. Painted wood, 180 cm.
- 3.44.2. *God of Emolument*. 2000. Painted wood, 180 cm.
- 3.44.3. *God of Longevity*. 2000. Painted wood, 180 cm.
- 3.45.1. *Baiyun guan Huozu dian xiangdeng bushi leming zhi beiji* [Record of Stele Regarding the Donation of Incense at Fire-god Hall in Baiyun guan] (1826), Wanyan Linqing on the eastern corner of Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian).
- 3.45.2. *Yongqing shanhui bei* [Stele of Philanthropic Association of Everlasting Blessings] (1826) on the western corner of Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian).
- 3.46. *Guanyin with Shancai and Longnu*. 2000. Painted wood, 210 cm.
- 3.47. Old Man of South Pole (Nanji) laoren after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.48. *God of Thunder*. 1602. Bronze, 270 cm.
- 3.49.1. *Generals in Thunder Department on west*. 1602. Bronze, 190 cm.
- 3.49.2. *Generals in Thunder Department on east*. 1602. Bronze, 190 cm.
- 3.50. *God of Literature (Wenchang)*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 200 cm.
- 3.51.1. *Confucius*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.51.2. *Zhu Xi*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.52.1. *Attendant officials*. 1602. Bronze, 170 cm.
- 3.52.2. *Tiannong and Diya*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 190 cm.
- 3.52.3. *Attendant figures*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 170 cm.
- 3.52.4. *Attendant figures*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 170 cm.
- 3.53. *General*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 225 cm.
- 3.54. Four statues in Eight Immortals Hall (Baxian dian) after Hedda Morrison.
- 3.55.1. *He Xian'gu, Lü Dongbin, Lan Caihe, Li Teiguai* on west wall. 2001. Painted wood, approximately 135 cm.
- 3.55.2. *Cao Guojiu, Han Xiangzi, Zhang Guolao, Zhongli Quan* on east wall. 2001. Painted wood, approximately 135 cm.
- 3.56.1. *Dipper Mother*. 2000. Painted wood, approximately 180 cm.
- 3.56.2. *Sixty Root Destiny*. 2000. Painted wood, approximately 120 cm.

Chapter 4

- 4.1. *Qiu Changchun*. 1228. Dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.
- 4.2. Illustrated portrait of Qiu Changchun in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)*.

- 4.3. Image of Qiu Changchun found in *Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism (Xuanfeng qinghui tu)*: Qiu building Temple of Great Void (Taixu guan).
- 4.4.1. Skeleton lecture on west hall in Chongyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong): Qiu Changchun wearing the blue robe.
- 4.4.2. Rejection of an unworthy man on west wall in Chongyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong): Qiu Changchun on the far left.
- 4.4.3. Arrest of the stone on west wall in Chongyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong): Qiu Changchun on the far left.
- 4.5.1. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.5.2. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.5.3. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.5.4. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.6. Seven Perfected in Dragon Mountains (Shanxi) after Tokiwa Daijō.
- 4.7. Depiction of Three Teachers Hall indicated by square in *Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism (Xuanfeng qinghui tu)*.
- 4.8. Illustrated portrait of Ma Yu in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)*.
- 4.9.1. Anonymous, *Ma Yu, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.9.2. Anonymous, *Ma Yu, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.9.3. Anonymous, *Ma Yu, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.
- 4.10. Statue of Lü Dongbin depicted in Chunyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong).
- 4.11. Illustrated portrait of Lü Dongbin in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)*.
- 4.12. Birthday celebration of Lü Dongbin depicted in Chunyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong).
- 4.13.1. *Ma Yu, Tan Chudian and Liu Chuxuan* from right. 1509. Dry lacquer, 145 cm (Ma Yu), 140 cm (Tan Chudian, Liu Chuxuan).

- 4.13.2. Wang Chuyi, Hao Datong, and Sun Bu'er from right. 1509. Dry lacquer, 140 cm.
- 4.14. Liu Chuxuan in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)* and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.
- 4.15. Hao Datong in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)* and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.
- 4.16. Sun Bu'er in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)* and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.
- 4.17. Tan Chudian in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)* and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.
- 4.18. Wang Chuyi in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)* and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.
- 4.19. Ma Yu. 1509. Dry lacquer, 145 cm.
- 4.20. Wang Zhe in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)*.
- 4.21. Ma Yu in *Precious Biography of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals (Qizhen tianxian baozhuan)*.
- 4.22. Wang Chuyi in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission (Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan)* and in *Precious Goodness Scroll (Baoshan juan)*.

Chapter 5

- 5.1. *Qiu Changchun*. 1506. Dry lacquer, approximately 160 cm.
- 5.2. *Qiu Changchun*. Detail. 1506. Dry lacquer, approximately 160 cm.
- 5.3. *Qiu Changchun*. Detail. 1228. Dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.
- 5.4. Daoist robe excavated at the tomb of Yan Deyuan after *Wenwu*.
- 5.5. Anonymous, *Daoist ritual from the Plum in the golden vase*. Qing. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk, 39 x 31.2 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.
- 5.6. Anonymous, *The Immortal Zhang Guolao*. Ming. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 183.8 x 104.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- 5.7. Donghua dijun in the *Complete Compendium of the Deities of the Three Religions and Their Origins (Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan)*.
- 5.8. Song Lun in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals (Youxiang liexian quanzhuan)*.
- 5.9. Guangchengzi in *Illustrated Compendium of Three Realms (Sancai tuhui)*.
- 5.10. Wood Sire in Three Purities Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy.

- 5.11. Wu Wei, *Discussing the Dao*. Ming. Handscroll, ink on paper, 30 x 97.5 cm. Tianjin Municipal Art Museum.
- 5.12. *Yi Jiang* at Sage Mother Hall, Jin Shrine
- 5.13. *Guandi*, Jinci in Shanxi. Ming.
- 5.14. Heilong tan after Morrison.
- 5.15. Anonymous, *Original Portrait of the Perfected Qiu*. 1804. Hanging scroll, colors on silk.
- 5.16. Sun Simiao in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals (Youxiang liexian quanzhuan)*.
- 5.17. Qiu Changchun in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals (Youxiang liexian quanzhuan)*.
- 5.18. Qiu Changchun in *An Account of the Cause and Effect of the Seven Perfected (Qizhen yingguo zhuan)*.
- 5.19. Qiu (wearing a blue robe) meeting with Genghis Khan in Patriarch Qiu Hall.

INTRODUCTION

In the southwestern part of the city of Beijing 北京, just outside of the Xibian 西便 gate, the Chinese Daoist temple Baiyun guan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Temple) stands amid a cluster of residences.¹ Since its foundation as an imperially sponsored temple during the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-906), it has flourished and declined with the waxing and waning of political dynasties. Active still today, Baiyun guan exemplifies the ancient and living traditions of the Quanzhen 全真 school, a popular Daoist movement that emerged in north China during the Jin 金 dynasty (1115-1234).² Since the Yuan 元 dynasty (1279-1368), Baiyun guan has been a major Quanzhen Daoist site, and as indicated by its title “Daojiao Quanzhen di yi conglin 道教全真第一叢林 [First Public Monastery of Quanzhen Daoism],” it now serves as the head monastery of Quanzhen Daoism.³

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I will use the name Baiyun guan instead of its English translation, “White Cloud Temple.”

² In this study, I use the original term Quanzhen Daoism instead of translations. It is commonly rendered as “Perfect Realization” or “Complete Perfection,” but recent scholarship uses the alternate translation “Completion of Authenticity” related to teachings and training method of the Quanzhen Daoism. For the new interpretation, see Vincent Goossaert and Paul R. Katz, “Special Issue: New Perspectives on Quanzhen Taoism. The Formation of Religious Identity,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 91. See also Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2007), 814.

³ It is not clear when the title plaque appeared. When Yoshioka Yoshitoyo visited the temple in 1941, the title plaque was hung at the entrance of the temple. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō no kenkyū* 道教の研究 [Research on Daoism] (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1952), 216.

The primary focus of this dissertation is the historical development of Baiyun guan with an emphasis on the impact of patronage and religious sectarianism on artistic representation at the temple. A detailed study of the temple reveals the plans and intentions of the patrons evident in the growth and change of its architecture and enshrined images. This study also interprets the meaning and function of the iconography of the temple in light of religious sectarianism. Baiyun guan, with over a thousand years of history, exhibits a dynamic landscape of Daoist images and practices.

1. Religious Background

Quanzhen Daoism appeared approximately in 1170 as one of a number of popular Daoist movements, teaching immortality techniques or inner alchemy (*neidan*) 内丹 to lay congregations.⁴ The founder of Quanzhen Daoism was Wang Zhe 王嘉 (1113-1170).⁵ It is believed that Quanzhen began with his mystical encounter with

⁴ For the history, teachings and doctrine of Quanzhen Daoism, see Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠, *Chūgoku no shūkyō kaigaku: Zhenshinkyō no seiritsu* 中国の宗教改革: 全真教の成立 [Religious Reformation in China: the Formation of Quanzhen Daoism] (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1968). Yao Tao-chung, “Ch’uan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1980). Stephen Eskildsen, “The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch’uan-chen Taoism” (master’s thesis, University of British Columbia, 1989). Vincent Goossaert, “La création de taoïsme moderne l’ordre Quanzhen” (PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1997).

⁵ For the biographical information, see *Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記 [Record of True Line Transmission of the Golden Lotus School] (1241), Qin Zhian 秦志安 (1188-1244) in the Daoist Canon (DZ 173).

In consulting the Daoist Canon printed during the Zhengtong 正統 reign (1439-1449) of the Ming dynasty, I follow the classification and translation made by Kristofer Schipper and use the abbreviation DZ in this study. Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004).

and receipt of secret instruction from two immortals in 1159.⁶ These two immortals were later identified as Zhongli Zhengyang 鐘離正陽 and Lü Chunyang 呂純陽. Their names inspired Wang's Daoist style name 'Chongyang 重陽' or 'Double Yang.'⁷ After receiving the secret teaching, Wang left his native Shanxi 山西 and went to the east, especially to Ninghai 寧海, Shandong 山東, to find disciples. In the late years of his life, with his seven disciples, later known as the Seven Perfected 七真, Wang formed religious organizations and disseminated teachings in Shandong.⁸

Wang Zhe's seven disciples were Ma Yu 馬鈺 (1123-1184), Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (1123-1185), Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (1147-1203), Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148-1227), Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142-1217), Hao Datong 郝大通 (1140-1213), and Sun Bu'er 孫不二 (1119-1183).⁹ After Wang's death, leadership was handed down to Ma Yu, Wang's first disciple, then to Tan Chuduan, Liu Chuxuan, and Qiu Chuji. Qiu Chuji, better known by his Daoist style name Qiu Changchun 丘長春, who was the youngest disciple of Wang Zhe, became the most significant figure in the development of the Quanzhen sect of Daoism.

⁶ Unlike other Daoist traditions, Quanzhen is not a revelation and there is no founding scripture on which the whole tradition can be said to rest.

⁷ Zhongli Zhengyang refers to Zhongli Quan 鐘離權 and Lü Chunyang to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓. Both are members of the Five Ancestral Patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism or *wuzu* 五祖.

⁸ *Qizhen* or Seven Perfected may refer to two groups of figures: Wang Zhe and his six male disciples, and the seven disciples of Wang including the female adept Sun Bu'er. Both lists of *qizhen* existed during the thirteenth century; however, since the late thirteenth century, list including Sun became more common. For more information, see Pierre Marsone, "The Accounts of the Foundation of the Quanzhen Movement: A Hagiographic Treatment of History," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 107-110.

⁹ Since the Seven Perfected consists of six male figures and one female adept, reference to the Seven Quanzhen 'Patriarchs' is not entirely accurate. However, in this study, I use the term 'patriarchs' in the collective sense without any gender-oriented distinction.

Qiu Changchun, a native of Qixia 棲霞 county in Dengzhou 登州 (currently located in Shandong), was nineteen when he met Wang. He learned inner alchemy techniques and later went to Panxi 磻溪 in Shaanxi 陝西, where he spent six years. He stayed in Longmen 龍門 (in Shaanxi) for another seven years. In 1191, he returned to his native Shandong. His religious efficacy resulted in many invitations for audiences with different rulers, notably Emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1188-1208) of the Jin dynasty in 1188 and, in 1222, with Genghis Khan (1162-1227), the founder of the Mongol empire. As a result of his journey to Qunduz in present-day Afghanistan to meet with the Khan, Quanzhen Daoism received political sponsorship for the first time.

Qiu Changchun features prominently in the formation of Baiyun guan's sectarian identity. The present complex of the Baiyun guan temple was founded on Qiu's burial site. With the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, however, Quanzhen Daoism lost its imperial patronage and declined. In the following Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644), non-Quanzhen clerics resided in Baiyun guan. Nevertheless, they, as well as visitors from different social strata, considered the temple Quanzhen since its worship hall continued to enshrine images of Qiu Changchun and the temple sponsored his well-known yearly birthday festival.¹⁰

¹⁰ For the Quanzhen Daoism during the Ming dynasty, see Chen Bing 陈兵, "Mingdai Quanzhen dao 明代全真道 [Quanzhen Daoism in the Ming dynasty]," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 1 (1992): 40-51.

The institutional revival of the Quanzhen sect occurred in the Qing 清 dynasty (1644-1911). The Daoist priest Wang Changyue 王常月 (1522?-1680) revived the Longmen 龍門 lineage of Quanzhen Daoism through his service at Baiyun guan and his performance of ordination ritual there in the late seventeenth century.¹¹ The Longmen lineage, while sharing the major doctrinal principles of Quanzhen Daoism, specifies its founding patriarch as Qiu Changchun, once again indicating his significant role at Baiyun guan.¹² A codified lineage appeared at Baiyun guan in the mid-nineteenth century and, as a result, it reinforced its identity as a Quanzhen temple.

After the collapse of the Qing dynasty, Baiyun guan's Quanzhen identity was preserved by Daoist clerics residing at the temple till 1950. Following the establishment of the Communist government in 1949, the Chinese Daoist Association

¹¹ The name Longmen derives from the name of the place in Shaanxi 陝西 where Qiu Chuji spent seven years doing self-cultivation. The name 'Longmen' affiliated with an institutional entity was firstly mentioned in *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 [Transmission of the Mind-Lamp from Mount Jin'gai] by Min Yide 閔一得 in 1817. Min Yide (1748-1836), a native of Wuxing (Zhejiang 浙江), is the eleventh patriarch of the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen, also regarded as the founder of Shanghai sub-lineage of Longmen Daoism. His writing *Jin'gai xindeng* focuses on the Longmen tradition based on Mount Jin'gai in Zhejiang as the title indicates. This text appears in Hu Daojing 胡道靜, ed., *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Daoist Canon] (Chengdu: Bashu, 1992) 31: 158-372. For more information on Longmen Daoism, see Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 中國道教史 [History of Daoism in China] (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996), 4: 77-181. Chen Bing 陳兵, "Qingdai Quanzhen dao Longmen pai de zhongxing 清代全真道龍門派的中興 [Renewal of Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in the Qing dynasty]," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 2 (1988): 84-96. Monica Esposito, "The Longmen School and its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty," in *Religion and Chinese Society*, vol. 2, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), 621-698.

¹² Despite the textual appearance of the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in the early nineteenth century, it seems that Qiu Changchun may have been known as the founding patriarch of the Longmen lineage in popular lore during the Qing dynasty as is evident in *Qizhen tianxian baozhuan* 七真天仙寶傳 [Precious Biography of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals], compiled in 1712. *Qizhen tianxian baozhuan*, compiled in the capital region, contains the brief biography of Qiu Changchun in the first *juan*, and it tells that Qiu is a founding patriarch of Longmen lineage/Daoism. "Qizhen tianxian baozhuan 七真天仙寶傳 [Precious Biography of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals]," in *Minjian baojuan* 民間寶卷 [Precious Scroll of Popular Religion], ed. Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian chengbian juan weiyuan hui (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005), 12: 217.

中国道教协会 was founded in 1957 at the temple, and also continued the Quanzhen tradition. Due to the social and political chaos culminating in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Baiyun guan was closed for almost fifteen years.¹³ When it reopened in 1980, it resumed its traditional activities, including the ordination rituals that constitute a major responsibility of a public monastery (*conglin*) 丛林. Due to its historical significance, Baiyun guan was selected as an Important National Cultural Heritage Preservation Unit 全國重點文物保護單位 in 2001 by the Chinese government.¹⁴

As an active Quanzhen Daoist temple, Baiyun guan has its own pantheon of deities. This study refers to the collection of gods portrayed in Baiyun guan at any given time as the Baiyun guan pantheon. Certainly, the origins of some of the Daoist deities displayed in Baiyun guan predate the development of the Quanzhen movement in Daoism and the founding of the Baiyun guan temple. However, within the physical or architectural setting of the temple complex, these and other beings serve as integral members of the temple pantheon. Over its long history, Baiyun guan was frequently restored or rebuilt, and the preferences of its patrons and clergy affected its pantheon.¹⁵ In other words, the temple has not had a fixed pantheon although it

¹³ The primary goal of the Cultural Revolution was the abolishment of Four Olds (Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits and Old Ideas), and religious temples were one of the principal targets for destruction. Fortunately, Baiyun guan was able to avoid the complete destruction of its statues and religious paraphernalia because some image halls were emptied for soldiers building the Beijing subway in 1969 and statues were set aside.

¹⁴ In order to protect sites of cultural significance, the Chinese government launched this project in 1961.

¹⁵ Names of halls dedicated to a specific god could be changed as seen in Daoist temples during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Chinese religious institutions had the same plan of courtyard style, which

maintained its Quanzhen identity.¹⁶ The changing of enshrined gods continues even into the twenty-first century, showing the continued vitality of both the pantheon and the temple.

2. Scholarship

Most studies of Baiyun guan have concerned either the religious or social history of the temple. The architecture and art of Baiyun guan have received comparatively little scholarly attention. Japanese researchers initiated study of the religious history of the temple in the early twentieth century. They conducted site surveys and wrote a comprehensive gazetteer. The author of the gazetteer, Oyanagi Shigeta 小柳司氣太 (1870-1940) visited Baiyun guan in 1921-1922 and again in 1931. His *Hakuunkan shi* 白雲觀志 [Gazetteer of Baiyun guan], published in 1934, follows the format and style of traditional Chinese temple gazetteers.¹⁷ The quotations from the Chinese sources, such as *Qinding Rixia jiuwen kao* 欽定日下舊聞考 [Imperially Commissioned Study of ‘Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne’], do not provide a comprehensive picture of the social, political and religious history of the temple, but the gazetteer is still useful for studying religious

showed the adaptability and flexibility of religious buildings. Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 33.

¹⁶ Similarly, Daoist pantheon has always been extremely unstable, because from earliest times, as new divinities were canonized, some older ones disappeared, and their hierarchy also changed over time.

¹⁷ Oyanagi Shigeta 小柳司氣太, *Hakuunkan shi* 白雲觀志 [Gazetteer of Baiyun guan] (Tōkyō: Tōhō bunka gakuin Tōkyō kenkyūjo, 1934). His gazetteer includes information on the history of the temple, lives of Daoist monks, lineage of Quanzhen Daoist, and a transcription of steles. It also includes the ground plan of the temple. In surveying the history of the temple, he quotes earlier historical sources and if necessary, he adds supplementary information.

aspects of the temple.¹⁸ It provides information on the lineage of Quanzhen Daoism, including biographies of important Daoists, and on monastic life, including pure rules and liturgical calendar. In addition, the transcriptions of stele inscriptions are helpful in reconstructing temple patronage.

Another Japanese sinologist, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 (1916-1979), visited Baiyun guan in 1941. He wrote an essay on Daoism at Baiyun guan that contains information similar to that found in Oyanagi's gazetteer. However, Yoshioka's essay also includes a site survey of the temple detailing the location of the halls and images, thus providing an important record of the temple's configuration and its pantheon during the Republican era.¹⁹ Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠 produced another site survey and field report after he visited Baiyun guan in 1942.²⁰ Like Yoshioka, Kubo identified the images in different halls. He also documented monastic life and the religious lineages at Baiyun guan.²¹

¹⁸ Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., *Qinding Rixia jiuwen kao* 欽定日下舊聞考 [Imperially Commissioned Study of 'Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne'] (ca. 1785; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 94: 1575-1586.

¹⁹ Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, *Dōkyō no kenkyū* 道教の研究 [Research on Daoism] (Kyoto: Hozokan, 1952), 195-345. The introduction informs us that he initially published *Hakuunkan no dōkyō* 白雲觀の道教 [Daoism in Baiyun guan] which was included in this book. *Ibid.*, 2-3. The life of Daoist monks in Baiyun guan was published in another book by him. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Eisei e no negai* 永生への願い [In Search of Immortality] (Tōkyō: Tankosha, 1970), 217-228. This chapter was translated into English in the 1970s. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, "Taoist Monastic Life," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 229-252.

²⁰ Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1 北京白雲觀の現状について 1 [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing, Part 1]," *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學 7, no. 1 (1944): 63-72.

²¹ Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 3 北京白雲觀の現状について 3 [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing, Part 3]," *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學 7, no. 3 (1943): 21-30. Kubo also introduces the Daoist Canon preserved at Baiyun guan. See Kubo Noritada

In the late twentieth century, the French sinologist Pierre Marsone wrote a religious history of Baiyun guan with an emphasis on the early twentieth century.²² For the early history of Baiyun guan, he relied heavily on Oyanagi's gazetteer. In 2003, Li Yangzheng 李养正, a Daoist scholar who resides at Baiyun guan and works for the Chinese Daoist Association, compiled *Xinbian Beijing Baiyun guan zhi* 新编北京白云观誌 [New Edition of the Gazetteer of Baiyun guan in Beijing].²³ He surveys the enshrined images, lists stored artifacts, transcribes steles, and collects historical records related to Baiyun guan. In describing the images, he consulted an unpublished gazetteer written in the early 1940s by abbot An Shilin 安世霖 (1901-1946).²⁴ Li Yangzheng's gazetteer is the most extensive study of Baiyun guan, but due to his association with the temple, it is not an impartial source regarding the history of the temple.²⁵

Vincent Goossaert, another French sinologist, recently published *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics*, focusing on the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.²⁶ A chapter of this book treats

窪德忠, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 2 北京白雲觀の現状について 2 [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing, Part 2]," *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學 7, no. 2 (1943): 32-36.

²² Pierre Marsone, "Le Baiyun guan de Pékin: Épigraphie et Histoire," *Materiaux pour l'étude de la religion chinoise-Sanjiao wenxian* 三教文獻 3 (1999): 73-136.

²³ Li Yangzheng 李养正, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyun guan zhi* 新编北京白云观誌 [New Edition of the Gazetteer of Baiyun guan in Beijing] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003).

²⁴ The gazetteer by An Shilin does not survive.

²⁵ The history of Qing dynasty Baiyun guan in his gazetteer reflects the spurious stele inscription written in 1706 without any examination. Further will be discussed in Chapter 1.

²⁶ Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Baiyun guan clerics in relation to monastic life and temple activities, discussing the abbots, daily life at the temple, liturgies, and temple finances.²⁷

Susan Naquin's *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* mentions Baiyun guan only briefly, but she places it in the broad context of temples in the urban life of Beijing.²⁸ By covering a great number of temples in the imperial capital for over five hundred years, Naquin illuminates patterns of construction, renovation, sectarian affiliation, patronage, religious activity, and worship. The religious and cultural functions of many of the temples discussed are comparable to those of Baiyun guan.

The architecture at Baiyun guan has recently been presented, albeit very generally, in larger histories of Daoist art and religious architecture.²⁹ However, a detailed, comprehensive analysis of the architectural features of Baiyun guan is still lacking. Scholarship on the paintings and sculptures in Baiyun guan consists primarily of narrowly focused articles or entries in catalogues or dictionaries. Eleanor von Erdberg Consten, for instance, analyzed a statue of Laozi traditionally dated to the Tang dynasty and reassigned it to the thirteenth century on the basis of style.³⁰ After the publication of this article in 1942, no further scholarship on the art in Baiyun guan appeared until the 1994, when images in Baiyun guan were briefly

²⁷ Chapter 3 of *The Taoist of Peking* discusses the Daoist priests of Baiyun guan. Ibid., 134-168.

²⁸ Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

²⁹ Nancy Steinhardt, "Taoist Architecture," in *Taoism and Arts of China*, eds. Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, in association with University of California Press, 2000), 73. See also Qiao Yun, *Taoist Buildings: Ancient Chinese Architecture* (New York: Springer-Wien, 2001), 130-140 and Sun Dazhang 孙大章, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中国古代建筑史, *Di 5 juan* 第五卷: *Qingdai jianzhu* 清代建筑 [History of Chinese Traditional Architecture: Architecture of Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu chubanshe, 2002), 5: 363-364.

³⁰ Eleanor von Erdberg Consten, "A Statue of Lao-tsu in the Po-yun-kuan," *Monumenta Serica* 7, no. 6 (1942): 235-241.

discussed in *Daojiao meishu shihua* 道教美术史话 [Historical Survey of Daoist Art] by Wang Yi'e 王宜峨.³¹ The same author treated some of the Baiyun guan images in *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典 [Great Dictionary of Daoism] and *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian* 中华道教大辞典 [Great Dictionary in Chinese Daoism], both published in 1995.³² Wang's publications give the subjects and dates of paintings stored in the temple and the materials and sizes of some of the sculptures. She does not include the sculptures of Qiu Changchun or of the seven Quanzhen patriarchs, despite their significance to the Baiyun guan pantheon. They are discussed in the present study.

Several paintings belonging to Baiyun guan were published by the Chinese Daoist Association in 1995 in *Daojiao shenxian huaji* 道教神仙画集 [Albums for Taoist Deities and Divine Immortals], but identified only by their titles.³³ In 2000, five paintings from Baiyun guan appeared in the landmark exhibition "Taoism and the Arts of China" organized by Stephen Little and are discussed in the catalogue.³⁴ Recently, Liu Xun wrote an article relating a set of paintings on Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君 in Baiyun guan to Qing court patronage of the temple.³⁵ Specifically, he argues

³¹ Wang Yi'e 王宜峨, *Daojiao meishu shihua* 道教美术史话 [Historical Survey of Daoist Art] (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan chubanshe, 1994).

³² Zhongguo daojiao xiehui 中国道教协会, ed., *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典 [Great Dictionary of Daoism] (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1995), 402. Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, ed., *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian* 中华道教大辞典 [Great Dictionary in Chinese Daoism] (Beijing: Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1995), 1639-1640.

³³ Zhang Jiyu 张继禹, ed., *Daojiao shenxian huaji* 道教神仙画集 [Albums for Taoist Deities and Divine Immortals] (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1995).

³⁴ Little, 228-231, 302-305, 344-347.

³⁵ Liu Xun, "Visualizing Perfection: Daoist Paintings of Our Lady, Court Patronage, and Elite Female Piety in the Late Qing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64, no. 1 (2004): 57-115.

that they were produced under the patronage of Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908) for the elite female devotees.

Also relevant to the present dissertation is Wang Yucheng's 2003 book on Ming dynasty pictorial representations of the Quanzhen patriarchs.³⁶ This in-depth study is the first to clarify iconographies of the Quanzhen patriarchs.

In sum, while the Baiyun guan has been studied from the perspective of religious history and aspects of the temple's art and architecture have been examined, much work remains to be done on relationships between the art and architecture and the sectarian history of the temple and its patronage.

3. Issues and Methodology

This dissertation focuses on historical and art historical developments of the Baiyun guan, with an emphasis on patronage as it is visually manifested in the art and architecture from the Tang dynasty to the present. In particular, I address how this relationship has affected the functions and identities of specific halls over the course of the temple's history.

In addition to providing a detailed study of the present temple complex, its halls and iconographic programs, I draw on primary sources, such as local gazetteers, epigraphy, standard histories, Daoist texts, travel records, and personal writings (*biji* 筆記 or *wenji* 文集). These sources provide information on temple construction

³⁶ Wang Yucheng 王育成, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu yanjiu* 明代彩繪全真宗祖圖研究 [Research on Paintings of Quanzhen Patriarchs from Ming Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2003).

projects, patronage, rituals performed, festivals, and visitors. Accounts of the founding and restorations of the temple by patrons occur mainly in epigraphic sources from steles at Baiyun guan and local gazetteers. For descriptions of scenery, atmosphere, ritual events and festival days, I rely primarily on literati travel accounts from the Ming and Qing dynasties. By utilizing such diverse sources, this dissertation provides a broad picture of the temple and temple life.

Historical sources indicate that the temple was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty and restored in the Qing dynasty. The arbitrary use of certain terms found in the historical texts, such as founding, restoration, rebuilding, and refurbishing (*chongxiu* 重修, *chongjian* 重建, *zaixiu* 再修) makes it difficult to determine the exact dates of buildings. As Naquin points out, the difference between founding and restoring in textual sources was often blurred because sites were expanded, contracted and reused, and halls were rebuilt and transformed or partially rebuilt all at once or in stages.³⁷ For this reason, I have investigated stylistic elements in individual halls including brackets, roof tiles, and building materials to clarify the dates of buildings. To clarify chronology further, I also compare architectural features found in the halls of Baiyun guan with contemporary religious buildings in the same locality.

Primary sources and the work of the early-twentieth century Japanese sinologists make it possible to reconstruct the development of the Baiyun guan pantheon, including the shifting hierarchies among gods, through the middle of the twentieth century. Comparison of my own site survey and the photo documentation

³⁷ Naquin, *Peking*, 59.

of temple with the documentation by Japanese scholars sheds light on changes made since the 1940s.

Different methodologies are employed in this study in order to relate the images of Quanzhen patriarchs to the temple's sectarian history. Primary sources reveal how and in what context the statues of Quanzhen patriarchs were made and used, but I also use iconographic study and visual analysis to explain the functions and meanings of these images.

Lastly, by attending temple festivals and rituals, I gained firsthand information about the impact of the images on participants in these events. Comparison of my observations with those of late Qing and early Republican era visitors suggests that the significance of traditional gods and the use of their abodes at Baiyun guan is shifting, with modern beliefs and practices, despite its continuation of the Quanzhen tradition.

4. Content and Organization

This study is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 explores the history of Baiyun guan, focusing on the patronage, cultural functions, and on the formation of its religious identity. It shows how the temple changed as political dynasties rose and fell, and how patronage at any given time determined the focus of worship in the temple. This chapter also introduces the history of the cult of Qiu Changchun and its wide dissemination as testified by various textual sources. As a result of specific identity-defining activities, including special patronage of the hall where Qiu

Changchun is enshrined and celebration of his birthday, Baiyun guan was considered a Quanzhen temple in the Ming dynasty. The significance of Qiu Changchun continued in the Qing dynasty, and the cult spread to a great extent beyond the imperial capital during this time period. In the late Qing period, the temple clerics established the legitimate Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in Baiyun guan in order to promote Wang Changyue. In addition to the compilation of hagiographies, a new pantheon showing the proper Quanzhen hierarchy was created with images in the temple.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed description of the current location of the halls at Baiyun guan. This includes an analysis of architectural features in the halls that, when coupled with an examination of textual sources, clarifies the dating of the halls. It is evident that the buildings on the central axis show features of Qing architecture with a few remnants of Ming elements, while most of the ancillary halls were built towards the late Qing period during the late eighteenth to late nineteenth century.

Chapter 3 focuses on the contextualization of the imagery of the pantheon at Baiyun guan. The iconographic program of each hall is discussed as it was in the 1930s and 1940s and as it is now, and motives behind the changes are explored. Comparison between the temple then and now also demonstrates the crucial role the Chinese Daoist Association has played in preserving the identity of the temple as a Quanzhen Daoist site. However, significant modification on peripheral halls, such as the inclusion of popular deities in the late twentieth century, represents recent trends in lay devotional practices.

Chapter 4 focuses on the development and historical context of the present Hall of Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang) 老律堂. First, it presents a detailed study of initial construction of the hall as a memorial shrine and its related function as Quanzhen patriarch worship during the late Jin and Yuan dynasties. Then, I examine the change of the name of the hall and the elaboration of its iconographic program by non-Quanzhen clerics during the Ming dynasty. Lastly, the restoration of the temple's religious identity during the Qing dynasty associated with an assignment of new functions of performance of Quanzhen rituals to the hall will be examined. This examination reveals the function of the hall, including the image initially related to the Quanzhen patriarch worship. It is also evident that the iconographic change of configuration of their enshrinement during the Ming still demonstrates a Quanzhen identity regardless of non-Quanzhen patronage. However, the restoration of temple's religious identity during the Qing dynasty reinforces the function of this hall as a locus of temple's liturgy, for the performance of Quanzhen rituals.

Chapter 5 examines the shifting iconographies of the sculpture of Qiu Changchun enshrined in the Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiu zu dian) 邱祖殿. This chapter demonstrates the close relationship between the appearance of new iconography of Qiu and popular cult during the Ming, and discusses the change of his iconography in the nineteenth century by temple clerics of Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoists to present an idealized immortal figure.

This study ends in Chapter 6 with concluding remarks on the significance of Baiyun guan and reiterates the important points made in previous chapters regarding

the historical and religious development of the temple, its architectural characteristics, the changing Baiyun guan pantheon despite the preservation of Quanzhen identity, development of the cult of the immortal and the use of images in relevant liturgies at the temple. These interrelated topics clearly indicate that Baiyun guan was constantly transformed, while preserving its core identity as a Quanzhen Daoist site. Baiyun guan, still an active center of worship in the present day, has persisted and exhibited shifting trends in Daoist practice over centuries. Thus, Baiyun guan is not only a sacred site, but also a key site in the history of Daoist art and in the wider history of Chinese Daoism.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF BAIYUN GUAN: PATRONAGE, BUILDINGS, AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

In this chapter, I examine the history of Baiyun guan, especially the history of building, rebuilding and renovation that helped to maintain its religious identity.¹ Over the centuries, Baiyun guan served different purposes, reflecting the intentions and plans of its patrons. From the Tang dynasty onward, the fortunes of the temple (as well as its name) changed as political dynasties rose and fell. The Quanzhen patriarch Qiu Changchun was an important figure in the flourishing of Quanzhen Daoism as well as in the formation of temple's religious identity and its gradual acceptance. Through different activities, including the birthday festival of Qiu Changchun and the enshrinement of images of the god, the temple became a notable site for the cult of Qiu Changchun during the Ming dynasty. The significance of Qiu Changchun in the history of the temple was never overshadowed, and his cult spread during the Qing dynasty as well. Towards the end of the Qing dynasty, the temple clerics established the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in Baiyun guan, promoting both Qiu Changchun, as a founding patriarch, and Wang Changyue 王常月 (1522?-1680), as his successor. In order to emphasize the temple's religious

¹ A detailed discussion of the current temple complex and each building is provided in the next chapter.

identity and lend it a greater legitimacy, late Qing patrons compiled hagiographies of Quanzhen masters and displayed images to create the orthodox hierarchy by rearranging gods and deities arrayed in the temple.

1. Origins in the Tang Dynasty (618-907)

Historical texts trace the origin of Baiyun guan back to the Tang dynasty. The earliest evidence regarding the building and later restoration of the temple is a stele inscription titled *Stele of Reconstruction of Tianchang guan by Liu Jiuxiao of the Tang Dynasty* (*Tang Liu Jiuxiao zaixiu Tianchang guan bei*) 唐劉九霄再修天長觀碑, which was copied by the Daoist Li Zhiren 李知仁 in 866 and later quoted in the *Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuan yitong zhi*) 元一統志.² It states:

Tianchang guan (Temple of Celestial Longevity): Kaiyuan [era] Emperor of Sagely Civility, the Numinous Martial Prowess and the Greatest Dao purified his heart and respected the Dao to venerate the Great Sage Ancestor of the Mysterious Origin.³

天長觀，開元聖文神武至道皇帝齋心敬道，以奉玄元大聖祖。

² The historical record of the *Yuan yitong zhi* is no longer extant; however, it was quoted in a later source, *Rixia jiuwen kao*. The text contains the summary of restoration of Tianchang guan called *Tang Liu Jiuxiao zaixiu Tianchang guan bei* 唐劉九霄再修天長觀碑 [Stele of Reconstruction of Tianchang guan by Liu Jiuxiao in Tang Dynasty] written by Liu Jiuxiao. The stele of the restoration of Tianchang guan was carved by the associate judge of military governor (*jiedu yatui* 節都御推) Liu Jiuxiao to commemorate Zhang Yunshen 張允伸. The text I used is a 1985 facsimile of the original text compiled approximately in 1785. Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., *Qinding Rixia jiuwen kao* 欽定日下舊聞考 [Imperial Commissioned Study of ‘Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne’] (ca. 1785; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1985), 94: 1581. For the translation of official titles, I consulted Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

³ According to *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書, the title of “Xuanyuan da shengzu” was bestowed on Laozi in 743. *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [Standard History of the Tang Dynasty], *juan*. 5. Xu Jialu 許嘉璐, ed., *Ershisi shi quanyi* 二十四史全譯 [Complete Translation of the Twenty-Four Dynasties of Chinese History] (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004), 17, pt. 1:109.

According to the inscription, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756) enshrined the statue of Laozi, the Great Sage Ancestor of the Mysterious Origin in Tianchang guan or the Temple of Celestial Longevity. Since the reign title of Xuanzong “Kaiyuan shengwen shenwu” was first introduced in 739, the enshrinement might have occurred around this time.⁴ The temple was built in the Hebei 河北 district (fig.1.1), far away from the Tang capital Chang’an 長安, as a result of the emperor’s order in 737 that all districts have a temple dedicated to Laozi called Imperial Temple of the Mysterious Origin (Xuanyuan huangdi miao) 玄元皇帝廟.⁵ Laozi was regarded as an ancestor of the Tang ruling house.⁶

In the following year (738), Xuanzong ordered all districts to select one Daoist temple and one Buddhist monastery for conversion into official institutions that were to be given the title “Kaiyuan,” the name of his reign.⁷ Accordingly, the temple became known as “Kaiyuan Xuanyuan huangdi miao.” As such, it was also the site of the imperial birthday celebration when, in 739, Xuanzong ordered the celebration of his birthday (Qianqiu jie) 千秋節 in the various Kaiyuan temples and

⁴ Ibid., 108.

⁵ Here Hebei district is different from the current Hebei province. In the early Tang dynasty, China was divided into ten administrative districts, and Hebei was an important area defending against Khitan in the north.

The building of Tianchang guan is not mentioned in any other contemporary texts.

⁶ The founding of the Tang dynasty was related to millenarian prophecies that a sage-king bearing the surname Li would soon appear, who is Li Yuan 李淵, the founder of Tang dynasty. He is the descendant of Li Er 李耳, the earthly manifestation of Lord Lao, who secretly transmitted Daoist registers and the Heavenly Mandate to Li Yuan. After Li Yuan was enthroned, Laozi was formally designated as “Sage Ancestor (shengzu)” in 620. Livia Kohn and Russell Kirkland, “Daoism in the Tang (618-907),” in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 340-341. For the 737 edict, see Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang hui yao* 唐會要 [Important Documents of the Tang Dynasty] (10th c.; repr., Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1963), 50: 879.

⁷ Charles D. Benn, “Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of Emperor Hsuan-Tsung (712-755)” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1977), 97-106. *Tang hui yao* 50: 879.

monasteries.⁸ In 748, the title of the imperial birthday (Qianqiu) and the Kaiyuan temple in Chang'an were both changed to Tianchang 天長, Celestial Longevity, thus becoming Tianchang jie 天長節 and Tianchang guan, respectively.⁹ It is likely that Xuanzong also instructed all districts with Kaiyuan temples to change their titles to conform to the change in the new title of the imperial birthday, Tianchang. Thus, the Kaiyuan temple in Hebei became Tianchang guan.

The temple may have been damaged in 755, during a rebellion in Hebei district.¹⁰ *Stele of Reconstruction of Tianchang guan by Liu Jiuxiao in the Tang Dynasty* states that the temple had been in ruins for a long time when it was restored by Zhang Yunshen 張允伸 (785-872) sometime between 850 and 866.¹¹ Zhang, a native of Fanyang 范陽, served as a military governor (*jiedu shi*) 節都使 in this area from 850.¹² This stele was copied by the Daoist Li Zhiren 李知仁 in 866.¹³ After

⁸ The imperial birthday (the birthday of Xuanzong) had been celebrated nationally since 729. Benn, 102-103.

⁹ For the change of name of the temple in Chang'an, see *Tang hui yao* 50: 876. When this temple was founded in Chang'an during the Sui 隋 dynasty, its name was Huisheng guan 會聖觀 [Gathering of Sages Temple]. It was renamed Qianqiu guan in 740 (29th year of Kaiyuan era) and the name changed again into Tianchang guan in 748 (7th year of Tianbao 天寶 era).

It seems that Kaiyuan temples changed to Qianqiu temples; however, there is no record of Xuanzong re-designating the name of temples from Kaiyuan to Qianqiu in other districts.

For the change of Qianqiu jie to Tianchang jie, see Wang Mingqing 王明清, *Huichen lu* 揮塵錄 [Record of Huichen] (13th c.; repr., Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 1: 1. Benn, 104.

¹⁰ For the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion, see Denis Twitchett, ed., *Sui and T'ang China*, 589-906 Part I, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 474-486.

¹¹ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1581.

¹² The detailed biography of Zhang Yunshen is found in *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [History of the Tang Dynasty], *juan*. 180. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 16, pt. 6: 4021.

Fanyang was the command headquarters of the Youzhou 幽州 military garrison of Youzhou, an area corresponding to the current city of Beijing. At this time, the military governor had concurrent powers as civil governor and Hebei district was a politically independent region after the rebellion. Enin's diary implies the political independence of Hebei when he traveled there in 845, because the district

this restoration, there is no record of Tianchang guan again until the twelfth century, during the Jin dynasty.

2. Jin Dynasty (1115-1234)

Tianchang guan was restored during the Zhenglong 正隆 era (1156-1161) of the Jin dynasty. This restoration likely resulted from the construction of a new political center, Zhongdu 中都, the Central Capital, in the southwest corner of the area of modern Beijing in 1152. At that time, Tianchang guan served as a depository for government records, but soon after, a fire destroyed the temple and its invaluable documents.¹⁴ During the reign of Emperor Shizong 世宗 (1161-1188), Tianchang guan was rebuilt, using the most precious types of wood for building materials and painted with the auspicious color of vermilion.¹⁵ It was completed in 1174 with funding from the Jin court. Emperor Shizong, the crown prince, and all the court members attended the inauguration, consisting of a Daoist ritual (*daochang*) 道场 lasting three days and nights.

avoided Buddhist persecution. This autonomy continued until the collapse of the Tang dynasty. See Twitchett, 552.

¹³ For information concerning the recopy of the stele, see *Ming yitong zhi* 明一統志 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Ming Dynasty] quoted in Oyanagi. Oyanagi, 1. The same information is also found in *Guangxu Shuntian fu zhi*. Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 et al., *Guangxu Shuntian fu zhi* 光緒順天府志 [Gazetteer of the Capital/Shuntian fu during the Guangxu Reign] (1886; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2001), 17: 1085.

¹⁴ *Zhongdu shifang da Tianchang guan chongxiu bei* 中都十方大天長觀重修碑 [Stele of the Restoration of the Great Temple Tianchang guan of the Ten Directions in the Central Capital] (1192), Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃. *Gongguan beizhi* 宮觀碑志 [Stele Inscriptions of Temples and Monasteries] (DZ 972). The same inscription is also found in *Daojia jinshi lue*. Chen Yuan 陳垣, ed., *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Daoist Epigraphy] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), 1024-1025.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

The main buildings of the newly built Tianchang guan included on the central axis a hall for offering rituals, halls dedicated to the Three Purities, a hall enshrining the Jade Emperor, and a hall for the deities of root destiny (*yuanchen*) 元辰. A bell tower, repository for the Daoist Canon, and halls dedicated to rivers and stellar deities were situated on either side of the central axis (fig.1.2).¹⁶ The stele inscription *Stele of the Restoration of the Great Temple Tianchang guan of the Ten Directions in the Central Capital (Zhongdu shifang da Tianchang guan chongxiu bei)* 中都十方大天長觀重修碑 written by Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 in 1192 on imperial order describes the arrangement of the halls as follows:

Outermost temple gate, plaque reads “Shifang da Tianchang guan [Great temple Tianchang guan of the ten directions].” The middle temple gate is called “Yuxu zhi men [Gate of Jade Void].” It is there that they set up the three tiers of the altar for an offering to the August [Lord of] the Void. The central great hall, called Hall of Jade Void, is dedicated to make offerings to the Three Purities (Sanqing). Next is a pavilion called Pavilion of Pervading Light, which is dedicated to make offerings to the Supreme Emperor of Vast Heaven [the Jade Emperor]. Next is the Hall of Prolonging Felicity to make offerings to stars of birth (*yuanchen*), represented by the sixty signs of the sexagenary cycle. Attached on the east is Hall of Pure Divinity. Attached on the west is the Hall of Giving Birth to the Perfected to make offerings to the six stations of the hexagrams (*liuwei*).

The east [side of the complex] has the bell tower called Pavilion of Auspicious Sound, where the Supreme Emperor of Jade Sovereign and Jade Emperor of Void are venerated. Next is a pavilion called Great Brightness for offerings to Imperial Lord of the Greatest *yang* [the Sun]. Next is a hall called Hall of Five Peaks to make offerings to Gods of the Five Peaks and King of Thriving Nation, Divine Response in Mount Changbai. On the west, Pavilion of Flying Darkness is to preserve the Daoist Canon and make offerings to Precious Lord of Three Heavens.¹⁷ Next is a pavilion called Pure Brightness

¹⁶ This plan (fig.1.2) includes Auspicious and Sacred Hall of Dingmao (Dingmao ruisheng dian) which was built in 1190.

¹⁷ The Daoist Canon mentioned in the text was completed later in 1192 by imperial command. For more detailed information regarding Daoist Canon of Jin or *Da Jin Xuandu Baozang* 大金玄都寶藏, see *Shifang da Tianchang guan Xuandu Baozang beiming* 十方大天長觀玄都寶藏碑銘 [Stele

to make offerings to Star Lord of the Greatest Yin [the Moon]. Next is a hall called Four Rivers to make offerings to the divinities of [the four principal rivers of China]: the Yangzi River (Jiang), the Yellow River (He), the Huaihe River (Huai) and the Haihe River (Ji). The deep chambers, two corridors, and the abbot's room have more than one-hundred-sixty principal columns (*ying*).¹⁸

前三門榜曰十方大天長觀，中三門曰玉虛之門，設虛皇醮壇三級，中大殿曰玉虛，以奉三清，次有閣曰通明，以奉昊天上帝，次有殿曰延慶，以奉元辰衆像。翼于其東者，有殿曰澄神，翼于其西者，有殿曰生真，以奉六位元辰。東有鐘閣曰靈音，兼奉玉皇上帝，虛無玉帝，次有閣曰大明，以奉太陽帝君，次有殿曰五岳，以奉諸岳帝暨長白山興國靈應王，西閣曰飛玄，以秘道藏，兼奉三天寶君，次有閣曰清輝，以奉太陰星君，次有殿四瀆，以奉江河淮濟之神。洞房兩廡暨方丈凡百六十楹有奇。

This layout of the buildings in Tianchang guan during the Jin dynasty shows that the Three Purities, enshrined in the Central Great Hall, were the major deities of the entire complex.¹⁹ A poem by Wang Chuyi, one of the seven Quanzhen patriarchs, mentions the murals in the central great hall, which depicted deities paying homage to

Inscription of the Daoist Canon of Jin in the Great Temple Tianchang guan of the Ten Directions] in *Gongguan beizhi* (DZ 972). This stele was written in 1190 by Wei Boxiao 魏博霄 at the request of Daoist priest in Tianchang guan, Sun Mingdao 孫明道. Sun Mingdao was in charge with the project. The same text also appears in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1048-1050.

¹⁸ *Gongguan beizhi* (DZ 972). *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1025.

A *ying* is an architectural unit defining a space between two columns. Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed., *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 [Great Dictionary of Chinese] (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1986-1994), 4: 1199.

¹⁹ Employing the standardization of construction, the most important building is situated in the second courtyard on the central north-south axis. *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 [Building Standards] was written in 1100 by imperial order during the Northern Song 宋 dynasty. Since its printing in 1103, it became a standard for different buildings such as palaces, Buddhist monasteries, and Daoist temples. According to *Yingzao fashi*, there are eight sizes or grades, which are determined by the type and official rank of the building. The most important building in the complex had the greatest size/grade in the complex. Unlike buildings in late imperial China (Ming and Qing), the most important buildings were not located to the north. For more information, see Else Glahn, "Unfolding the Chinese Building Standards: Research on the *Yingzao fashi*," in *Chinese Traditional Architecture*, ed. Nancy Steinhardt (New York: China Institute in America, 1984), 47-57.

Also, epigraphic sources attest the construction of Three Purities Hall as a main hall in Daoist temples during the similar time period of the late Jin dynasty. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 474, 530, 557.

the primordial (*chaoyuan tu* 朝元图).²⁰ The Three Purities had been the highest gods in the Daoist religion since the Tang dynasty, and a contemporary Jin Daoist temple also housed the statues of Three Purities accompanied by murals of deities paying homage to the primordial in its main hall.²¹

Tianchang guan was enlarged in 1190 by the command of Emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1188-1208). The Auspicious and Sacred hall of Dingmao 丁卯瑞聖殿 was built in the empty space on the left side of the Tianchang guan. Its function was to enshrine the stellar deity who controlled the fate of people born in the *dingmao* cyclical year, the year of the emperor's mother's birth.²² In the same year, the emperor's mother became ill, and the seven-day ritual of Great Offering of the Universal Heaven (*putian dajiao* 普天大醮) was performed on her behalf at Tianchang guan with Emperor Zhangzong in attendance.²³

²⁰ Wang Chuyi was summoned to the capital by an imperial order to reside and preside over Tianchang guan. Wang Chuyi, *Yunguang ji* 雲光集 [Collected Works of Radiance of the Clouds] (DZ 1152). This poem was written in the late twelfth century. For the translation of his poem, see Anning Jing, "The Longshan Daoist Caves," *Artibus Asiae* 68, no. 1 (2008): 37. For more information on Wang's collected works, see Schipper and Varella, 1143-1144.

²¹ The Three Purities Hall in Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong) 永樂宮, a Daoist temple built in the last decades of Jin, is the main hall in the temple complex as its size indicates. Three Purities is further discussed in Chapter 3 on describing the Baiyun guan pantheon.

²² *Shifang da Tianchang guan Xuandu Baozang beiming* (1190) in *Gongguan beizhi* (DZ 972) and *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1048-1050.

²³ *Shifang da Tianchang guan putian dajiao ruiying ji* 十方大天長觀普天大醮瑞應記 [Record of the Auspicious Responses of the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven at the Great Temple Tianchang guan of the Ten Directions] (1190), Zhu Lan 朱瀾; *Zhongdu shifang da Tianchang guan putian dajiao ganying bei* 中都十方大天長觀普天大醮感應碑 [Stele of the Action and Responses of the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven at the Great Temple Tianchang guan of the Ten Directions in the Central Capital] (1190), Dang Huaiying 黨懷英. Daoist priest Xu Wuzhen 徐悟真 in Tianchang guan commissioned to carve both steles to record the auspicious phenomenon during the ritual and the recovery of an empress dowager. Both are found in *Gongguan beizhi* (DZ 972) and *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1042-1044.

In translating Daoist rituals, I follow the standard translation made in the *Encyclopedia of Taoism*.

In 1202, Tianchang guan was destroyed by a fire, but it was rebuilt the next year and renamed Taiji gong 太極宮, the Palace of Supreme Ultimate.²⁴ Showing the temple's significance, Emperor Zhangzong bestowed the new name plaque in the twelfth month of 1203.²⁵ In the Zhenyou 貞祐 era of Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (1213-1216), Mongol armies destroyed the capital Zhongdu, and therefore the Jin moved their capital south. Taiji gong then fell into decline.²⁶ Only stone sculptures remained in the temple, and an entrance gate collapsed due to neglect.²⁷

Another turning point in the history of the temple occurred when Qiu Changchun took up residency there during the late Jin dynasty. As noted in the introduction, Qiu Changchun was the youngest of the seven disciples of the founder of Quanzhen Daoism, Wang Zhe, whose style name was Chongyang (1113-1170). Genghis Khan summoned Qiu to Central Asia in 1219.²⁸ Qiu and his eighteen disciples set out for Qunduz in early 1220, and after an arduous journey arrived in

For Zhangzong's attendance to the ritual at Tianchang guan, see *Jinshi* 金史 [History of the Jin Dynasty] (Zhangzong ji 章宗記), *juan*. 11. In addition to this occasion, Zhangzong also visited Tianchang guan in 1196, 1197, and 1201. After the name of Tianchang guan was changed into Taiji gong, Zhangzong also made a frequent visit there such as in 1203 (3rd month and 12th month), 1204, 1205, and 1207. *Jinshi* (Zhangzong ji), *juan*. 10-12. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 22, pt. 1: 194-225. This information also appears in *Beiping kao*. *Beiping kao* 北平考 [A Study of Beiping] (before 1403?; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1980), 24. For the 1196, 1197, and 1201 visits, also see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575-1576.

²⁴ For mention of the fire in Tianchang guan, see *Chongxiu Tianchang guan beiming* 重修天長觀碑銘 [Stele Inscription of Restoration of Tianchang guan] by Wang E 王鶚 in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1581.

²⁵ *Jinshi* (Zhangzong ji), *juan*. 11. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 22, pt. 1: 212. The same information can be found in *Beiping kao*, 25. According to *Jinshi*, there is a record of the building of Taiji gong in the 5th month of 1202, but it is not clear if this Taiji gong was built due to the fire in Tianchang guan. *Jinshi*, *juan*. 11. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 22, pt. 1: 210.

²⁶ The Jin court moved their capital from Beijing to Kaifeng 開封 in 1215.

²⁷ *Chongxiu Tianchang guan beiming* by Wang E in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1581.

²⁸ He was also summoned by Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty in 1188 and the religious robe and cap were bestowed to Qiu Changchun. He was ordered to stay at Tianchang guan. *Zhongnan shan Chongyang zushi xianji ji* 終南山重陽祖師仙蹟記 [Record of Immortal Trace of the Patriarch Chongyang in Mount Zhongnan], Liu Zuqian 劉祖謙. *Daojia jinshi lue*, 460-461.

1222.²⁹ The interview with Qiu pleased the Great Khan, who then granted a tax exemption to the Quanzhen sect. In the first month of 1224, Qiu returned to Yan 燕 (modern Beijing) from Central Asia. In the third month of the same year, at the request of the governor of Yan, Qiu Changchun took up residence in Taiji gong, where he stayed until his death in 1227. During this time, Qiu commissioned one of his disciples, Wang Zhijin 王志謹 (1178-1263), to rebuild the temple.³⁰ After twenty years, the reconstruction was completed and the temple consisted of five main halls housing stone sculptures of Daoist deities and subsidiary halls for monastic living.³¹

According to *Stele of Founding Acts of the Perfected Changchun* (*Changchun zhenren benhang bei*) 長春真人本行碑 of 1228, in the fifth month of 1227, before the reconstruction was finished, Taiji gong was renamed Changchun gong 長春宮, the Palace of Eternal Spring on imperial order in Qiu's honor.³² Qiu Changchun passed away on the seventh month of the same year and was buried in the following year beneath "a memorial hall called Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (Chushun

²⁹ The region of Yan, modern day Beijing, was a transitional location of the journey. For the journey, Qiu left Shandong for Yan in 1219, and Yan for Central Asia in 1220. *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* 長春真人西遊記 [Record of the Journey of the Perfected Changchun to the West] written by Li Zhichang 李志常 (DZ 1429). A translation of the text is available. See Arthur Waley, trans., *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hindu Kush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1931).

³⁰ Wang Zhijin, originally a prominent disciple of Hao Datong, later became a disciple of Qiu Changchun.

³¹ *Chongxiu Tianchang guan beiming* by Wang E in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1581.

³² *Changchun zhenren benhang bei* 長春真人本行碑 [Stele of Founding Acts of the Perfected Changchun] (1228), Chen Shike 陳時可. *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄 [Record of the Immortals from the Sweet Water [River]] (DZ 973). This inscription also appears in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 456-458. The same information regarding the change of name is also found in *Changchun gong beiming* 長春宮碑銘 [Stele Inscription of Changchun gong] (1295), Yao Sui 姚燧. *Daojia jinshi lue*, 720-721.

tang) 處順堂 in Baiyun guan 白雲觀 on the east side of Changchun gong.”³³

Hundreds of Daoist priests who traveled from different regions built this hall under the supervision of one of Qiu’s disciples, Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (1169-1251).³⁴

Although this stele is the first appearance of the name Baiyun guan, it did not yet designate a temple complex but only the memorial hall. It seems that at the time, either Baiyun guan was a cloister containing the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness or Baiyun guan and the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness were synonymously used to refer to the memorial shrine.

3. Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368)

During the Yuan dynasty, there were no significant changes to the architecture of Changchun gong. However, the Yuan was a key period for the temple’s identity as a Quanzhen temple due to court patronage. Changchun gong attracted imperial patronage because of its association with Qiu Changchun and Quanzhen Daoism and its location in the Yuan capital Dadu 大都 (the Great Capital; modern Beijing) (fig.1.3).³⁵

³³ The name *chushun* is quoted from *Zhuangzi* 莊子 [Writings of Master Zhuang], when referring to the anecdote of the death of Laozi in the chapter discussing the way of nurturing life. I follow the translation ‘dwelling in favorableness’ after Victor Mair. Victor H. Mair, *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1998), 28.

³⁴ *Yanjing Baiyun guan Chushun tang huizang ji* 燕京白雲觀處順堂會葬記 [Record of Assembly and Burial at Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness in Baiyun guan, Yanjing] (ca.1230), Chen Shike. *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). *Daojia jinshi lue*, 458-459.

³⁵ The Mongol capital was originally located in Karakorum of Inner Mongolia, but Kublai Khan (1215-1294) decided to move the capital to Yan, and in 1267 Mongols began to build a new capital Dadu in northeast of the Jin Zhongdu.

In the early thirteenth century, even before the imperial capital was built, Daoist rituals were often commissioned by the Mongol rulers for performance at Changchun gong. For example, in 1244, the Daoist priest Li Zhichang 李志常 (1193-1256) performed the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven 普天大醮 and ordination ritual at Changchun gong.³⁶ In 1246, Li Zhichang and Liu Daoning 劉道寧 (1172-1246) carried out the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven 普天大醮 in Changchun gong.³⁷ In 1248, Li Zhichang and Liu Zhihou 劉志厚 (1198-1257) performed the seven-day Offering of the Universal Heaven 普天醮 to deliver the souls of the deceased.³⁸ In 1253, Li presided over the grand ritual of the Golden Register 金籙大齋 and ordination ritual by the order of Mongke Khan (ca. 1208-1259). In addition, in 1254 Li Zhichang and Wang Zhitan 王志坦 (1200-1272) celebrated a seven day and night Great Offering of the Universal Heaven of Yellow Register 普天黃籙大醮 due to the wish of Mongke to deliver the souls of the deceased.³⁹

³⁶ Li Zhichang, a disciple of Qiu Changchun, accompanied Qiu's journey to the west. He authored *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (DZ 1429).

For the rituals occurring in 1244, 1248, and 1253, see *Xuanmen zhangjiao dazongshi Zhenchang zhenren daoheng bei* 玄門掌教大宗師真常真人道行碑 [Stele of Meritorious Acts of the Great Ancestral Master, Perfected Zhenchang [Li Zhichang] in Charge of Teaching of Mysterious Gate], Wang E in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973) and in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 578-580.

³⁷ *Hunyuanxian Zhenchangzi Liujun daoheng bei* 渾源縣真常子劉君道行碑 [Stele of Meritorious Acts of Master Zhenchang, Mr. Liu from Hunyuan District], Wang E in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973) and in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 493.

³⁸ *Xuanjing daguan dashi Liugong muzhi ming* 玄靖達觀大師劉公墓誌銘 [A Memorial Inscription Dedicated to Mr. Liu, a Great Teacher from Xuanjing daguan], Zhang Zhilu 張志履 in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 660-661.

³⁹ *Chijian putian huanglu dajiao bei* 敕建普天黃籙大醮碑 [Stele of the Imperially Constructed Great Offering of the Universal Heaven of Yellow Register] written in 1254 by Feng Zhiheng 馮志亨 in

During the reign of the first Yuan emperor, Kublai Khan, or Emperor Shizu 世祖 (r. 1260-1294), various rituals were performed at Changchun gong. All of the following were done on imperial command: the Pure Offering of the Canopy Heaven 羅天清醮 was presided over by Liu Zhizhen 劉志真 in 1260; the Offering of the Complete Heaven of Golden Register 金籙周天醮 occurred in 1262; and the Offering of the Complete Heaven 周天醮 was performed in 1264.⁴⁰ Zhang Zhijing 張志敬 (1220-1270), abbot of Changchun gong, presided over the Great Offering of the Golden Register 金籙大醮 in 1265.⁴¹ Moreover, the seven days and nights of Great Offering of the Complete Heaven of Golden Register 金籙周天大醮 was performed

Gongguan beizhi (DZ 972). The same inscription is also found in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 516-517. The 580 ounces of gold, 3800 ounces of white gold, and 1000 *pi* 匹 of silk were donated by the Mongke Khan to finance the ritual. See also *Chongzhen guangjiao Chunhe zhenren daoheng zhi bei* 崇真光教淳和真人道行之碑 [Stele of Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Chunhe [Wang Zhitan] of Worshipping Trueness and Glorifying Teaching], Gao Ming 高鳴 in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 611-612.

In 1254, Li Zhichang was appointed as the primary master of great retreat for deliverance of souls (dazhaidushi) 大齋度師. *Chongxiu Zhenchang gong bei* 重修真常宮碑 [Stele of Restoration of Zhenchang Temple] in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 573-575.

Wang Zhitan is the successor of Zhang Zhijing 張志敬 (1220-1270) at Changchun gong. He was promoted by Empress Regent Nimaocar (Naimazhen) 乃馬真 to the fifth patriarch of Quanzhen order. He lived at the imperial palace for six years. His writing *Collected Works of the Dao and Chan* (*Daochan ji*) 道禪集 is included in the Daoist Canon (DZ 1073). For more information, see *Daojia jinshi lue*, 611-612 and Schipper and Verellen, 1148.

⁴⁰ For the 1260 ritual, see *Gu puji dashi Liugong daoheng beiming* 故普濟大師劉公道行碑銘 [Inscription of Stele of Great Master Mr. Liu, an Old Puji], Wang Yun 王惲 in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 691-692.

For the 1262 ritual, see *Yuanshi* 元史 [History of the Yuan Dynasty] (Shizu ji 世祖記), *juan. 5. Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 64. *Beiping kao*, 59. The text does not record who performed the ritual in Changchun gong.

For the 1264 ritual, see *Yuanshi* 元史 (Shizu ji), *juan. 5. Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 71. *Beiping kao*, 59.

⁴¹ *Xuanmen sifa zhangjiao zongshi Chengming zhenren daoheng beiming bingxu* 玄門嗣法掌教宗師誠明真人道行碑銘并序 [Supplementary Preface to the Stele Inscription on the Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Chengming [Zhang Zhijing], Ancestral Master Who is a Descendent of the Law and in Charge of Teaching of Mysterious Gate], Wang Pan 王磐 in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). The same information is also found in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 600-601. The auspicious phenomenon occurred during the ritual and thus the emperor requested to record this event and carve it.

in 1268.⁴² The similar ritual of seven days and nights of Offering of the Complete Heaven of Golden Register 金籙周天醮 occurred in 1274, and another seven days and nights of Great Offering of the Golden Register 金籙大醮 in 1278.⁴³ In 1279, the same emperor ordered the performance of an unspecified Daoist ritual 道場 at Changchun gong during the first month of the following year.⁴⁴

Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1311-1320) ordered Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269-1346) to perform the Great Offering 大醮 at Changchun gong in 1312.⁴⁵ The same emperor and his empress asked Celestial Master Zhang Liusun 張留孫 (1248-1321) and Quanzhen Daoist Sun Deyu 孫德彥 (1243-1321) for the performance of the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven of Golden Register 金籙普天大醮 in 1315.⁴⁶ In 1325, the ritual of Universal Salvation was presided over by the thirty-ninth Celestial Master Zhang Sicheng 張嗣成 (died 1343) with Sun Lüdao 孫履道 and Wu Quanjie at Changchun gong.⁴⁷ In 1329, Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 1329-1332) ordered the

⁴² *Yuanshi* (Shizu ji), *juan.* 6. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 89. *Beiping kao*, 59.

⁴³ For the ritual in 1274, see *Yuanshi* (Shizu ji), *juan.* 8. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 118. See also *Beiping kao*, 59.

For the ritual in 1278, see *Yuanshi* (Shizu ji), *juan.* 10. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 165. See also *Beiping kao*, 59.

⁴⁴ *Yuanshi* (Shizu ji), *juan.* 10. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 176.

⁴⁵ *Hetu xiantan zhi bei* 河圖仙壇之碑 [Stele of [Yellow] River Chart and Immortal Altar], Yu Ji 虞集 in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 963-966.

⁴⁶ *Da Yuan Toudian longjian zhi ji* 大元投奠龍簡之記 [Record of the Performance of Casting Dragon Tablets during the Great Yuan] in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 862-863. Sun Deyu was abbot of Changchun gong when he performed the ritual.

⁴⁷ *Huanglu pudu dajiao gongde bei* 黃籙普度大醮功德碑 [Stele of Merit of Great Offering of Universal Salvation of Yellow Register], Yu Ji in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 922. According to the inscription of the handscroll in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston which documents Wu Quanjie's life, Wu Quanjie (1269-1346) celebrated a great *jiao* ritual in Changchun gong in 1313. However, this information is not found in other sources. For a reproduction of the painting with its inscription, see Little, 220-221.

Quanzhen Daoist Miao Daoyi 苗道一 (1264-?) to perform a ritual.⁴⁸ In 1331, Emperor Wenzong ordered the Great Offering of the Universal Heaven 普天大醮, which was performed by Wu Quanjie in 1332.⁴⁹ Lastly, an imperially sponsored offering ritual was celebrated at Changchun gong in 1337.⁵⁰

Imperial patronage ensured the prosperity of Quanzhen Daoism centered on Changchun gong throughout the Yuan dynasty, but with the collapse of the Mongol regime in 1368, Changchun gong fell into decline.

4. Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)

Early Ming dynasty poems and travel writings mention the “ruins” of Changchun gong.⁵¹ When Liang Qian 梁潛 (died 1418) and his friends gathered to socialize and write poems in the early fifteenth century, he wrote a preface to a poem

⁴⁸ *Yuanshi* (Wenzong ji 文宗記), *juan.* 33. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 1: 620. See also *Beiping kao*, 60. In 1308, Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1308-1311) appointed Miao Daoyi a position in the Academy of Assembled Worthies (Jixian yuan 集賢院), an organization overseeing the Daoist clergy during the Yuan dynasty. *Yongle gong shengzhi bei* 永樂宮聖旨碑 [Stele of Sacred Decree in Yongle gong], *Daojia jinshi lue*, 727-728.

⁴⁹ *Hetu xiantan zhi bei*, Yu Ji in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 963-966.

⁵⁰ *Yuanshi* (Shundi ji 順帝記), *juan.* 39. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 2: 704. See also *Beiping kao*, 60.

⁵¹ Liang Qian 梁潛, “You Changchun gong yizhi shi xu 遊長春宮遺址詩序 [Preface to the Poem Visiting the Remains in Changchun gong],” *Bo'an ji* 泊菴集 [Collected Works of Bo'an] (1366-1418; rept., Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1976), 7: 34a-36a. The same text was quoted in *Chunming mengyu lu*, *juan.* 64 and in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1583-1584. The text I consulted is a copy from the imperial library of the Qianlong emperor or 四庫全書 [Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature].

Sun Chengze 孫承澤, *Chunming mengyu lu* 春明夢餘錄 [Record of a Remembered Dream of the Capital] (early Qing; repr., Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1965), 64: 968-969.

I translate “you 遊” as “visiting”; however, it also contains the meaning of “strolling” or “traveling for pleasure.”

Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, “Jiayou ji 郊遊記 [Record of Visiting Suburb],” *Dongli xu ji* 東里續集 [Sequel to the Collected Works of Dongli] (1365-1444; rept., Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1979), 1: 20a-23a. It also appears in *Chunming mengyu lu* 64: 967-968.

composed after he visited the temple site.⁵² In this preface he identifies Changchun gong as located west of Baiyun guan and states that the remains of a ruined Changchun gong were still present.

Changchun gong, associated with Qiu Changchun, never regained its past glory, and Baiyun guan gradually received more attention from visitors and donors. The original memorial hall known as Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (Chushun tang) or Baiyun guan grew into its own temple complex as it acquired new halls sponsored by Daoist clerics with the support of the Ming court.⁵³ From this point on, the name Baiyun guan refers to the temple complex with various halls.

In the Ming dynasty, Baiyun guan was already equipped with different halls including the living quarters for Daoist clerics. Even though specifics, such as the location of Sanqing dadian 三清大殿 (Great Hall of Three Purities) built in 1428, are not clear, the general layout of Baiyun guan, from south to north, was as follows: Numinous Star Gate (Lingxing men) 靈星門, main gate (*shanmen*) 山門, Four Marshals Hall (Sishuai dian) 四師殿, bell and drum towers, Changchun Hall (previously Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness), Hall of Amplifying Felicity (Yanqing

⁵² Liang's literary collection *Bo'an ji* only contains the preface, and thus it is not clear whether the topic of his poem is about the temple. Liang Qian, 7: 34a-36a..

Liang Qian, a native of Taihe 太和 county (in Jiangxi 江西 province), is a Ming historian. He was summoned by the Yongle 永樂 emperor to edit the *Veritable Record of Emperor Taizu* 太祖實錄 in 1403. He also participated in completing *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 [Yongle Encyclopedia]. When the Yongle emperor went to Beijing (from Nanjing 南京), Liang accompanied him. For his biography, see *Mingshi* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty], *juan*. 152. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 24, pt. 5: 2997.

⁵³ During the Ming and Qing dynasties, "court" includes emperors, but it also includes empresses, princes, and eunuchs. In funding and sponsoring temples, emperors sometimes acted directly, but often acted indirectly with and through other people and agencies.

dian) 衍慶殿 and the Precious Pavilion of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang baoge) 玉皇寶閣.

The main focus of Baiyun guan was the enshrinement of Quanzhen patriarchs.

Ming Patronage

The first Ming imperial patron of Baiyun guan was Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360-1424), who became the Yongle 永樂 emperor (r. 1403-1424).⁵⁴ Over the course of fifteen years he patronized the temple in various ways, such as sponsoring restorations and restoring the temple, sponsoring rituals there, and bestowing a painting on the temple. The first restoration occurred in 1394, when he was still prince of Yan 燕, his fief, living in Yanjing.⁵⁵ At this time, two principal halls, a latrine, kitchen, and living quarters were built at Baiyun guan. When these were completed in the nineteenth day of the first month of 1395, prince Zhu Di visited Baiyun guan and offered incense on the birthday of Qiu Changchun. In 1397, Zhu Di and prince Zhu Gaochi 朱高熾

⁵⁴ In 1370, Zhu Di, the fourth son of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, was granted the title of Prince of Yan, area covering modern Beijing. In 1380, Zhu Di, at the age of 20, took up the residence in his fief. For more information regarding the biography of Zhu Di, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 355-365.

⁵⁵ *Baiyun guan congxiu ji* 白雲觀重修記 [Record of Restoration of Baiyun guan] written by Hu Ying 胡濬 in 1444. This inscription appears in Oyanagi, 124-126 and in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1256. Also see Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館, *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編 [Collected Ink-Rubbings of Chinese Historical Steles Housed in the Beijing Library] (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1989-1991), 51: 121-122. When the stele *Baiyun guan congxiu ji* was carved in 1444, the names of pious donors from various social classes were listed in the back of the stele. A few eunuchs were listed first, followed by several officials in court and the brother and nephew of the current empress dowager, two dozen military officials from the capital, seventy-some ordinary gentlemen, eighty-eight Daoist clerics from Baiyun guan, and twenty-two female devotees. This stele was located in front of the current Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian) 靈官殿 at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but later relocated to the northern wall of dining hall (*zhaitang*) 齋堂. It is not clear when this relocation occurred. For the original location of this stele, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

(1378-1425), his eldest son who later became Emperor Renzong 仁宗, attended a grand ritual of Golden Registers at Baiyun guan.

After Zhu Di was enthroned in 1403, Baiyun guan appeared to serve as an official temple where the Daoist Registry was located, while Felicity and Longevity Monastery (Qingshou si) 慶壽寺 served as an official monastery, home of the Buddhist Registry, and a site for imperially-sponsored mortuary rituals.⁵⁶ In 1409, the Yongle emperor commissioned fourteen-day mortuary rituals at both Baiyun guan and Felicity and Longevity Monastery for his late consort, Empress Renxiao 仁孝.⁵⁷ In the eighth month of the following year (1410), three-day rituals of universal

⁵⁶ In 1403 he relocated the seat of the Ming government to Yan and the name was changed to Beijing (Northern Capital).

At the founding of the Ming dynasty, central registries to control affairs of Buddhism and Daoism (Senglu si 僧錄司 and Daolu si 道錄司) were established in temples in the capital (Chaotian gong 朝天宮 [Palace for Homage to Heaven] in Nanjing in case of the Central Daoist Registry), though comparable agencies were set up in provinces. When Zhu Di relocated the imperial capital in Yanjing, these registries were set up in temples in the new capital. In case of Daoist affairs, Chaotian gong was constructed in 1433 by the Xuande emperor after the relocation of the imperial capital, and Daoist Registry was located there until 1626 when the temple was burned down. However, the location of Daoist registry before the construction of Chaotian gong in Beijing is not clear. It seems that Baiyun guan may have served for Daoist Registry at the beginning of the fifteenth century for different reasons. First of all, Baiyun guan performed the imperially-sponsored rituals with Qingshou si, where Buddhist Registry was located and Daoyan 道衍 (Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝, 1335-1418), a Buddhist monk and Yongle's close advisor, once lived. Second of all, the Yongle emperor appointed Li Shizhong 李時中, who held a high position in Daoist Registry (道錄司右正一), as an abbot of Baiyun guan in 1406. For more information regarding Daoist and Buddhist Registries, see Naquin, *Peking*, 50-51, 149. For the appointment of an abbot in Baiyun guan, see *Baiyun guan congxiu ji*. Oyanagi, 124-126. *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1256. Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

⁵⁷ *Taizong shi lu* 太宗實錄 [The Veritable Records of Emperor Taizong] (Ming; repr., Nan'gang: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo, 1966), 94: 1244. Taizong is a temple name dedicated to Zhu Di after his death, but the temple name was officially institutionalized as Chengzu 成祖 by Emperor Shizong 世宗 in 1538. For the political circumstances of change of the temple name by Shizong, see Carney T. Fisher, *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong* (Australia: Australian National University, 1990), 104-106.

salvation took place at Baiyun guan and Felicity and Longevity Monastery for the soldiers who died in a northern campaign against the Mongols.⁵⁸

Another example that illustrates the importance of Baiyun guan to the Ming emperor was Yongle's bestowal of handscroll painting depicting the miraculous manifestation of the Perfected Warrior, the Daoist god Zhenwu 真武, on Mount Wudang 武當 in Hubei 湖北 province (fig.1.4).⁵⁹ Zhu Di believed that Zhenwu, God of North, came down from the north to defeat the prince's enemies in the south (the emperor Jianwen 建文 and his officials) and to help him seize the throne.⁶⁰ The handscroll, which remains at Baiyun guan, is done in brilliant color on silk and shows the court's taste of opulence. The black image of Zhenwu is shown appearing with multicolored clouds and beams of light over Heaven's Column Peak at Mount Wudang. The scroll comprises of fifteen scenes, each accompanied by an inscription that describes the nature and location of the miraculous phenomena depicted and gives the month date but not the year. The *Veritable Records of Taizong* (*Taizong shi lu*) 太宗實錄 report that handscrolls depicting auspicious phenomena on Mount

⁵⁸ *Taizong shi lu* 107: 1384. In 1409, almost all the commanding officers died. In 1410, there was another campaign against the Mongols, where the Yongle emperor himself engaged in battle. Goodrich and Fang, 360.

⁵⁹ Wang Yi'e, 147. See also Little, 305.

⁶⁰ Zhu Di showed his appreciation through patronage of large-scale construction and restoration of temples on Mount Wudang from 1412 to 1423. Mount Wudang is a traditional center for worship of Zhenwu. Miracles occurred during the restoration project, and woodblock prints were made during the reign of Yongle. The woodblock *Da Ming Xuantian shangdi ruiying tu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖 [Illustrated Record of the Auspicious Responses of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven to the Great Ming Dynasty] includes 17 illustrations depicting auspicious phenomena occurring during the construction project in Mount Wudang. For more information of the woodblock prints and scroll painting, see Little, 302-305. Yongle emperor also patronized Zhenwu in the imperial capital. For more information, see Naquin, *Peking*, 146-147.

Wudang were presented to the Yongle emperor in 1413 and 1423.⁶¹ The Baiyun guan painting is not dated, but it might have been one of these scrolls.⁶²

Baiyun guan also received patronage from court eunuchs and Daoist clerics. In 1428, the third year of Xuande 宣德, the eunuch Liu Shun 劉順 financed the construction of the Great Hall of Three Purities at Baiyun guan and that enshrined images.⁶³ Beginning in 1438, Abbot of Baiyun guan Ni Zhengdao 倪正道 directed a series of construction projects.⁶⁴ In that year, he built Precious Pavilion of Jade Emperor with contributions from senior officials of the court.⁶⁵ In 1440, the same abbot had the memorial shrine or Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness restored to honor Qiu Changchun and also restored the living quarters for the Daoist priests. In 1443,

⁶¹ In the sixth month of 1413, auspicious five-clouds appeared on the summit of Mount Wudang, and a painting of this event was presented to the Yongle emperor; he showed it to the whole officialdom. *Taizong shi lu* 140: 1686.

A similar auspicious phenomenon again occurred in 1423 at Mount Wudang, and another painting was also made and presented to the throne. *Taizong shi lu* 262: 2396.

⁶² Wang Yucheng wrote an article discussing a similar painting. Wang Yucheng 王育成, "Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tuce 明永樂彩繪真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Miraculous Manifestations of Zhenwu during the Yongle Reign of the Ming Dynasty]," *Daoyun* 道韻 4, no. 10 (1999): 10-72.

⁶³ Oyanagi, 124-126. *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1256. Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

⁶⁴ According to the stele *Baiyun guan congxiu ji* written by Hu Ying in 1444 (Zhengtong 9), this stele was erected to praise the accomplishments of Ni Zhengdao, who held a position in Daoist Registry (道錄司右正一) and was appointed as an abbot in 1435 (Xuande 10) by the emperor. *Ibid.* Also, while Ni Zhengdao was abbot of Baiyun guan, on the tenth day of the eighth month of 1447, the imperial house bestowed on the temple the Daoist Canon of 5305 *juan* 卷 contained in 480 boxes. This stele was carved in 1448 to commemorate this event by pious donors from counties in north China. The donors are 105 men, 75 women, and a dozen or so others who were physicians. See *Cijing zhi bei* 賜經之碑 [Stele of Bestowal of the Daoist Canon] written by Xu Bin 許彬 in 1448. See Oyanagi, 128-129, Beijing tushuguan 51: 159-160, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1257-1258 and Naquin, *Peking*, 228. This stele was located in front of the current Hall of Numinous Official at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but later relocated to the southern wall of dining hall (*zhaitang*). It is not clear when this relocation occurred. For the original location of this stele, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

⁶⁵ The stele erected in 1506 mentions the names of eunuchs Cao Quan 曹銓 and Zhang Sheng 張昇 when Ni Zhengdao restored buildings in Baiyun guan. *Baiyun guan chongxiu bei* 白雲觀重修碑 [Stele of Restoration of Baiyun guan] (1506), Zhao Shixian 趙士賢. Oyanagi, 130-132. Beijing tushuguan 53: 126.

Ni had the Hall of Amplifying Felicity (Yanqing dian) built in front of the Jade Emperor Pavilion (Yuhuang ge) 玉皇閣 and dedicated it to the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven (Xuantian shangdi) 玄天上帝. He also built the outer gate called the Gate of Numinous Star, and had the Hall of Four Marshals and *shanmen* restored. The surrounding land was acquired to expand the temple complex the same year.

In the mid-fifteenth century, the Daoist priest Shao Yizheng 邵以正 (d. 1462) rebuilt a hall previously dedicated to the Quanzhen patriarch Qiu Changchun.⁶⁶ According to the *Stele of Rebuilding Changchun Hall in Baiyun guan (Chongjian Baiyun guan Changchun dian bei)* 重建白雲觀長春殿碑 written by Shao and dated 1457, the priest rebuilt Changchun Hall, where a statue of Qiu Changchun was placed in its center in order to commemorate both the subject and Shao Yizheng's own master Liu 劉, who also had the religious name 'Changchun.'⁶⁷ Portraits of the eighteen disciples of Qiu, his master Liu, and the patriarch Zhao 趙 were depicted on

⁶⁶ Shao Yizheng took a position at the Daoist Registry when he entered the court in 1424. During the Zhengtong reign, he was in charge of Daoist affairs of the state and during this time, he oversaw the completion and printing of the Daoist Canon of the Great Ming (*Da Ming daoze jing* 大明道藏經). For more information, see *Mingshi*, *juan*. 299. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 24, pt. 9: 6120. Pregadio, 875-876.

⁶⁷ *Chongjian Baiyun guan Changchun dian bei* 重建白雲觀長春殿碑 [Stele of Rebuilding Changchun Hall in Baiyun guan] written in 1457 by Shao Yizheng 邵以正. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1582. This stele was located in front of the current Hall of Numinous Official at the beginning of the eighteenth century but is now lost. For the original location, see *Ibid.*, 1579.

Shao's master is Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (1351-1432), who learned different teachings of Daoism including Zhengyi 正一 order and Qingwei 清微 liturgical practices. Liu was an eminent court Daoist, who was summoned by the Hongwu 洪武 emperor (r. 1368-1398) in 1393 and again in 1424 after the death of Yongle emperor. He was a teacher of Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1359-1410), 43rd Heavenly Master, although his official successor was Shao Yizheng. Schipper and Verellen, 1267.

a wall of this hall as well.⁶⁸ The construction was completed in 1457.⁶⁹ Shao Yizheng's stele inscription says that Qiu Changchun was buried in Changchun Hall, more precisely known as Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness. A stele by Zhang Zan 張瓚 written in 1506 informs us that when Shao Yizheng rebuilt the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, he renamed it Changchun Hall.⁷⁰ Therefore, Changchun Hall built by Shao Yizheng was not a new building, but a rebuilding of a memorial shrine.

In the early sixteenth century, Baiyun guan once again received patronage from court eunuchs. Eunuch patronage of temples during the Ming dynasty resulted from differing motives. Sometimes eunuchs acted as imperial agents in patronage, and sometimes they had personal motivations, especially finding a place to retire and to be interred after death. Since most eunuchs had no descendants, they patronized temples that would take care of them in old age, bury them on the temple property, and tend their graves.⁷¹ This was the case for the eunuch Zhang Cheng 張誠 (1464-1519) at Baiyun guan. From 1504 to 1506, he refurbished Baiyun guan, which had

⁶⁸ Eighteen disciples of Qiu refer to those who accompanied Qiu to the west to meet Genghis Khan. The patriarch Zhao can be identified as Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 (died 1382), a patriarch of Qingwei school, also a teacher of Liu Yuanran.

The stele inscription *Changchun dian zengsu Qizhen xianfan ji* 長春殿增塑七真仙範記 [Record of Addition of Statues of the Seven Patriarchs, Daoist Role Models, in Changchun Hall] written in 1516 by Li Desheng 李得晟 tells us that portraits of 5 patriarchs along with those of 18 disciples were painted in this hall in 1457, but names of Liu and Zhao are only mentioned in Shao's stele. For the stele inscription by Li Desheng, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1582-1583.

⁶⁹ Architectural analysis suggests this hall was a building with three bays (三楹) instead of three different halls. A more detailed architectural analysis is discussed in Chapter 2.

⁷⁰ *Changchun Qiu zhenren daoheng bei* 長春邱真人道行碑 [Stele of the Meritorious Acts of Perfected Qiu Changchun] (1506), Zhang Zan 張瓚. This stele was re-carved by Liu Chengyin 劉誠印 in 1886. Oyanagi, 133-135. Beijing tushuguan 53: 127. This stele was located in front of the current Hall of the Discipline of the Elders at the beginning of the eighteenth century and is still present. For the original location, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

⁷¹ Naquin, *Peking*, 181-183.

been neglected for years, in order to commemorate Qiu Changchun.⁷² After his death, Zhang Cheng was buried on the grounds of Baiyun guan.⁷³ In 1508, a eunuch named Gu Dayong 谷大用 (died 1532) donated a large bell for a new hall in Baiyun guan.⁷⁴ Since there is no other documentation, however, it is not clear if Gu acted out of personal piety or as an imperial agent.⁷⁵

In 1509, the Daoist priest Li Desheng 李得晟 visited Baiyun guan. He restored the Changchun Hall and commissioned six statues that were placed around the statue of Qiu Changchun, creating a group representing the seven patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism.⁷⁶ Three statues of this group, Ma Yu, Tan Chudian, and Liu Chuxuan, were placed on the east facing west. The other three statues on the west facing east represented Wang Chuyi, Hao Datong and Sun Bu'er. Li Desheng also identified the eighteen disciples of Qiu and five patriarchs in the murals, whose

⁷² *Baiyun guan chongxiu bei* (1506), Zhao Shixian. Oyanagi, 130-132. See also Beijing tushuguan 53: 126. This stele was located in front of the current Hall of the Discipline of the Elders at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but later relocated in front of the current Yuanchen Hall. It is not clear when this relocation occurred. For the original location, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

Also see *Changchun Qiu zhenren daohang bei* (1506), Zhang Zan. Oyanagi, 133-135. Beijing tushuguan 53: 127. This stele was erected to praise Qiu Changchun.

⁷³ A memorial stele dedicated to Zhang Cheng was excavated on modern day Baiyun Road, where the entrance of Baiyun guan is located. *Ming gu neiguanjian taijian Zhanggong muzhi ming* 明故內管監太監張公墓誌銘 [A Memorial Inscription Dedicated to Mr. Zhang, Director-in-Chief of Ancient Directorate of Palace Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty] (1519), Beijing tushuguan 54: 59.

⁷⁴ Naquin, *Peking*, 162. According to Naquin, the bell was on site when she visited in 1987. However, I was unable to identify its location.

⁷⁵ For the biography of Gu Dayong including his close relationship with Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1505-1521), see Goodrich and Fang, 744-747.

⁷⁶ *Changchun dian zengsu Qizhen xianfan ji* (1516), Li Desheng. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1582-1583.

This stele was located in front of the current Hall of Numinous Official at the beginning of the eighteenth century but is now lost. For the original location, see *Ibid.*, 1579.

Marsone conjectures that the construction project undertaken by Shao Yizheng was incomplete at the time of restoration, which was taken over by Li Desheng to enshrine six more statues. Marsone, "Le Baiyun guan de Pékin," 98. It is not certain if the enshrinement of the seven patriarchs was originally intended by Shao Yizheng. In fact, the inscription by Shao Yizheng mentions the completion of the restoration, which indicates that it was not an ongoing project.

names are recorded in the stele.⁷⁷ It appears that three more portraits, including one of Li Desheng, were added in 1509 to the original portraits of the eighteen disciples and of Zhao and Liu.⁷⁸ The murals do not survive today.

Another example of eunuch patronage in the first quarter of sixteenth century is that of Su Jin 蘇謹 (1478-1532), who acted partly as an imperial agent and partly with the private purpose of having his grave tended. When Baiyun guan was refurbished on imperial order at the beginning of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522-1566), Su Jin served as director of the project.⁷⁹ The Empress Dowager Jiang 章 (died 1538)

⁷⁷ Eighteen disciples of Qiu recorded in the stele are Sun Zhijian 孫志堅, Wang Zhiming 王志明, Yu Zhike 于志可, Song Daoan 宋道安, Zhao Daojian 趙道堅, Xia Zhicheng 夏志誠, Zheng Zhixiu 鄭志修, Zhang Zhisu 張志素, Ju Zhiyuan 鞠志園, Zhang Zhiyuan 張志遠, Meng Zhiwen 孟志穩, Qi Zhiyuan 綦志遠, Li Zhichang 李志常, Yin Zhiping 尹志平, Song Defang 宋得方, Yang Zhijing 楊志靜, He Zhiqing 何志清, and Pan Dechong 潘得沖.

Murals of Five Patriarchs are portraits of five Daoists, and Li Desheng is one of them. Five Daoists are masters of Qingwei school of Daoism such as Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 (Liu's master), Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (Shao's master), Shao Yizheng, Puyi Du zhenren 普毅杜真人, and Li Desheng.

⁷⁸ He mentions the previously painted portraits of the five patriarchs; however, the portrait of himself included there implies that three more portraits were added in 1509.

⁷⁹ *Baiyun guan chongxiu bei* 白雲觀重修碑 [Stele of Restoration of Baiyun guan] (1565), Gu Yishou 顧頤壽. This stele was re-carved in 1886. Oyanagi, 138-140. See also Beijing tushuguan 53: 128.

This stele was located in front of the current Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiu zu dian) 邱祖殿 at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but later relocated in front of the current Yuanchen Hall. It is not clear when this relocation occurred. For the original location, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

The same stele mentions the repair of Baiyun guan by Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1425-1434), which might be a restoration by eunuch Liu Shun.

donated imperial incense.⁸⁰ According to a memorial stele of Su Jin, which was excavated on Baiyun Road, the eunuch was buried at Baiyun guan.⁸¹

The last major act of patronage at Baiyun guan during the Ming dynasty was made by the royal court via another eunuch. In the later sixteenth century, the eunuch Feng Bao 馮保 refurbished the temple, acting as an imperial agent.⁸² *Stele of Restoration of Baiyun guan (Baiyun guan congxiu bei)* 白雲觀重修碑 records that the emperor and empress dowager along with princes and princesses contributed to the refurbishing.⁸³ The entrance gate and various halls were repaired, the Longevity Hall (Changsheng tang) 長生堂 and Retreat Hall of Distribution of Food (Shizhai tang) 施齋堂 were moved, and the bell and drum towers were built.⁸⁴

Accounts by Ming Literati

⁸⁰ The Empress Dowager Jiang is the mother of Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1521-1566), better known by his reign name Jiajing. When Zhu Houcong 朱厚熜 (later Emperor Shizong) was enthroned, she received the title of empress dowager. *Mingshi*, juan. 115. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 24, pt. 4: 2438-2440. Jiajing emperor was famous for his search for immortality and patronage of Daoist rites in the palace, but there is no record of official patronage to Baiyun guan by him. For more information, see Goodrich and Fang, 315-322.

⁸¹ *Ming gu sishejian taijian Sugong muzhi ming* 明故司設監太監蘇公墓誌銘 [A Memorial Inscription Dedicated to Mr. Su, Director-in-Chief of Ancient Directorate for Imperial Regalia in the Ming Dynasty] (1532). See Beijing tushuguan 55: 2.

⁸² See *Baiyun guan congxiu bei* 白雲觀重修碑 [Stele of Restoration of Baiyun guan], Liu Xiaozu 劉效祖. Oyanagi, 136-137. See also Beijing tushuguan 54: 48. This stele was located in front of the current Patriarch Qiu Hall at the beginning of the eighteenth century but is now lost. For the original location, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

The date of the stele is inscribed as 1518; however, Feng Bao was closely related to the Empress Dowager Li who was active in the later sixteenth century. Besides, Liu Xiaozu (1522-1589) was also active at the end of 16th century. Perhaps the mistake of the date might have been introduced when the stele was re-carved in 1886.

⁸³ Feng worked as an imperial agent for Madame Li (who later became Empress Dowager) and her temple patronage. For more information, see Naquin, *Peking*, 157-165.

⁸⁴ It is not clear where these halls (Changsheng tang and Shizhai tang) were originally located and later relocated.

Many Ming dynasty writers reported on their visits to Baiyun guan.⁸⁵ They were not greatly concerned with the configuration of the temple nor did they find the images of enshrined deities to have any artistic value, and consequently, they paid little attention to them in their writings.⁸⁶ However, their prefaces to poems or travel accounts (*youji*) 遊記 sometimes provide general information regarding the condition or scenery of Baiyun guan. For instance, when Liang Qian (died 1418) visited Changchun gong for a gathering, he compared the dilapidated condition of the temple to its past glory.⁸⁷ In a preface to a poem, he compares the previous imperial patronage of the temple with the current ruins and lack of patronage. Another writer, Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365-1444) describes a gathering at Baiyun guan in 1423.⁸⁸ When Yang and his friends arrived at Baiyun guan, two Daoist acolytes welcomed them (because the Daoist priests happened to be absent) and brewed tea for them.

⁸⁵ Literati often visited temples not to worship but to socialize and write poems and Baiyun guan was one of many such places. For general information of travel writing in Chinese history, see the introduction by Strassberg. Richard E. Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 1-56. There are also travel poems about Changchun gong written in the Yuan dynasty; however, this study is primarily concerned with buildings which were all built/rebuilt in the Ming dynasty and later. For poems about Changchun gong written in the Yuan dynasty, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1583-1584. For travel poems to Baiyun guan written in the Ming dynasty, see *Dijing jingwu lue* and *Rixia jiuwen kao*. *Dijing jingwu lue* includes poems by Chen Yan 陳音 (d. 1494), Zhao Zhenji 趙貞吉 (1508-1576), Zhang Maozhong 張懋忠, Cai Shiji 蔡士吉 and so forth. *Rixia jiuwen kao* has poems by Nie Danian 聶大年 (1402-1456), Cheng Mingzhen 程敏政, Huang Fengxiang 黃鳳翔, and so forth. Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizheng 于奕正, *Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略 [Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital] (1635; repr., Shanghai: Gudian wenshu chubanshe, 1957), 3: 75a-76a. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1548-1549.

Naquin interprets literati visiting temples to socialize and write poems as temple patronage by literati. Visiting temples and writing poems enhanced the reputation of the place, which attracted more people. Naquin, *Peking*, 37-38.

⁸⁶ As Naquin points out, the travel poem is a poor source for historians who wish to know what the site looked like. See Naquin, *Peking*, 253.

⁸⁷ For bibliographic information, see note 57.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* Yang Shiqi was a Ming historian and Renzong's grand secretariat. For more detailed information, see Goodrich and Fang, 1535-1538.

They viewed a statue of Qiu Changchun in Baiyun guan, and Yang comments that he looked like an immortal. Then they went to visit the ruins of Changchun gong.

Wang Zhi 王直 (1379-1462) held a literati gathering at Baiyun guan in 1427.⁸⁹

According to his preface for the resulting collection of poems, it had been years since the temple was built and it was in ruins, and he was skeptical whether Daoism can benefit the society.⁹⁰ His group gathered at the hall located east of Preaching Hall (Fatang) 法堂, which housed a statue of the Daoist god Yuanwu 元武 (Xuanwu 玄武).⁹¹

Unlike most other literati visitors, Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526-1590) provided more detailed descriptions of the statues in Baiyun guan, perhaps because his purpose in visiting Baiyun guan was to ask the priest Zhong Yaji 鐘㮮髻, who was well-known for his old age (114 years old), about the secret of longevity.⁹²

Wang's account states:

⁸⁹ Wang Zhi, a native of Taihe county (in Jiangxi province), became *jinshi* 進士 in 1404. He was a scholar-official who served for over 30 years in the Hanlin 翰林 Academy and 14 years as Minister of Personnel. Goodrich and Fang, 1358-1361.

⁹⁰ Wang Zhi 王直, "Jiayou shi xu 郊遊詩序 [Preface to Poems on Visiting Suburbs]," *Yi'an ji* 抑庵集 [Collected Works of Yi'an] (1379-1462; repr., Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1978), 4: 11a-13a.

⁹¹ The character *xuan* 玄 was a taboo character when this preface was included in *Siku quanshu*. Similar evidence is also found in different entries of *Rixia jiuwen kao*, which was originally compiled and supplemented during the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1661-1722). For instance, when stele inscriptions of *Tang Liu Jiuxiao zaixiu Tianchang guan bei* by Liu Jiuxiao and *Changchun dian zengsu Qizhen xianfan ji* by Li Desheng were included in *Rixia jiuwen kao*, the substitute character *yuan* 元 was used instead of *xuan* 玄 in deference to the Kangxi emperor whose name was Xuanye 玄燁. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1581-1582.

⁹² Wang Shizhen 王世貞, "You Baiyun guan ji 遊白雲觀記 [Record of Visiting Baiyun guan]," *Yanzhou shanren sibu xu gao* 弇州山人四部續稿 [Sequel to the Writing of Yanzhou shanren/Wang Shizhen] (1576-1590; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 61: 805. This book was written after *Yanzhou shanren sibu gao* in 1576, but was edited by Wang's grandson and was printed during Chongzhen 崇禎 era (1628-1645).

The rear hall has various statues of Quanzhen Daoist Donghua and Chunyang. The seated statues are slightly deteriorated. And the side room is the bed chamber of Zhong [Yaji]...

The front hall is wide. In the center is only a statue for offering to the Perfected Qiu Changchun. The statue [has] a white face, but the skin has wrinkles, no beard, and scant eyebrows, like a eunuch.

後殿有全真東華純陽諸像，坐像稍剝蝕，而傍室爲鐘寢。
啓前殿廓落。中惟供長春丘真人像，像白皙，然膚理皴皺，無鬚，寡眉，若闕宦然。

Based on his account, it is clear that in the late sixteenth century, two of the five ancestral patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism, Donghua 東華 and Chunyang 純陽, were enshrined in a side hall of the temple complex.⁹³

As already indicated, the travel poems tend to describe the atmosphere of the place, specific occasions, or the writer's sentiments rather than the appearance of the site. Some literati who attended the temple festival (*yanjiu* 燕九) to celebrate the birthday of Qiu Changchun on the nineteenth day of the first month wrote poetry related to the event.⁹⁴ The mention of the birthday of Qiu Changchun or his festival in such poems indicates the importance of Baiyun guan as a Qiu Changchun cult site during the Ming period. Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504), for instance, wrote a poem in 1488 after he visited the temple festival (*yanjiu* 燕九). In it he states that there was a

⁹³ Donghua 東華 and Chunyang 純陽 are members of five Quanzhen ancestral patriarchs (*wuzu* 五祖). Donghua dijun 東華帝君 is identified as Wang Xuanpu 王玄甫, a native of Shandong 山東, in the Han 漢 dynasty. He is said to seclude himself in Mount Kunlun 崑崙, but later moved to Mount Wutai 五台. Chunyang dijun 純陽帝君 is Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, a famous immortal during the Tang dynasty. For the biography of Donghua dijun, see *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173). See also *Daojiao da cidian*, 356. For the biography of Lü Dongbin, see Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lu Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 52-93.

In the temples during the Ming, clerics usually lived at the back or in the side rooms of a temple while the principal halls were filled with images of gods. And thus, the statues of Donghua and Chunyang were enshrined in a side hall next to the living quarter of Zhong Yaji.

⁹⁴ The birthday festival will be further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

large-scale festival attended by a great number of local people. As a renowned Confucian scholar, he also lamented the apparent contrast between the lively festivals at Baiyun guan and the silent neglect found in a Confucian temple.⁹⁵

A poem by Chen Yan 陳音 (died 1494) titled “(Visiting) Baiyun guan on the Ninth Day of the Ninth Month” offers more information about the specific occasion of Double Ninth Day.⁹⁶ It reads:

The palace of Changchun is locked with cold mists,
As the sun sets, [I] halt my horse by an old tree.
A white crane never returns beyond the shadow of human,
Yellow flower blossoms still rise in front of a wine cup.
Dragon Mountains, rock of Mount Yan, and the hat of an army,⁹⁷
Blue water, cold mountain, and poems by Zimei.⁹⁸
Several times of separation [caused] the seasonal change,
Facing this makes people suddenly oblivious.

長春宮殿鎖寒烟，駐馬斜陽古樹邊。
白鶴不歸人影外，黃花仍發酒杯前。
龍山硯石參軍帽，藍水寒山子美篇。
聚散幾回時序別，令人對此一茫然。

⁹⁵ Wu Kuan 吳寬, “Shi sanshiyi shou 詩三十一首 [Thirty-One Poems],” *Jiacang ji* 家藏集 [Writing of the Family Collection] (1435-1504; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991), 16: 113.

Wu Kuan achieved first place in the *jinshi* exam in 1472 and served as a compiler in the Hanlin Academy. For more information, see Goodrich and Fang, 1487-1489.

⁹⁶ Chen Yan, a native of Putian 莆田 (in Fujian 福建 province), became a *jinshi* in early 1460s. For his biography, see *Mingshi*, *juan*. 184. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 24, pt. 6: 3626-3627. The poem is found in *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 75a.

Ninth Day of the Ninth Month (9/9) or *Chongyang* 重陽 was a day to visit high places to enjoy the view. Naquin, *Peking*, 275, 443.

⁹⁷ The hat of an army (參軍帽) refers to the event occurred on the Double Ninth day (09/09) at Dragon Mountains (Longshan) during the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420). Huan Wen 桓溫, a general of the Eastern Jin, held a banquet at Longshan and at the banquet, a hat of Meng Jia 孟嘉 blew away. Huan satirized Meng by having a poem composed; however, the response poem by Meng was excellent, which made all the participants amazed and speechless. Since then, the hat of army indicates the famous event on Double Ninth day and the excellent writing as well.

In this poem, the hat of an army makes a parallel to the next line, the writing by Du Fu.

⁹⁸ Zimei is a name (*zi* 字) of Tang poet Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770).

A poem on “(Visiting) Baiyun guan” by a scholar-official Zhao Zhenji 趙貞吉 (1508-1576) refers to the Daoist character of the site by employing terms such as cinnabar and immortal, but most of all by referring to the famous festival *yanjiu*.⁹⁹

A hill [like] a long pillow is along the edge of a white cloud,
A lonely tower is hanging high in front of a purple road.¹⁰⁰
Arriving here, my mind is pure and [I] long to detach from the world,
In that year when cinnabar ripens, could one become an immortal.¹⁰¹
Flowers in mud continually offer to spread a mat,
Elm trees in shadow repeatedly help to count elm seeds.
Who said lanterns are deficient on Yanjiu 燕九 festival?
[It] does not teach [us] to cease roaming in early spring.¹⁰²

一丘長枕白雲邊，孤塔高懸紫陌前。
到此心澄思出世，當年丹熟可曾仙。
花泥幾度供鋪席，榆影更番佐數錢。
誰道燈殘燕九節，不教遊罷早春天。

Miscellaneous Records and Gazetteer Accounts

In addition to travel writings and poems, collections of miscellaneous notes and local gazetteers also describe Baiyun guan during the Ming dynasty.

Miscellaneous Notes about My Office at Wanping (*Wanshu zaji*) 宛暑雜記 by Shen

Bang 沈榜 (fl. 1550-1596) briefly mentions the restoration history of Baiyun guan.¹⁰³

Shen also described the famous festival of *yanqiu* celebrated at Baiyun guan:

⁹⁹ Zhao Zhenji, a native of Neijiang 內江 (in Sichuan 四川 province), became a *jinshi* in 1535. He was an official, scholar, and philosopher. Goodrich and Fang, 120-121.

¹⁰⁰ ‘White cloud’ and ‘purple road’ might designate names of the actual place.

¹⁰¹ In alchemy, cinnabar, an oxide of mercury, plays a major role in brewing an elixir.

¹⁰² This poem is found in *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 75b.

¹⁰³ Shen Bang 沈榜, *Wanshu zaji* 宛暑雜記 [Miscellaneous Notes about My Office at Wanping] (1593; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1980), 232. Shen Bang was a magistrate in Wanping 宛平 county, which covers western half of Beijing and its suburbs, from 1590. *Wanshu zazhi*, a document of his personal experience as a magistrate, was completed in 1593. For biographical information of Shen Bang, see Goodrich and Fang, 1185-1187.

According to the tradition, this temple [Baiyun guan] served a traditional place of celebrating *yanqiu* 燕丘... Now, men and women pour out of the city to visit here, enjoying all sorts of sundry games and music. Roads are so crowded that it is almost impossible to receive more visitors. It becomes suddenly prosperous.

相傳本觀爲古燕丘地... 至期，傾城男婦往遊，技巧笙歌，珠玉錦繡，充塞道路，應接不給，備極一時之盛云。

Shen Bang's *Miscellaneous Notes* indicates that the festival was enjoyed by residents of the imperial capital to a great extent. The local gazetteer and travel guide to the capital *Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital (Dijing jingwu lue)* 帝京景物略, written in 1635, also has an entry on Baiyun guan.¹⁰⁴ After introducing the location of Baiyun guan (outside of Xibian gate), it describes the statue of Qiu Changchun as having a white face, wrinkles, no beard, but eyebrows, which coincides with the description given by Wang Shizhen.¹⁰⁵ However, the text further relates that the statue of Qiu as well as Qiu's remains buried in the temple were not authentic (像假也，蛻者亦假也).¹⁰⁶ It is not known why the writers of *Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital* regarded the statue and remains of Qiu Changchun as non-genuine, but based on Wang Shizhen's observation in the late sixteenth century, it is clear that the same statue was housed in Baiyun guan when this gazetteer/travel guide was written.¹⁰⁷ The gazetteer explains the festival of *yanjiu* 燕九 or *yanqiu* 宴丘 on his birthday (nineteenth day of the first month) as a time when Qiu Changchun

¹⁰⁴ According to Naquin, *Dijing jingwu lue* was the most substantial and important of the guide-cum-travel-accounts that survive. Naquin, *Peking*, 255.

¹⁰⁵ 白晳皺皺無鬚眉者。 *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 73a.

¹⁰⁶ Regarding the statue of Qiu, it is not clear whether the writers mean that it is not an original statue made in the Yuan dynasty or that it is not a real depiction of Qiu Changchun.

¹⁰⁷ Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xu gao*, 61: 805.

would return to earth in a disguised form. Qiu could be disguised as a scholar, as a courtesan, or as a beggar. Daoist clerics would therefore come from far away in hope of encountering the immortal. Men and women of Beijing, noble or not, did the same.

From the various records cited above, it is apparent that reverence towards Qiu Changchun was significant in the Ming era. The various halls at Baiyun guan were restored to commemorate him, and the popular temple festival celebrating his birthday was observed and recorded by contemporary writers.

5. Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Baiyun guan continued to receive court patronage during the Qing dynasty, and the Qing emperors sponsored a major restoration of the temple. In the later Qing, from late eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries, lay congregations also supported the temple by building several side halls, namely the Ancestral Patriarch Lü [Dongbin] (Lüzü) 呂祖, Eight Immortals (Baxian) 八仙, Patriarch Hua [Tuo] (Huazu) 華祖, and Fire-god (Huo zu) 火祖 halls. During the mid-nineteenth century and later, Daoist clerics in Baiyun guan, with support of Qing officials and court eunuchs, associated Baiyun guan with the Longmen 龍門 orthodox lineage of Quanzhen Daoism. They did this through the compilation of hagiographies of Quanzhen Daoists in Baiyun guan, the resumption of ordination rituals, and the interpretation of a suspect stele designating the Pavilion of Three Purities (Sanqing ge) 三清閣 as the primary hall at the site. These efforts helped to create the orthodox history of the Qing Baiyun guan,

which was elaborated in the twentieth century and remains the official history of the site.

Qing Patronage

The Kangxi 康熙 emperor (r. 1662-1722) initiated Qing imperial patronage of Baiyun guan and bestowed plaques on several halls of the temple.¹⁰⁸ Although it is not clear where it was hung, the plaque reading “Zhujiang changsheng” 駐景長生 (Staying in the Scene to the Eternal Longevity) was written by the emperor himself. He also bestowed the plaque “Langjian zhenting” 琅簡真庭 (Jade Record, True Court) for the Seven Perfected Hall (Qizhen dian) 七真殿, and “Zixu zhenqi” 紫虛真氣 (Purple Void, True Breath) for the Jade Emperor Pavilion.¹⁰⁹ Lastly, he wrote

¹⁰⁸ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575. See also Mu Zhang’s 穆彰阿 et al., *Jiaqing chongxiu Da Qing yitong zhi* 嘉慶重修大清一統志 [The Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Qing Dynasty Revised during the Jiaqing Reign] (1820; repr., Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934), 2: 16b-17a.

¹⁰⁹ Langjian 琅簡 refers to the Daoist text as seen in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels] (DZ 1032). The text quotes the *Scripture of the Eight Purities (Basu jing)* 八素經 saying that those who want to be a perfected one should attain the text (琅簡藥書) in Xihua palace. Although the title plaque implies the Seven Perfected Hall as a depository of the Daoist text, the storage of the Canon in Baiyun guan between 1447 and 1845 is not known. According to Goossaert, some Daoist monasteries had revolving libraries, but not the Baiyun guan. It is not known where the Canon was preserved since its bestowal on Baiyun guan in 1447. When Japanese sinologists visited the temple in the early twentieth century, the Daoist Canon was stored in the Three Purities Pavilion and the temple ground plan designates it as the Scripture Pavilion (Zangjing ge) 藏經閣. The present Three Purities Pavilion was the Jade Emperor Pavilion during the Qing, which will be discussed later. If the location of Canon to the Three Purities Pavilion occurred in the late Qing dynasty, it may have been associated with the restitution of the Canon in 1845 by abbot and prior of Baiyun guan, Zheng Yongxiang 鄭永祥 (d. 1873) and Meng Huoyi 孟豁一 (?-1881), respectively. When Zheng and Meng restored the Canon, they decided to restrict access, which is testified by a contemporary literatus. When Li Ciming 李慈銘 (1830-1894) visited Baiyun guan in 1873, he wanted to access the Daoist Canon in the Scripture Pavilion, although it was no avail. For more information on *Yunji qiqian*, see Schipper and Verellen, 943-945. For the restoration of Daoist Canon in Baiyun guan, see *Baiyun guan chongxiu Daozang ji* 白雲觀重修道藏記 [Record of Baiyun guan’s Restoration of the Daoist Canon], written in 1845 by Meng Huoyi and Zheng Yongxiang. This inscription is found in Ding Fubao 丁福

“Dazhi baoguang” 大智寶光 (Vast Wisdom, Precious Light) for the Dipper Mother Pavilion (Doumuge) 斗母閣, which is located in the east of Baiyun guan.¹¹⁰ The existing sources do not tell us when the Kangxi emperor bestowed these plaques or if he funded the construction or reconstruction of halls. The stele inscription *Record of Stele on Restoration of Baiyun guan* (*Congxiu Baiyun guan beiji*) 重修白雲觀碑記, however, tells of an imperially ordered restoration of the temple in 1706 carried out by Wang Changyue, then an abbot of Baiyun guan.¹¹¹ However, the authenticity of this source is in question. A translation and analysis of the stele will be presented later in connection with the role of temple clerics in constructing the history of the Qing dynasty Baiyun guan.

The Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r. 1736-1795) was responsible for the major restoration of Baiyun guan in 1756.¹¹² Sources do not specify the details of this restoration, but architectural features of existing buildings, such as halls built with brick and stone and the use of small brackets, testify to this rebuilding or refurbishing

保, *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 [Record of Essence of the Daoist Canon] (1922; repr., Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1989). See also Oyanagi, 36 and Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 347-348. For Li Ciming's visit to Baiyun guan, see Li Ciming, *Yuemantang riji* 越縵堂日記 [Diary of Yueman Hall] (1873; repr., Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2004), 5632.

¹¹⁰ The character 'guang' is closely associated with the Dipper Mother. She is reincarnated as a woman named Lady of Purple Light (紫光夫人). Also, she is the mother of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper and the name of festival to celebrate the birthday of the Northern Dipper is the Offering of the Nine Luminescences (*jiuguang jiao* 九光醮). For more information, see Little, 283.

¹¹¹ *Chongxiu Baiyun guan beiji* 重修白雲觀碑記 [Record of Stele on Restoration of Baiyun guan] purportedly written in 1706 by Wang Changyue. Oyanagi, 141-142. See also Beijing tushuguan 66: 87. This stele is currently located in front of Hall of God of Thunder (Leizu dian) 雷祖殿.

¹¹² *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575. See also *Jiaqing chongxiu Da Qing yitong zhi* 2: 16b-17a.

of halls.¹¹³ Like the Kangxi emperor, the Qianlong emperor graced the temple by writing plaques for halls after the restoration.¹¹⁴ He wrote the plaques “Baosu hanyuan” 葆素含元 (Preserving Element, Containing the Origin) for the Seven Perfected Hall, and “Deyi yiqing” 得一以清 (Obtaining the One, Becoming Clear) for the Jade Emperor Pavilion.¹¹⁵ That both the Kangxi emperor and the Qianlong emperor wrote calligraphies for the Seven Perfected Hall and the Jade Emperor Pavilion indicates that the two halls were very significant. The Qianlong emperor also donated a large alms-bowl to a hall dedicated to Qiu Changchun.¹¹⁶ The alms-bowl has an ivory tablet inscribed with verses by Qianlong with each character filled with gold.¹¹⁷ He also wrote a couplet on a pair of columns in the same hall, and its

¹¹³ Qing style architectural features are discussed in Chapter 2. The Qianlong emperor also sponsored another restoration of 1786, but textual sources indicate restoration in 1786 constituted refurbishing of the temple instead of the addition of new halls. For instance, travel diaries written by Korean emissaries in 1780 and 1833 contain similar descriptions of Baiyun guan, which suggests no primary change of location of halls and their enshrinements. Pak Chiwon, *Kukyok Yorha ilgi* [Diary of the Journey to Rehe] (1780; repr., Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe, 1968), 483, 659. Kim Kyongson, “Yonwon chikchi,” in *Kukyok yonhaengnok sonjip* [Selected Writing of Record of the Journey to Beijing] (1833; repr., Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe, 1976-1982), 11: 50.

¹¹⁴ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575. See also *Jiaqing chongxiu Da Qing yitong zhi* 2: 16b-17a.

¹¹⁵ The symbolism of title plaque ‘Baosu hanyuan’ is not clear and the characters (素 and 元) are open to various translations, i.e., *su* as Purity instead of Element and *yuan* as Prime or Primordial. The title ‘Deyi yiqing’ is quoted from the thirty-ninth chapter of *Daode jing* 道德經 [Classic of the Way and Its Power], ‘tian deyi yi qing 天得一以清.’ Qianlong emperor likely made a parallel to the character *tian* with the occupant of the Jade Emperor Pavilion, considering the Jade Emperor as the highest being in heaven or the universe. For the meaning and interpretation of the phrase in the original text, see Holmes Welch, *The Parting of the Way: Lao Tzu and the Taoist Movement* (London: Methuen and Co., 1958), 57-58.

¹¹⁶ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575. The large alms-bowl, made out of the solid knob of a tree, is said to hold no less than 140 pounds of rice (5 *dou* 斗).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1581. The translation is as follows:

[I] happened to visit the temple and rest at Tianchang,
 A truly beautiful wooden bowl is next to the small statue.
 All said that [they were] from the desert in North,
 Who knows that [they passed] ferries to come here from Xiangyang?

subject is the teachings of Qiu Changchun.¹¹⁸ Qianlong emperor again restored Baiyun guan between 1786 and 1788 due to its dilapidated condition.¹¹⁹ The project was aided by the imperial gift of 8600 ounces of silver.¹²⁰

During the Qing dynasty, Baiyun guan was funded by the court through its administrative agencies, such as the Imperial Household Agency (Neiwu fu) 內務府. Baiyun guan, like many other Daoist temples and Buddhist monasteries, received a regular stipend from this administrative office. The earliest record of such a stipend from the Imperial Household Agency dates to the Daoguang 道光 reign (1821-1850), but presumably the stipend was given earlier for the maintenance of the temple.¹²¹ In addition, the Office of Privy Purse (Guangchu si) 廣儲司 dispensed incense money at different times of year.¹²² For special occasions, such as the celebration of the imperial birthday at the temples in the capital, administrative agencies also dispensed

琳宮偶過憩天長，眞率木瓢小像旁。
都道提携來漠北，誰知津逮自襄陽。

¹¹⁸ The following couplet by Qianlong in the Patriarch Qiu hall can also be found in *Rixia jiuwen kao*. Ibid., 1575.

Forever long life, [I] need not eat rosy clouds to look for a secret knack.
One word stops killing, [I] begin to know [how to] save the world to have an extraordinary merit.

萬古長生，不用餐霞求秘訣。
一言止殺，始知濟世有奇功。

¹¹⁹ See *Qianlong Di yubi shi bei* 乾隆帝御筆詩碑 [Stele of Poem Written by the Qianlong Emperor] written in 1788. Oyanagi, 143. See also Beijing tushuguan 75: 90. This inscription can be found at the back of a stele called *Baiyun guan you bei* 白雲觀右碑. The text of this stele was written in Manchu. Ink rubbings are found in supplementary paper in Oyanagi's book and in Beijing tushuguan 75: 94. This stele is currently located in front of Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian) 玉皇殿.

¹²⁰ Oyanagi, 144-145. See also Beijing tushuguan 75: 93-94.

¹²¹ The court document I consulted covers mostly the nineteenth century, but considering the agency (Neiwu fu) was at work throughout the Qing, it is assumed that the stipend may have been given to temples in Beijing. *Qinding Zongguan Neiwu fu xianxing zeli erzong* 欽定總管內務府現行則例二種 [Imperially Issued Regulations for the Imperial Household Agency] (Late Qing; repr., Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2000).

¹²² See the court document regarding the Office of Privy Purse (Guangchu si). Ibid., 4: 3-6.

money. For example, for the birthday ritual of the Daoguang emperor performed in 1822, Baiyun guan, like many other temples in the capital, received money from the Office of Palace Ceremonies (Zhangyi si) 掌儀司.¹²³ The stele inscription *Record of Restoration of Hall of Ancestral Masters in Baiyun guan* (*Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji*) 重修白雲觀宗師廡記 also mentions the donation of money from the Imperial Household Agency to celebrate the birthday ritual of Qiu Changchun in the early nineteenth century.¹²⁴

Besides imperial patronage, lay patronage, sometimes under the guidance of Daoist clerics in residence, supported Baiyun guan from the late eighteenth century onward. Various individuals and groups funded the building and refurbishing of halls, paid for ordination rituals, and supported birthday rituals of gods and immortals. The lay patrons sometimes gave Baiyun guan proceeds generated from an agricultural field to pay for birthday rituals or the maintenance of halls. For instance, in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, a pious donor from Tianjin 天津 named Cai Yongqing 蔡永清 joined with two other people to pay for an ordination ritual in the temple, after discussing the gift with an abbot.¹²⁵ Cai also financed the building of a hall dedicated to Lü Dongbin in the west side of the complex. According to a stele

¹²³ See the court document regarding Office of Palace Ceremonies (Zhangyi si). Ibid., 3: 151-155; Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 197.

¹²⁴ *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* 重修白雲觀宗師廡記 [Record of Restoration/Building of Hall of Ancestral Masters in Baiyun guan] written by Changbai Linqing in 1828. Oyanagi, 148-149. This stele is located on the corner of the northern wall of Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian) 藥王殿.

¹²⁵ See *Baiyun guan juanchan beiji* 白雲觀捐產碑記 [Record of Stele on Donation to Baiyun guan] written in 1811 by Cai Yongqing. Oyanagi, 145-147. This stele does not survive in the present day. The ordination ritual cost 2800 ounces of white gold and the building of Ancestral Patriarch Lü Hall cost 4800 ounces of gold.

dated 1826, a religious association named the Philanthropic Association of Everlasting Blessings (Yongqing shanhui) 永慶善會 repaired the Fire-god Hall, where new images of Fire-god and other immortals were installed.¹²⁶ The association also created a fund for the birthday ritual as well as for the general maintenance of the hall.¹²⁷ Around 1830, over fifty people donated money out of piety to Doumu (Dipper Mother) to build a refectory.¹²⁸ In the 1840s, Huazu zhenjun Taiyi dijun 華祖真君太乙帝君 (True Lord Patriarch Hua Tuo, Emperor Taiyi) hall was built by the layman Wang Hongli 王洪禮, who also donated money and a field.¹²⁹ In the late nineteenth century, the Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Dongbin) was repaired by the abbot Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (1840-1911) with the help of a pious Manchu woman named Suohuola 索霍拉.¹³⁰ This woman and her son also paid for the birthday ritual

¹²⁶ *Yongqing shanhui bei* 永慶善會碑 [Stele of Philanthropic Association of Everlasting Blessings]. See Oyanagi, 190-191. This stele is now located on the corner of western wall of Hall of Compassionate Sailor (Cihang dian) 慈航殿. The writer's name is not listed. The association spent 1200 strings of copper coins for repair of a hall and 6753 strings of copper coins for the installation of images.

¹²⁷ The Association purchased three *qing* 頃 of fields to generate income by renting it. The inscription mentions the names of donors were carved, however Oyanagi did not transcribe them. According to Goossaert, most donors are merchants. Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 263.

¹²⁸ *Jiuhuang hui beiji* 九皇會碑記 [Record of Stele on Association of Nine Emperors] written by Zhang Hezhi 張合智 in 1834. Oyanagi, 150-153. This stele is currently located in front of Hall of the God of Thunder. All the names and the amount of donations are listed. The building started in 1829 and completed in 1834. They also bought a field to generate the rent money for incense.

¹²⁹ *Zhenjun dian xianghuo jie* 真君殿香火碣 [Stele of Offering Incense to True Lord Hall] written in 1844. It is not clear who wrote this inscription. Oyanagi, 153. This stele is currently located on the corner of the western wall of Hall of Three Star Lords (Sanxing dian) 三星殿.

When the construction was completed, Baiyun guan received a new donation of 522 strings of copper coin as well as 87 *mou* 畝 of field. The money from renting the field was used for the maintenance of the hall.

¹³⁰ *Chongxiu Lüzu dian beiji* 重修呂祖殿碑記 [Record of Stele on Restoration of Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü] written by Gao Rentong in 1887. Oyanagi, 170-171. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 48. This stele is located on the corner of the western wall of Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzu dian) 呂祖殿.

of Lü Dongbin for more than ten years after 1875 and they burned incense and distributed food to the poor. In 1886, they again donated 400 ounces of gold to repair Baiyun guan.

Subordinate Daoist temples also paid fees and donated fields to support birthday rituals for gods and immortals performed in Baiyun guan.¹³¹ For example, in the 1880s, Ye Heren 葉合仁, the abbot of Lüzu gong 呂祖宮 near Fucheng 阜成 gate, and his disciples donated a field to Baiyun guan to finance birthday rituals for the Jade Emperor on the ninth day of the first month and Lord Lao, the Most High (Taishang Laojun) 太上老君 on the fifteenth day of the second month. A later abbot of Lüzu gong, Wang Jiaohui 王教惠, donated 200 ounces of gold to pay for the same birthday rituals.

Qing Literati Accounts

Qing visitors also wrote accounts of travels to Baiyun guan. Although various birthday festivals and rituals of gods and immortals were celebrated in Baiyun guan, *yanjiu* (the celebration or birthday ritual of Qiu Changchun) was the most well-known event throughout the Qing dynasty. Just as in the Ming dynasty, literati and scholar-officials visited (*you* 遊) Baiyun guan and wrote poems on the subject of *yanjiu* using

¹³¹ *Siyu dian huangtan xianghuo ji* 四御殿皇壇香火記 [Record of Offering Incense to an Altar in Four Rulers Hall] by Gao Rentong in 1890. Oyanagi, 173-174. See also Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 165. This stele is located on the corner of the northern wall of Medicine King Hall. They also had invested money, the income of which was for paper objects used during the Zhongyuan 中元 festival on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. *Zhongyuan jigu leshi ji* 中元濟孤勒石記 [Record of Saving Lonely Ghosts in Zhongyuan Festival] by Gao Rentong in 1885. Oyanagi, 157. See also Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 165. This stele is located on the corner of the northern wall of Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian) 財神殿.

the “bamboo-branch lyrics” (*zhuzhi ci*) 竹枝詞 verse form,¹³² which was an old form that became a popular genre during the Qing dynasty for describing sights, scenery, and activities in the imperial capital. Wang Chongjian 王崇簡 (1602-1675) visited Baiyun guan on *yanjiu* in 1656, and used this verse form to describe the crowded temple on the day of the festival.¹³³ Another famous scholar of the early Qing, Kong Shangren 孔尚任 (1648-1718), also visited Baiyun guan with his friends during *yanjiu* and wrote poems.¹³⁴ His preface for the poems indicates that people from all walks of life, men and women, noble and common, came to Baiyun guan in hope of meeting the immortal Qiu Changchun. A section from Kong Shangren’s poem expresses how *yanjiu* was celebrated and what was expected:

Burning the very first incense stick in an incense burner, I ask the marvelous
sublimity of the Dao,
A rustic old man, leaning on a staff, smiles standing next to the altar.¹³⁵

¹³² The basic form of *zhuzhi ci* has a stanza of four lines and each line has seven characters. Rhyme should be obligatory in the second and fourth lines. There are *zhuzhi ci* of even number of stanzas such as 2 or as many as 10.

There still were poems written with different formats such as the one written by Wei Yijie (1616-1686), an eight-line stanza with five characters. Wei Yijie wrote a poem after visiting Baiyun guan on *yanjiu*. Wei Yijie 魏裔介, *Jianjitang wenji* 兼濟堂文集 [Literary Collection from Jianji Hall] (1711; repr., Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1973), 19: 7b-8a. For the biography of Wei Yijie, see Arthur William Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912* (Washington: U.S. Government Print, 1943-44), 849-850.

¹³³ Wang Chongjian, a native of Wanping (Beijing), became a *jinshi* in 1643 at the end of Ming dynasty. During the dynastic transition, he took his family south, but in 1645, they returned to the capital. He was employed since then. For his biography, see Hummel, 815-816. His poem is found in *Qingxiang tang shiji* 青箱堂詩集 [Poetry Collection from the Qingxiang Hall] (1676; repr., Tainan, Taiwan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997), 11: 152.

¹³⁴ Kong Shangren, a native of Qufu 曲阜 (in Shandong 山東 province), was a descendant of Confucius. Hummel, 434-435. Total number of nine literati including Kong wrote *zhuzhi ci* with 10 stanzas using 10 characters at the end of each stanza. These *zhuzhi ci* were compiled in 1693 and titled *Yanjiu zhuzhi ci* 燕九竹枝詞 [Bamboo-Branch Lyrics on *Yanjiu*]. Yang Miren 楊米人 et al., *Qingdai Beijing zhuzhi ci* 清代北京竹枝詞 [Bamboo-Branch Lyrics of Qing Dynasty Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), 3-11.

¹³⁵ A rustic old man suggests the Daoist clergy in Baiyun guan.

Every year [at festival time] people come here to see and search for an immortal,
The number is not as small as the past...
Golden bridge and jade grotto are aloof from the dusty world,¹³⁶
(One) disguises as a beggar whose body is covered by skin disease.
Grain ran out for thirty days without any place to appeal,
He is recognized as Qiu Changchun by people.¹³⁷

頭頂香爐問道妙，村翁扶杖壇邊笑。
年年來看求仙人，今日不如前日少。
金橋玉洞隔凡塵，藏得乞兒疥癩身。
絕粒三旬無處訴，被人指作邱長春。

This poem describes well-known scenery of the birthday festival such as the great crowd hoping to encounter an immortal or Qiu Changchun disguised as a beggar.

Another *zhuzhi ci* poem written in the early nineteenth century takes a cynical tone toward the festival in Baiyun guan:¹³⁸

Only a few days after the lantern festival,
In Baiyun guan, gather the immortals.
How many of those along the roads are immortals coming down to earth,
Each and every immortal only wanting money?¹³⁹

纔過元宵未數天，白雲觀裏會神仙。
沿途多少真人降，個個真人只要錢。

In the late Qing dynasty, poems written in the form of *zhuzhi ci* functioned as a guidebook due to its portable size for travelers. Similar information about *yanjiu* is found in the annual calendar of famous events in the capital titled *Famous Sites in the*

¹³⁶ The golden bridge and jade grotto imply Baiyun guan.

¹³⁷ *Qingdai Beijing zhuzhi ci*, 4.

¹³⁸ This is from *Chaozhu yichuan* 草珠一串 [String of Grasses and Pearls], also known as *Jingdu zhuzhi ci* 京都竹枝詞 [Bamboo-Branch Lyrics of the Capital], written by De Shiting 得碩亭. This book was printed in 1817. *Ibid.*, 56.

¹³⁹ I revised the translation by Naquin. See Naquin, *Peking*, 465.

Annual Calendar of the Capital (Dijing suishi jisheng) 帝京歲時紀勝 written by Pan Rongbi 潘榮陛 in 1758.¹⁴⁰ The birthday festival of Qiu Changchun was so famous that even visiting Korean scholars attended. For example, Kim Kyongson, a Korean emissary, mentions in his travel diary his visit to Baiyun guan on Qiu's birthday in 1833.¹⁴¹

Re-Constructing a Religious Identity

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, Daoist clerics in Baiyun guan, with the support of Qing officials and court eunuchs, reconstructed the history of the temple. Their goal was to strengthen the temple's relationship with a branch of Quanzhen Daoism, the Longmen orthodox lineage. Qiu Chuji is a founding patriarch of the Longmen lineage and his residency in Changchun gong and his burial in Baiyun guan validated the identification of the temple as a major center of the Longmen of Quanzhen Daoism, without interruption, since the thirteenth century. As noted above, the Daoist clerics established this specific religious identity by compiling hagiographies, performing ordination rituals, and erecting steles. Below I will discuss how each method was used to produce a tie to the Longmen lineage that remains to this day.

¹⁴⁰ Pan Rongbi 潘榮陛, *Dijing suishi jisheng* 帝京歲時紀勝 [Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital] (1758; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji, 1981), 49. Pan Rongbi, a native of Beijing, had been employed for a dozen years on various historical projects in the court, and during his retirement he wrote about holidays of the capital. For Pan's biography, see Naquin, *Peking*, 439. Pan's annual calendar described the places and activities associated with each holiday.

¹⁴¹ Kim Kyongson, 50.

In 1848, the prior of Baiyun guan, Meng Huoyi 孟豁一 (?-1881), together with the Qing official Wanyan Chongshi 完顏崇實 (1820-1876), compiled *Chart of Daoist Immortals in Baiyun guan (Baiyun xianbiao)* 白雲仙表, a collection of hagiographies of the Quanzhen patriarchs, most of whom had stayed in Baiyun guan at one time or another.¹⁴² This text, providing the hagiographies of the next and successive generations of Quanzhen Daoists after Qiu Changchun, significantly identifies Qiu as the first patriarch of the Longmen lineage and Wang Changyue as a crucial figure in its revival because he performed ordination rituals during his stay at Baiyun guan.¹⁴³ Thus, an official document was produced in the late Qing dynasty to create the connection between the Longmen lineage and Baiyun guan.

Ordination rituals were also used to legitimate the Longmen lineage at Baiyun guan. Ordination rituals, which supposedly occurred during the early Qing period,

¹⁴² *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 373-405.

Wanyan family who belonged to the Manchu Bannermen (Bordered Yellow in Inner City) was a great patron of Baiyun guan. His father, Wanyan Linqing 完顏麟慶 (1791-1864) created a fund to pay fees for the birthday ritual of Huozu, the Fire-god in the early nineteenth century due to its ambivalent power (destructive but protective). See *Baiyun guan Huozu dian xiangdeng bushi leming zhi bei* 白雲觀火祖殿香燈布施勒名之碑記 [Record of Stele on Donation of Incense to Huozu dian in Baiyun guan] written by Changbai Tilin 長白錕林 (Wanyan Linqing) in 1826. Oyanagi, 147-148. This stele is located on the corner of the eastern wall of Hall of Compassionate Sailor.

In 1828, Wanyan Linqing and Meng Huoyi commissioned statues and portraits of the eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun in two side halls (Halls of Ancestral Masters). The images of the eighteen disciples had been originally depicted on the walls, but were lost. *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* written by Changbai Linqing in 1828.

Wanyan Chongshi, a son of Wanyan Linqing, also was a great patron of Baiyun guan. He and Meng Huoyi together commissioned a handscroll depicting Qiu's journey to the West. Currently the painting is stored in the east display hall. According to Li Yangzheng, this painting was commissioned in 1833. However, as Liu Xun points out, the date is problematic considering Chongshi's young age. Li Yangzheng, 568-569. See also Liu Xun, 84.

¹⁴³ The transmission of teaching from Qiu Changchun to the next patriarch Zhao Daojian is found in *Baiyun xianbiao*. *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 392. The ordination rituals performed by Wang Changyue is mentioned in his biography. *Ibid.*, 401.

were resumed at Baiyun guan in the late eighteenth century, sponsored by the laity and Daoist clerics, some of whom were previously court eunuchs.¹⁴⁴ The most influential cleric was Liu Chengyin 劉誠印 (1845-1895).¹⁴⁵ He was one of the chief eunuchs serving Empress Dowager Xiaozhen 孝欽, better known as Cixi 慈禧 (1835-1908), however his patronage of Baiyun guan does not seem to be associated with the court.¹⁴⁶ Liu was ordained in 1871, and later became an ordination master.¹⁴⁷ He organized the Religious Association of Eternity of Qiu Changchun (Changchun yongjiu shenghui) 長春永久聖會, also known as the Association of Offerings to Qiu Changchun (Changchun gonghui) 長春供會 in 1882.¹⁴⁸ Its approximately one hundred members were once court eunuchs. As noted above, some eunuchs sponsored temples so that these institutions would care for them during their

¹⁴⁴ Cai Yongqing's stele inscription *Baiyun guan juanchan beiji* mentions that ordination rituals occurred in Baiyun guan during the Qing dynasty as early as in the reign of Kangxi; however, most of ordination rituals were performed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and an ordination platform was built in 1890. Oyanagi, 145-147. For ordination rituals in Qing through Republican China, see Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 225-226 and Li Yangzheng, 235-236. For the construction of an ordination platform, *Baiyun guan tuoxiu Yunji shanfang xiaoyin* 白雲觀拓修雲集山房小引 [Stele of Building Hermitage of Gathering Clouds in Baiyun guan] written in 1890 by Gao Rentong. Oyanagi, 174-175. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 145. This stele did not survive.

¹⁴⁵ *Liu Shuyun daoheng bei* 劉素雲道行碑 [Stele of the Meritorious Acts of Liu Shuyun/Liu Chengyin] (1886), Xi You 禧祐. Oyanagi, 158-159. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 4. This stele is presently located in front of Hall of the God of Thunder.

¹⁴⁶ Liu Xun relates the commission of a set of Bixia 碧霞 paintings in Baiyun guan to the imperial patronage of Cixi, but there are no supporting textual sources. Liu Xun, 57-115. Some streamers in Baiyun guan were bestowed by Cixi, but there was no major patronage by her. As Naquin states, for the most of the Qing dynasty, eunuchs did not serve as imperial agents for their patrons in matters of religion. If we take an example of Li Lianying 李蓮英, Cixi's favorite, there were no obvious acts of temple patronage either alone or on her behalf. Naquin, *Peking*, 348.

¹⁴⁷ When he was ordained in 1871, he also paid the fee for ordination ritual. Oyanagi, 158-159. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 4.

¹⁴⁸ They were devoted to the celebration of Qiu Changchun's birthday and the Nine Emperor's festival. *Baiyun guan Changchun gonghui beiji* 白雲觀長春供會碑記 [Record of Stele on Association of Offering to Qiu Changchun in Baiyun guan] (1886), Li Qixi 李其嵩. Oyanagi, 159-161. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 6-7. This stele is currently located in front of Patriarch Qiu Hall.

retirement and after their death, but Liu's patronage seems to have been motivated primarily by piety, since he was buried at the Buddhist monastery called the Precious Canon Monastery (Baozang si) 寶藏寺.¹⁴⁹ Thus, performance of ordination rituals ensured the continuation of the Longmen lineage at Baiyun guan.

A third method used to tie Baiyun guan to the Longmen lineage was stele inscriptions. Under the leadership of Abbot Gao Rentong, Liu Chengyin also conducted a project of carving and re-carving temple steles in 1886.¹⁵⁰ The identity of Baiyun guan as a legitimate Longmen lineage temple is closely related to a stele titled *Record of Stele on Restoration of Baiyun guan*, which was supposedly written and signed by the patriarch Wang Changyue in 1706.¹⁵¹ Although this stele no longer exists, a "re-carving" of the inscription by Liu dating to 1886 survives.¹⁵² The inscription states:

Now in the forty-fifth year of Kangxi [1706] in our dynasty, since the complex was too narrow, more ground was acquired to expand it and the surrounding wall was rebuilt... On the west it takes the outside of Qin Terrace as a boundary. To the west of the temple is a high mound, which is the site of Changchun Villa... The present emperor [Kangxi] restored Jade Emperor Hall, Three Purities Hall, Changchun Hall, Seven Perfected Hall, Numinous Officer Hall, Four Sages Hall, shanmen, and pailou. On ancillary

¹⁴⁹ Eunuch patronage also occurred during the Ming dynasty. In the Qing dynasty, eunuch patronage of temples, mostly collective patronage of eunuchs, had private purposes. For similar cases, see Naquin, 570-571.

Liu also sponsored the Buddhist monastery Baozang si 寶藏寺 on Jinshan 金山 in the Western Hills, turning it into a leading eunuch monastery sometime before 1871. Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 227.

¹⁵⁰ *Chongle zhubei ji* 重勒諸碑記 [Record of Re-carving Various Steles] written by Liu Chengyin in 1886. Oyanagi, 166-167. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 12-13. This stele is currently located in front of Shrine Hall (Citang) 祠堂.

¹⁵¹ “白雲觀住持王常月謹識 [Wang Changyue, abbot of Baiyun guan, humbly wrote]” indicates its authorship at the end of the stele inscription.

¹⁵² Oyanagi, 141-142. See also Beijing tushuguan 66: 87. It is believed that the inscription was written and carved in 1706, but was re-carved in 1886, when some other steles were carved and re-carved.

lines [of the compound] are alms-bowl hall and the kitchen. The memorial hall and the living quarters for the Daoist priests are situated east and west, respectively.

今我朝康熙四十五年。見其地基太狹。則易隙地以廣之。峻其周垣… 西以琴臺之外爲界。觀之西有土阜極高。係長春別館之遺址… 今上重建玉皇殿。三清殿。長春殿。七真殿。靈官殿。四聖殿。山門，牌樓… 竝及鉢堂，廚庫。東西祠堂道舍。

As noted earlier, the authenticity of this inscription is problematic because Wang Changyue died in 1680.¹⁵³ Second, this stele mentions a *citang* 祠堂, or memorial hall in the complex, but a later stele written by Wanyan Chongshi in 1847 states that after Wang Changyue passed away, an offering hall (*xiangtang*) 饗堂 was built by an imperial order of the Kangxi emperor, and this offering hall later became a *citang*.¹⁵⁴ Finally, the description of the temple does not accord with that of contemporary writings. As an example, the west of Baiyun guan was not a site of a *qin* terrace, nor were ruins of the Changchun Villa 長春別館 as this inscription states.¹⁵⁵ Also

¹⁵³ Oyanagi, 142. Marsone conjectures that the inscription was modified in 1706. Marsone, “Le Baiyun guan de Pékin,” 99. The error in date might have been introduced when the stele was carved; however, other circumstances indicate the fabrication of the stele.

¹⁵⁴ *Kunyang Wang zhenren daoheng bei* 崑陽王真人道行碑 [Stele of the Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Wang Kunyang [Changyue]] (1886), Wanyan Chongshi. Oyanagi, 162-163. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 10-11. This inscription was written in 1847, but it was carved in 1886. This stele is currently located in front of Shrine Hall. The inscription mentions the building of Xiangtang 饗堂 [Offering Hall] to enshrine the remains of Wang Changyue and his statue in 1680. Esposito identifies this hall as current Citang. Esposito, 652. Li Yangzheng also mentions that Xiangtang was built by a disciple of Wang Changyue in 1707. Li Yangzheng, 22. Shrine Hall (Citang) used to contain the tablets of Longmen patriarchs surrounding the statue of Wang Changyue (7th patriarch of Longmen lineage). This evidence entails a problem of anachronism. Clearly, a memorial shrine was built after the death of Wang Changyue, which suggests the different authorship with later date of this stele. The surroundings of Citang in the early twentieth century will be discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁵ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1586. According to *Rixia jiuwen kao*, Changchun Villa was converted from a house in Guangyangfang 廣陽坊 by one of the eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun. Guangyangfang, presently outside of Youan 右安 gate of Beijing, was located in vicinity of south of Changchun gong or Baiyun guan. Even though information regarding the *qin* terrace and Changchun Villa is not correct,

contrary to the description on the stele, other sources do not mention a Three Purities Hall at Baiyun guan. *Study of 'Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne'* (*Rixia jiuwen kao*) describes Baiyun guan as follows:

The rear of the present temple [complex] is the Jade Emperor Pavilion...¹⁵⁶
The front hall is dedicated to Numinous Official (Wang lingguan 王靈管)...
The middle hall is dedicated to the Seven Perfected... The hall in back enshrines the statue of Qiu [Changchun]... Statues at side halls count several tens of them, whose names are not able to check.¹⁵⁷

今觀後有玉皇閣。前殿奉靈官，中殿奉七真，後殿奉邱像，…。有塑於配殿者其數十，其名無可稽矣。

The same text also mentions that the Patriarch Qiu Hall is located behind the Seven Perfected Hall and in the front of the Jade Emperor Pavilion (此殿[邱祖殿]在七真殿後，玉皇閣前).¹⁵⁸ This text does not contain any reference to a Three Purities Hall (Sanqing dian), but rather, gives priority to the Jade Emperor Pavilion (Yuhuang ge) in the north.

when this stele was fabricated, this information was borrowed from *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄 (later quoted in *Rixia jiuwen kao*) in order to lend validity to the stele inscription.

¹⁵⁶ A *ge* 閣 indicates a building of several stories in China. Yuhuang ge was built in the Ming dynasty as already mentioned.

¹⁵⁷ This was written in 1785 in order to correct the mistakes or discrepancies between the temple in the 18th century and the description quoted by Zhu Kuntian approximately in 1697. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1580.

Rixia jiuwen kao, Qing compendia on the capital was originally compiled by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709) in 1688. For the writing of *Rixia jiuwen kao*, Zhu relied on wide reading, repeated visits to the sites, and interview with elderly residents. Naquin, *Peking*, 454.

Zhu Kuntian 朱昆田 supplemented his father's writing (mostly focusing on the Ming capital) approximately in 1697, but most of his supplementation on Baiyun guan was corrected when *Rixia jiuwen kao* was edited and expanded by the editorial boards of Qianlong court in 1785. Each entry in the text is labeled as original (*yuan* 原) written by Zhu Yizun, supplementary (*bu* 補) by Zhu Kuntian, or commentary (*an* 按) by editorial board in Qianlong court, which tells the reader the author of each entry.

¹⁵⁸ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1583.

Eighteenth and early nineteenth-century travel diaries identify a hall dedicated to the Jade Emperor as the main hall in Baiyun guan. For example, the *Diary of the Journey to Rehe* written in 1780 by Pak Chiwon describes the temple:

The outside [plaque] of *pailou* reads “Grotto-Heaven, Beautiful Place (Dongtian jiajing),” and the inside [plaque] reads “Jade Forest, Lang Garden (Qionglin langyuan).” After crossing a three-arched bridge, one enters the Jade Emperor Hall (Yuhuang dian). The [statue of] Jade Emperor is in imperial garb, surrounded by the thirty-three Celestial Emperors in the hall. [They salute with] folded hands and jade tablets, [and wear] dangling tassels [imperial headgear] like the Jade Emperor. The divine general Tianpeng has three heads and six arms, each holding different weapons. A hall in front is dedicated to stellar deity of the Old Man of the South Pole Star-Lord (Nanji laoren xingjun)... In the hall to the left is set up Dipper Mother, and the hall to the right enshrines Qiu Changchun who was national patriarch of the Yuan Shizu [Kublai].¹⁵⁹ The plaque of Yuhuang dian is “Purple Void, True Breath (Zixu zhenqi)” and that of the Dipper Mother Hall reads “Vast Wisdom, Precious Light (Dazhi baoguang)”. The Kangxi emperor wrote them.¹⁶⁰

牌樓外扁曰洞天佳境，內扁曰瓊林閭苑，渡三空橋入玉皇殿，玉皇具帝者服，遶殿三十三天帝君，拱圭垂旒皆如玉皇，天蓬神將三頭六臂，各擁兵器，前殿安南極老人星君，... 左一殿安斗母，右一殿安丘長春，元世祖國師也，玉皇殿扁紫虛真氣，斗母殿扁大智寶光，俱康熙御筆，...

¹⁵⁹ Here ‘left’ indicates the east side of the complex and accordingly ‘right’ to the west of the temple complex. In the west side of the complex, there was a hall of Quanzhen patriarchs. It is not clear whether Pak Chiwon actually looked at the hall of Qiu Changchun, but he just mentioned that Qiu was a national patriarch of the Yuan Shizu. Pak did not seem to be familiar with Quanzhen Daoism, because Qiu was a national patriarch of Yuan Taizu 太祖, though Shizu bestowed the religious title to Qiu in 1269. It might have been difficult for him to identify all the statues of Quanzhen patriarchs.

¹⁶⁰ Pak Chiwon, 483, 659.

I translated 三空橋 as a bridge supported by three arches 三孔橋, because a travel diary by Kim Kyongson, another Korean emissary, mentioned the bridge supported by three arches with water running through them. According to Liang Ssu-ch’eng, the design of three-arched bridge became standardized in the Qing dynasty. Liang Ssu-ch’eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: a Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984), 175. Kim Kyongson, 50.

Pak describes the decoration of the Jade Emperor Hall, perhaps due to its status as a main hall with imperially written calligraphy.¹⁶¹ A travel diary written in 1833 by Kim Kyongson gives a similar description.¹⁶² The writer affirms that the Jade Emperor Hall was labeled “Zixu zhenqi” as a main hall in the complex.¹⁶³ Kim also states that two steles in front of the Jade Emperor Hall praise the merit of its deity, while the buildings in the east and west are the living quarters for Daoist clerics.¹⁶⁴

Thus, based on *Study of ‘Ancient Accounts’* and the Korean travel diaries, the main hall of Baiyun guan in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was indeed the Jade Emperor Pavilion (Yuhuang ge), featuring halls dedicated to Numinous Official, Seven Perfected, Qiu Changchun and of an Old Man of South Pole Star-Lord (Nanji laoren xingjun) on the central axis. Other than in the spurious stele by Wang Changyue, the designation of the Three Purities Hall as the main hall only appeared in the early nineteenth century.

According to the stele inscription *Record of Stele on Donation to Baiyun guan* (*Baiyun guan juanchan beiji*), written by Cai Yongqing in 1811, a pious person named Wang commissioned a Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge) around the time

¹⁶¹ Pak Chiwon also added that he had the opportunity to look at valuable artworks in Baiyun guan such as books, screens, calligraphies and paintings, however, specifics of artworks are not discussed. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, temples were the repositories of objects as well as texts. As Naquin says, collected objects might not be systematically arrayed for consultation or viewing, but they were accessible, as in the case of Pak Chiwon. Naquin, *Peking*, 98.

¹⁶² The diary written in 1833 is quite similar to that of 1780. The diary also mentions the appearance of the statue of Yuhuang and thirty-three Celestial Emperors as well as the halls dedicated to Qiu Changchun and Doumu. Possibly, Kim Kyongson might already have read Pak’s diary before his trip or might have carried a diary written by Pak when he went to China in 1833. It explains why he made the same mistake of the number of celestial emperors in the hall of the Jade Emperor, counting thirty-three celestial emperors surrounding the Jade Emperor instead of thirty-two.

¹⁶³ 正殿扁曰紫虛真氣安玉皇塑像

¹⁶⁴ The text tells that there are several hundreds of Daoist clerics who are living in Baiyun guan, although the number is not as many as it used to be.

when Wang Changyue performed an ordination ritual at Baiyun guan.¹⁶⁵ If this information is reliable, the Three Purities Pavilion was built around the mid-1650s and the early 1660s when Wang Changyue performed an ordination ritual at Baiyun guan. However, other textual sources are strangely silent about the Three Purities Pavilion at the site. Perhaps Three Purities Pavilion mentioned in Cai's inscription might actually be the Jade Emperor Pavilion with the statue of Jade Emperor on the second floor and statues of Three Purities on the ground floor.¹⁶⁶ Considering Cai was a pious donor, he certainly understood the teachings of Daoism and the significant position of the Three Purities in religious Daoism. Therefore, it is likely that Cai referred to the main building as Three Purities Pavilion, although Jade Emperor Pavilion was identified as the main hall in Baiyun guan by Korean emissaries.

Despite the problematic character of the stele by Wang Changyue, it is useful in demonstrating the efforts of the Baiyun guan clergy to legitimize their Longmen lineage. The emphasis on the Three Purities can be interpreted as establishing strict hierarchy among Daoist gods and immortals in Baiyun guan, i.e., Three Purities-Qiu Changchun-Seven Perfected. As mentioned above, Three Purities are the primary deities in Daoism including the Quanzhen sect. The early Quanzhen Daoists already established its pantheon. According to *Ode on the Successive Quanzhen Patriarchs*

¹⁶⁵ See *Baiyun guan juanchan beiji* written in 1811 by Cai Yongqing. Oyanagi, 145-147.

¹⁶⁶ As mentioned in note 167, *ge* indicates a building with multiple stories, and there are only two buildings with multiple stories in Baiyun guan. In Baiyun guan, the primary deity was enshrined on the second floor and the reference of the building was after the identification of deities on the second floor such as Doumu *ge*.

It seems that statues of the Three Purities were enshrined in Baiyun guan during the mid or late Qing dynasty.

(*Quanzhen liezu fu*) 全真列祖賦 which was composed by Song Defang 宋德方 (1183-1247), one of the eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun, the highest god in the tradition is Three Purities.¹⁶⁷ At the late Qing period, temple clerics scrutinized the lives of early Quanzhen masters as evident in the compilation of the *Chart of Daoist Immortals in Baiyun guan*, which includes the hagiography of Song Defang.¹⁶⁸ By designating the Three Purities as the primary deities, Daoist clerics could claim Baiyun guan as a legitimate temple of the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen, which was properly furnished with ranked images. In addition, Wang's spurious stele promotes Wang as a genuine heir of the Longmen lineage teaching.¹⁶⁹ The acceptance of such a stele would certainly solidify the connection between the temple and the lineage.

The Wang Changyue stele significantly affected later scholarship on the history of Baiyun guan. Its authenticity has been accepted without question by Daoist

¹⁶⁷ Song begins the Ode by emphasizing Quanzhen's exclusive connection with the Three Purities and the Four Emperors, designating the Three Purities as the masters of Quanzhen (全真之主) and the Four Emperors as the teachers of Quanzhen (全真之師). *Daojia jinshi lue*, 593. For the translation, see Anning Jing, "The Longshan Daoist Caves," 38.

The Ode was engraved on the back of the stele titled *Stele of Imperial Decree on Worshipping Daoism* (*Chongdao zhaoshu bei*) 崇道詔書碑 in Qin Zhou 秦州 (of modern Gansu 甘肅). Schipper and Verellen, 1275. The front of the stele bore the imperial decree of 1269 granting official titles to the five ancestral patriarchs and seven Quanzhen patriarchs.

¹⁶⁸ In addition to the compilation of hagiographies and enshrinement of eighteen disciples of Qiu in the Halls of the Ancestral Masters, eight statues of early Quanzhen masters were also enshrined in the Patriarch Qiu Hall during the late Qing period. It will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁹ Wang Changyue, a native of Luan 潞安 (in Shanxi 山西 province), is said to come to Baiyun guan by order of Kangxi emperor in 1656. According to tradition, Baiyun guan was destroyed by fire at the end of the Ming due to war and was rebuilt by Wang Changyue. He performed an ordination ritual in Baiyun guan, to which Xuanye 玄燁 (who later became the Kangxi emperor) was credited to attend by bestowing a golden bell and jade chime. For the biography of Wang Changyue, *Jin'gai xindeng* (1817) in *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 183-184; *Baiyun xianbiao* in *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 400-401.

The destruction of Baiyun guan and its subsequent restoration during the Ming-Qing transitions are not found elsewhere except for the inscription written by Wanyan Linqing in 1828. *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* by Wanyan Linqing in 1828. Oyanagi, 148-149.

For the attendance of the ritual by the crown prince, see *Daojiao da cidian*, 371.

clerics or scholars. When An Shilin 安世霖, abbot of Baiyun guan from 1936 to 1946, wrote the *Gazetteer of Baiyun guan (Baiyun guan zhigao)* 白雲觀誌稿, he stated that “Sanqing ge” was rebuilt like today’s two-storied building to worship the Three Purities and Four Rulers (Siyu) 四御 during the Kangxi reign.¹⁷⁰ However, as mentioned above, the Kangxi emperor bestowed plaques for Jade Emperor Pavilion (Yuhuang ge) and Dipper Mother Pavilion (Doumu ge), which were the only two multi-story halls in Baiyun guan, not for Three Purities. Li Yangzheng asserts that in 1706 “Sanqing ge” was dedicated to the Three Purities in the upper story and to the Jade Emperor in the lower story.¹⁷¹ He further asserts that by 1788 when the Qianlong emperor commissioned a major restoration, a new building was added for the Jade Emperor, and the current enshrinement occurred at that time.¹⁷² However, considering the identical description of hall dedicated to the Jade Emperor by the two Korean emissaries in 1780 and 1833, there is no indication that a new hall was added in 1788.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ The gazetteer by An Shilin, now lost, recorded the arrangement of halls, which was copied by Liu Houhu, a scholar in Chinese Daoist Association. Liu Houhu 劉厚祐, “Baiyun guan yu Daojiao 白雲觀與道教 [Baiyun guan and Daoism],” *Daoxie huikan* 道協會刊, no. 6 (November, 1980): 16-41. In this study, I translate Siyu dian 四御殿 as Four Rulers Hall instead of Four Emperors Hall, because one of the enshrined deities is a goddess.

¹⁷¹ It appears that Baiyun guan houses Wang Changyue’s stele inscription written in 1706 and the ground plan of the temple contemporary to Wang Changyue’s time. However, according to Li Yangzheng, the location of Three Purities and the Jade Emperor is conflicting. One source (stele inscription) indicates Three Purities on the top floor, while the ground plan shows the Jade Emperor on top. Li Yangzheng corrects the top location of the Three Purities due to the superiority of the Dao over imperial authority represented by the Jade Emperor. Li Yangzheng, 95,133, 137.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁷³ Since most travel diaries pay close attention to geography and the historical site, i.e., Baiyun guan, they serve as repositories of geographical and historical information that is not generally available elsewhere.

The designation of Three Purities Pavilion as the most significant hall was unquestionably essential to both An Shilin and Li Yangzheng because it establishes the authoritative hierarchy of the pantheon in the temple. The Three Purities have possessed the highest position in religious Daoism since the Tang dynasty and theoretically should be enshrined in the most important place in the temple complex. In the case of Baiyun guan, the Three Purities should be enshrined in a more revered place than the Quanzhen patriarchs. Although Jade Emperor has the highest status in popular lore, his position in the Daoist religion was not as exalted as the Three Purities.

The Jade Emperor was enshrined in the primary hall in Baiyun guan until the 1830s, and the rearrangement of halls as it exists today might have occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century as testified by a contemporary writing. When a late Qing literatus Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830-1904) visited Baiyun guan in 1875, he ascended the Three Purities Pavilion (登三清閣).¹⁷⁴ As will be discussed in Chapter 2, all of the buildings on the central axis were rebuilt or restored during the Qing dynasty, and some title plaques were written and hung in the 1950s or even later. These factors suggest that the change of names, including images, might have been

¹⁷⁴ Weng Tonghe 翁同龢, *Weng Tonghe riji* 翁同龢日記 [Diary of Weng Tonghe], (19th c.; repr., Taipei: Chengwen, 1970), 829. For his biography, see Hummer, 860-861. It may have been the similar time of designation of the Scripture Pavilion after the restoration of the Canon in 1854. See note 117.

The gazetteer compiled during the Guangxu reign still mentions the Jade Emperor Pavilion instead of Three Purities Pavilion, perhaps based on earlier sources instead of conducting a field research. *Guangxu shuntian fuzhi* 17: 1086.

made around the middle of nineteenth century when the religious identity of Baiyun guan was reconstructed.

It is clear that during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the temple clerics, with the assistance of patrons, were very active in building the legitimate lineage in Baiyun guan. Their concern for the proper lineage is evident in their compilation of hagiographies, sponsoring of ordination rituals, and erection of steles. The establishment of the Three Purities as the highest deities, accompanied by Four Rulers and Quanzhen patriarchs, would validate the temple as the site of an authoritative Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism.

6. Conclusion

From the Tang through the Yuan dynasties, Tianchang guan, Taiji gong and Changchun gong, precursors of current Baiyun guan, were built and restored mostly under imperial patronage. Tianchang guan in the Tang dynasty was erected to worship Laozi, the Sage Ancestor of the Tang founding family. The restoration of Tianchang guan during the Jin dynasty is closely related to the geographical location of the temple in the Jin Central Capital. The temple was graced by visits of different Jin emperors and imperially sponsored rituals were frequently performed. The name of the temple became Taiji gong at the end of Jin, and then changed to Changchun gong at the beginning of the Mongol regime in the honor of the Quanzhen Daoist teacher Qiu Changchun.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the restoration was undertaken at Baiyun guan, the burial site of Qiu Changchun. Additional halls were gradually added to Baiyun guan, mostly sponsored by the Ming court and Daoist clerics. During this time, the increasing significance of Quanzhen patriarchs is apparent in the building of halls and celebration of birthday rituals. Around this time Baiyun guan gained its identity as a Quanzhen temple and became a famous site for the birthday ritual of Qiu Changchun.

During the Qing dynasty, Baiyun guan received its major patronage from Qing emperors. However, towards the end of Qing, lay patronage became important in building subsidiary halls and funding birthday rituals of gods and immortals. Also, during the mid and late nineteenth century, temple clerics with the help of patrons established the Longmen lineage at Baiyun guan. By conducting different identity-defining projects such as compiling hagiographies, performing ordination rituals, and designating the Pavilion of the Three Purities as the main hall, temple clerics solidified Baiyun guan as a legitimate place of Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism with a proper hierarchy in the pantheon. The presentation of the authoritative hierarchy topped by the Three Purities in Baiyun guan shows the temple clerics serving as a powerful controlling force in the temple's history and identity. As discussed in Chapter 3, this re-configured pantheon of the Qing dynasty is still used today.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRESENT-DAY PLAN AND BUILDINGS OF BAIYUN GUAN

This chapter describes the current plan of Baiyun guan and provides a close examination of its halls. This examination identifies the architectural characteristics of the halls and the historical periods they represent, thus determining dates of construction and renovation.¹ Coupled with the review of textual sources provided in the previous chapter, this discussion of the architecture clarifies the chronological development of the site.

1. Temple Plan and Major Halls

Baiyun guan covers an area of approximately 60,000 square meters (fig.2.1) and is enclosed by an outer wall. A screen wall carved with four large characters, “Wangu Changchun” 萬古長春 (Myriad Antiquities, Everlasting Spring),² is located in front of the temple (fig.2.2).² The complex exhibits the traditional Chinese four-

¹ The analysis of the sculptural program of the halls is discussed in detail in later chapters.

² There is no record when this screen wall was erected, however a late Qing annual calendar *Yanjing suishi ji* 燕京歲時記 [Record of Annual Calendar in Yanjing] written in 1908 mentions the screen wall with four characters “Wangu changchun.” Fucha dunchong 富察敦崇, *Yanjing suishi ji* 燕京歲時記 [Record of Annual Calendar in Yanjing] (1908; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1981), 51. The characters were written following the early style of a famous Yuan calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322). It is similar to Zhao’s colophon to “The Great Dao” that is attributed to Wang Xizhi 王羲之. Both calligraphies in the running style (*xingshu* 行書) show squat style with smooth modulated brushstrokes revealing the pointed brush tip. For the image of Zhao’s colophon, see fig. 91

sided courtyard-house plan and has six courtyards on the central south-north axis (fig.2.3).³ The major buildings are found in these courtyards, with the main halls facing south.

Main Gate and the First Courtyard

A *pailou* 牌樓 (fig.2.4) is now the only avenue of access to the temple. It is a three-bay timber construction with seven hipped-and-gabled roofs. The front plaque of the *pailou* reads ““Dongtian shengjing” 洞天勝境 (Grotto Heavens, Sublime Realm).”⁴ The plaque on the back side of the *pailou* says ““Qionglin langyuan” 瓊林閩苑 (Jade Forest, Lang Garden) (fig.2.5).”⁵ It is not known who wrote the calligraphy, but both plaques identify the temple as a land of immortals. Unglazed gray-color roof tiles, which are commonly found on religious buildings and private

in *Images of the Mind*. Wen C. Fong, *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University* (The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 97.

³ Chinese buildings including Daoist temples and Buddhist monasteries are assembled in courtyards. The courtyard is symmetrical and enclosed by a wall. As a rule (except in natural environments like mountainous terrain), it faces south.

⁴ *Dongtian* are places where Daoist immortals live. For more information on *dongtian* in Daoist context, see Pregadio, 368-372.

The character *sheng* 勝 indicates to describe something (a visible thing) excellent or beautiful and *shengjing* 勝境 means a scenic spot with an extraordinary beauty. *Hanyu da cidian* 6: 1334, 1338. Here *shengjing* also indicates the place where immortals live. We can find the similar usage of the word *shengjing* in ‘Fanghu shengjing 方壺勝境 (Wonderland in the Square Pot)’ of the Garden of Perfect Brightness (Yuanming yuan) 圓明園, also known as the old Summer Palace. Fanghu shengjing, located in the Sea of Blessings (Fuhai) 福海, was intended to create a fairyland on earth by the Qianlong emperor, suggesting his pursuit of Daoist immortality. Young-tsu Wong, *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2001), 43-47.

⁵ Both words, *qionglin* 瓊林 and *langyuan* 閩苑, refer to the fairy Elysium. Langyuan is the garden in Mount Langfeng 閩鳳, an archaic name for the loftiest peak at Mount Kunlun 崑崙. *Langyuan* containing the same meaning of fairyland or immortal land is also found in Qing popular literature, *Dream of the Red Chamber (Hongloumeng)* 紅樓夢. See the third song by the Goddess of Disenchantment in chapter 5. Cao Xueqin and Gao E, *A Dream of Red Mansions*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978), 1: 80.

residences of Ming and Qing times, are used on the *pailou* and on most of the buildings at Baiyun guan.⁶ Decorative, four-tier brackets support the roofs, and dragon and lotus designs decorate the lintels (fig.2.6). Sculptures of zoomorphic animals are found on the roof ridges and ridge-ends.⁷

Li Yangzheng reports that the late nineteenth-century abbot Gao Rentong, with the help of the Qing court, built the *pailou* to replace the original outer gate, which was called Numinous Star Gate (Lingxing men) 靈星門.⁸ However, this is not likely since the two structures are fundamentally different: a *pailou* is a memorial archway, whereas a *men* is a gate. Moreover, when Korean emissaries visited Baiyun guan in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the *pailou* was already in existence with the plaques.⁹ *Pailou* structures became popular during the Ming dynasty, but most of surviving examples were built in the Qing dynasty. It seems that the Baiyun guan *pailou* was built during the Qing period when the temple was largely restored in 1756 by the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736-1796).¹⁰ The *pailou* built in 1694 at the Palace of Harmony and Peace (Yonghe gong) 雍和宮 (fig.2.7), is very similar

⁶ Imperial buildings used glazed yellow- and green-color roof tiles.

In Baiyun guan, the Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü is the only hall which has glazed green-color roof tiles.

⁷ These sculptures, serving as guardian figures of the building, are also found in image halls and *shanmen* 山門. More important buildings have a great number of sculptures in roofs as seen at the imperial palace in Beijing.

⁸ Li Yangzheng, 98.

Lingxing men was built in 1443 and repaired in the late 16th century. *Baiyun guan congxiu ji* (1444) by Hu Ying. Oyanagi, 124-126. See also Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122. For the repair of the gate, see *Baiyun guan chongxiu beiji* (late 16th century) by Liu Xiaozu. Oyanagi, 136-137. See also Beijing tushuguan 54: 48.

⁹ Pak Chiwon, 483, 659. Kim Kyongson, 50.

¹⁰ For more information, see Chapter 1, notes 112 and 114.

to that of Baiyun guan in size and structure, with its three bays and seven roofs.¹¹

Recent restorations of the Baiyun guan *pailou* include repainting in 1920, commissioned by abbot Chen Mingbin, and again in 1956 by the temple clerics.¹²

North of the *pailou* lies the first courtyard, with a gift shop and a registration office for Daoist rituals on the east and west sides, respectively. These two buildings were added when the temple was reopened in 1980, probably due to an increasing number of visitors and to make money.¹³ The main building in the courtyard is the gate on the north side, the inner gate to the temple, or *shanmen* (fig.2.8). The *shanmen*, built or restored in 1443, is a stone structure with three archways and a hipped-and-gabled roof.¹⁴ The undated plaque says “Baiyun guan Built by Imperial Command” (‘Jianchi Baiyun guan) 建勅白雲觀.’ The date of this plaque is not known, but Qiao Yun thinks that it was written during the Ming dynasty, possibly because the *shanmen* was erected at the time.¹⁵

¹¹ Yonghe gong [Palace of Harmony and Peace] was originally a personal mansion of Yinzhen 胤禛, the 4th son of the Kangxi emperor, who later became the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor. Yonghe gong was later converted to a Buddhist temple. Since it was built for an imperial prince by the Kangxi emperor, the color of roof tiles is yellow, representing an imperial palace.

¹² *Chongxiu Baiyun guan dianyu qiaoliang bei* 重修白雲觀殿宇橋梁碑 [Stele of Restoration of Halls and Bridges in Baiyun guan] written by Chen Mingbin in 1924. Oyanagi, 183-184. See also Beijing tushuguan 94: 54. This stele is currently located in front of the Hall of Numinous Official. For the repainting of the *pailou* in 1956, see Li Yangzheng, 98.

¹³ The ground plan of Baiyun guan drawn by Oyanagi in 1931 and Yoshioka in 1940s did not include these two buildings. Baiyun guan did not provide its religious service during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) but resumed its function in 1980. When Kubo Noritada visited Baiyun guan in 1983, he added these two buildings in his ground plan. See Kubo Noritada, “Pekin Hakuunkan no genzō ni tsuite 北京白雲觀の現況について [The Present Conditions of Baiyun guan in Beijing],” *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 69 (1987): 46.

¹⁴ There is no mention of building the *shanmen* but it was restored in 1443. Oyanagi, 124-126; Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

¹⁵ Qiao Yun, *Taoist Buildings* (New York: Springer, 2001), 156. A photo taken by Hedda Morrison between 1933 and 1946 shows the *shanmen* with the same plaque. The plaque might have been bestowed when the *shanmen* was built or restored in 1443. Photographs

The inner stone lining of the *shanmen* is decorated around the arched entrances with carved cranes, clouds, and monkeys (fig.2.9). The crane symbolizing longevity is, of course, a common decorative motif in Daoist temples. While the symbolism of the monkey is not always clear in Chinese culture, it probably represents good fortune and blessings here.¹⁶ At temple fairs, one often finds a long queue of people waiting for a chance to rub sculpted monkeys for blessings and good fortune.¹⁷ The God of Longevity, distinctive due to his prominent cranium, and the Eight Auspicious Symbols (Wheel of the Law, Conch, Standard of Victory, Parasol, Lotus, Vase, Twin Fish, and Endless Knot) are depicted on the other side of the inner stone lining of the gate (figs.2.10.1-2). The latter are Buddhist symbols that were integrated into Daoism to denote longevity.¹⁸ The short walls on each side of the *shanmen* have inset peony designs (fig.2.11). Although the symbolism of the peony in relation to Baiyun guan is not apparent, this floral pattern on the short walls connected to the stone gate is common in Ming architecture.¹⁹ For example, it is

of Baiyun guan taken by Hedda Morrison are available in the on-line collection of the Harvard-Yenching library. See <http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/harvard-yenching/collections/morrison/> (accessed August 25, 2008).

¹⁶ In south China, the monkey is worshiped as a divine being equivalent to the heaven. But in popular lore, it symbolizes an adulterer. Wolfram Eberhard, trans., *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought* (London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 192-193.

¹⁷ It is not clear when this tradition started, but an article written in French in 1910 also mentions the same tradition of rubbing monkeys due to their healing power. This custom already existed in the late Qing era. G. Douin, "Cérémonial de la cour et coutumes du peuple de Peking," *Bulletin de l'association amicale franco-chinois* 2 (1910): 125, quoted in Naquin, *Peking*, 44-45.

¹⁸ Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006), 185.

¹⁹ Peony, most popular botanical motif in China, symbolizes the first rank among officials, royalty, or wealth and honor. *Ibid.*, 123.

found on an elevated stone archway built by the Ming Yongle emperor on Mount Wudang 武當山 (fig.2.12).

The Second Courtyard

Having passed through the *shanmen*, one is now in the second courtyard where a bridge called Bridge of Harboring Wind (Wofeng qiao) 窩風橋 crosses an empty stone pool (figs.2.13.1-2). Sources do not tell when the bridge was first built, but presumably it was in 1756 when the temple was largely restored.²⁰ During the Qing dynasty, this bridge had three arches with water running through them, which was a standard form for bridges during the Qing dynasty.²¹ Records indicate that when the bridge was rebuilt in 1920, an additional bridge, Sweet River (Ganhe) 甘河 was also commissioned by Abbot Chen Mingbin, but the location of this second bridge is not known.²² The bridge that exists today was rebuilt in 1989 and is a replica of the old bridge existing in the 1930s.²³ In photographs from the 1930s we see only one bridge crossing over the stone pool (fig.2.14).²⁴ As a photo taken by Hedda Morrison sometime between 1933 and 1946 (fig.2.14) shows, it was a one-

²⁰ The bridge was mentioned in a travel diary written in 1780 by Pak Chiwon, although he did not mention its name. Pak Chiwon, 483, 659.

²¹ Kim Kyongson mentioned a three-arched bridge that looks like a rainbow. Water at Baiyun guan circulated under the bridge when he visited there in 1833. Kim Kyongson, 50.

According to Liang Ssu-ch'eng, the three-arched bridge was standardized during the Qing. For the image of its plan, see Liang Ssu-ch'eng, 178.

²² Oyanagi, 183-184. See also Beijing tushuguan 94: 54.

²³ *Chongxiu Wofengqiao ji* 重修窩風橋記 [Record of Restoration of Wofeng Bridge] (1989). This stele is located in front of the bridge.

²⁴ When Oyanagi drew the ground plan of Baiyun guan in 1931, there was only one bridge (called *banqiao* 泮橋, bridge surrounded by water). Oyanagi conjectures that this bridge might indicate “Ganhe,” where Wang Chongyang, the founder of Quanzhen Daoism, received the teaching from Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin. Oyanagi, no pagination.

arched bridge. Morrison states that coins were recovered from “the canal” after people threw them attempting to hit the large cash with a bell suspended under the bridge for good luck.²⁵ Also, during the early twentieth century, when L.C. Arlington and William Lewisohn visited Baiyun guan, a Daoist priest sat under the bridge behind the bronze coin suspended beneath the bridge.²⁶ Today a large bronze coin with a bell in its center is suspended beneath the bridge on each side, and visitors still throw coins to hit it.

On the east and west sides of the second courtyard are two buildings that currently serve as living quarters for the resident Daoist monks, but in the first half of the twentieth century they were the Hall of Clouds and Water (Yunshui tang) 雲水堂 and the Public Monk’s Hall (Shifang tang) 十方堂 for wandering Daoist monks.²⁷ Because Baiyun guan was a *conglin* 叢林 (public monastery) and a major center for Daoist ordination, these halls were used by Daoist monks who traveled to Baiyun guan to attend ordination rituals.²⁸

The main hall in the second courtyard is the Hall of the Numinous Official (Lingguan dian) 靈官殿 (figs.2.15.1-2) on the north side. It is a stone and brick structure with a gabled roof. Like most of other halls in Baiyun guan, the Hall of the Numinous Official sits on a stone platform. It is a gateway hall, with an arched gate

²⁵ Morrison, 81.

²⁶ L.C. Arlington and William Lewisohn, *In Search of Old Peking* (Shanghai: The French Bookstore, 1935), 247.

²⁷ Yunshui, meaning clouds and water, indicate traveling Daoist and Buddhist monks who are as unattached as drifting clouds or running water.

²⁸ For the function of these halls in the early twentieth century, see Yoshioka, “Taoist Monastic Life,” 238-240.

in the front and back for entry and egress. In the front, there are semicircular-shaped windows (fig.2.15.1). When it was either first built or restored in 1443, it was named Sishuai dian 四師殿 [Hall of Four Marshals].²⁹ Li Yangzheng states that the Hall of Numinous Official was rebuilt in 1662, the first year of the Kangxi reign, although he provides no textual evidence for his assertion.³⁰ Since this hall features Qing elements, such as being predominantly built of brick and stone and lacking brackets (fig.2.16), it was most likely rebuilt during the Qianlong reign when there was a major restoration of Baiyun guan. In 1920, Abbot Chen Mingbin also had this hall repainted.³¹ Previously, entrance gates to the next courtyard were connected to this on either side (fig.2.17), but now the two connected entrance gates are gone.³²

The Third Courtyard

The third courtyard behind the Hall of the Numinous Official has five major buildings: the Drum Tower (*gulou*) 鼓樓 and the Hall of the Three Officials (San'guan dian) 三官殿 on the east; the Bell Tower (*zhonglou*) 鐘樓 and the Hall of

²⁹ For the building of the Hall of the Numinous Official, see *Baiyun guan congxiu ji* (1444) by Hu Ying. Oyanagi, 124-126. See also Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122. The textual source from the Qing dynasty mentions a hall dedicated to the Numinous Official, instead of the Four Marshals. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1580. The function of the hall is same, enshrinement of protecting guardians of the temple.

³⁰ Li Yangzheng, 72.

³¹ Oyanagi, 183-184. See also Beijing tushuguan 94: 54.

³² According to Li Yangzheng, entrance gates were removed in the 1950s to provide a fire exit in case of emergency. Li Yangzheng, 53-54.

the God of Wealth (Caishen dian) 財神殿 on the west; and the main hall, dedicated to the Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian) 玉皇殿, on the north.³³

The Bell and Drum towers (figs.2.18-19) were built during the Ming dynasty in the late sixteenth century.³⁴ Like many such towers, they are two-story, square structures painted red with either a bell or a drum hanging in the top floor. The lower levels of the towers are enclosed by plastered brick walls with an arched entrance in front. Using an elaborate bracket system, the upper level supports a hipped-and-gabled roof that is decorated with zoomorphic sculptures on the ridges and ridge-ends. Windows on the four sides in the upper level would have allowed the sounds of the bell and drum to be audible outside.³⁵ The entrances of the drum and bell towers are now sealed and inaccessible. These towers bear a striking resemblance to buildings in Buddhist complexes in the same locality, such as those at the Ten Thousand Years Longevity Monastery (Wanshou si) 萬壽寺 (fig.2.20) or in the Great Charity Monastery (Guangji si) 廣濟寺 (fig.2.21), both also built during the Ming dynasty.³⁶

It is noteworthy that the location of bell and drum towers in Baiyun guan is the reverse of that typically found in Daoist temples and Buddhist monasteries.

Typically, the bell tower is on the east and the drum tower is on the west but at

³³ In the early twentieth century the Jade Emperor Hall was also called the Hall of Lofty Void (Chongxu dian) 崇虛殿. Oyanagi uses this name when he designates the location of the stele in front of Jade Emperor Hall. However, it is not clear if Hall of Lofty Void was a previous name of Jade Emperor Hall during the Qing dynasty or another building. Oyanagi, 143.

³⁴ For the building of bell and drum towers, see *Baiyun guan congxiu bei*, Liu Xiaozu. Oyanagi, 136-137. See also Beijing tushuguan 54: 48.

³⁵ These instruments were used to mark the beginning and end of the day for the temple community.

³⁶ For the construction of Wanshou si, see Naquin, 157. The Bell and Drum towers in Guangji si were built in 1466. Xu Wei, *Guangji si* 廣濟寺 [Great Charity Monastery] (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 2003), 11.

Baiyun guan the bell tower is on the west and the drum tower is on the east. The early Qing vernacular novel *Precious Biography of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals* (*Qizhen tianxian baozhuan*) 七真天仙寶傳 contains a fictitious but entertaining story regarding the supposed switch of bell and drum towers at Baiyun guan. According to this story, Qiu Changchun ordered the reversal in order to prevent the destruction of the temple from the attack of a Buddhist monastery.³⁷

The Hall of the Three Officials and the Hall of the God of Wealth (figs.2.22-23) are identical three-bay brick buildings with gabled roofs. The dates of original construction of the buildings are uncertain, but both buildings already existed in the late seventeenth century as testified by *Study of 'Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne.'*³⁸ Their Qing architectural style suggests that they date to the 1756 restoration. They display several key Qing architectural elements. One is the extensive use of brick and stone. During the Qing dynasty, an unprecedented building boom increasingly caused dwindling timber resources, and as a result, traditional wood buildings were gradually replaced by those built with brick and

³⁷ The story is partly related to the historical event of a competition between Daoism and Buddhism during the Yuan dynasty. According to the story, during the Shundi reign (1333-1368) of the Yuan dynasty, a group of Buddhist monks decided to build a Buddhist monastery named Xifeng si 西風寺 [West Wind Monastery] on the west side of Baiyun guan, hoping that the rise of the west wind would blow away Baiyun guan. When Qiu Changchun found out their plot, he ordered the change of location of the bell and drum. When the west wind arose, the bell (which is newly located to the west side of the temple) started making a sound without tolling. The west wind changed its direction. There was a fire in the kitchen of Xifeng monastery, and the temple was completely burned down. *Minjian baojuan* 12: 300-301. The same story is also found in *Qizhen zushi liexian zhuan* 七真祖師列仙傳 [The Seven True Patriarchs, a Series of Lives of Daoist Transcendents] (1893), *xiajuan*: 48b-49a. Yoshioka also mentions this story without providing any sources. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 218. Toward the late Yuan and early Ming dynasty along with the development of the cult of Qiu Changchun, Qiu was believed to be a person from late Yuan period. Further will be discussed in Chapter 5.

³⁸ These two halls with different titles were mentioned by Zhu Kuntian in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

stone.³⁹ A second feature is comparatively small, numerous bracket sets. During the Qing era, the bracket system shrank in size and became a decorative device, gradually losing their structural importance as supportive members. Compared to buildings of earlier periods, Qing buildings also have an increased number of inter-columnar brackets, six or eight compared to the four or six typical in the Ming.⁴⁰ Brackets were sometimes omitted completely in Qing buildings because they served no structural purposes.⁴¹ A third key element of Qing style architectural style is the use of tenons to make the frame more compact and stronger. Instead of using brackets, tenons were used inside building to join the beams and pillars directly.⁴² The Hall of the Three Officials and the Hall of the God of Wealth each has a four-panel door in the center bay and latticed windows above the brick walls on the two end bays. Brick walls entirely enclose the side and back of the halls, and only one-tier of brackets supports the roof on the front side of the halls (fig.2.24). The brackets found inside (fig.2.25) are barely even decorative, having no role in supporting the roof system.

The Hall of the Jade Emperor (figs.2.26.1-2) stands five bays across and has a gabled roof with which the thick brick end walls are flush (fig.2.27). In each of the three center bays are four-panel doors with latticed windows on the tops of the two

³⁹ Nancy Steinhardt, ed., *Chinese Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 262.

⁴⁰ The Qing dynasty standard guide of construction, *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli* 工部工程做法則例 [Engineering Manual for the Board of Works], intending to set the standards for laborers in the construction of official building projects, shows the different features of Qing buildings. Liang Ssu-ch'eng drew a pictorial plan and diagram of Qing buildings based on *Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli*, which shows that the central bay has 6 or 8 intermediate brackets. Liang Ssu-ch'eng, 18-19, 103. Both Ming and Qing buildings could have 6 intermediate brackets in the central bay. In this study, for dating of the building, both textual sources and the architectural analysis are considered.

⁴¹ Andrew Boyd, *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C.-A.D. 1911* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 45.

⁴² Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture*, 262.

central doors. The corner bays have four-panel latticed windows above the brick walls. There are also four panel doors in the center of the rear of the building (fig.2.26.2). They are now sealed due to the installation of the image in the hall.

The hall is raised on a high platform with an extended terrace in front, which is reached by staircases on the south, east, and west. The terrace may have been designed for religious assemblies. In the first half of the twentieth century, entrance gates to the next courtyard were connected to both sides of the hall,⁴³ but they have been removed. The balustrade currently surrounding the platform, terrace and stairs was added between 1985 and 1998.⁴⁴

Textual sources mention the construction of a Jade Emperor Pavilion (Yuhuang ge) in 1438; however, this hall is actually the present Pavilion of the Three Purities (Sanqing ge).⁴⁵ The date of construction of the current Jade Emperor Hall and its enshrinement before the late nineteenth century are not known. Architectural features such as the six intermediate brackets in the central bay (fig.2.26.2), the use of tenons in the ceiling (fig.2.28), and the use of brick as a primary building material all clearly indicate a Qing date, again, perhaps in 1756. The cloud-shaped ornament attached to a projecting bracket (*huagong*) 華拱 (fig.2.29) is identical to one found at

⁴³ Li Yangzheng, 53-54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴⁵ For the building of Pavilion of the Jade Emperor, see Oyanagi, 124-126. See also Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

the contemporary Precious Hall of Great Hero of the Beijing Dharma Source Monastery (Fayuan si) 法源寺 (fig.2.30) restored in 1733.⁴⁶

The Fourth Courtyard

The east and west halls of the fourth courtyard are dedicated to the Medicine King (Yaowang dian 藥王殿) (fig.2.31) and the Savior from Suffering (Jiuku dian 救苦殿) (fig.2.32), respectively. Both halls, built in 1828, are three bays across.⁴⁷

Qing-style tenons were used to connect the beams and pillars to support a gabled roof.

The main hall in the fourth courtyard is the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang) 老律堂 (fig.2.33) located in the north.⁴⁸ Also known as the Hall of the Seven Perfected (Qizhen dian) 七真殿, it is dedicated to the seven patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism, who were the disciples of the sect's founder, Wang Chongyang. Sitting on a stone platform measuring one meter high, the highest such platform in the entire Baiyun guan complex, this hall is three bays across.⁴⁹ The Hall of the

⁴⁶ The decorative purpose of the false bracket appeared in the Ming dynasty as evidenced in the lower level brackets of the drum and bell towers in Baiyun guan as well as in Ten Thousand Years Longevity Monastery. However, it seems that the employment of this false bracket in the image halls occurred in the Qing. Similar brackets are found on the front side of Precious Hall of the Great Hero in Dharma Source Monastery, which was expanded in 1733, although the original building or the rest of the hall was built during the Ming dynasty. Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwu guan, *Fayuan si* 法源寺 [Dharma Source Monastery] (Beijing: Fayuan si liutong chu, 1981), 19.

⁴⁷ *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* (1828) by Wanyan Linqing. Oyanagi, 148-149.

⁴⁸ Li Yangzheng mentions that the name 'Laolü' derives from the ordination ritual that occurred here during the Qing dynasty. Li Yangzheng, 122. Since title plaques were missing, this hall was referred to as Seven Perfected Hall (Qizhen dian) in the mid Qing based on its enshrinement. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575.

When Oyanagi drew the ground plan in 1931, he labeled this hall Laolü tang, perhaps because there had been ordination rituals in this hall. Oyanagi, no pagination.

⁴⁹ It is followed by Hall of the Jade Emperor (95 cm), Three Purities Pavilion (90 cm), and Hall of the God of Thunder (88 cm). Among side halls, the platforms of Hall of Three Officials and Hall of God

Discipline of the Elders has two different connected roof types (figs.2.34.1-2), an overhanging gabled roof on the front side of the building and a hipped-and-gabled roof on the back. The significance of this hall in Baiyun guan is apparent from its architectural features. It is indicated, for instance, by the use of a hipped-and-gabled roof (fig.2.35) rather than easily constructed gable roof found on most of halls in Baiyun guan. The height of platform, which is similar to that of Three Purities Pavilion, to be discussed below, also suggests the high rank of the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders in the entire temple complex. Like Jade Emperor Hall, this hall has terrace space in front that would accommodate ritual performances and assemblies.

The Hall of the Discipline of the Elders was originally the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (*Chushun tang*), the memorial hall and the burial site of Qiu Changchun built around the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness was rebuilt in 1457, on the old site, and renamed Hall of Changchun.⁵⁰ It was then expanded during the Qing. This history is indicated by architectural elements as well as by textual sources. For example, the view of the side of this hall (fig.2.34.1) suggests the expansion of an existing hall. The side walls on the front part of this hall (toward the south) have six-panel latticed windows on top of brick walls, like other Qing buildings in Baiyun guan. Brackets were omitted on the front side of the building (fig.2.36), while the other half of the building shows two

of Wealth measure the highest, approximately 85 centimeters. All the other side halls in ancillary lines possess low level stone platform, which is around 50 centimeters high.

⁵⁰ For the building of Changchun dian in 1457, see *Chongjian Baiyun guan Changchun dian bei* (1457) by Shao Yizheng in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1582.

tiers of elaborate brackets, the largest ones in Baiyun guan (fig.2.37).⁵¹ Also, there are just four intermediate brackets in the central bay of the original building (fig.2.38), which is a feature of Ming architecture. Interior views of the front and back parts of the ceiling also suggest different time periods of building and expansion. The ceiling in the front part of the building uses the tenon method of Qing architecture (fig.2.39), but bracket arms support the roof purlin on the ceiling in the rear of building (fig.2.40). In addition, brackets from the original Ming construction are still found in the middle of the hall (fig.2.41). The fewer number of elaborate brackets and their similarity to the Diamond Hall of Protect the Nation Monastery (Huguo si) 護國寺 in Beijing (fig.2.42) confirms that the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders was originally erected during the Ming dynasty.⁵² When it was first constructed, it was a building with three bays across and three bays deep along with a hipped-and-gabled roof (fig.2.35).

The Fifth Courtyard

Entering the fifth courtyard, one sees two side halls, the office of the Chinese Daoist Association to the east and the office of the temple management to the west.

⁵¹ The omission of brackets implies the later date of expansion, perhaps between 1786 and 1788, when the temple was once again renovated by the Qianlong emperor. For comparison, Daxiong baodian 大雄寶殿 in Dharma Source (Fayuan) Buddhist monastery also contains the different architectural features showing the 1733 expansion of the original Ming dynasty hall, however, it has a decorative one-tier bracket in the front side of the building (see fig.2.30).

⁵² Protect the Nation Monastery, dated from the Yuan dynasty, is now a complete ruin. Only Diamond Hall presently stands at the site. Liang Ssu-ch'eng dates this hall to the Yuan; however, according to Naquin, Huguo si was rebuilt in 1482. The number of intermediate brackets in the central bay, which counts four, also suggests the Ming date of this hall. Liang Ssu-ch'eng, 116. For more information regarding the rebuilding of Huguo si, see Naquin, *Peking*, 153.

They were most likely built as administrative offices in the mid or late Qing period (執事房).⁵³

The main hall in this courtyard is Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiu zu dian) 邱祖殿 (figs.2.43.1-2) dedicated to Qiu Changchun. When it was built in 1443, this hall was called Hall of Amplifying Felicity (Yanqing dian) 衍慶殿, and an image of Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven (Xuantian shangdi) 玄天上帝, commonly known as Zhenwu or the Perfected Warrior, was installed.⁵⁴ Architectural features like those of the Hall of the Three Officials and the Hall of the God of Wealth indicate the Qing date.⁵⁵ Moreover, the patronage by the Qianlong emperor, such as the bestowal of a large alms-bowl and a couplet for the columns, suggests that it was rebuilt in 1756.⁵⁶ This hall was repainted in 1920.⁵⁷

The Sixth Courtyard

The final and sixth courtyard on the central axis at Baiyun guan can be entered through doors connected on each side of the Patriarch Qiu Hall in a typical courtyard-house plan. The side buildings in this courtyard are now display halls and guest halls, both to the east and the west. The display halls were not accessible when I was there in 2006, but accounts describe them as storage areas for the temple's collection of

⁵³ The ground plan drawn by Oyanagi indicates this hall to be a management office. Oyanagi, no pagination.

⁵⁴ Oyanagi, 124-126. See also Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

⁵⁵ This hall also is a brick building with three bays across with a gable roof. Unlike the halls of the Three Officials and of the God of Wealth, the Patriarch Qiu Hall shows brackets both in front and back. However, brackets here do not have any function like Three Officials and the God of Wealth halls.

⁵⁶ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575.

⁵⁷ Oyanagi, 183-184. See also Beijing tushuguan 94: 54.

books, artworks, and religious paraphernalia.⁵⁸ According to the current temple guidebook and the revised gazetteer by Li Yangzheng, the east display hall stores artworks and various religious objects considered artistically valuable, while the west display hall contains items used in Daoist rituals. For instance, a purportedly Tang stone sculpture of Laozi, one of the important treasures in Baiyun guan, is preserved in the east display hall. This statue was enshrined by Emperor Xuanzong in Tianchang guan.⁵⁹ Other representative examples preserved in the east display hall are two paintings by the famous Tang dynasty painter Wu Daozi 吳道子 and a gift from the Ming Yongle emperor, an album leaf of *Miraculous Manifestation on Taihe shan* 太和山 (see fig.1.4).⁶⁰ The west display hall stores different Daoist scriptures used in the temple's various rituals, religious paraphernalia such as robes, instruments, vases, or incense burners, and Daoist paintings used in rituals.⁶¹

The main hall in the sixth courtyard is a two-story building with Pavilion of Three Purities (Sanqing ge) on the second floor and Hall of Four Rulers (Siyu dian)

⁵⁸ Zhou Gaode 周高德 and Zhang Sijian 張嗣堅, *Daojiao Quanzhen di yi conglin: Beijing Baiyun guan* 道教全真第一叢林: 北京白雲觀 [The First Public Monastery of Quanzhen Daoism: Baiyun guan in Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing Baiyun guan bianyin, 1999), 23-30; Li Yangzheng, 565-579.

⁵⁹ For the reproduction of an image and related information, see *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, no pagination. Eleanor von Erdberg Consten argues the date of this statue to the thirteenth century based on stylistic analysis, instead of taking the traditionally accepted date of the Tang. von Erdberg Consten, 235-241.

On the contrary to the Tang date provided by the temple, this sculpture does not show any stylistic similarities with the surviving Tang Daoist sculptures such as the cave in Niujiiaozhai 牛角寨, Sichuan 四川. The sculptures in the cave, commissioned by Emperor Xuanzong, show more plump faces and robust bodies. The way their draperies are treated is more linear than the Laozi statue in Baiyun guan. For an image of Niujiiaozhai cave and its stylistic analysis in the context of Tang stone sculptures, see Liu Yang, "Images for the Temple: Imperial Patronage in the Development of Tang Daoist Art," *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 189-261.

⁶⁰ For the full list of works, see Zhou Gaode and Zhang Sijian, 23-30. See also Li Yangzheng, 565-579.

⁶¹ Most of the paintings are reproduced in *Daojiao shenxian huaji*.

四御殿 on the ground floor (fig.2.44). The building stands five bays across and supports a gabled roof. In each of all five bays, there are four-panel doors with a porch area in front of them, both on the ground and upper stories. Thick brick walls run around the sides and the back. This is the largest hall at Baiyun guan and it is located in the farthest northern part of the temple complex, which suggests the greatest significance is attached to this hall. Textual sources state that a Great Hall of Three Purities (Sanqing dadian) was built in 1428, but the location of this hall is not known.⁶² The previous designation of this building was Jade Emperor Pavilion (Yuhuang ge), which was built in 1438. That this hall was possibly rebuilt during the Qing dynasty is indicated by the use of brick, the omission of brackets (fig.2.45), and the use of tenons in joining beams and pillars in the ceiling. According to Li Yangzheng, the plaque “Sanqing ge” was hung in 1956 and “Siyu dian” in 1980.⁶³ An abbot’s room is located right next to Siyu dian to the east (fig.2.46). Behind the main hall there is an ordination platform (fig.2.47) and the garden called “Hermitage of Gathering Clouds (Yunji shanfang) 雲集山房” completed in 1890 by abbot Gao Rentong.⁶⁴

The six courtyards described above, showing the typical characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture, comprise the heart of the Baiyun guan complex and contain buildings that mostly date from the Qing dynasty.

⁶² Oyanagi, 124-126. See also Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

⁶³ Li Yangzheng, 78-79.

⁶⁴ Oyanagi, 174-175. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 145.

2. Minor Halls in Ancillary Lines

More buildings cluster on the east and west sides of the fifth and sixth central courtyards (see fig.2.3). These minor halls on the east and west ancillary lines were mostly built or rebuilt in the mid- or late-Qing dynasty.

Peripheral Halls on East

The side halls of the ancillary line on the east side of the complex, from south to north, are Hall of the Three Star-Lords (Sanxing dian) 三星殿, Hall of the Compassionate Sailor (Cihang dian) 慈航殿, Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian) 真武殿, and Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder (Leizu dian) 雷祖殿. Except for the Patriarch of Thunder Hall, which dates from the early- to mid-Qing dynasty, the other three halls were built in the nineteenth century, as evidenced in textual records and architectural style.⁶⁵

The Hall of the Three Star-Lords (fig.2.48), a three-bay brick building featuring a gabled roof without any brackets, was built in 1844.⁶⁶ This hall shows similar architectural features of the contemporary Medicine King and Savior from Suffering halls (figs.2.31-32) located in the fourth courtyard and built in 1828, namely, an overhanging gabled roof in the front supported by two central columns.

The Hall of Compassionate Sailor (figs.2.49.1-2), facing the entrance to the Hall of Three Star-Lords, has two connected gabled roofs (fig.2.50). The back of this

⁶⁵ Li Yangzheng suggests that all three halls were built in 1788, perhaps during the second restoration by the Qianlong emperor. Li Yangzheng, 85-87.

⁶⁶ *Zhenjun dian xianghuo jie* (1844) in Oyanagi, 153.

building (fig.2.49.2) also has a four-panel door flanked by latticed windows, which are currently not in use. Textual sources do not give the date of this hall, but there is a record of the installation of images in 1826.⁶⁷ The designation of the hall was different then, but it seems that it was probably built around the same time.

It is not clear when the Zhenwu Hall (fig.2.51) was built. However, the architectural similarity between this hall and dated Hall of Three Star-Lords indicates construction or reconstruction in the late Qing period.⁶⁸ Abbot Chen Mingbin had the hall repainted in 1920.⁶⁹

The two-story building of the Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder (fig.2.52) has three bays in front with a gabled roof. The date of its construction is unknown, but plaque was bestowed to this hall by the Kangxi emperor, suggesting its building or rebuilding during the early Qing dynasty.⁷⁰ In addition to the imperial gift of plaque, the elevation of this hall and the painted panels in the ceiling (fig.2.53) suggest its significance. As Andrew Boyd suggests, decorated squared panels, here each depicted with a crane holding *lingzhi* mushrooms in his beak and two peaches around its legs, are fixed to important buildings.⁷¹ Both crane with *lingzhi* mushrooms and crane with peaches symbolize longevity.⁷² The decorating motifs of longevity may

⁶⁷ *Baiyun guan Huozu dian xiangdeng bushi leming zhi beiji* (1826) by Wanyan Linqing. Oyanagi, 147-148.

⁶⁸ The textual source mentions the enshrinement of Zhenwu on the side hall during the Ming dynasty. Wang Zhi, *Yi'an ji*, 4:11a-13a.

⁶⁹ Oyanagi, 183-184. See also Beijing tushuguan 94: 54.

⁷⁰ This hall was originally designated to Dipper Mother (Doumu 斗母). *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575. Abbot Chen Mingbin had the hall repainted in 1920. Oyanagi, 183-184. See also Beijing tushuguan 94: 54.

⁷¹ Boyd, 34.

⁷² Bartholomew, 179.

have been related to the Old Man of the South Pole, the deity to whom this hall was previously dedicated.⁷³

In the easternmost part of the compound, there stands a stone pagoda (fig.2.54) dedicated to the Perfected Luo 羅真人 (d. 1727), a native of Jiangxi, was a famous ascetic who reportedly possessed supernatural power.⁷⁴ Luo came to Baiyun guan and performed magic tricks in the streets of Beijing. According to the inscription *Stele of the Self-Cultivation of the Perfected Luo (Luo zhenren daoheng bei)* 羅真人道行碑 written by Wanyan Chongshi in 1849, due to Luo's eminence, the Qianlong emperor bestowed the religious title "Perfected (*zhenren*)" on him and ordered the building of a memorial pagoda dedicated to him in the temple complex.⁷⁵ The pagoda is a stone structure with multi-eaves and a lotus flower base.⁷⁶ The exterior of the pagoda imitates timber construction with columns, architraves, brackets, and windows. Successive tiers of eaves are supported by brackets that are also rendered in stone.

Peripheral Halls on West

⁷³ The God of Longevity is also known as Star of Longevity or the Old Man of South Pole. E.T.C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (Rockville, MD: Wildside Press, 2005), 116.

⁷⁴ His hagiography is found in *Baiyun xianbiao. Zangwai daoshu* 31: 401-402.

⁷⁵ This was carved in 1886, but this stele has now disappeared. For the text, see Oyanagi, 161-162. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 9.

⁷⁶ A multi-eaved pagoda has superposed eaves directly one above another without any intermediate space. It is commonly found in North China. Liang Ssu-ch'eng, 134, 150. Liang Ssu-ch'eng conducted a survey on Buddhist pagodas in China; however, this pagoda found in Daoist temple also shows the similar structure as the Buddhist one.

The minor halls in the ancillary lines on the west side of the Baiyun guan are the Shrine Hall (Citang) 祠堂 of the Quanzhen patriarchs, the Hall of the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn, Bixia yuanjun (Yuanjun dian) 元君殿, the Hall of the God of Literature (Wenchang dian) 文昌殿, the Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian) 八仙殿, the Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü [Dongbin] (Lüzu dian) 呂祖殿, and the Hall of the Dipper Mother with Gods of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian) 元辰殿. Except for the last named hall, all are three-bay brick buildings built or renovated during the Qing dynasty.

The Shrine Hall (figs.2.55.1-3) features an overhanging gabled roof supported by the two central columns in front.⁷⁷ This hall is said to have been built in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The stele inscription *Stele of Self-Cultivation of the Perfected Wang Kunyang (Kunyang Wang zhenren daoheng bei)* 崑陽王真人道行碑 indicates the construction of an offering hall (*xiangtang*) 饗堂 in 1680.⁷⁸ Li Yangzheng also mentions that an offering hall was built by a disciple of Wang Changyue in 1707.⁷⁹ However, the architectural resemblance between this hall and the other dated halls such as those dedicated to the Medicine King, Savior from Suffering, and Three Star-Lords, suggests a later date of the Shrine Hall, perhaps in

⁷⁷ This hall is presently expanded using these two central columns due to a new function of this hall, which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁷⁸ *Kunyang Wang zhenren daoheng bei* (1886), Wanyan Chongshi. Oyanagi, 162-163. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 10-11. The inscription mentions the building of an offering hall (*xiangtang*) 饗堂 to enshrine the remains of Wang Changyue and his statue in 1680. Esposito identifies this hall as the current Shrine Hall (*citang*). Esposito, "The Longmen School," 652.

⁷⁹ Li Yangzheng, 22. His dating of the Citang perhaps resulted from the stele inscription written in 1706 by Wang Changyue.

the nineteenth century when the sectarian identity of Baiyun guan was re-established by Daoist clerics.⁸⁰

The Yuanjun Hall (figs.2.56.1-2) is three bays across. The central bay is recessed, and thus lateral sides are used for entrance doors.⁸¹ The back of the building has three four-panel latticed windows (fig.2.56.2). Textual sources do not provide the date for the building, but it is known that this hall previously contained a relief carving of Guanyin with a hymn of praise to Guanyin written on the wall in 1710.⁸²

The front exterior of the next hall, the Hall of the God of Literature (fig.2.57), displays architectural similarities to Yuanjun Hall such as a recessed central bay, though the back of the building is enclosed by a brick wall. This and the lack of brackets suggest a Qing date of construction. However, this hall can be traced back to the Ming dynasty in textual records, so perhaps it was renovated during the Qing period.⁸³

The Eight Immortals Hall has four-panel doors both front and rear (fig.2.58), leading the visitor to the next hall, Hall of the Patriarch Lü. Sources do not tell the

⁸⁰ All the sources recording the construction or existence of the Shrine Hall (*citang*) were written in the mid-nineteenth century. Also, the portrait painting of Wang Changyue in Baiyun guan, showing the similar iconography to the enshrined statue in the Shrine Hall, contains the inscription dated to 1850. For the portrait painting of Wang Changyue, see *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, no pagination.

⁸¹ The recession in the entrance may have been introduced in the late twentieth century as seen in the entrance of the Hall of Dipper Mother and Gods of Root Destiny, also renovated as the current form at the time.

⁸² For the hymn, see Oyanagi, 143.

⁸³ In the late sixteenth century, a hall dedicated to Quanzhen patriarchs, Donghua and Chunyang, was located in the back side of Baiyun guan. The identity of this hall during the late Qing was Hall of the Five Ancestral Masters (Wuzu dian) 五祖殿, dedicated to five ancestral masters of Quanzhen. For the enshrinement in the sixteenth century, see chapter 1, note 92. Regarding the early twentieth century condition of this hall, see Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 300-302.

date of the Eight Immortals Hall. Perhaps it was built when the Hall of the Patriarch Lü was erected in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century because the Eight Immortals Hall enclosed together with Hall of the Patriarch Lü creates a separate cloister (fig.2.59), as seen in the ground plan (fig.2.3). In addition, during the late Qing or early Republican era the Eight Immortals Hall (Baxian dian) and the Hall of the Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian) were referred to as 'Lüzü-Baxian dian' collectively, suggesting that they were perceived as a single entity.⁸⁴

The Hall of Patriarch Lü [Dongbin] (fig.2.60) was built in late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.⁸⁵ Inscriptions on its corner walls suggest (figs.2.61.1-2) that it has been restored twice since its construction.⁸⁶ Unlike other buildings in Baiyun guan, this hall has glazed green-color roof tiles (fig.2.62), indicating noble patronage.⁸⁷ According to the *Record of Stele on Restoring the Hall of Patriarch Lü* (*Chongxiu Lüzü dian beiji*) 重修呂祖殿碑記 by Gao Rentong, a Manchu noble woman named Suohuola 索霍拉 and her son patronized the restoration of Hall of Patriarch Lü and the celebration of the birthday ritual of Lü Dongbin in the late nineteenth century.

⁸⁴ When Yoshioka describes the temple, he refers to Eight Immortals Hall as a subsidiary hall to the Patriarch Lü Hall. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 302-303.

⁸⁵ *Baiyun guan juanchan beiji* (1811) by Cai Yongqing. Oyanagi, 145-147.

⁸⁶ *Chongxiu Lüzü dian beiji* (1887) by Gao Rentong. Oyanagi, 170-171. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 48. *Chongxiu Lüzü dian linggan beiji* 重修呂祖殿靈感碑記 [Stele Record of Inspiration of Restoring the Patriarch Lü Hall] (1889) by Gao Rentong. Oyanagi, 172-173. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 117.

⁸⁷ The color yellow had been the imperial color, and thus the glazed yellow color roof tiles, which are more prestigious than the green color roof tiles, were reserved for imperial palaces, mausoleums, or temples patronized by the court. For the symbolism and meaning of the color yellow, see Eberhard, 322.

The Hall of Dipper Mother and Gods of Root Destiny, the last image hall on the west ancillary line, is a five-bay hall with a gable roof (figs.2.63.1-2). Despite its larger size compared to other minor halls, the complete lack of brackets and the use of brick as the major building material indicate a Qing date. Currently, the four panel doors are in the recessed central bay (fig. 2.63.2). This is a feature introduced in the late twentieth century, thus indicating that the hall was renovated then.⁸⁸

In sum, all of minor halls on the ancillary western and eastern lines were constructed during the Qing or late Qing dynasty. Among them, Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder and the Hall of Patriarch Lü are the two most important halls, as indicated by painted ceiling panels and the glazed green-color roof tiles, respectively.

3. Conclusion

This survey of the Baiyun guan complex of halls shows that the majority of buildings in the compound date to the Qing dynasty and only a few Ming examples remain. Almost all of the side or ancillary halls were built or rebuilt in the late Qing dynasty. As discussed in Chapter 1, Baiyun guan sporadically received imperial patronage during the Ming and Qing periods, but the visual evidence indicates it was not lavish. For example, rather than the elaborate brackets and glazed yellow- and green-color roof tiles found on other imperially sponsored buildings, the brackets at Baiyun guan are either small or omitted completely and the roof tiles are unglazed gray. However, the gradual renovation of the temple continuing into the twentieth

⁸⁸ A photograph taken in the 1980s shows the Hall of Dipper Mother and Gods of Root Destiny before it was restored. For this photo, see Qiao Yun, 126.

century demonstrates that the Baiyun guan remained an important and active sacred site.

CHAPTER 3

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BAIYUN GUAN PANTHEON

The preservation of Baiyun guan's late Qing sculptural program in the Republican era was documented in the 1930s and 40s by Japanese historians of religion and anthropologists.¹ This program exhibited the Daoist hierarchy created by the temple clerics during the late Qing period. As stated in previous chapters, however, renovations and modifications of Baiyun guan continued after the Republican period, many resulting from the social and political chaos in the latter half of the twentieth century in China.² This chapter examines the late-Qing development and function of the current Baiyun guan pantheon, and compares it to the pantheon present when the temple halls were documented in the 1930s and 1940s. This comparison demonstrates the extent to which the prior iconographic program was preserved or modified in each hall.

This chapter further discusses the role of the Chinese Daoist Association in the re-configuration of the current Baiyun guan pantheon. The Chinese Daoist

¹ In the early twentieth century, Japanese religious historians and anthropologists such as Oyanagi Shigeta, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo and Kubo Noritada, visited Baiyun guan and wrote detailed descriptions of the temple. Oyanagi Shigeta, *Hakuunkan shi*. Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 63-72. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 196-245.

² Baiyun guan faced a short period of lack of management soon after the establishment of the Communist government in 1949. Soon after, Baiyun guan again faced adversity during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Having been closed for approximately fifteen years, Baiyun guan was reopened in 1980 after the Chinese Daoist Association and Baiyun guan staff endeavored to revive the original setting and environment of the old temple. The official opening ceremony of the temple occurred in March, 1984.

Association was founded in 1957 at Baiyun guan and has served as a primary workforce in managing the temple.³ Because it is administered by the government's Religious Affairs Bureau 国家宗教事务局, the Chinese Daoist Association has accepted relocated sculptures in order to protect historical relics. But more significantly, the Chinese Daoist Association also played an active role in this endeavor of the relocation of images. By preserving or restoring images of significant deities, the Chinese Daoist Association ensured the continuation of the temple's Quanzhen identity. This study also shows that the Chinese Daoist Association responded to recent trends of popular worship by expanding the pantheon in minor or subsidiary halls. They did this by adding modern images of the Wealth-god and Three-Star Lords, and renaming halls to suit their new function. Thus, while the modern pantheon of Baiyun guan is partly the result of the acceptance of relocated images, it owes more to the Chinese Daoist Association's efforts both to continue its Quanzhen heritage and to enhance the popularity of the temple.

1. Original Baiyun guan Divinities

The spatial layout of the halls in the early twentieth century, as shown in the ground plan by Oyanagi Shigeta in 1931 (fig.3.1), was largely the same as it is today

³ The activities of the Association were suspended during the Cultural Revolution, resuming their function in 1980 after the meeting of members. Religious activities including repairs and restoration of temples were resumed. The Chinese Daoist Association has a certain autonomy in decision making although religious activities are under the administrative leadership of the government's Religious Affairs Bureau 国家宗教事务局. It is partly because Daoism does not appear to be a threat to political rule, and thus it is not the object of extreme government vigilance, beyond the presence of party members in the Association. Julian F. Pas, *Turning of the Tide: Religion in China Today* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press), 12-13.

(see fig.2.3).⁴ The primary halls on central axis have maintained their earlier titles or religious identities. These halls include the Numinous Official Hall, the Jade Emperor Hall, the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders, the Patriarch Qiu Hall, and the Three Purities Pavilion with the Four Rulers Hall (from south to north). Some minor halls, such as Zhenwu Hall on the east ancillary line and a memorial shrine, Yuanjun Hall and Ancestral Patriarch Lü Hall on the west also preserved their earlier religious identities. Nevertheless, neither the images enshrined in these halls nor the exterior walls maintain the late Qing iconographic program. The following discussion traces the evolution of the configuration of the imagery in each hall, from the late Qing to the present, highlighting the efforts of the Chinese Daoist Association to shape the iconographic program.

Hall of the Numinous Official (Lingguan dian)

The Hall of the Numinous Official is the home of the divine guardian of Daoist temples, who is thus protector of Baiyun guan. When Japanese sinologists visited Baiyun guan before 1950, the Hall housed a dry lacquer statue of Numinous Official Wang 王靈官, a divine guardian and powerful exorcist deity of modern Daoism.⁵ The statue of Wang was flanked by statues of the Four Marshals

⁴ Oyanagi, supplementary paper. Yoshioka's ground plan drawn in the 1940s is exactly the same as that of Oyanagi. See Yoshioka, "Taoist Monastic Life," 250.

⁵ The statue of Wang lingguan measured approximately 170 centimeters high. Li Yangzheng, 117. Information regarding the images was provided by An Shilin, a prior and later an abbot of Baiyun guan between the late 1930s and 1946. He wrote a gazetteer of Baiyun guan including images in the temple. Although his gazetteer was not published, Li Yangzheng's revised gazetteer refers to An's concerning images in the temple.

(*yuanshuai*) 元師, with the Marshals Ma 馬 and Wen 溫 on the east side and Marshals Zhao 趙 and Guan 關 on the west.⁶ Like Numinous Official Wang, the Four Marshals are protectors of the teachings of Daoism and powerful exorcist deities in Daoism, as mentioned in Ming and Qing popular literature.⁷ These statues were destroyed sometime around 1950 during a period of social and political chaos, when the abbotship was vacant at Baiyun guan.

The hall was empty until 1957 when the Chinese Daoist Association installed another wooden statue of Numinous Official Wang said to date to the Ming dynasty.⁸ The provenance of this statue is not known.⁹ It still stands on a stone platform in the center of the hall (fig.3.2). In the late 1980s by the Chinese Daoist Association added four framed Qing paintings of the Four Marshals (figs.3.3.1-4) to restore the earlier

The legend of Wang lingguan's conversion to Daoism by Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. 1141) is well known in popular literature, such as woodblock printed illustrated biographies. Wang lingguan was originally a City God residing in a City God temple in Changsha 長沙, Hunan 湖南 province. Local people had to sacrifice young boys and girls to the temple. Sa Shoujian, on hearing this, declared that he would burn down the temple. No sooner had he uttered the words than the temple was struck by lightning and destroyed. The spirit of the City God temple repented his cruel deeds, and Sa Shoujian petitioned the Jade Emperor to accept him as his marshal. *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1497.

For Wang as an exorcist deity, see Schipper and Verellen, 1227.

⁶ There are no photographs of the interior of Lingguan dian, but this arrangement is from reports by Kubo and Yoshioka. Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 68. See also Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 297-298.

⁷ Although the members of the four great marshals are slightly different, Ming and Qing vernacular novels mention the invitation of the four great marshals in Daoist rituals. See the chapter 39 of *Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅 [The Plum in the Golden Vase] and the chapter 102 of *Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢 [The Dream of the Red Chamber]. David Tod Roy, trans., *The Plum in the Golden Vase or, Chin P'ing Mei* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1993), 404-422. Cao Xueqin and Gao E, *A Dream of Red Mansions*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978), 1: 177-178.

⁸ The dating of the sculptures is based on historical texts and reports by Wang Yi'e and Li Yangzheng, both in the Research Section of the Chinese Daoist Association in Baiyun guan. *Daojiao da cidian*, 402. See also *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1640.

⁹ Li Yangzheng, 117. Li did not say where this statue originated.

iconographic program of the hall.¹⁰ The paintings of Marshals Zhao and Ma are on the east, and those of Marshals Wen and Yue 岳 are on the west.¹¹ In popular lore, the Four Great Marshals are Zhao, Wen, Ma, and Guan, as seen in the four earlier sculptures, but in the new group, Guan is replaced by Yue, likely due to the availability of set of paintings in Baiyun guan.¹² Recently, a modern wooden screen surrounding the central statue of the Numinous Official Wang was installed with a carved relief image of Wang depicted on its back (fig.3.4).¹³

All the images presently displayed in the Hall of Numinous Official replaced the lost original sculptures, with only change in the identity of a marshal. Thus, the Chinese Daoist Association was careful to restore the hall's original function of protecting Baiyun guan.

Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian)

¹⁰ When Hachiya Kunio visited Baiyun guan in 1988, the decoration of hall was the same as it is presently. Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō no genjō: dōshi, dōkyō, dōkan* 中国道教の現状: 道士, 道協, 道觀 [The Present Situation of Chinese Daoism: Daoist Priests, Daoist Associations, and Daoist Temples] (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1990), 22.

¹¹ The temple cleric identified the Four Marshals, which was confirmed by their iconographies. For instance, Marshal Zhao, well-known as a military god of wealth, holds his attribute of rod in his right hand. He is generally depicted with tiger, his vehicle, although not found in this painting. Marshal Ma, slayer of Dragon King, is holding a lance on his left hand. Marshal Wen, an exorcist god who eradicated plague demon, is typically depicted as a blue-faced and red-haired god. He holds a tasseled ring in his right hand and a spiked club in his left. Marshal Yue, a famous general and patriot of Northern Song Yue Fei 岳飛, holds an axe in front of his chest. Marshal Guan or Guandi is usually depicted with his typical attribute, a halberd with a long, curving blade.

¹² In the early Ming Marshal Yue was believed to be a reincarnation of Marshal Guan. However, from the Qing dynasty onward, this belief declined due to the increasing popularity of Guan Di 關帝. *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1499.

It seems that Marshal Yue was selected as a member of Four Marshals instead of Guandi in painting sets like the one in Baiyun guan.

¹³ The temple brochure published in 1994 shows the different screen accompanying the statue of the Numinous Official Wang. See *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, no pagination.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Hall of the Jade Emperor contained a dry lacquer statue of this deity, who is considered the highest Daoist deity in popular lore.¹⁴ His enshrinement at Baiyun guan goes back to the early-Ming dynasty. The image of the emperor was accompanied by a group of other statues representing the Four Saints, Tianpeng 天篷, Tianyou 天猷, Yisheng 翊聖, and Xuanwu, and the Thirty-Two Celestial Emperors.¹⁵ This entourage is illustrated in the Daoist Canon written during the Song dynasty (960-1279).¹⁶ According to Yoshioka, the Thirty-Two Emperors are subordinates of the Four Saints.¹⁷ Tianpeng is in charge of the eight emperors of the east while Tianyou rules the eight emperors of the south. Yisheng directs the eight emperors of the west, and Xuanwu controls the eight emperors of the north. The placement of the sculptures in the Hall of the Jade Emperor reflected this hierarchy. The Four Saints stood in front of Jade Emperor and statues of twelve Celestial Emperors were placed along the north wall with ten Celestial Emperors placed along the east and west walls (fig.3.5).¹⁸ This iconographic configuration corresponds to the written accounts made by Korean

¹⁴ C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1970), 150.

Since the location of the hall dedicated to the Jade Emperor (then Yuhuang ge) was different previous to the late nineteenth century, I specify the configuration of the present Yuhuang dian during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

¹⁵ The height of the statue of Yuhuang was approximately 160 centimeters. Li Yangzheng, 119.

¹⁶ The illustrated heaven of the Jade Emperor is found in *Sancai dingwei tu* 三才定位圖 [Illustrated Pantheon of the Three Realms] (DZ 155) written by Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1121). For the illustration, see Schipper and Verellen, 876.

¹⁷ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 292-295.

¹⁸ Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 68-69. See also Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 290-295.

This plan indicating the location of sculptures (fig.3.5) was drawn by Yoshioka, when he visited the temple in 1941.

emissaries in 1780 and 1833 of their visits to Baiyun guan.¹⁹ These statues were among those destroyed around 1950.

In 1958, the Chinese Daoist Association installed wooden statue of the Jade Emperor in the hall.²⁰ This statue still rests in a wooden niche along the north wall situated on a central stone platform (fig.3.6). In the niche, it is flanked by the Golden Boy and Jade Maiden. Both Li Yangzheng and Wang Yi'e date these three figures to the Ming dynasty, however the dragon throne occupied by the Jade Emperor (fig.3.7) indicates a Qing date.²¹ Surviving Qing imperial thrones typically show similarly elaborate dragons carved around the throne (fig.3.8), while Ming imperial thrones are simpler, showing single dragon head on each side of back and/ or on armrest (fig.3.9).²²

When Baiyun guan was reopened in 1980, the Chinese Daoist Association added six Ming-dynasty bronze sculptures of Daoist adepts to the Jade Emperor Hall. These six statues, relocated from the ruined Three Teachings Temple (Sanjiao si) 三教寺 in the Xuanwu district of the capital,²³ can be identified as follows: Zhang Ling

¹⁹ Pak Chiwon, 483, 659. Kim Kyongson, 50. These statues were enshrined in the current Sanqing ge previous to the late nineteenth century.

²⁰ The original location of the statue is not known.

²¹ Li Yangzheng, 120. *Daojiao da cidian*, 402; *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1639.

Jade Emperor is represented as an earthly emperor as seen in his twelve-tasseled crown, an imperial regalia, and an imperial throne.

²² For the Qing imperial throne, see Robert L. Thorp, *Son of Heaven: Imperial Arts of China* (Seattle: Son of Heaven Press, 1988), 66, 92. For the Ming imperial thrones, see Michel Beurdeley, *Chinese Furniture*, trans., Katherine Watson (Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1979), 174-175.

²³ Sanjiao si, which fell into ruins, was located at Pen'er hutong 盆儿胡同 in Xuanwu district 宣武區, which is near the entrance of a vegetable market in Beijing. When the temple closed its doors, the Municipal Office of Cultural Relics in Beijing transferred bronze sculptures to Baiyun guan to protect them.

Several sources mention the relocation of bronze sculptures from Sanjiao si to Baiyun guan. Daoist encyclopedias inform us that a total of 25 statues were relocated from Sanjiao si, which includes 6

張陵 (fl. 142), Xu Xun 徐遜 (239-336), and an unidentifiable Daoist adept on the east side of the stone platform; and the west side, Ge Xuan 葛玄 (fl. 238-235), Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 (fl. 1141), and another Daoist adept (figs.3.10.1-2). All four identifiable Daoist masters are affiliated with schools of Daoism other than the Quanzhen sect.²⁴ These figures differ in style from the two statues of unidentifiable

bronze statues in Hall of the Jade Emperor, 12 statues in Hall of the God of Literature, 5 statues in Hall of the God of Thunder, and 2 flanking statues in Zhenwu Hall. However, Li Yangzheng mentions the different list of statues such as 12 statues in Hall of the God of Literature, a statue of Zhenwu, 4 statues of four saints in Hall of the Jade Emperor, and statues of Celestial Masters. See *Daojiao da cidian*, 402 and *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1639. See also Li Yangzheng, 95, 192. Li Yangzheng also states that these statues were originally enshrined in Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 [Temple of Jade Void] in Beijing, but later moved to Sanjiao si after 1949.

According to *Yandu congkao* 燕都叢考 [Compendium on the Capital] compiled by Chen Zongfan 陳宗蕃, the original name of Sanjiao si was Shrine of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang miao) 玉皇廟, constructed on the 29th year of Wanli (1602) by the princess Rongchang 榮昌公主, a daughter of Zhu Yizun 朱翊鈞 or the Wanli emperor, for her grandmother, Empress Dowager Li. It was restored in 1657 and once again restored during the Daoguang reign, when the temple changed its name to Sanjiao si. Chen Zongfan 陳宗蕃, *Yandu congkao* 燕都叢考 [Compendium on the Capital] (1930-1931; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji, 1991), 632-633. Chen Zongfan quotes this information exerted from *Shuntian fuzhi*, however, the change of the name to Sanjiao si is not found in *Guangxu shuntian fu zhi*. *Guangxu shuntian fu zhi* 16: 1060-1061. Both sources mention that Yuhuang miao had halls dedicated to the Jade Emperor, God of Literature (Wenchang), and Thunder god, though the number of sculptures is not clear.

As for the exact number of bronze sculptures that Sanjiao si contained in the early twentieth century, the Beijing archival office 檔案館 surveyed the conditions of temples in Beijing in 1928-1929 and in 1936-1937. The survey also includes the number of statues each temple houses. The first survey classified sculptures based on their medium such as 19 bronze statues, 3 wooden statues and 6 clay statues in Sanjiao si, however, the classification system of the second survey was associated with the religious affiliation such as 4 Buddhist statues and 24 Daoist statues. Based on the survey, Sanjiao si had a total of 19 bronze sculptures, which were classified as Daoist. Beijing shi dangan guan, *Beijing simiao lishi ziliao* 北京寺庙历史资料 [Historical Material of Temples in Beijing] (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an guan chubanshe, 1997), 212, 573.

In sum, the 19 bronze sculptures produced during the Wanli reign and later relocated to Baiyun guan are 2 statues of unidentifiable Daoist adepts in Hall of the Jade Emperor, 12 statues in Hall of the God of Literature and 5 statues in Hall of the God of Thunder due to their similar style and techniques.

²⁴ Zhang Ling 張陵, also known as Zhang Daoling 張道陵, was a founder of Celestial Master Daoism in the later Han period. Xu Xun 徐遜 was a deified adept whose cult centered around the Western Mountain in Jiangxi province. He is famous for his concoction of an elixir and ascending to the heavens as an achievement of immortality with his entire household, including the chickens and dogs. Ge Xuan 葛玄, also a deified adept, was an expert in External Alchemy (*waidan* 外丹). Sa Shoujian 薩守堅 was believed to have studied with the thirtieth Celestial Master Zhang Jixian 張繼先 (1092-1126) and a famous Song Daoist Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076-1120).

adepts, which are dated by inscription to 1602. Therefore, it is likely that the two groups originally had different provenances.²⁵

More changes were made to the iconography of the Hall of the Jade Emperor in the late 1980s, when paintings of stellar deities from the temple collection, were added to the hall.²⁶ Paintings of the Star Lords of the Northern Dipper (Beidou xingjun) 北斗星君 (fig.3.11) and the Inspection Tour of Officials and Generals (fig.3.13) presently hang on the east wall (from the south to the north), while paintings of the Star Lords of the Southern Dipper (Nandou xingjun) 南斗星君 (fig.3.12) and the Inspection Tour of Officials and Generals (fig.3.14) are on the west wall (from the south to the north). The date of the paintings of the Northern and Southern Dippers is not clear.²⁷ Paintings of Inspection Tour may date to the Qing dynasty due to the similar depiction of shading in the faces of officials and generals and the cloud pattern as found in the Qing Buddhist *shuilu* paintings.²⁸ Four Qing

²⁵ It is not clear whether these four statues and two flanking statues in Zhenwu dian (all gilt bronze statues) were relocated to Sanjiao si after 1949 and then to Baiyun guan in 1980, or if they were brought to Baiyun guan in 1980 from somewhere else.

²⁶ Paintings of stellar deities (Northern and Southern Dippers, and 28 Constellations) and of Inspection Tour, now in Baiyun guan, perhaps were hung in Daoist rituals when summoning the 360 deities. The same deities are also included in the Procession to the Primordial in Sanqing hall of Yongle gong. For the list of deities in Sanqing hall of Yongle gong, see Wang Xun 王遜, “Yongle gong Sanqing dian bihua tical shitan 永乐宮三清殿壁画題材試探 [Trial of Subject Matter of Murals of Sanqing dian in Yongle gong],” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 8 (1963): 19-39.

When Hachiya Kunio visited Baiyun guan in 1988, the decoration of the hall was similar to the present situation. Hachiya, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō no genjō*, 22.

²⁷ For a reproduction of the Stellar Deity of Northern Dipper, see *Daojiao shenxian huaji*, 55; Stellar Deity of Southern Dipper, *ibid.*, 57; Inspection Tour on east wall, *ibid.*, 31; Inspection Tour on west wall, *ibid.*, 32.

When I visited the temple in 2007, different paintings of the Northern and Southern Dippers were hung. The current paintings were replaced between 2007 and 2008.

²⁸ Wang Yi'e refers to a set of paintings in Baiyun guan used in Daoist rituals as *shuilu* 水陸 painting after the Buddhist ritual. Due to their stylistic similarity to dated Qing *shuilu* paintings, she dates the paintings of Inspection Tour and those of the Twenty-Eight Constellations to the Qing dynasty. Wang Yi'e, 158. For the Qing dynasty *shuilu* paintings, see Beijing shi wenwu ju, ed., *Ming Qing shuilu hua*

paintings of the Twenty-Eight Constellations, each with seven stars of a cardinal direction (figs.3.15.1-4), were added to the north wall.²⁹ Typically, stellar deities accompany the Emperor of the Purple Tenuity 紫微大帝, one of the Four Emperors.³⁰ I have not determined why paintings of these deities were chosen for the Hall of the Jade Emperor.

The modifications to the imagery in Hall of the Jade Emperor during the latter half of the twentieth century exhibit nominal preservation of the hall's older identity in the retention of the Jade Emperor as the central deity. The various figures added by the Chinese Daoist Association, although entirely different from the original constituents, do not affect the original function of this hall, as a place of worship and celebration of the Jade Emperor.³¹

Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang)

The Hall of the Discipline of the Elders is important for its relation to Quanzhen Daoism. The hall contains the statues of the patriarchs in the early Quanzhen lineage, and therefore provides sectarian identity to Baiyun guan.³² The dry lacquer statues of the seven Quanzhen patriarchs, located on the raised stone platform along the north wall, have been worshiped since their enshrinement. Due to

明清水陸畫 [Paintings for Water-and-Land Service of the Ming and Qing Dynasties] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2005).

²⁹ For a reproduction, see *Daojiao shenxian huaji*, 61-62.

³⁰ Wang Xun, 26-27.

³¹ A large number of people pays respect and offers incense to the statue of Jade Emperor on his birthday (February 26, 2007).

³² The ordination rituals occurred here during the Qing dynasty until the construction of an ordination platform in 1890. Li Yangzheng, 73, 122.

the importance of these patriarchs and their role at Baiyun guan, I will treat them separately and in depth in Chapter 4.

During the late Qing or the early Republican era, the image of the primary Quanzhen patriarch, Qiu Changchun, appeared in the center with two attendant figures. Patriarchs Ma Yu, Tan Chudian and Liu Chuxuan were located on the east of the hall and patriarchs Hao Datong, Wang Chuyi, and Sun Bu'er were located on the west (figs.3.16.1-2).

Since this order was different from the original enshrinement of the Ming dynasty, it was corrected in the early 1990s by the Chinese Daoist Association. They restored the Ming configuration, which presented Ma Yu, Tan Chudian, Liu Chuxuan, Qiu Changchun, Wang Chuyi, Hao Datong, and Sun Bu'er, from the east to the west (figs.3.17.1-2).³³ Interestingly, the photos taken in the early 1930s show that no statues changed position or were removed or added to achieve this re-configuration.³⁴ Rather, only the tablets were switched, giving the statues different identities.³⁵ Although this switch of tablets led to the later misidentification of a few statues, the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders is actually one of the few halls at Baiyun guan to preserve its Ming sculptural program completely.

Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiu zu dian)

³³ The sequence also shows the standard hierarchy of the Seven Patriarchs which is found in early Quanzhen hagiographies, such as *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173).

³⁴ Hachiya's site surveys in 1988 and 1992 show the different order of statues, which indicates its correction in early 1990s. For the configuration of the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders in 1988, see Hachiya, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō no genjō*, 23. For his survey in 1992, see Hachiya Kunio, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō: sono katsudō to dōkan no genjō* 中国の道教: その活動と道観の現状 [Chinese Daoism: Its Activities and Conditions of Daoist Temples] (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 1995), 2: 4.

³⁵ The switch of statues and their iconographies are discussed further in Chapter 4.

The Patriarch Qiu Hall is dedicated to the most significant of the seven patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism, Qiu Changchun. The hall featured a Ming dynasty dry lacquer sculpture of Qiu with two attendant figures before a screen in a niche in the center of the north wall (fig.3.18).³⁶

During the Qing dynasty, some additions were made to the furnishings of the hall. For example, a wooden bowl bestowed by the Qianlong emperor sits in front of the niche. During the late Qing, woodblock prints of the Daoist Canon were displayed, and eight statues of early Quanzhen patriarchs were placed around Qiu Changchun, with images of Zhang Zhijing, Qi Zhicheng 祈志誠 (1219-1293), Zhang Zhixian 張志仙, and Sun Lüdao on the east, and Wang Zhitan, Wang Zhijin, Miao Daoyi, and Sun Deyu on the west.³⁷ It is not clear when these eight statues were produced or enshrined in the Patriarch Qiu Hall, but the latter may have occurred in the late Qing dynasty when the temple clerics constructed the religious identity of Baiyun guan as affiliated with the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism.³⁸

All eight of the new figures are closely associated with the early stage of Quanzhen movement.³⁹ For instance, Wang Zhijin is a significant figure in the history of Quanzhen Daoism due to his effort of proselytizing Quanzhen teachings

³⁶ The details of this statue including the dating are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

³⁷ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 278-286. See also Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni suite 1," 70.

³⁸ When Li Ciming 李慈銘, a late Qing literatus, visited Patriarch Qiu Hall in 1873, he mentioned the statues of eighteen disciples surrounding the statue of Qiu Changchun. Without any identification of the names of eighteen disciples in his writing, statues he saw may have been the eight Quanzhen Daoists because statues of the eighteen disciples were enshrined in different halls (Halls of Ancestral Masters).

For Li Ciming's visit to Patriarch Qiu Hall, see Li Ciming, *Yuemantang riji*, 5632.

³⁹ The activities of Wang Zhijin, Wang Zhitan, Zhang Zhijing, Sun Deyu, Sun Lüdao and Miao Daoyi associated with Changchun gong, are found in the Jin and Yuan sections of the Chapter 1.

beyond the northern China.⁴⁰ Zhang Zhijing, Wang Zhitan, Qi Zhicheng and Zhang Zhixian were abbots of Changchun gong. Epigraphic sources identified them as the successors of the teaching from Qiu Changchun, which initially transmitted to Yin Zhiping, Li Zhichang, and then to the four masters one after another.⁴¹ Yin Zhiping and Li Zhichang are not present, perhaps because Yin and Li were enshrined in the Ancestral Masters Hall in 1828. They were not included in the Patriarch Qiu Hall, which indicates that the eight statues were added after 1828. These eight figures selected from epigraphic sources clearly demonstrate the succession of teachings from Qiu Changchun, which is re-presented in the late Qing Baiyun guan.

When Yoshioka visited the Baiyun guan in 1941, he described a small memorial shrine that was located in front of the Patriarch Qiu Hall. It was installed for the salvation of the dead, including lonely and hungry ghosts, and it housed three tablets. The tablet in the center read, “Seat of Scary Face [the Ghost King] in the Mount Tiewei of Fengdu Who Rules over Ten Different Kinds of Wandering Souls and Ghosts 豐都鐵圍面燃所統十類孤魂鬼子之位.” The one on the left said, “Seat of Manchu and Han Ancestral Relatives and Deceased Parents of the Present and Past

⁴⁰ Boltz, 170-171.

⁴¹ For the transmission of teaching from Qiu, see *Chart of Quanzhen Patriarchs and Ancestors* (*Quanzhen zuzong zhi tu*) 全真祖宗之圖 in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 597-598. A Quanzhen Daoist Liang Zhitong 梁志通 carved this chart on one side of *Chongdao zhaoshu bei*, which also bears the ode on Quanzhen patriarchy by Song Defang. Liang was abbot of Jade Spring Temple (Yuquan guan) 玉泉觀 in Qinzhou in late thirteenth century. Besides, a stele inscription dedicated to Wang Zhitan lists the transmission of teaching from Qiu Changchun, Yin Zhiping, Li Zhichang, Zhang Zhijing to Wang Zhitan. *Chongzhen guangjiao Chunhe zhenren daoheng zhi bei* in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 611. The biography of Qi Zhicheng is found in the *History of Yuan Dynasty*. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 6: 3661. According to Chen Minggui 陳銘珪 (1824-1881), a late Qing scholar who became a Quanzhen Daoist, Qiu’s teaching continued to be transmitted from Zhang Zhixian to Sun Deyu, Sun Lüdao and to Miao Daoyi. Chen Minggui 陳銘珪, “Changchun daojiao yuanliu 長春道教源流 [Origin and Development of the Daoist Teaching of Qiu Changchun],” in *Zangwai daoshu* 31, 109-110. For biographical information of Chen, see Pregadio, 253-254.

Three Generations Who Protect the Law 滿漢護法現遠三代宗親考妣之位。” The tablet on the right said, “Seat of All the Spirits of Previously Winged and Later Transformed Old and Young [Daoist Clerics] of This Temple 本觀前羽後化老幼一切霞靈之位.”⁴² The existence of the memorial shrine along with the inscriptions on the tablets may be associated with the close location of Merit Shrine (*gongde ci*) 功德祠 (fig.3.1), where tablets or lamps with the names of deceased or living people are put up for memorial services. On the other hand, the location of memorial shrine can be explained in relation to the popularity of the Patriarch Qiu Hall and its frequent visit by worshipers.⁴³

By the 1980s, the eight statues as well as the small memorial shrine had disappeared, most likely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.⁴⁴ Therefore, the Patriarch Qiu Hall presently contains only the central statue of Ming image of Qiu Changchun with the wooden alms-bowl given by the Qianlong emperor (fig.3.19). More recently, modern painted-clay, “hanging sculptures” depicting Qiu’s journey to the West to meet Genghis Khan were installed along the side walls by the Chinese Daoist Association (fig.3.20).⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the Chinese Daoist Association chose to install images of this famous journey instead of reproducing the original eight statues of the Quanzhen patriarchs. I suggest that they chose Qiu’s journey

⁴² Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 284-286.

⁴³ The lamps are presently located in the Jade Emperor Hall and in the Compassionate Sailor Hall, perhaps due to their popularity among visitors and worshipers.

⁴⁴ Kubo, “Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite,” 53.

⁴⁵ Hanging sculptures are three-dimensional sculptures within narrow landscape settings. The sculpture runs along the three walls except for the niche area. It was installed around 2000. The date of the sculptures was provided by a Daoist priest in Baiyun guan in a personal communication on August 16, 2006.

because the subject once decorated a memorial shrine called Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (Chushun tang) in the thirteenth century, and they wanted to restore this iconography to Baiyun guan, or perhaps because they wanted to commemorate the past glory of the temple, which resulted from Qiu's journey.⁴⁶

Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge)

As described in the previous chapter, the Three Purities Pavilion is the upper hall of a two-storied building at Baiyun guan. It is the main hall and is dedicated to the highest deities of religious Daoism, the Three Purities (Sanqing). Accordingly, it housed three dry lacquer statues of these gods in typical arrangement, the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun) 元始天尊 in the center with the Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun) 靈寶天尊 on the east and the Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun) 道德天尊 on the west. In addition to these primary images, the Three Purities Pavilion displayed additional sculptures during the late Qing or early Republican eras. A stone sculpture of Laozi once sat in front of the statues of Three Purities (fig.3.21), but is currently located in the east display hall. Other statues that surrounded the Three Purities included the Three Officials, the Three Emperors, Wang Chongyang, Zhuangzi 莊子, and the

⁴⁶ For the decoration of the hall during the thirteenth century, see Paul R. Katz, "Writing History, Creating Identity-A Case Study of the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu*," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2002): 170. There was a mural depicting eighteen disciples in Baiyun guan later in the Ming and Qing dynasties, but it is not clear if this mural is a scene showing the journey or portraits of eighteen disciples. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579.

Queen Mother of the West.⁴⁷ Behind the Three Purities was a scripture repository that contained the Ming Daoist Canon.⁴⁸

Except for the primary images of the Three Purities and the stone sculpture of Laozi, the whereabouts of the rest of the sculptures is not known. It is most likely that they were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. The Three Purities Pavilion now features only the statues of the Three Purities (figs.3.22.1-3).

Due to the construction of Great Hall of the Three Purities (Sanqing dadian) in 1428 and the significance of Three Purities in the Baiyun guan pantheon,⁴⁹ Daoist encyclopedias date the statues to the Ming dynasty.⁵⁰ However, certain motifs suggest that they date to the mid or late Qing dynasty. Attributes of two of the Three Purities statues, in particular, the circular board depicting a *yin-yang* diagram that is held by Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure and the fan depicted with a *yin-yang* diagram in the hands of Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power indicate the Qing date of sculptures.⁵¹ The *yin/yang* board, also known as *Taiji tu* 太極圖 [Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate], is an unusual object, since it is rarely attributed to Daoist deities. According to Craig Clunas, during the Ming dynasty, the *Taiji tu* existed at a

⁴⁷ Kubo Noritada, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 71.

As Naquin states, during Ming and Qing China, images were routinely donated by petitioners to be placed beside the god on the main altar. Naquin, *Peking*, 24.

⁴⁸ For the image of the scripture repository, see Oyanagi, no pagination.

⁴⁹ For the construction of Sanqing dadian, see Oyanagi, 124-126. See also Beijing tushuguan 51: 121-122.

As already discussed in Chapter 1, deities were rearranged at Baiyun guan during the mid and late nineteenth century in order to create a proper hierarchy.

⁵⁰ *Daojiao da cidian*, 402. See also *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1640.

⁵¹ Yuanshi tianzun holds a pearl in his left hand and Daode tianzun, shown as an old man or Laozi, holds a fan with his both hands. Their iconographies seem to have been established during the Ming dynasty as seen in the images of Sanqing in frontispiece of the Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong reign printed in 1445, as well as in late Ming and early Qing paintings of Sanqing in Baiyun guan. For Sanqing paintings in Baiyun guan, see *Daojiao shenxian huaqi*, 3-7 and Little, 228-231.

technical level where it was used for explaining or understanding the cosmology rather than as a decorative motif on artifacts of daily use.⁵² A Ming text also suggests a similar function for a *Taiji tu* as a means of understanding Daoist cosmology.⁵³ The earliest surviving image of a Daoist deity holding a *Taiji tu* appears in an illustration found in *Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force* (*Xingming guizhi*) 性命圭旨 (fig.3.23) published in the early Qing dynasty.⁵⁴ Thus the use of this motif on one of the Three Purities statues suggests that they are relatively late images and probably appeared at Baiyun guan during the mid- to late Qing dynasty. It was at this time that they were considered to be the most important deities in the temple, making Three Purities Pavilion the primary hall.

Four Rulers Hall (Siyu dian)

The Four Rulers Hall is below the Three Purities Pavilion, on the lower level of the same building, and was dedicated to the Four Rulers during the late Qing period. Qing dynasty dry lacquer statues of the Four Rulers were once placed on a

⁵² This diagram is found in pages of learned books such as late Ming compendium of diagrams or *Tushubian* 圖書編 by Zhang Huang 章潢 (1527-1608). Craig Clunas, *Empire of Greatness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368-1644* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2007), 33.

⁵³ In a woodblock printed image accompanying the entry entitled *Tianli liuxing bian* 天理流行篇 [Chapter of Heavenly Principles of Flowing of Elements], three scholars view the scroll depicted with *Taiji tu*. Wu Jingsuo 吳敬所, *Guose tianxiang* 國色天香 [Extraordinary Beauties, Heavenly Fragrance] (1587; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), 1: 311-312.

⁵⁴ *Xingming guizhi* was originally compiled in 1615 during the Ming dynasty; however the text I consulted was an early Qing reprint of the original text. The *yin/yang* diagram found in the Ming original text shows a depiction of *taiji tu* by a Northern Song neo-Confucian scholar Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), which is slightly different from one in Baiyun guan. For the reproduction of an early Qing image, see *Xingming guizhi* in *Daozang jinghua lu*.

An image of an individual Daoist deity who is not part of a triad and holding *taiji tu*, appeared in the late eighteenth century. Without an inscription, it is not clear who this deity is. See *Daojiao huaxiang* 道教畫像 [Pictorial Images of Daoism] compiled in 1797 by Lu Xiangqing 盧祥慶 from Qiantang 錢塘 in Jiangxi. *Zangwai daoshu* 35: 619.

raised platform along the north wall. From the east to west, they were as follows: Celestial Emperor of the Heavenly Palace (Gouchen shanggong Tianhuang dadi) 勾陳上宮天皇大帝, Greatest Revered Jade Emperor of Vast Heaven (Haotian jinque zhizun Yuhuang dadi) 昊天金闕至尊玉皇大帝, Emperor of Purple Tenuity, the North Pole in Middle Heaven (Zhongtian Ziwei Beiji dadi) 中天紫微北極大帝, and Celestial Empress of the Earth (Chengtian xiaofa Houtu huangdi zhi) 承天效法后土皇地祇.⁵⁵ Although it is apparent from their styles that statues of the Four Rulers and those of the Three Purities were not produced together, the current arrangement of the Three Purities on the second floor and the Four Rulers on the ground floor was devised in the nineteenth century.

These four statues are still enshrined in the Four Rulers Hall, but the identity of one emperor has been changed. At some point, tablets for each emperor were installed, and they indicate that the Emperor of the Southern Pole (Nanji Changsheng dadi) 南極長生大帝 now occupies the position that had previously belonged to the Jade Emperor. The style indicates that this statue was not new. The identity was merely changed by the Chinese Daoist Association. The description made by Hachiya Kunio in 1988 mentions that the Jade Emperor was still one of the Four Rulers housed in the Four Rulers Hall.⁵⁶ Therefore, the identity had to have been changed in the early 1990s, when the tablet representing the Jade Emperor appeared in the center, which is now flanked by the statues of the Four Rulers (figs.3.24.1-2).

⁵⁵ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 295.

For the dating of statues, see *Daojiao da cidian*, 402 and *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1640.

⁵⁶ Hachiya, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō no genjō*, 21. An Shilin's gazetteer also includes Yuhuang instead of Nanji. Li Yangzheng, 132.

Perhaps the Chinese Daoist Association changed the identity of the sculpture because the Jade Emperor was already enshrined in the Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Despite the varying identity of the one emperor, the Four Rulers in this hall are still subordinate of the Three Purities on the upper level of the pavilion, showing the standard hierarchy.

Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian)

The Zhenwu Hall at Baiyun guan is dedicated to the Daoist deity named Zhenwu, the Perfected Warrior, or the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven (Xuantian shangdi). An image of Zhenwu was enshrined in the hall during the Ming dynasty. According to Wang Zhi (1379-1462), a statue of Xuanwu or Zhenwu was enshrined in the Preaching Hall, which was on the east side of the temple.⁵⁷ It is not known whether this statue continued to be enshrined until the late Qing or was replaced by a new statue. In the late Qing period, the hall featured a painted clay statue of Zhenwu (fig.3.25) that was flanked by the Celestial Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵 on the west and Wenchang on the east.⁵⁸

The statue of Zhenwu was abandoned in the 1950s and later destroyed. Li Yangzheng reports that the statues of Zhang Daoling and Wenchang were removed, but it is not clear whether these statues are still preserved somewhere else in the temple.⁵⁹ Subsequently, when the temple resumed its functions in the 1980s, the

⁵⁷ Wang Zhi, *Yi'an ji*, 4:11a-13a. Besides this statue, the hall worshipping Xuantian shangdi called Yanqing dian was built in 1443 on the central axis in Baiyun guan. The identity of the hall on the central axis later changed.

⁵⁸ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 307-308. Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 71.

⁵⁹ Li Yangzheng, 60, 88.

building was used as living quarters for the resident Daoist monks. In 2000, the Chinese Daoist Association reopened the Zhenwu Hall with a late-Ming or early-Qing bronze statue of Zhenwu (fig.3.26), which was possibly relocated from another Daoist temple.⁶⁰ The Chinese Daoist Association also added Ming dynasty bronze statues of Tianpeng and Tianyou (figs.3.27.1-2), two of the Four Saints, between 2007 and 2008. The two flank the statue of Zhenwu on the stone platform in the north.⁶¹ Although this hall was empty for almost half of a century, through the efforts of the Chinese Daoist Association, the late Qing identity of the hall, including the primary iconography and function, was restored.⁶²

Shrine Hall (Citang)

The Shrine Hall is an important hall at Baiyun guan for its role in identifying the temple as an orthodox, Longmen-lineage Quanzhen site. The hall enshrines a statue of Wang Changyue produced and installed in the late Qing period. Wang Changyue, an abbot of Baiyun guan in the seventeenth century, is identified by his accompanying tablet, which states “Imperially Appointed Quanzhen Patriarch Who Embraces the One, the Great Master Mr. Wang (Chifeng zhujiao Quanzhen Baoyi

⁶⁰ Li Yangzheng mentions that Zhenwu was relocated from Sanjiao si in 1980; however, as I state in note 23, the statue of Zhenwu did not belong to Sanjiao si. Li Yangzheng, 95. Although the provenance is not known, its stylistic similarity to other dated statues of Zhenwu suggests the date of this statue to the late Ming or early Qing period.

⁶¹ Ming dynasty statues of Tianpeng and Tianyou were supposedly relocated from Sanjiao si to Yuanchen dian in 1980. But they were recently moved to Zhenwu dian. For the dating of Tianpeng and Tianyou, see *Daojiao da cidian*, 402 and *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1639.

⁶² The late Qing temple community celebrated the birthday of Zhenwu (03/03) at Zhenwu Hall, which was restored when the temple activities were resumed around the mid 1980s and the early 1990s. Oyanagi, 63. See also Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 324. For the liturgical calendar of modern Baiyun guan, especially for the birthday of Zhenwu, see Li Yangzheng, 282.

gaozhu Wang gong) 敕封主教全真抱一高主王公。”⁶³ During the early Republican era, the tablets of late-Qing abbots of Baiyun guan and the early-patriarchs of the Longmen lineage flanked the central statue of Wang. On the east side stood the tablets of the seven Longmen patriarchs after Qiu Changchun with tablets of successors after Wang Changyue.⁶⁴ On the west side had the tablets of abbots and ordination masters of Baiyun guan during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁶⁵ As Oyanagi already points out, the six Longmen patriarchs on the east side from Zhao Daojian to Zhao Fuyang do not have any direct association with Baiyun guan; however, by presenting the orthodox Longmen lineage at the shrine hall, Baiyun guan also legitimates its Longmen identity.⁶⁶ Passages from the *Classic of the*

⁶³ Both Oyanagi and Kubo mention that the statue of Wang Chongyang was enshrined here; however, the religious title 抱一高主 identifies it as Wang Changyue. Oyanagi, 31. See also Kubo, “Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1,” 69.

⁶⁴ The seven patriarchs are Zhao Daojian (1163-1221), Zhang Dechun 張德純 (1282-1367?), Chen Tongwei 陳通微 (fl. 1387), Zhou Xuanpu 周玄朴 (?-1450?), Zhang Jingding 張靜定 (fl. 1450), Zhao Fuyang 趙復陽 (fl. 1628) and Wang Changyue.

The followers of Wang Changyue are identified as Tan Shoucheng 譚守誠, Zhan Tailin 詹太林, Mu Qingfeng 穆清風, Zhu Yihe 朱一和, Yuan Yangju 袁陽舉, Wang Laiyuan 王來還, Bai Zhaotu 白照圖, and Cheng Benhuan 程本煥.

⁶⁵ They are Zhang Benwu 張本悟, Zhang Hehao 張合皓, Zhang Jiaoxuan 張教玄, Meng Jiaoling 孟教齡, Zhang Jiaozhi 張教智 (d. 1840), Yan Yongkuan 嚴永寬, Lü Yongzhen 呂永震, Zheng Yongxiang 鄭永祥 (d. 1873), Yuan Yongting 袁永亭, Meng Huoyi, Zhang Yuanxuan 張圓璿, Liu Chengyin, Gao Rentong and Zhu Zhihe. For the brief biographies of Zhang Jiaozhi, Lü Yongzhen, Zheng Yongxiang, and Zhang Yuanxuan, see Qing Xitai, 4: 278-284. See also Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 169-172. For activities of Meng Huoyi, Liu Chengyin and Gao Rentong, see section 5 of Chapter 1.

⁶⁶ Oyanagi, 38.

The Longmen lineage containing these six patriarchs firstly appeared in the *Chart of the Origins and Development of Taoist Genealogical Registers (Daopu yuanliu tu)* 道譜源流圖 compiled by the eighth Longmen master Lü Yunyin 呂雲隱 (fl. 1710), which was quoted in *Transmission of the Mind-Lamp from Mount Jin'gai (Jin'gai xindeng)* 金蓋心燈. For more information on *Jin'gai xindeng*, see note 11 of Introduction. According to Esposito, *Transmission of the Mind-Lamp from Mount Jin'gai* is the fundamental source for the first seven Longmen patriarchs in Baiyun guan. Biographies of the seven masters found in the *Transmission* are said to be based on *Examination of the Bowl (Bojian)* 鉢鑑 attributed to Wang Changyue. Esposito assumes Wang's work is fictitious, because the text is only known through the quotations from *Transmission*. Esposito, “The Longmen School,” 622-623.

Way and Its Power (Daode jing) and *Book of Secret Correspondence (Yinfu jing)* 陰符經 are carved on the interior walls of the hall.⁶⁷

The hall entrance was sealed and the hall was inaccessible for over a decade.⁶⁸ However, the Chinese Daoist Association reopened it in October 2007 to serve as a pharmacy associated with a clinic located next to the hall. The Chinese Daoist Association wanted to resume the medical services to the community that the temple had provided in the late Qing and early Republican era.⁶⁹ Although the hall now has a new function, it still contains the title plaque (see fig.2.55.2) and statue of Wang Changyue (fig.3.28), maintaining the lineage connection to the Quanzhen sect in a building used for public service rather than worship.

Yuanjun Hall (Yuanjun dian)

The Yuanjun Hall at Baiyun guan is dedicated to Bixia yuanjun, the Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn. She was an important deity worshiped in the imperial capital during the Ming and Qing dynasties due to her religious efficacy and the proximity of her pilgrimage site to the city.⁷⁰ It is not clear when an image of Bixia yuanjun was first enshrined in Yuanjun Hall; however, it may have been during the Qing dynasty,

⁶⁷ The original calligraphies written by Zhao Mengfu were lost but re-carved between 1821 and 1851 closely following the style of the original. Li Yangzheng, 51.

⁶⁸ It is not clear when the Shrine Hall (Citang) was sealed, but when Hachiya visited Baiyun guan in 1988, this hall was not included in the ground plan of the temple or mentioned in his site survey, indicating its inaccessibility at the time. Hachiya, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō*, 18.

⁶⁹ For the public service of Baiyun guan during the late Qing or the early Republican era, see Goossaert, *The Taoists in Peking*, 241.

⁷⁰ Bixia yuanjun is a benevolent goddess who has a child-giving capacity. According to Naquin, Bixia yuanjun was one of the primary deities worshiped in the temples in the imperial capital. See Table 2.2 Naquin, *Peking*, 37. For more information on her pilgrimage site, see Susan Naquin, "The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng Shan: Religious Organizations and Sacred Site," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, eds. Susan Naquin and Chun-fang Yu (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992), 333-375.

when the hall was known as Offspring Hall (Zisun tang) 子孫堂.⁷¹ During the early Republican era, the interior of Yuanjun Hall featured a Qing dynasty dry lacquer statue of Bixia yuanjun. This statue was flanked by a group of attendant figures such as the Goddess of Children (Songzi niangniang) 送子娘娘, the Goddess of Birth (Cuisheng niangniang) 催生娘娘, the Goddess of the Heavenly Flower (Tianhua niangniang) 天花娘娘, the Goddess of Eyesight (Yan'guang niangniang) 眼光娘娘, the Goddess of Offspring (Zisun niangniang) 子孫娘娘 and Immortal Zhang (Zhang Xian) 張仙.⁷² Both the east and west walls were decorated with murals depicting the palace of the Queen Mother of the West (fig.3.29).⁷³ A white-robed Guanyin Bodhisattva was carved on the east wall of the front side of the hall.⁷⁴ This iconographic program included the famous goddesses of both the Daoist and the Buddhist traditions, with the former, Bixia yuanjun, as a primary focus of worship.

In the late 1950s, the Yuanjun Hall fell into ruin due to the lack of management at the site. The statues were not destroyed but were stored elsewhere at Baiyun guan.⁷⁵ The preservation of statues, although statues of Zhang Xian and of Goddess of Offspring did not survive, might be associated with the worship of this deity during the late Qing. At the time, abbot Gao Rentong worshipped this deity and commissioned a set of twenty-two hanging scrolls depicting different manifestations

⁷¹ For the name of the hall during the Qing dynasty, see Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 304.

⁷² Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 70.

⁷³ The photo shows murals in the east wall. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 304.

⁷⁴ See Oyanagi, 143. According to Oyanagi, there is a praising hymn to Guanyin accompanying the image, which was carved in 1710. See also Marsone, "Le Baiyun guan de Pékin," 100. Marsone mentions that this was moved to the interior of the hall, but I could not find it when I visited on August 16, 2006.

⁷⁵ Li Yangzheng, 96.

of Bixia yuanjun in 1890.⁷⁶ When Baiyun guan reopened in 1980, the original Qing statues were reinstalled in the newly renovated hall (figs.3.30.1-2). The hall presently features the original statue with her primary attendant figures.

Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian)

The Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü is dedicated to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, one of the Five Ancestral Patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism, as well as one of the famous Eight Immortals. The original statue of Lü Dongbin, which was produced in the late eighteenth century, was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, the Chinese Daoist Association installed a Ming dynasty, wooden statue of Lü Dongbin, relocated from another temple, when Baiyun guan was reopened in 1980.⁷⁷ The sculpture is flanked by two attendant figures on a stone platform on the north side of the hall (fig.3.31). Four framed, late-Qing paintings of the Eight Immortals (figs.3.32.1-4) were hung after 1980s on the side walls.⁷⁸ According to Wang Yi'e, these paintings are collaborative works by late Qing artists such as Huang Yiru 黃益如 and Zhu Chan 竹禪.⁷⁹ Two immortals are paired in each painting. The painting of Han Xiangzi 韓湘子 with Cao Guojiu 曹國舅 and that of Lan Caihe 藍采和 with Zhang Guolao 張果老 are on the east side, while the paintings of Lü Dongbin with

⁷⁶ For more information, see Liu Xun, 57-115.

⁷⁷ Li Yangzheng, 93. Li Yangzheng does not state where this statue was originally located.

⁷⁸ The site survey by Hachiya in 1988 does not contain the paintings in his diagram, which suggests the addition of these paintings after 1988. Hachiya, *Chūgoku no Dōkyō no genjō*, 25.

⁷⁹ Wang Yi'e, 161.

Zhongli Quan 鐘離權, and He Xiang 何仙姑 with Li Tieguai 李鐵拐 are on the west side, arranged from the south to the north.

The Chinese Daoist Association likely restored the main iconography of the Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü with the installation of a statue of Lü Dongbin to emphasize his relation to Quanzhen Daoism. His role as one of the Eight Immortals is highlighted through the paintings. Lü's birthday (04/15) was celebrated in the monastic circle during the early Republican period.⁸⁰ Due to his great popularity, his birthday now is one of the major public events at Baiyun guan, which perhaps explains the recent addition of different plaques showing the desire of laity for Lü's aid or miraculous powers (figs.3.33.1-2).⁸¹

In conclusion, all of the above-mentioned halls at Baiyun guan preserved their late Qing religious identity either nominally or in their actual iconographic configurations. Some halls, such as Hall of the Numinous Official, Hall of the Jade Emperor, and Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü, were actively restored by the Chinese Daoist Association. The Numinous Official and Jade Emperor halls were the primary halls closely related to the early history of the temple and were also a significant part of the standard hierarchy of the Baiyun guan pantheon created in the late Qing period. The Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü represents the temple's sectarian identity to some extent as well. One hall, the Zhenwu Hall, was able to retain its title due to relocated images. Other halls, such as Hall of the Discipline of the Elders, Patriarch Qiu Hall,

⁸⁰ Oyanagi, 46.

⁸¹ Title plaques saying "Response to Every Plea (有求必應)," "Accomplishment of things as mind wishes (心想事成)," or "Spiritual divinity has feeling (神靈有感)" all indicate the hope of laity to see divine apparition and miraculous accomplishment of things. They were hung in this hall in 1990s.

Three Purities Pavilion and Four Rulers Hall, preserved their primary statues, which comprise the heart of the late Qing Baiyun guan pantheon. Moreover, although the function of the Shrine Hall was changed from a worship hall to a pharmacy, it remains dedicated to the Longmen lineage Quanzhen patriarch, keeping its central image and identity. Thus, the core divinities present in Baiyun guan in the late Qing dynasty have been preserved due to the efforts of the Chinese Daoist Association.

2. New Divinities at Baiyun guan

Although the Baiyun guan pantheon features many original Daoist deities preserved from the late Qing or restored by the Chinese Daoist Association, new deities have also been added. This section discusses the halls that house new or modern divinities at Baiyun guan. The identities of the flanking halls on the central axis, as well as most of the peripheral halls on ancillary lines, were entirely different during the late Qing and early Republican eras, thus reflecting changes enacted more recently by the Chinese Daoist Association and new trends of worship.

Three Officials Hall (San'guan dian) and Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian)

During the late Qing period, the flanking halls in the third courtyard on the central axis were the Hall of Abundant Truth (Fengzhen dian 豐真殿) on the east and the Hall of Confucian Immortal (Ruxian dian 儒仙殿) on the west. These are now called Three Officials and God of Wealth halls, respectively.⁸² The Hall of Abundant

⁸² Since the present Three Officials and God of Wealth halls are architecturally identical, built at the same time, I treat these two halls together.

Truth was dedicated to Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐 (fig.3.34), and the Hall of Confucian Immortal was dedicated to Zhang Ben 張本 (fig.3.35), and statues of each were enshrined in their respective hall. Zhang Sanfeng was a famous Daoist who lived during the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties.⁸³ According to legend, Zhang Sanfeng traveled to Baiyun guan, and thus his image was enshrined there.⁸⁴ Zhang Ben entered Hanlin Academy in 1232, but left his official position to become a Daoist priest. He lived in Changchun gong, a predecessor of Baiyun guan, for ten years.⁸⁵ It is not known when these statues of these two immortals were first enshrined, but both statues existed in the early Qing dynasty.⁸⁶

When the Chinese Daoist Association was established in 1957 at Baiyun guan, Hall of the Confucian Immortal was already empty.⁸⁷ In the 1980s, both halls retained their original names, but the statues were also missing from Hall of Abundant Truth.⁸⁸ The new designations of Three Officials Hall and God of Wealth Hall, with enshrined images of these gods, first appeared in 1990, according to the stele inscription *Record of Reverently Making Statues in Four Halls (Jingsu sidian shengxiang ji)* 敬塑四殿聖像記 (fig.3.36).⁸⁹ The interior sculptural program of

⁸³ He was an itinerant Daoist during the Yuan dynasty, but in the beginning of the Ming he stayed in the Mount Wudang in Hubei province. For more information, see Anna Seidel, “A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng,” in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 483-531.

⁸⁴ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 298.

⁸⁵ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1580.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1579-1580.

⁸⁷ Li Yangzheng, 80.

⁸⁸ Kubo, “Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite,” 52.

⁸⁹ *Jingsu sidian shengxiang ji* 敬塑四殿聖像記 [Record of Reverently Making Statues in Four Halls], 1990. This inscription mentions the enshrinement of images in halls of Three Officials, God of Wealth, Savior of Suffering and Medicine King in 1990. It is found on the south-western corner of the exterior wall of the present Medicine King Hall.

Three Officials Hall features modern clay sculptures of the Officials of Earth, Heaven, and Water (figs.3.37.1-3), placed in separate niches arranged from the south to the north.⁹⁰ Inside Hall of the God of Wealth are modern gold-painted clay sculptures of the triad of the God of Wealth (Caishen) composed of the Martial God Zhao Gongming 趙公明, the Civil God Bi Gan 比干, and the Martial God Guan Yu 關羽.⁹¹ They are arranged from south to north, similarly enshrined in separate niches (figs.3.38.1-3).

Li Yangzheng suggests that the addition of a hall dedicated to the God of Wealth was the result of a societal trend, namely, the economic development following the growth of free entrepreneurship in China.⁹² The God of Wealth was already among the favorite deities worshiped and celebrated in traditional Chinese society.⁹³ In fact, a God of Wealth was once enshrined in Baiyun guan as a flanking deity for Fire God; in this position, however, he was more associated with the primary deity of the hall than with the bestowal of blessings and good fortune in a monetary sense.⁹⁴ In contrast, the current enshrinement of the God of Wealth triad in the Wealth God Hall of Baiyun guan seems the result of a practical decision made by the

As the temple brochure of 1994 shows, the niches were added later. For the image showing the interior of Three Officials Hall, see *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, no pagination.

⁹⁰ The Three Officials emerged in the religious Daoist pantheon as early as the late Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE) and function as judges of human fate.

⁹¹ All three gods have different origins, but sometimes they comprise the triad of the god of wealth. In addition to this triad, there are more gods of wealth. *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian*, 1494.

⁹² Li Yangzheng, 81.

⁹³ For more information on the Wealth-god, see Pregadio, 243. During Ming and Qing China, worship of the Wealth-god in the imperial capital was quite common. See also Naquin, *Peking*, 37.

⁹⁴ Wealth-god was an attendant figure of the Fire God in Hall of the Fire-god (Huo zu dian) 火祖殿 during the late Qing and the early Republican era. Wealth-god, as a subordinate of the Fire God, was in charge of people's destiny. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 306.

Chinese Daoist Association to appeal to contemporary popular trends in lay devotional practices.

Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian) and Savior from Suffering Hall (Jiuku dian)

The Medicine King Hall and Savior from Suffering Hall are the ancillary halls of the central axis in the fourth courtyard at Baiyun guan. An inscription, *Record of the Restoration of Halls of Ancestral Masters in Baiyun guan (Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji)*, on the north-western corner of the exterior wall (fig.3.39) of the current Medicine King Hall indicates that both side halls were built in 1828 to worship the eighteen Quanzhen masters and that were called the Halls of Ancestral Masters, or Zongshi wu 宗師廡.⁹⁵ The halls contained statues of the eighteen disciples who accompanied Qiu Changchun to the West to meet with Genghis Khan in 1221-1224. The eastern hall of Ancestral Masters contained statues of Sun Zhijian 孫志堅, Wang Zhiming 王志明, Yu Zhike 于志可, Song Daoan 宋道安, Zhao Daojian 趙道堅, Xia Zhicheng 夏志誠, Zheng Zhixiu 鄭志修, Zhang Zhisu 張志素, and Ju Zhiyuan 鞠志園. The western hall enshrined statues of Zhang Zhiyuan 張志遠, Meng Zhiyuan 孟志源, Qi Zhiyuan 綦志遠, Li Zhichang 李志常, Yin Zhiping 尹志平, Song Defang 宋德方, Yang Zhijing 楊志靜, He Zhiqing 何志清, and Pan Dechong 潘德冲.⁹⁶ The eighteen statues were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and the halls were empty for approximately twenty years.

⁹⁵ *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* (1828) by Wanyan Linqing. Oyanagi, 148-149.

⁹⁶ Characters of some names of eighteenth disciples are slightly different in historical and epigraphic sources as found in *Record of the Perfected Changchun's Journey to the West, Chart of Quanzhen*

In 1990, the Chinese Daoist Association reassigned the two Ancestral Master Halls to the Medicine King and Savior from Suffering, and the halls were supplied with modern images of these deities.⁹⁷ The statues in Hall of the Medicine King were replaced again in 2000, when the temple was renovated.⁹⁸ The interior of the Hall of Medicine King presently houses a modern, painted-wood sculpture of the Medicine King, the renowned Tang physician Sun Simiao 孙思邈, flanked by two attendant figures, Hua Tuo 華陀 on the south and Zhang Xian on the north (figs.3.40.1-3). The interior of the Savior from Suffering Hall contains a modern, gold-painted, clay statue of the Heavenly Worthy Savior from Suffering (Jiuku tianzun 救苦天尊), who is the most revered Daoist deity who presides over the nine hells or nine murky places.⁹⁹ He has two attendant figures, and another small statue of the Heavenly Worthy Savior from Suffering is located in front of this sculptural group (fig.3.41). These deities, who are believed to cure illness and mitigate suffering, naturally attract a great

Ancestors and the list provided by Li Desheng in 1509, which caused the confusion of characters as seen in the chart of Quanzhen Daoists found in *Transmission of the Mind-Lamp from Mount Jin'gai* and *Chart of Daoist Immortals in Baiyun guan*. The above listed names are from the mentioned sources with consultation of *Record of Immortals from the Sweet Water [River]* (DZ 973) if the biographies are available. See *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (DZ), *Daojia jinshi lue*, 597, *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579. See also *Zangwai daoshu* 31, 164-165, 386-400.

For the location of statues, see Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 69. See also Li Yangzheng, 84-85.

Yoshioka's listing is slightly different from that of Kubo. According to Yoshioka, in the eastern hall of the Ancestral Master, statues of Meng Zhiwen 孟志穩, Zhao Daojian, Pan Dechong, Qi Zhiqing 蔡志清, Yin Zhiping, Ju Zhiyuan, Song Daoan, Zhang Zhisu, and Song Defang were enshrined, and in the western hall of Ancestral Master, the statues of He Zhiqing, Yang Zhijing, Sun Zhijian, Yu Zhike, Zhang Zhichun 張志純, Zheng Zhixiu, Li Zhichang, Xia Zhicheng, Wang Zhiming were enshrined. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 299-300.

⁹⁷ *Jingsu sidian shengxiang ji*, 1990.

⁹⁸ The temple brochure published in 1994 shows an interior of Medicine King Hall with different statues. *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, no pagination.

⁹⁹ Nine hells or murky places are the place where souls of the dead have to travel through after their death.

number of lay worshipers, and their addition to the pantheon contributes to the popularity of the temple and to the temple revenues.

Hall of Three Star Lords (Sanxing dian)

The Hall of Three Star Lords is a minor hall located on east side of the Baiyun guan complex. According to the inscription on the eastern corner of its southern wall (fig.3.42), the hall was originally called the Hall of Patriarch Hua (Huazu dian) 華祖殿 and was dedicated to the famous doctor Hua Tuo 華佗 (?-201). The hall once enshrined late-Qing statues of Hua Tuo and six other famous doctors (figs.3.43.1-2), with the doctors Chunyu 淳于, He 和 and Huan 緩 on east side, and doctors Leigong 雷公, Qibo 岐伯 and Qin Bianque 秦扁鵲 on the west.¹⁰⁰ These statues were destroyed in the 1950s.

When the Chinese Daoist Association renovated Baiyun guan in 2000, the current statues of the Three Star-Lords, known as the God of Longevity, Happiness and Emolument, were enshrined in the hall, from east to west, respectively (figs.3.44.1-3). Each of modern statues occupies a separate niche. Li Yangzheng explains that, because Baiyun guan enshrined the Medicine King in Yaowang hall and the Chinese Daoist Association wished to avoid redundancy, the Hall of Patriarch Hua was renamed the Hall of the Three Star Lords, and therefore housed different

¹⁰⁰ *Zhenjun dian xianghuo jie*, 1844. Oyanagi, 153. Statues were produced in 1844, when the hall was erected.

Leigong and Qibo were doctors during the reign of the Yellow Emperor. He, Huan, and Qin Bianque were doctors from the Spring and Autumn period. Chunyu was a person from the Western Han. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 306-307.

deities.¹⁰¹ The Three Star-Lords are popular deities, and here again, the Chinese Daoist Association was trying to incorporate such deities into the pantheon at Baiyun guan.

Hall of the Compassionate Sailor (Cihang dian)

The Hall of the Compassionate Sailor is located on the east side of the Baiyun guan complex. Inscriptions on the corner walls on the hall mention the installation of the Fire God, Huozu 火祖 in 1826 and the celebration of its birthday rituals in the same year (figs.3.45.1-2).¹⁰² In this hall, the statue of Fire God was flanked by the Stove-god and the God of Wealth, to the east and west, respectively.¹⁰³ These statues were ruined due to the lack of maintenance in the 1950s like those in Hall of Patriarch Hua. The Chinese Daoist Association used the building as an office in the 1980s.¹⁰⁴ In 2000, the Association renamed it Hall of the Compassionate Sailor and placed a modern painted wooden sculpture of the Compassionate Sailor Bodhisattva, the Buddhist deity Guanyin (fig.3.46), in the center of the hall with statues of Shancai 善財 and Longnu 龍女.¹⁰⁵ Another small statue of Guanyin is located in front of the larger one. It is suggested by Li Yangzheng that the addition of the Hall of the Compassionate Sailor to the Baiyun guan pantheon was an effort to incorporate

¹⁰¹ Li Yangzheng, 86.

¹⁰² *Baiyun guan Huozu dian xiangdeng bushi leming zhi beiji* (1826) by Wanyan Linqing. Oyanagi, 147-148. *Yongqing shanhui bei*, 1826. Oyanagi, 190-191.

¹⁰³ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 306. The Stove-god reports people's good and bad actions to the Fire-god and the Wealth-god is in charge of people's destiny. During Ming and Qing China, the Fire-god, Stove-god, and Wealth-god were widely worshiped in the imperial capital. See Naquin, *Peking*, 37. Although there are no photographs of this hall, it is said that the Stove-god was depicted as a Qing general who had a third eye. Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 70.

¹⁰⁴ Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite," 47.

¹⁰⁵ Li Yangzheng, 86.

Buddhism into Daoism, which was a major principle of Quanzhen Daoism.¹⁰⁶

However, I think that it was another attempt by the Chinese Daoist Association to trade on great popularity of Guanyin and widespread belief in her powers to attract more believers to Baiyun guan.¹⁰⁷

Hall of the God of Thunder (Leizu dian)

The current Hall of God of Thunder is a two-story building on the far north of eastern ancillary line. In a mid-Qing historical text this hall is identified as the Dipper Mother Pavilion (Doumu ge) 斗母閣.¹⁰⁸ The second floor once contained a statue of the Dipper Mother seated on a lotus throne, surrounded by four attendant figures and a chariot pulled by seven pigs.¹⁰⁹ At that time, the ground floor, the Hall of Old Man of the South Pole (Nanji dian) 南極殿 or Long Life Hall (Changsheng dian) 長生殿, contained a dry lacquer statue of the Old Man of the South Pole (Nanji laoren) 南極

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 87.

The prominent view of origin of Quanzhen as a syncretic sect was created by Chen Minggui, the Qing dynasty scholar-turned Daoist of Longmen lineage of Quanzhen. He emphasized three teachings of Daoism, Buddhism and Confucianism merged in Quanzhen and his view was accepted by later scholars such as Kubo Noritada and Yao Tao-chung. Contrary to the syncretic view, some scholars such as Eskildsen and Goossaert see Quanzhen as solely a Daoist movement with emphasis on gaining immortality through the moral deeds, observing precepts, and inner alchemy. Kubo, *Chūgoku no shūkyō kaigaku*. Yao Tao-chung, “Ch’uan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” Eskildsen, “The Beliefs and Practices.” Goossaert, “La création de taoïsme moderne l’ordre Quanzhen.”

¹⁰⁷ As noted in note 43, a merit lamp tower is located in this hall, showing its popularity.

¹⁰⁸ *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575.

¹⁰⁹ The statue of Dipper Mother (Doumu) measured approximately 85 cm. Li Yangzheng after An Shilin, 91.

Doumu had three eyes, four heads and eight arms. The uppermost hands held a sun disc and moon disc on the left and right sides, respectively. The second pair of hands held an ingot and feather. The next pair is placed together in front of the chest. The last pair held an arrow and bow. The original statue of Doumu was very similar to the sculpture currently located in the Hall of Dipper Mother with Gods of Root Destiny.

老人 accompanied by two boy servants (fig.3.47).¹¹⁰ In front of the statues were tablets of Confucius and Laozi (Daode tianzun).¹¹¹ The statues and tablets were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution.

In 2000, the first floor was renovated and renamed Hall of the God of Thunder, literally, the Hall of the Thunder Patriarch, and furnished by the Chinese Daoist Association with statues relocated from the Three Teachings Temple (Sanjiao si) in Xuanwu district. A Ming-dynasty bronze statue of the Thunder-god, more specifically, the Celestial Worthy of the Nine Heavens Who Responds to the Primordial with a Voice of Thunder Transforming All (Jiutian yingyuan leisheng puhua tianzun) 九天應原雷聲普華天尊 (fig.3.48), is now placed at the north side of the hall and statues of secondary deities of Thunder are arranged on the east and west sides (figs.3.49.1-2).¹¹² Today, the second floor is inaccessible. By installing the Thunder deities and dedicating the hall to them, the Chinese Daoist Association broadened even further the pantheon at Baiyun guan.

Hall of the God of Literature (Wenchang dian)

The Hall of the God of Literature is a minor hall on the west side of Baiyun guan complex. It was originally called the Hall of the Five Ancestral Patriarchs (Wuzu dian) 五祖殿, and housed the statues of the five ancestral patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism, Donghua dijun 東華帝君 (Li Tieguaì 李鐵拐), Zhongli Quan, Lü

¹¹⁰ The statue of Old Man of the South Pole measured approximately 75 cm. Li Yangzheng, 90.

¹¹¹ Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 71.

¹¹² When Li Yangzheng wrote his gazetteer in 2001, four paintings of Celestial Generals of Thunder Department were hung at the hall. Li Yangzheng, 89. Currently, the paintings are not displayed.

Dongbin, Liu Haichan 劉海蟾 and Wang Chongyang.¹¹³ According to Yoshioka, in the early 1920s the name of the hall was changed to Donghua (Li Tiegua) Hall because the statues of Liu Haichan and Wang Chongyang were missing. When Yoshioka visited Baiyun guan in 1941, the hall only contained statues of Li Tiegua, Zhongli Quan, and Lü Dongbin. They were flanked by statues of the Eight Immortals.¹¹⁴ All of these statues are gone, and it is uncertain what happened to them.

In 1980, the Chinese Daoist Association added a new sculptural program. A group of twelve sculptures cast in 1602 during the Wanli reign of the Ming dynasty was relocated to the hall from the Three Teachings Temple. A statue of Wenchang 文昌, God of Literature, occupies the center of the north wall (fig.3.50). He is flanked by Confucius on the east and Zhu Xi 朱熹 on the west (figs.3.51.1-2). The hall was renamed Hall of the God of Literature after the primary figure in this group.¹¹⁵ Eight bronze statues stand along the side walls, including from the north to the south, two officials, two young attendant figures with knotted hair, and four attendant figures holding objects (figs.3.52.1-4).¹¹⁶ A Ming bronze statue of a general wearing armor (fig.3.53), also relocated from the Three Teachings Temple, stands outside the hall.

¹¹³ As mentioned in Chapter 1, Donghua dijun is identified as Wang Xuanpu in Daoist canonical text. However, in popular lore, he is also considered as Li Tiegua. See note 93 of Chapter 1.

¹¹⁴ Kubo, "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1," 71. See also Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 300-302.

¹¹⁵ See note 23.

¹¹⁶ The two officials might be Zhuyi 朱衣 and Kuixing 魁星, although Kuixing was not typically depicted as a demonic figure. Two young boys are clearly Tiannong 天聾 (Deaf Celestial) and Diya 地啞 (Mute Terrestrial), Wenchang's entourage. E.T.C. Werner, *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (New York: Julian Press, 1961), 109-110.

The Chinese Daoist Association incorporated relocated images into the Baiyun guan pantheon, which reflects the efforts of the Religious Affairs Bureau to protect and preserve sacred religious items.¹¹⁷ Thunder God and the God of Literature may not have much appeal to modern worshipers, but the government policy mandates putting the works on display and thus in worship, making the temple function as a repository.

Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian)

The Hall of the Eight Immortals is a minor hall in a separate cloister on the west side of Baiyun guan complex. When it was erected in the late Qing, this hall contained statues of the eight disciples of Lü Dongbin who were referred to as the Eight Immortals 八仙. As already mentioned, Lü Dongbin, one of the well-known Eight Immortals, is also a member of five ancestral patriarchs of Quanzhen sect. From south to north, the hall featured Lü's disciples named Huang 黃, Cheng 程, He 何 and Liu 柳 on the east wall and Ge 葛, Zhang 張, Wu 吳, and Luo 羅 on the west wall (fig.3.54).¹¹⁸ It is not known at what point these statues were destroyed or removed from the hall.

In 1980, the Chinese Daoist Association installed new statues of the popular group of Eight Immortals. This group, which was reinstalled in 2001, was different

¹¹⁷ For instance, the White Pagoda Buddhist Monastery (Baita si) 白塔寺 in Beijing, also known as Resourceful Response Monastery (Miaoying si) 妙應寺, currently displays Buddhist statues relocated from the Protect the Nation (Huguo) Buddhist Monastery.

¹¹⁸ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 303.

from the previous installed eight immortal followers of Lü Dongbin.¹¹⁹ Now on the west side of the hall, from south to north, we find He Xian'gu, Lü Dongbin, Lan Caihe and Li Tieguai; on the east are Zhongli Quan, Zhang Guolao, Han Xiangzi and Cao Guojiu. They are set against a painted seascape to suggest that they are crossing the sea (figs.3.55.1-2). Perhaps the Chinese Daoist Association installed the famous group of Eight Immortals in this hall because the previous eight were less known. This choice allowed the Association to keep the name of the hall and its association with the Hall of Ancestral Patriarch Lü in the same cloister, while making its gods more accessible to everyday lay worshipers.

Hall of the Lords of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian)

The Hall of the Lords of Root Destiny is the last image hall in the west side of Baiyun guan complex. It was originally called the Hall of the Goddess of the Earth (Houtu dian) 后土殿 and enshrined a statue of this goddess flanked by her attendants Liao 廖 and Jiang 姜. It also contained sixty images of the Lords of Root Destiny (*benming* 本命/*yuanchen*), who are gods of root destiny of the sixty-year cycle.¹²⁰ According to tradition, a statue of Dingmao year star lord (Dingmao ruisheng) produced during the reign of the Jin emperor Zhangzong (1188-1208) was preserved

¹¹⁹ Li Yangzheng, 93. It is not known why the group of sculptures was reinstalled in 2001.

¹²⁰ Gods of sixty *yuanchen* are closely related to the Chinese sixty-year cycle created by combining the ten heavenly stems and the twelve earthly branches. This root destiny alludes to the belief that the life of each person was governed by one of the stars, depending on when they were born in the traditional sixty-year cycle.

in Hall of the Goddess of Earth throughout the Qing period, but it was destroyed along with the other statues during the Cultural Revolution.¹²¹

In 1984, statues of the goddess of Dipper Mother and of the Sixty Lords of Root Destinies were installed in the hall by the Chinese Daoist Association.¹²² The name of the hall was also changed to Hall of the Lords of Root Destiny due to the enshrinement of the sixty lords. The current statues of the Dipper Mother and sixty lords were re-installed in 2000 (figs.3.56.1-2).¹²³ The Dipper Mother may have been substituted for the Goddess of the Earth because the latter was already enshrined in the Four Rulers Hall. More importantly, the Dipper Mother, who is intimately connected with stellar phenomena, was once worshiped at Baiyun guan, thus this hall restores her position in the temple pantheon.¹²⁴

3. Conclusion

It is evident from the history outlined above that political and social events of twentieth-century Chinese history greatly affected the Baiyun guan pantheon. The impact is evident, for instance, in the demise of the Hall dedicated to Guandi (Guandi dian) 關帝殿 located on the far east side of the temple complex (fig.3.1) due to the lack of maintenance.¹²⁵ In addition, the religious identities of all of the flanking halls

¹²¹ Li Yangzheng, 97.

¹²² Wang Yi'e, 166.

¹²³ Li Yangzheng, 172. It is not clear why the statues were reinstalled. Bronze statues of Tianpeng and Tianyou, currently flanking Zhenwu in Zhenwu Hall, used to be enshrined in Yuanchen Hall as seen in fig. 3.56.2. These statues were moved to a new location between 2007 and 2008.

¹²⁴ For more information of the Dipper Mother, see Little, 283.

¹²⁵ This hall was never rebuilt despite the great popularity of Guandi. It is partly because the statue of Guandi was included as one of Wealth Gods in Wealth God Hall in 1980.

on the central axis have changed, often through new names and iconography, and now contain popular deities who give blessings and good fortune, cure illness, or mitigate suffering. Their presence is the result of choices made by the Chinese Daoist Association in response to popular religious trends. Certainly, such deities would attract more worshipers than would the little-known Quanzhen patriarchs. The appearance of halls dedicated to Three Star-Lords, Goddess of Compassionate Sailor, and Eight Immortals can be understood in a similar context due to the great popularity of their central deities and the people's belief in their efficacy in answering prayers. However, some relocated images led to the renaming of God of Thunder and God of Literature halls, reflecting the Association's subordination to the government's religious policy. The Chinese Daoist Association was and is the major force in orchestrating and adjusting the current pantheon enshrined in Baiyun guan.

In sum, the presently enshrined images in the halls of Baiyun guan vary widely, including early Quanzhen Patriarchs, popular gods, and immortals, as well as the highest deities of religious Daoism, the Three Purities. The current Baiyun guan pantheon is clearly the product of the vigorous efforts of the temple and the Chinese Daoist Association to restore and reconstruct its collection.

Comparison of documentation of the temple written before 1950 with my recent observations at the temple shows that the Chinese Daoist Association has preserved the identity of certain divinities in order to maintain the late Qing standard hierarchy of Daoist deities, and worked to preserve the identity of Baiyun guan as a Quanzhen temple by emphasizing its Quanzhen patriarchs and lineage. However, they also expanded the temple's pantheon by employing relocated images either to

existing halls or to newly renamed halls, and by including modern images of gods and immortals. All of this activity indicates that Baiyun guan is still an important site for understanding the shifting landscape of Daoist practice.

CHAPTER 4
DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE OF THE
HALL OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE ELDERS (LAOLÜ TANG)

Since its erection in 1228, the present Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang), which was initially part of Changchun gong and subsequently the center of Baiyun guan, has played a significant role in defining, maintaining, and reinforcing the religious identity of the temple. The following analysis of the content and context of the hall is divided into three sections, roughly following a chronological progression.¹ The first section examines the erection and function of the hall, Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, during Jin-Yuan era in conjunction with patriarch worship in Quanzhen Daoism and specifically, Qiu Changchun. Both its iconography and the crucial birthday-ritual celebrated within its precincts will be discussed as the means for implementing worship of Qiu, Quanzhen patriarch. The second section deals primarily with the patronage of the hall by Daoist clerics of different sectarian identities during the Ming period as it affected the content of the hall and its nomenclature (Changchun Hall). The last section focuses on the function of the hall (Hall of the Seven Perfected) during the Qing period as a liturgical center of Quanzhen ritual performance. This function, strengthening the temple's religious

¹ I use the present name of the hall, Hall of the Discipline of the Elders, in this chapter unless the original title should be indicated. The title "Hall of the Discipline of the Elders" (Laolü tang) seems to appear late Qing or early Republican era. Qing dynasty historical texts refer to this hall as "Seven Perfected Hall" (Qizhen dian) based on its enshrinement. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575.

identity among Quanzhen Daoists, still continues to present day. This chapter draws on a variety of textual sources and formal analysis of the statues to contextualize the hall, reconstruct its history, and relate the function of the images to the purpose of the hall.

1. Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (Chushun tang)

The Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness was constructed as a burial site of Quanzhen patriarch Qiu Changchun, where rituals were performed in his honor. Two primary textual sources concern the death and burial of Qiu: the *Record of the Perfected Changchun's Journey to the West* (*Changchun zhenren xiyou ji*) 長春真人西遊記 and the *Record of Assembly and Burial at the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness in Baiyun guan, Yanjing* (*Yanjing Baiyun guan Chushun tang huizang ji*) 燕京白雲觀處順堂會葬記, written in 1228 and 1230, respectively.² Both sources state that Qiu passed away on the ninth day of the seventh month in 1227 and that his funerary rite was performed on the first anniversary of his death in 1228. Meanwhile, in the third month of 1228, Yin Zhiping divined a proper space for the memorial shrine at Baiyun guan on the east side of Changchun gong.³ The memorial shrine, called the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, was completed in the fifth month of the same year.⁴ Before the burial on the ninth day of the seventh month, the coffin was

² *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (1228) by Li Zhichang (DZ 1429). This text was translated by Arthur Waley. For information regarding the death and burial of Qiu, see Waley, 149-155. *Yanjing Baiyun guan Chushun tang huizang ji* (ca.1230), Chen Shike. *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 458-459.

³ *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 458-459. Yin Zhiping ordered the erection of the stele in 1230.

⁴ As noted earlier, *chushun*, quoted from *Zhuangzi*, refers to the anecdote related to the death of Laozi. See note 33 of Chapter 1.

left open for three days and Master Qiu, who supposedly looked as if he were still alive, was viewed by a vast number of people from all walks of life.⁵ The three-day and three-night Daoist ritual (*daochang*), which was preceded by ten days of fasting, took place in Changchun gong. On the ninth day at the hour of the Rat (midnight), the pure rite of Numinous Treasure (*Lingbao qingjiao*) 靈寶清醮 was performed, summoning the Three Hundred and Sixty deities to the ritual arena. When this was over, the “discarded husk” of Qiu Changchun was laid to rest in the newly-built Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness.⁶ After the burial, the forty-nine days of mourning were observed by disciples.⁷

Other contemporary sources testify to the installation of the statue of Qiu Changchun and the decoration of the hall with murals. A stele inscription *Inner Biography of the Fifth Quanzhen Patriarch, the Perfected Changchun Who Cultivates the Dao and Directs Teaching* (*Quanzhen di wudai zongshi Changchun yandao zhujiao zhenren neizhuan*) 全真第五代宗師長春演道主教真人內傳 also summarizes the event and mentions installation of an image:

Qinghe (Yin Zhiping) inherited the teaching. At Baiyun guan, he built the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, [and] for the grand burial on the ninth day of the seventh month of the year of *wuzi* [1228], installed an image so as to offer incense [to it].

⁵ Both sources mention this miraculous phenomenon. As Eskildsen points out, the similar miraculous phenomenon, resistance of the corpse to decay, also occurred among the corpses of Wang Zhe and Ma Yu. Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2004), 141-144. For the original text recording this miraculous event, see *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173).

⁶ Most historical sources, including the above-mentioned ones, use the character ‘tui (蛻)’ or discarded husk/ cicada’s shell/ exuviae to refer to the corpse of Qiu. According to Robert Sharf, the reference to the ‘discarded husk’ or ‘cicada’s shell’ alludes to the Daoist belief that the accomplished immortal sheds his body just as the cicada sheds his exuviae, leaving behind a mere husk as his spirit soars to the realm of the immortal. Robert H. Sharf, “The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch’an Masters in Medieval China,” *History of Religions* 32, no. 1 (August, 1992): 7-8.

⁷ Waley, 149-155.

清和嗣教，于白雲觀構處順堂，以戊子七月九日大葬，設像以奉香火。⁸

The illustrated biography of Qiu Changchun, *Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism* (*Xuanfeng qinghui tu* 玄風慶會圖), by Shi Zhijing 石志經 (1202-1275) relates that the hall was decorated with murals depicting the life of Qiu between 1219 and 1227, beginning with the summons by Genghis Khan and ending with Qiu's death at the Hall of Precious Mystery (Baoxuan tang) 寶玄堂.⁹ According to Shi, the murals were based on the *Record of the Perfected Changchun's Journey to the West*.¹⁰

⁸ *Quanzhen di wudai zongshi Changchun yandao zhujiao zhenren neizhuan* 全真五代宗師長春演道主教真人內傳 [Inner Biography of the Fifth Quanzhen Patriarch, the Perfected Changchun Who Cultivates the Dao and Directs Teaching], Yuan Zhian 袁志安. *Daojia jinshi lue*, 637. It is not known when this inscription was written, but the religious title (Changchun yandao zhujiao zhenren) granted by Emperor Shizu in 1269 indicates the composition of the text after 1269. Furthermore, this inscription was edited by Li Daoqian (1219-1296), who compiled *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973).

⁹ Shi Zhijing 石志經, "Xuanfeng qinghui tu 玄風慶會圖 [Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism]," in *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺 [Collection of Omitted Documents of the Three Grottoes], ed. Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian jicheng bianzuan weiyuanhui bianzuan (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005), 16: 418. According to the preface by Shi, during the Zhiyuan 至元 era (1264-1295), Zhang Zhijing, the current abbot of Changchun gong, ordered that the memorial shrine dedicated to Qiu should be enlarged. Shi Zhijing was in charge of the redecoration of the newly enlarged Chushun Hall, using scenes that included the early life of Qiu. The images served as a compilation of the illustrated biography of Qiu in 1274. *Ibid.*, 16: 417-419. This text originally had sixty-four written accounts and illustrations in four *juan*; however, only sixteen accounts and illustrations from the first *juan* survive today. The surviving version is a 1305 reprint by Hanfen lou 涵芬樓 in Shanghai. For an article on this text related to Quanzhen identity, see Paul R. Katz, "Writing History, Creating Identity," 161-178.

The meeting between Genghis and Qiu is also recorded in *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄 [Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism]. *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* was written by Yelu Chucai 耶律楚材 (1189-1243) (DZ 176). For biographical information on Yelu Chucai, see Waley, 27-29.

¹⁰ It seems that the murals must have alluded to Laozi's journey to the west or the conversion of the barbarians, because Yin Zhiping was arrested in 1230 due to the thematic impropriety of the murals in the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness. According to *Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄 [Account of Disputation of [Daoist] Falsehood] by Xiang Mai 祥邁 (fl. 1286-1291), the murals in Changchun gong depicted the eighty-one incarnations of Laozi (*Laojun bashiyi hua tu* 老君八十一化圖) which led to the condemnation of Buddhism, and this was the case for Yin Zhiping's arrest. Waley, 17. The contemporary epigraphic sources, however, mention the arrest of Yin due to the murals in the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness. This incident suggests that the murals in the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness could have implied the journey of Laozi through the same theme of travel in Qiu

The sculpted image of Qiu Changchun is clearly tied to offerings made in his memorial shrine at Baiyun guan during the thirteenth century. Regular offerings made on the death anniversary of Qiu, which was testified by Shi Zhijing as follows:

Burial of patriarch's remaining discarded-husk and performance of the annual offerings of incense is to repay the merit of opening the teaching and virtue of passed-down instruction.

葬宗師之遺蛻，行歲時香火之祀，以報開教之功，垂訓之德也。¹¹

In addition to the regular offerings carried out on death anniversaries, there were occasional visitors/pilgrims, i.e., disciples of Qiu from different regions. Yu Zhidao 于志道 (1166-1250) and Li Zhiyuan 李志遠 (1169-1254) visited Changchun gong, and Yu offered sacrifices in the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness.¹² Thus, the description of the funeral rite and the regular and irregular offerings in the memorial shrine, found in the above mentioned sources, clearly demonstrates the commemorative function of the hall for honoring his memory and teachings.

The commemorative function of Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness is closely associated with worship of the sect's patriarchs, a practice common among early Quanzhen Daoists. Due to the significant pedagogical role of Quanzhen patriarchs in

Changchun's journey to the west. *Chongxiu Zhenchang gong bei* 重修真長宮碑 [Stele of Foundation of Zhenchang Temple], Meng Panlin 孟攀麟 in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 574. The same information is also found in *Xuanmen zhangjiao dazongshi Zhenchang zhenren daoheng bei*, Wang E in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973) See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 579.

¹¹ *Sandong shiyi* 16: 417.

¹² For Yu's visit to Changchun gong in the autumn of 1235, see *Zhongnan shan Chongyang wanshou gong Dongzhen Yu zhenren daoheng bei* 終南山重陽萬壽宮洞真于真人道行碑 [Stele of Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Dongzhen, Yu [Zhidao] at the Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Chongyang in Mount Zhongnan], Yang Huan 楊煥 in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 509.

For Li Zhiyuan's visit to Changchun gong in the winter of 1236, see *Zhongnan shan Yuanming zhenren Li lianshi daoheng bei* 終南山圓明真人李練師道行碑 [Stele of Meritorious Acts of Master Li [Zhiyuan], the Perfected Yuanming at Mount Zhongnan Who Perfects [Himself]], Li Daoqian in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 607.

motivations, practitioners emulate the lifestyles of former masters. The ultimate authority in early Quanzhen Daoism was not based on a fundamental text, but on the action and speech of the patriarchs and masters. Numerous Quanzhen texts include exemplary stories of the sect's patriarchs to provide and help practitioners to attain immortality, as found in recorded sayings (*yulu*) 語錄 and hagiographies.¹³

The sect's patriarchs were included in the Quanzhen pantheon from the early stages of this religious movement as is evident in *Ode on the Successive Quanzhen Patriarchs* (*Quanzhen liezu fu*) 全真列祖賦 by Song Defang (1183-1247). In the *Ode*, the Quanzhen hierarchy starts with the Three Purities and Four Emperors, who are followed by the Five Ancestral Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected. The Three Purities (Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning, Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure, and Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power) have occupied the highest position in the Daoist pantheon since the Tang dynasty, followed by the Four Emperors and Quanzhen patriarchs.¹⁴ According to Song, the Three Purities are the masters of Quanzhen (全真之主) and the Four Emperors are the teachers of Quanzhen (全真之師).¹⁵ Quanzhen temples erected during the Jin-Yuan era were equipped with a hall dedicated to the sect's patriarchs and a Hall of Three Purities (Sanqing dian) in their central positions, reflecting the significance of patriarchs as among the highest deities in Daoist religion.¹⁶

¹³ For more detailed information, see Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices".

¹⁴ For identification of the Four Emperors, Five Ancestral Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected, see Chapter 3.

¹⁵ *Daojia jinshi lue*, 593.

¹⁶ The list of temples which included Qizhen tang 七真堂 or Qizhen dian 七真殿 along with Three Purities Hall is as follows:

Shenqing guan ji 神清觀記 [Record of Temple of Divine Purity (Shandong)] by Wang Cui in 1240. See *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 480.

Dexingfu Qiuyang guan bei 德興府秋陽觀碑 [Stele of Autumn Light Temple in Dexing District (Hebei)] written by Zhang Ben in 1240. See *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 473-474.

Shundefu Tongzhen guan bei 順德府通真觀碑 [Stele of Temple of Pervading Trueness in Shunde District (Hebei)] by Song Zizhen 宋子貞 (active 1230-1266) in 1260. See *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 504.

Jiyuan shifang Longxiang wanhou gong ji 濟源十方龍祥萬壽宮記 [Record of Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Auspicious Dragon in Ten Directions of Jiyuan (Henan)] by Li Zhiquan 李志全 (1191-1261) in 1250. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 507-508.

Zengxiu Huaqing gong ji 增修華清宮記 [Record of Expansion of Flower Purity Temple] by Shang Ting 商挺 (1209-1288) in 1261. See *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 537.

Qingxuzi Liu zunshi muzhi ming 清虛子劉尊師墓誌銘 [A Memorial Inscription Dedicated to Master Qingxu, Respectful Teacher Liu (Zhiyuan)] by Li Zhiquan in 1261. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 537-538.

Da Yuan chongxiu gu Louguan Zhongsheng gong ji 大元重修古樓觀宗聖宮記 [Record of Reconstruction of Temple of Ancestral Saints at the Ancient Louguan during the Great Yuan Dynasty] by Li Ding 李鼎 in 1263. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 549-552.

Jinzhou Wuyue guan bei 晉州五嶽觀碑 [Stele of Temple of Five Peaks at Jinzhou (Shanxi)] by Ren Yi 任毅 in 1263. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 557-559.

Huixian guan ji 會仙觀記 [Record of Temple of Gathering Immortals (Shandong)] by Wang Tianting 王天挺 in 1268. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 591.

Luancheng xian Taiji guan ji 樂城縣太極觀記 [Record of Supreme Ultimate Temple in Luancheng County (Hebei)] by Li Jujing 李居敬 in 1271. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 599-600.

Yuanming langzhao zhenren gonghang bei 園明朗照真人功行碑 [Stele of Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Yuanming langzhao (Kou Zhijing)] in 1280. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 625-626.

Caozhou youxin chongxiu Taiqing guan bei 曹州有莘重修太清觀碑 [Stele of Renovation of Temple of Great Purity by Youxin in Caozhou (Shandong)] by He Yisun 何意孫 in 1287. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 657-658.

Chongjian Haotian gong bei 重建昊天宮碑 [Stele of Reconstruction of Temple of Vast Heaven (Shanxi)] by Yang Zhiyun 楊志運 in 1290. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 664-665.

Weizhou chuangjian Ziji gong beiming 衛州創建紫極宮碑銘 [Stele Inscription of Temple of Purple Extreme in Weizhou (Henan)] by Wang Yun 王惲 in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 696-696.

Chongxiu Tianqing yanshou gong bei 重修天慶延壽宮碑 [Stele of Construction of Heavenly Felicity, Prolonging Longevity Temple (Henan)] by Song Bo 宋渤 in 1299. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 698-699.

Dongshen gong bei 洞神宮碑 [Stele of Dongshen Temple (Shanxi)] by Hao Yi 郝毅 in 1301. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 707-708.

Quanzhen guan ji 全真觀記 [Record of Quanzhen Temple] in 1309. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 729.

Tongxian wanhou gong bei 通仙萬壽宮碑 [Stele of Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Pervading Immortals (Shaanxi)] by Yang Tianchu 楊天初 in 1319. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 751-752.

Huoshan Yunfeng wanhou gong zhi bei 霍山雲峰萬壽宮之碑 [Stele of Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Cloud Peak at Mount Huo (Shandong)] in 1321. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 758-759.

Chongjian Xiuzhen guan ji 重建修真觀記 [Record of Construction of Temple of Cultivating Trueness] by Ouyang Zhizhen 歐陽志真 in 1322. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 759-761.

Chongxiu Cuiyun guan ji 重修翠筠觀記 [Record of Restoration of Green Bamboo Temple (Henan)] by Wang Shouyi 王守愚 in 1357. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 812-813.

A large number of Jin-Yuan temples had a hall dedicated to the Seven Perfected (*qizhen*) 七真; however, some halls enshrined the Nine Perfected, as seen in Zhenchang Temple (Zhenchang guan) 真常觀, or the Five Perfected as in the Divine Mountain Grotto (Shenshan dong) 神山洞 of Laizhou 萊州, Shandong.¹⁷ Halls dedicated to single patriarch include the memorial shrine of Ma Yu in the Temple of the Roaming Immortal (Youxian gong) 游仙宮 and that of Liu Chuxuan in the Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Changsheng (Changsheng wanshou gong) 長生萬壽宮.¹⁸ The Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, built to honor Qiu Changchun, is an outstanding example of this category.

As the strong documentary evidence about the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness demonstrates, the function of buildings dedicated to Quanzhen patriarchs was to provide a ritual space for disciples to make offerings.¹⁹ A memorial

¹⁷ The Nine Perfected might indicate the Seven Perfected with Yin Zhiping and Li Zhichang, since the temple was dedicated to Li Zhichang. *Chuangjian Zhenchang guan ji* 創建真常觀記 [Record of the Foundation of Zhenchang Temple], Wang Pan 王磐 (1202-1293) written in 1275. *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 615-616.

The Five Perfected might be Wang Zhe and his four primary disciples (Ma, Tan, Liu, Qiu). *Shenshan dong geifu bei* 神山洞給付碑 [Stele of [Imperial] Sponsorship of Shenshan Grottos (Shandong)] in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 484.

¹⁸ *Danyang zhenren guizang ji* 丹陽真人歸葬記 [Record of Return for Burial of the Perfected Danyang] in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 740-741. It is not know who composed the inscription, but this stele was erected by Chang Zhiqing 常志清 (fl. 1290-1313) in 1313.

In case of Liu Chuxuan, there was a hall dedicated to him and a separate hall to enshrine statues of the remaining six Quanzhen patriarchs. *Shenshan □□dongtian Changsheng wanshou gong bei* 神山 □□洞天長生萬壽宮碑 [Stele of Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Changsheng in Shenshan □□ Grotto-Heaven (Shandong)] written in 1290. See *Daojia jinshi lue*, 668-669. The symbol (□) indicates the illegible character.

¹⁹ Although the physical setting is not clearly described, Wang Chongyang also mentions veneration of previous patriarchs in his writing *Chongyang Quanzhen ji* 重陽全真集 [Collection of Quanzhen by Chongyang] (DZ 1153). According to it,

stele erected in the Temple of Pervading Trueness (Tongzhen guan) 通真觀, in present Xingzhou 邢州 county of Hebei also mentions that Seven Perfected Hall was constructed in the mid-thirteenth century as a place for making offerings to the patriarchs.²⁰

In addition to patriarch worship by the Quanzhen clergy, there is evidence that Quanzhen patriarchs received public deference for their moral qualities. According to the *Collected Works of Panxi (Panxi ji)* 磻溪集, in 1188 the Emperor Shizong of the Jin dynasty ordered clay statues of Lü Chunyang, Wang Chongyang, and Ma Danyang to be enshrined in a hut when Qiu Changchun lived there. Officials and commoners (官凡) worshiped statues.²¹

Portrayal of Quanzhen Daoists and Patriarch Worship

At Baiyun guan, the thirteenth-century statue of Qiu Changchun (figs.4.1.1-3) made for the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, now called the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders, is given a place of honor at the center of the pedestal on the north side of the hall. Qiu, who is regally seated with his legs apart on a throne and flanked by

Zhengyang of the Han is the Brilliant Patriarch, Chunyang of the Tang is the Master-Father, Haichan of the land of Yan is the Uncle-Master, [and] Chongyang of Zhongnan is a disciple to meet [them]. To be a disciple, hereby attend and venerate three teachers to gather sacred secrets.

漢正陽兮為的祖，唐純陽兮做師父，燕國海蟾兮是叔主，終南重陽兮弟子聚。為弟子，便歸依，侍奉三師合聖機。

I revised the translation made by Eskildsen. See Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices," 393.

²⁰ *Shunde fu Tongzhen guan bei* in *Ganshui xianyuan lu* (DZ 973). See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 504.

²¹ The statues were installed after Qiu performed an offering (*jiao*) ritual celebrating the birthday of the emperor (*wanchun jie*) 萬春節. Qiu Chuji, *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 [Collection of Panxi] (DZ 1159). The same information is found in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 452, 634. See also Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices," 394-395. For more information on *Panxi ji*, see Schipper and Verellen, 1160-1161. *Sandong shiyi* 16: 409.

two attendant figures, has an oval-shaped face, almond-shaped eyes, a small mouth, and large ears with prominent earlobes. He is dressed in full ceremonial costume, comprised of a gown tied with sash, a cloak with open front and long sleeves and a golden lotus cap. His robe is red with deep blue-green and gold decoration. The colors have lost their original vividness due to age; however, the solid colors of red and deep blue-green as well as the use of gold on his robe and his cap suggest the lavishness of the original statue. He holds a tablet with both hands, his left hand covering the right one. His two attendant figures (fig.4.1.3) are also clad in Daoist robes and caps.

The Qiu statue in the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders, the earliest surviving image of Qiu, conforms to his standard iconography of a young Daoist. The depiction of Qiu Changchun as a young Daoist, despite the fact that he was eighty years old when he passed away, reflects the representative iconography associated with the widespread worship of Quanzhen patriarchs. Halls dedicated to Quanzhen patriarchs during the Jin-Yuan era exhibit this established iconography. Surviving images of Qiu Changchun produced in Quanzhen circles during the Yuan dynasty also depict him as a young Daoist.²²

For instance, the portrait image of Qiu Changchun in the Yuan woodblock printed text contained in the Daoist Canon, *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*) 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 (fig.4.2), shows Qiu as

²² It is said that images of Qiu Changchun for veneration were produced while he was alive. *Changchun zhenren benhang bei* in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 458.

a young Daoist with an oval-shaped plump face, almond-shaped slightly slanting eyes, and a small mouth.²³ Not only in portraits but also in narratives Qiu Changchun is depicted as a young Daoist. This is the case in the biography of Qiu Changchun called the *Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism* and the murals in the Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong). The *Illustrated Record* (fig.4.3) depicts young Qiu building the Temple of the Great Void (Taixu guan) 太虛觀 in 1191 in his hometown, Bindu 濱都 village in Qixia county, Shandong province.²⁴ The late Yuan murals at the Palace of Eternal Joy (figs.4.4.1-3) confirm the appearance of Qiu as a young Daoist with a full oval-shaped face.²⁵ All these images attest to the established iconography of Qiu that continued to the early Ming as can be seen in the Ming edition of a guidebook of inner alchemy techniques called *Collected Works of Group of Immortals* (*Qunxian ji*) 群仙集 (figs.4.5.1-4).²⁶ In this album, the depiction of Qiu is similar to portrait images surviving from the Yuan.

²³ *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 [Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus [School]] (DZ 174) was compiled by a Quanzhen Daoist Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄. Liu Zhixuan served the Quanzhen master Sun Deyu (1243-1321) at Changchun gong while he was compiling this text. For this text, he copied documents in Changchun gong. For more information, see Schipper and Verellen, 1136-1137.

²⁴ *Sandong shiyi* 16: 412.

²⁵ Yongle gong is a mid-thirteenth-century temple built by a group of Quanzhen Daoists. A hall dedicated to Wang Chongyang, the founder of Quanzhen Daoism, contains murals depicting Wang's instruction to his disciples, and one of the disciples in the murals was Qiu Changchun. According to Katz, the murals appear to have been completed around 1368. Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, 45.

The same temple complex once had a hall dedicated to Qiu Changchun built during the late Yuan dynasty, but it was destroyed during the Second World War. Since murals of two other halls in Yongle gong dedicated to Lü Dongbin and Wang Chongyang show the life stories of two immortals, Qiuzu hall may have had murals showing the life of Qiu. For information regarding Qiuzu hall at Yongle gong, see Anning Jing, "Yongle Palace: The Transmission of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1994), 11.

²⁶ *Qunxian ji* 群仙集 [Collected Works of Group of Immortals], also known as *Quanzhen qunxian ji* 全真群仙集 [Collected Works of Group of Immortals of Quanzhen Daoism], was originally edited by Li Daochun 李道純 (fl. 1288-1292) and his disciples, including Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤 (fl. 1288-1306). Li

Quanzhen patriarchs were presented as bureaucratic officials or as eccentrics in Quanzhen temples erected during the Jin-Yuan era. The statue of Qiu in the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders presents him as an idealized official. Since Quanzhen patriarchs were included in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the Quanzhen pantheon, statues of the sect's patriarchs enshrined in temples were presented as officials, sometimes carrying bureaucratic emblems. Daoist texts document the full ceremonial robe and ritual implement proper to the Daoist priest of high standing.²⁷ There were rules for the proper apparel, including the colors of the robes, and for types of headdress, and Qiu's scarlet-colored robe, gold headdress and two attendant figures grasping audience tablets show a continuing tradition in this regard.²⁸ The surviving images of Quanzhen patriarchs in a cave dedicated to the Successive Patriarchs of Mysterious Gate/Daoism (Xuanmen liezu dong) 玄門列祖洞, also known as the Shrine of the Seven Perfected (Qizhen kan) 七真龕, at Dragon Mountain (Longshan)

Daochun was one of major authors of Daoist texts during the Yuan dynasty. His principal affiliation was with the Southern School, but he later became acquainted with Quanzhen masters and his disciples were considered Quanzhen. For more information, see Pregadio, 634-635.

Zhu Jianshen 朱見深, Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 1464-1487), became deeply interested in this text and commissioned the current version. He commissioned to paint the images of Qiu Changchun accompanying the text and wrote the preface and the postscript of the illustrated guidebook in 1483. This text is currently located in the National Library of China, formerly known as Beijing Library. For more information, see Wang Yucheng, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu yanjiu*, 38-52.

²⁷ Daoist texts from the early period already stipulated the specific rules for priests' vestments and paraphernalia associated with Daoist ritual. For instance, *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 [Supreme Secret Essentials] emphasizes the significance of proper vestments and accessory stating, "When attending a ritual, a Daoist must wear his headdress, belt and ceremonial vestments, and hold the ritual tablet." It is quoted in Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2003), 147.

²⁸ For different vestments based on ranks, see *Sandong fafu kejie wen* 三洞法服科戒文 [Rules and Precepts Regarding Ritual Vestments of the Three Caverns] (DZ 788). For rules on attendant figures, see *Dongxuan lingbao sanding fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 [Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao of the Three Caverns in the Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure] (DZ 1125). *Rules and Precepts* provide proper treatment of ritual vestments and *Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts* is monastic manual and rule books of the Tang dynasty. For more information, see Kohn, *Monastic Life*, 147-159, 166.

龍山 in Shanxi, wear the full ceremonial robe and cap, although the ritual tablet is missing (fig.4.6).²⁹

Another model of eccentrics also existed. Historical sources and surviving images demonstrate that patriarchs of sect were sometimes presented as eccentrics rather than bureaucratic officials in Quanzhen temples. Emphasis on the eccentricity of patriarchs was not new or peculiar to Quanzhen, and its visual representation may have motivated practitioners and followers who sought immortality by various means. We see this type of representation in images of the patriarch Ma Yu. Ma Yu is distinguished by his iconographic trait of three top-knots in his hair (頂分三髻).³⁰ The statue of Ma Yu with three top-knots (三髻) was established in his memorial shrine when it was erected in 1184 at the Temple of Roaming Immortal (Youxian gong) 游仙宮 in Laiyang 萊陽, Shandong, but the image does not survive.³¹ A statue of Ma with three top-knots appears in the illustrated biography of Qiu (fig.4.7), which shows the hall dedicated to three teachers (Lü Dongbin, Wang Zhe, and Ma Yu). Here, Ma is depicted with three top-knots and a grass cape of the type worn by immortals, exactly as he appears in other pictures, such as the *Portraits and*

²⁹ This cave was completed in 1236.

³⁰ Ma arrayed his hair in three top-knots in memory of his master after Wang Zhe's death. The three top-knots were a simple rebus. The Chinese character meaning top-knot is *ji* 髻, which has the same pronunciation as the character 吉 meaning propitious. The repetition of the latter three times (symbolizing three top-knots) is equivalent to the name of Wang (囍). Many sources mention his iconographic trait such as the above-mentioned stele inscription, *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173), and *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (DZ 174).

³¹ *Daojia jinshi lue*, 740-741.

Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters (fig.4.8), the *Collected Works of Group of Immortals* (figs.4.9.1-3), and the Palace of Eternal Joy (fig.4.4.2).³²

Statues of Lü Dongbin in religious settings also show him as a non-bureaucratic scholarly figure with the appearance of an immortal. The murals in Chunyang Hall of the Palace of the Eternal Joy, a narrative of his hagiography, include a scene depicting a shrine hall dedicated to Lü (fig.4.10).³³ This image of Lü corresponds to the one in the *Portraits and Biographies* (fig.4.11), and indicates popularity of this form of Lü's iconography and its faithful representation in the temple setting during the time.

Qiu's youthful image was a typical part of the official type during the Jin-Yuan era. During the Ming, Qiu became known as an eccentric, castrated immortal and his new iconography developed based on new narratives. This appearance of new iconography showing Qiu as a castrated immortal will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A Birthday Celebration as a Case Study of Quanzhen Patriarch Worship

Quanzhen Daoists were traditionalists in a liturgical sense, as they used established ritual practices like the Lingbao tradition.³⁴ Different sources suggest the existence of a Quanzhen liturgical calendar from the beginning of this religious

³² While the murals in Yongle gong depict Wang's instruction of his disciples, and in it Ma is portrayed with three top-knots, Ma arrayed his hair after the death of Wang (fig.4.4.2).

³³ According to the cartouche "Healing the Eye Disease of Old Woman Gou (Jiu Goupo yanzhi) 救苟婆眼疾," a filial son builds a shrine to venerate the patriarch (建道院, 奉祖師) who healed his mother's chronic disease.

³⁴ For Quanzhen Daoists' performance of offering (*jiao*) and retreat (*zhai*) rituals during the Jin and Yuan dynasties, see the second and third sections of Chapter 1. Also Lingbao tradition death ritual was performed on the first death anniversary of Qiu. For more information on Quanzhen Daoists as traditionalists in a liturgical sense, see Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters*, 171-193. See also Schipper and Verellen, 1167-1168.

movement, although it is not certain if the calendar was codified during the Jin-Yuan era. Quanzhen Daoists observed certain days of the year, such as the fifteenth day of each month including the Three Primordials (三元).³⁵ According to the *Record of the Perfected Changchun's Journey to the West*, when Qiu resided in Daoist temples, he performed an offering (*jiao*) ritual on the fifteenth day, which included celebrations of the Middle Primordial (*zhongyuan*) 中元 in 1220 and the Lower Primordial (*xiayuan*) 下元 in 1223.³⁶ The memorial stele dedicated to Yin Zhiping says that he performed an offering (*jiao*) ritual on the day of the Lower Primordial in 1233 and a grand retreat (*zhai*) on the day of Upper Primordial (*shangyuan*) 上元 in 1238.³⁷

The birthdays of Daoist deities was included in the early Quanzhen liturgical calendar, notably the birthday of Laozi known as Festival of True Primordial of the Most High (*Taishang zhenyuan jie*) 太上真元節 or Festival of True Primordial (*zhenyuan jie*) 真元節.³⁸ According to the *Record of the Inscribed Names of the True Primordial Association (Zhenyuan hui timing ji)* 真元會題名記, members of the association, mostly Daoist clerics, celebrated the birthday of Laozi with a large-scale offering (*jiao*) ritual for seventeen years from the time of its organization in 1264 at the Ten Thousand Longevity Temple of Chongyang 重陽萬壽宮 at Mount Zhongnan

³⁵ Three Primordials are held on the first, seventh, and tenth months of the lunar calendar and the festivals celebrating the Three Primordials (*sanyuan jie*) 三元節 were ordained as official festivals during the Tang dynasty. For more information, see Shih-shan Susan Huang, "The Triptych of *Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water* and the Making of Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279)," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2002), 178-184.

³⁶ *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (DZ 1429). See Waley, 55, 58, 132.

³⁷ *Qinghe yandao xuande zhenren xianju zhi bei. Daojia jinshi lue*, 538-541.

³⁸ *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (1228) by Li Zhichang (DZ 1429). See Waley, 97. The same source mentions date of the birthday celebration in 1222 falls into the end of winter retreat.

终南, Shaanxi.³⁹ Although the details of the ritual itself are not provided, the hall dedicated to the Lord Lao (Laojun dian) 老君殿 may have been used as a ritual space.⁴⁰ The back of the True Primordial Association stele lists the names of participating members and institutions or temples.⁴¹ Interestingly, Song Defang (1183-1247) is included in the list, although the association was founded in 1264. It is likely that Quanzhen Daoists performed the birthday ritual of Laozi even before the association was organized.⁴² Moreover, the religious titles found on the back of the stele suggest that it was carved about 1317, indicating the continuing celebration of the birthday. The list of names records Daoists from different areas, including Quanzhen patriarch Qi Zhicheng, abbot of Changchun gong in late thirteenth century. Also, the religious organizations listed were located in different geographical areas, suggesting that Quanzhen temples in various places were linked organizationally during the Jin-Yuan era and shared important liturgies.⁴³

During the Yuan dynasty, the Quanzhen practice of patriarch worship celebrating birthdays of the sect's patriarchs was included in the Quanzhen liturgical calendar. Quanzhen patriarch worship through the birthday celebration is

³⁹ *Zhenyuan hui timing ji* 真元會題名記 [Record of the Inscribed Names of the True Primordial Association] written by Li Daoqian in 1281. Liu Zhaohe 刘兆鹤 and Wang Xiping 王西平, *Chongyang gong dao jiao beishi* 重陽宮道教碑石 [Stele of Daoism in Chongyang Temple] (Shanxi: Jinshi wenxian hui ji, 1998), 22, 103-104. See also Goossaert, "The Invention of an Order," 133-134.

⁴⁰ It is not clear when the Hall of Lord Lao (Laojun dian) 老君殿 was built, but it existed during the Yuan dynasty. This hall was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. For more information, see Xie Zhi'an 谢志安 and Wang Liwei 王理唯 et al, *Huxian wenwu zhi* 戶縣文物志 [Gazetteer of Historical Relics in Hu County] (Shaanxi: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 73.

⁴¹ Li Zhaohe and Wang Xiping, 42, 127-129.

⁴² Qiu Changchun's mention of this celebration also supports the annual celebration of Laozi's birthday from the early years of Quanzhen movement. *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (1228) by Li Zhichang (DZ 1429). See Waley, 97.

⁴³ Li Zhaohe and Wang Xiping, 42, 127-129.

documented in records concerning Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, *Rituals for the Birthday Celebration of the Two Immortals Zhong and Lü* (*Zhong Lü erxian qingdan yi*) 鍾呂二仙慶誕儀. The ritual manual celebrating birthdays of Zhongli and Lü, as well as the murals of the Palace of Eternal Joy, strongly suggests that the birthday celebrations for Quanzhen patriarchs were conducted as liturgical ceremonies.

Rituals for the Birthday Celebration is an important text to validate Quanzhen patriarch worship. Although the general outline of the ritual indicates Quanzhen Daoists as traditionalists in liturgical practices, the comparison of this text with birthday ritual text compiled by Zhengyi Daoists highlights their Quanzhen identity through deities invoked during the ritual. *Rituals for the Birthday Celebration* may have been compiled based on the actual liturgy, since its author, Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 (1290-?), belonged to a Quanzhen Daoist sect that traced its lineage back to Ma Danyang.⁴⁴ The ritual consists of the following sequences: initial offering of flowers and incense (舉香花), invitation of the deities (謹拜請), offerings of candle light, incense, tea and liquor (上進燭, 香, 茶, 酒), recitation of scripture (誦經), celebratory memorials to Zhongli and Lü (賀表), declaration of written memorial (宣文疏), and the ending ritual of sending off the deities (向: 送神文).⁴⁵ The structure of *Rituals*

⁴⁴ This is one of a very few Quanzhen liturgical texts preserved in the Daoist Canon. This text is included in *Shangyang zi jindan dayao xianpai* 上陽子金丹大要仙派 [Lineage Pertaining to Master Shangyang's Essentials of the Elixir] (DZ 1070) by Chen Zhixu 陳致虛. For more information on author and his writing, see Schipper and Verellen, 1179-1184.

⁴⁵ Two texts are listed for the recitation of scripture: *Scripture of the Mind-Seal* (*Xinying jing*) 心印經 and the *Scripture of Meritorious Virtue in Thirty Ranks* (*Sanshi pin gongde jing*) 三十品功德經. Eskildsen presumes the former text to be the *Wondrous Scripture of Mind-Seal of Nine Hells and Release from Sin as Spoken by the Most High* (*Taishang shuo jiuyou bazui xinyin miaojing*) 太上說九幽拔心印妙經 (DZ 74). Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices," 402.

for the Birthday Celebration shows some similarities with birthday celebrations of Daoist deities such as the birthday ritual of Laozi organized by Zhengyi 正一 Daoists. On Laozi's birthday (道祖降誕獻文 02/15), the ritual is performed in the following order: initial offering of incense (恭炷真香), announcement and invocation [of deified Laozi] with presentation of offerings (奏啟供養), offering of an incense (再運真香), announcement and invocation [of deities] with presentation of offerings (奏啟供養), offering of incense with presentation of offerings (悉運真香, 普同供養), presentation of memorial (宣意), recitation of scriptures (誦經), declaration of written memorial (宣疏) and dedication of merit (回向).⁴⁶ Although religious titles found in this ritual text date to the Ming dynasty, celebration of the birthday of Laozi from the Tang dynasty suggests the existence of older ritual manuals and the employment of the deity's updated religious title when the text was included in the Daoist Canon.⁴⁷

Rituals for the Birthday Celebration differs slightly from the Laozi birthday ritual because it is specifically designed for the Quanzhen tradition and teaching. Five Quanzhen ancestral patriarchs, the Seven Perfected, and the five patriarchs of the Southern School are notable among the deities to be invited to inspect the ritual arena,

Rituals of Birthday Celebration begins with four categories of preliminary proclamation (序班), rites (法事), cleansing (灑淨) and offering of incense (行香); however, this text only indicates offering of incense, tea and liquor and scriptural recitation under the category of the rites. My sectional division is made to compare with birthday rituals dedicated to Laozi and Jade Emperor (DZ 482). Eskildsen made an annotated translation of *Rituals for the Joyful Birthdays*. See Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices," 395-408.

⁴⁶ In translating *xuanyi*, I translated *yi* (意) as memorial following Lagerwey. See Lagerwey, 134. For recitation of scriptures, title(s) are not listed in the text.

This ritual manual is found in *Zhushi shengdan chongju zhuoxian yi* 諸師聖誕沖舉酌獻儀 [Rituals for the Presentation of Offerings on the Anniversaries of the Birthdays and the Ascensions of the Various Masters] (DZ 482). For more information on the text, see Schipper and Verellen, 962.

⁴⁷ For history of the birthday celebration of Laozi, see *Zhenyuan hui timing ji*. Li Zhaohe and Wang Xiping, 22, 103-104.

whereas Perfected Lord of Patriarch(s) Zhengyi (祖師正一真君) is invited in the birthday ritual dedicated to Laozi. These deities invoked in the ritual indicate its sectarian identity, emphasizing the significance of the sect's patriarchs. Furthermore, the celebratory memorials dedicated to Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin contain information regarding their role in Quanzhen movement.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the purpose of birthday rituals was the same: to invite the intervention of the deity in human life. Both rituals culminate with the reading and burning of the written memorial (疏), the fundamental form of communication between the Daoist priest performing the ritual and the deity to whom the ritual is addressed.⁴⁹ The ritual is supposed to create or rekindle intimacy between the worshipers and the deity.

Birthday rituals were carried out in conjunction with a large scale offering (*jiao*) ritual. As mentioned above, an offering (*jiao*) ritual was performed together with the birthday celebration of Laozi by the True Primordial Association (Zhenyuan hui). According to *Rituals for the Birthday Celebration*, deities are asked to descend and attend the “*jiao*” ritual (降臨醮座), indicating the birthday celebration accompanying an offering (*jiao*) ritual.

We see the liturgical celebration of Lü Dongbin's birthday in murals of his hagiography in the Chunyang Hall of the Palace of Eternal Joy in Shanxi. One scene depicts Lü attending his birthday celebration performed in the Shrine of Great Purity (Taiqing an) 太清庵, Jinling (金陵, present Nanjing) in 1301. That Lü was in

⁴⁸ Merit of opening and transmitting the Quanzhen teaching is dedicated to Zhongli and Lü is said to spread and transmit the teaching. For the translation, see Eskildsen, “Beliefs and Practices,” 402-406.

⁴⁹ A written memorial is a written prayer that is addressed to the god(s) that states the name and purpose of the ritual along with information regarding the date, place, and name of the Daoist priest who performed it.

disguise in the ritual is indicated by its cartouche *Divine Transformation in Crane Assembly of Jinling* (*Shenhua Jinling hehui*) 神化金陵鶴會.⁵⁰ The mural shows the altar, set with offering goods and incense burner, and nine Daoist priests, each holding a ritual tablet (fig.4.12). Ritual celebration of Lü's birthday was likely held at the Palace of Eternal Joy, considering that the murals were commissioned by resident Quanzhen Daoists.⁵¹

It is unclear when Qiu's birthday began to be celebrated in a liturgical manner. A few sources mention gatherings on Qiu's birthday briefly. According to the *Record of the Perfected Changchun's Journey to the West*, while Qiu was alive, incense was burned in 1223 on his birthday to wish him a long life (十有九日父師誕日眾官炷香為壽).⁵² Also, there was a great assembly of every disciple of Quanzhen Daoism (四眾) on Qiu's birthday in 1251. The gathering, however, occurred at Palace of Five Flowers (Wuhua gong) 五華宮, not at the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness in Baiyun guan.⁵³ Even so, the celebration of Qiu's

⁵⁰ In addition, Lü also attended an offering rite on the birthday of the Supreme Emperor of the Dark Heaven at a Daoist temple in Hengzhou (神化懷孕師尼). Katz, *Image of an Immortal*, 169, 213. This image strongly suggests the popularity of these festivals of Daoist saints during the Yuan dynasty.

⁵¹ Since the cult of Lü Dongbin was initiated and developed from the Tang dynasty onward, the birthday of Lü could have been celebrated from the early stage of his cult. Southern Song evidence for Lü's birthday celebration is found in Bo Yuchan's recorded sayings, where the Assembly of Chunyang (Chunyang hui) 純陽會 celebrated Lü's birthday, known as Crane Assembly in Pingjiang (平江鶴會). Pingjiang refers to the area of Yueyang 岳陽 (of present Hunan), which is a famous cult site of Lü Dongbin. See Bo Yuchan, *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 海琼白真人語錄 [Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Bo from Qiongzhou on Hainan] (DZ 1307). For the general information on the text, see Schipper and Verellen, 927-928.

It is not clear whether Assembly of Chunyang celebrated Lü's birthday in a liturgical manner; however, Quanzhen adoption of Lü Dongbin made it possible to include his birthday in Quanzhen liturgical calendar as a means of patriarch worship. For Quanzhen adoption of the cult of Lü Dongbin, see Katz, *Images of the Immortal*, 69-93.

⁵² *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* (1228) by Li Zhichang (DZ 1429). See Waley, 116.

⁵³ *Daojia jinshi lue*, 540.

birthday at the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness during the Yuan dynasty was likely based on the earlier rituals.

Although ritual manuals for Qiu's birthday celebration have not survived, *Rituals for the Birthday Celebration* or above-mentioned Zhengyi text with similar format and content may have been adapted for the birthday celebration of Qiu Changchun. Since, as noted earlier, Quanzhen Daoists were traditionalists in regard to liturgies, I believe that they followed existing ritual practices, adapting them by incorporating the celebratory memorial dedicated to Qiu. I suggest this because the focal point of the birthday celebration is on declaration of this memorial, asking Qiu's intervention for human life. The Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness as its ritual space clearly enhanced the worshipper's belief in Qiu's religious efficacy as seen in the general belief in his birthday descent at Baiyun guan.⁵⁴ The annual birthday ritual may also have served the function of recharging the statue in the hall. In any event, it drew numerous people to the hall.

Qiu's birthday celebration during the Yuan dynasty is based on fragmentary evidence, but it is meant to underscore the significance of the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness as its locus. Qiu Changchun's eminence and the use of this hall for his birthday celebration led to its restoration in the early Ming period.⁵⁵ The completion of the renovation project on the birthday of Qiu Changchun (01/19) and Zhu Di's offering of incense in hope of the descent of Qiu Changchun on that day strongly suggest that the celebration of Qiu's birthday in the early Ming period was

⁵⁴ An early Ming stele mentions the descent of Qiu on his birthday. See Oyanagi, 124-126. See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1256.

⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the temple Changchun gong was abandoned and neglected.

widespread.⁵⁶ The visit of Zhu Gaochi, then a crown prince, to Baiyun guan on the birthday of Qiu in 1397 and the performance of the retreat (*zhai*) ritual on that day also support the celebration of birthday with *jiao/ zhai* ritual carried out during the Yuan dynasty.

Since Baiyun guan during the Ming dynasty was supervised by non-Quanzhen clerics, it is not clear if temple clerics changed the identities of deities who are invoked to the ritual arena. Nonetheless, the memorial presented to Qiu asking his help at the time of the birthday ritual certainly strengthened and reinforced the identity of Baiyun guan as a Quanzhen temple.

2. Patronage of the Changchun Hall and Religious Lineages during the Ming dynasty

During the Ming dynasty, renovation of the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness offered patrons a means by which to shape its iconographic content and provided different religious groups with a site on which to project their various sectarian identities. During the mid-Ming period, Qingwei Daoists changed the name of the hall to Changchun Hall and added new pictorial and sculptural images to the hall. The original statue of Qiu Changchun with added images of portraits of Quanzhen and Qingwei Daoists suggests the Qingwei affiliation with the Quanzhen sect of Daoism, although the Qingwei use of the hall is not known.

The Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (堂), restored in 1440 by Ni Zhengdao, abbot of Baiyun guan, was pulled down and in 1456-57 was rebuilt as a three-bay hall

⁵⁶ Oyanagi, 124-126. See also *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1256.

(殿三楹) by Shao Yizheng (d. 1462), a Qingwei Daoist.⁵⁷ Shao changed the name into Changchun Hall (長春殿). The enlargement of the hall and change of its name were clearly associated with Shao's attempt to affiliate the Qingwei school with the Quanzhen sect of Daoism. The newly-built hall was accommodated with murals of Qiu Changchun's eighteen disciples as well as depictions of Qingwei patriarch (師祖) Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 (d. 1382) and Shao's own master (先師) Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (1351-1432). Zhao Yizhen is said to have transmitted teachings from the Northern Elixir School of Daoism, an alternate name for the Quanzhen sect of Daoism. Liu Yuanran was an eminent court Daoist, who was summoned by the Hongwu 洪武 emperor (r. 1368-98) in 1393 and again in 1424 after the death of Yongle emperor. He was a teacher of Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1359-1410), forty-third Heavenly Master, although his official successor was Shao Yizheng. Shao's decision to change the hall's name to Changchun Hall, rather than using its original name (Chushun tang), clearly indicates Shao's personal purpose of promoting his own master, Liu Yuanran (Changchun). As mentioned in Chapter 1, Liu Yuanran happened to have the same religious title "Changchun" as Qiu Changchun and this religious title was bestowed on Liu in 1424.⁵⁸ The specific function of the hall in this restoration is not known apart from its yearly use in celebration of Qiu's birthday; however, the iconographic

⁵⁷ For the biographical information, see Chapter 1, note 66. Shao's restoration is briefly mentioned in the Ming Patronage section of Chapter 1.

⁵⁸ For the bestowal of the religious title "Changchun" to Liu Yuanran in 1424, see his biography found in *Mingshi*. The same text also mentions the transmission of teaching from Liu Yuanran to Shao Yizheng. *Mingshi*, *juan*. 299. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 24, pt. 9: 6119-6120. For the biographies of Liu, see note 67 of Chapter 1.

relationship between the Qingwei sect and the Quanzhen sect is visible, which would soon be elaborated further by another Qingwei Daoist, Li Desheng.

When Li Desheng visited Baiyun guan in 1509, he sponsored the completion of the iconographic program of Changchun Hall. According to the stele inscription *Record of Addition of Statues of the Seven Perfected, Daoist Role Models, in Changchun Hall (Changchun dian zengsu Qizhen xianfan ji)* 長春殿增塑七真仙範記, Li Desheng created the new iconographic configuration of the hall, continuing the legacy of the earlier master, Shao Yizheng.⁵⁹ It states:

[Li] considered carrying on the legacy of earlier [master], and summoned craftsmen and collected materials. By replacing the decayed [ones] with solid [ones], [he] supplemented the shortcomings [of the hall] and [it] became complete. Compared to its past, [this hall shows] greater magnificence! [Li] again commanded craftsmen to mix clay with water to add six statues of portraits of immortals. Including the original statue [of Qiu Changchun], [they] are the seven perfected of the Northern School. On its east side seated facing west [are] first Danyang Ma Yu, next Changzhen Tan Chuduan, and then Changsheng Liu Chuyuan [Chuxuan].⁶⁰ Seated on west facing east are Zhengyang Wang Chuyi, Guangning Hao Datong, and Qingjing sanren Sun Bu'er.⁶¹ The number of all [statues in the west] matches with [statues] seated on east [toward] west. Only in the middle is then Changchun Qiu Chuji.

思繼先志，召匠鳩材，以堅易朽，補缺為完，比昔加壯麗焉。復命匠氏埏埴增仙像六軀，通原像為北派七真也。其東坐西向坐，首則丹陽先生馬鈺，次則長真先生譚處端，又次則長生先生劉處元[玄]，西坐東向者

⁵⁹ As mentioned in Chapter 1, despite the statement made by Li Desheng in his inscription, there are no written records of Shao Yizheng's plan of enshrining the Seven Patriarchs at Changchun Hall. Li Desheng, *Changchun dian zengsu Qizhen xianfan ji* (1509) in *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1582-1583.

⁶⁰ The substitute character *yuan* 元 was used in the name of Liu Chuxuan instead of *xuan* 玄 when this inscription was included in *Rixia jiuwen kao* in deference to Kangxi emperor. For more information, see Chapter 1, note 91.

⁶¹ The religious name of Wang Chuyi is misidentified here. His name should be Yuyang 玉陽 instead of Zhengyang 正陽. Zhengyang is a religious name of Zhongli Quan 鐘離權, one of the five ancestral patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism. It is not clear when this mistake occurred. The original inscription by Li Desheng did not survive, and only its summary is found in *Rixia jiuwen kao*.

有正陽先生王處一，廣寧先生郝大通，清靜散人孫不二，次序悉與東坐西匹，惟中乃長春先生丘處機者是也。⁶²

In addition to his ongoing attempt to affiliate with the Quanzhen sect, Li also commissioned the addition of three more portraits for the Changchun Hall murals; these included portraits of his Qingwei master Shao Yizheng, of Adept Du, and one of himself.⁶³ By the time of its completion in 1509, Changchun Hall contained statues of the seven Quanzhen patriarchs and murals of eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun, and five Qingwei masters.⁶⁴ Thus, Li Desheng also visually claimed the Qingwei patriarch Zhao Yizhen's transmission of teachings from the Northern Elixir School, affiliating his own lineage with the Quanzhen sect.

The style of the newly-added sculptures and their location in 1509 clearly underscores the significance of the Quanzhen lineage at Baiyun guan, even though Shao Yizheng did not have a Quanzhen affiliation and statues were added about fifty years after the first stage of renovation was completed under his direction. Statues of the six Quanzhen patriarchs were arranged according to the standard hierarchy for the seven Quanzhen patriarchs, as established by early Quanzhen historiographers and hagiographers.⁶⁵ Except for the statue of Ma Yu, the remaining five follow the established iconographic models. The six patriarchs (figs.4.13.1-2) are clad in Daoist

⁶² According to Hawkes, Marco Polo (1254-1324) used the term *xiansheng* 先生 to refer to Quanzhen masters by. In a late Yuan or early Ming play, Wang Zhe changed himself into a *xiansheng*, which also shows the use of the term *xiansheng* to refer to Quanzhen masters. David Hawkes, "Quanzhen Plays and Quanzhen Masters," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981): 165.

⁶³ It is not clear who this adept Du is.

⁶⁴ Li also identified the names of the eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun, because he was afraid that the later generation would not remember them. See note 77 of Chapter 1.

⁶⁵ The statues were arrayed with Ma, Tan, Liu, Qiu, Wang, Hao and Sun from east to west, showing the standard hierarchy. See *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173) and *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (DZ 174).

ceremonial robes, and lotus caps, and carry ritual tablets, and the posture of their bodies suggests that they were modeled after the statue of Qiu Changchun in the center to make a group of the Seven Perfected. The similar size of all seven statues, which ranges in height from 140 to 145 centimeters, also demonstrates the patron's intention of creating a group.

With the exception of the Ma Yu depiction, the iconography of the individual patriarchs derives from the *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (DZ 174). Statues of Tan, Liu, Wang, Hao, and Sun resemble depictions found in the Yuan Daoist text. Among them, iconographies of Liu, Hao, and Sun are not difficult to identify on the basis of Liu's plump and somewhat chubby face (fig.4.14), Hao's heavy beard (fig.4.15) and Sun's feminine soft complexion (figs.4.16).⁶⁶ In the case of Tan and Wang, there are no distinctive differences found in their images in *Portraits and Biographies*, which accounts for their similarity of appearance in this hall as well (figs.4.17-18). Identification of the statues of Tan and Wang therefore partly relies on historical sources and ethnographic research.

The iconography of Ma Yu in Baiyun guan (fig.4.19) is the single exception to the already established tradition (see fig.4.8). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the three top-knots are the characteristic trait of Ma; however, their employment may

⁶⁶ The statue of Hao mentioned in this discussion is the one currently identified as Wang Chuyi. The statues and tablets of Wang Chuyi and Hao Datong were moved during the late Qing dynasty, and when the hierarchy was reconfigured in the early 1990s, only the tablets in front of the statues were switched. This resulted in the mismatching of the two figures' identification and iconography. See Chapter 3.

have been inappropriate or difficult due to the golden lotus cap.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, Ma is depicted with a prominent forehead, thick eyebrows, deep-set eyes, and a heavy beard. The statue does not show any similarity to the portrait image found in *Portraits and Biographies* but instead may have been modeled after the image of Wang Zhe in that text (fig.4.20), as indicated by such features as a heavy beard, thick eyebrows, and deep-set eyes. This depiction of Ma in Baiyun guan is anomalous for its time period but later becomes part of his standardized iconography (fig.4.21).⁶⁸

The selection of *Portraits and Biographies* as iconographic source for portrayal of statues in Changchun Hall may derive from the perception of the text as a reliable source for Quanzhen iconography. As Liu Zhixuan, the compiler of the text, reveals in his preface, it was his goal to create a definitive, illustrated reference work on the origins of Quanzhen.⁶⁹ The above-mentioned *Collected Works of Group of Immortals*, albeit incomplete, contains similar portraits of Quanzhen patriarchs.⁷⁰ The late sixteenth-century morality book *Precious Goodness Scroll (Baoshan juan)* 寶善卷 also shows images of Quanzhen patriarchs depicted in a manner similar to that of *Portraits and Biographies* (fig.4.22).⁷¹ Dissemination of Quanzhen Daoism through various genres of literature, such as Yuan plays, however, and the lack of

⁶⁷ The golden lotus cap could not be worn with three top-knots.

⁶⁸ The early Qing *baojuan* depicts Ma as a figure with strong facial features and a heavy beard. See *Minjian baojuan* 12: 216.

⁶⁹ *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (DZ 174). See also Boltz, 64-67.

⁷⁰ This text includes portrait images of Ma and Qiu among the Seven Perfected.

⁷¹ This morality book was produced by a Buddhist monk Haideng 海澄 in 1586 for Empress Dowager Li. This text includes the representative figures of three different religions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Wang Yucheng, *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu yanjiu*, 4-5. The comparison between *Baoshan juan* and *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* in the Daoist Canon shows that portrait images in the Daoist Canon were iconographic examples for later *Baoshan juan*, although there are some minor mistakes. For instance, the images of Tan and Liu were mistakenly switched and Sun was depicted as a male Daoist figure.

institutional oversight may have led to the creation of different artistic representations of Ma.⁷²

The contemporary literatus Wang Shizhen acknowledged Qingwei Daoists' affiliation with the Quanzhen sect. Wang, who was familiar with Quanzhen teaching and texts, mentions the revitalization of Quanzhen Daoism by Liu Yuanran, though Quanzhen never restored to the high level of its past glory, as achieved during the Yuan dynasty.⁷³ Interestingly, although Shao Yizheng played a key role in the

⁷² Stories and narratives of the early Quanzhen patriarchs were widely circulated during the Ming. Yuan *zaju* 雜劇 drama, continued to be in style during the Ming, shows the stories of Quanzhen patriarchs, Wang Zhe and Ma Yu, with a central theme of conversion to the religion. Ma Yu is a hero of a play *Ma Danyang thrice converts the butcher Ren* 馬丹陽三度任風子 written by Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠 (fl. 1295), and this is one of thirty surviving Yuan plays. Ma and Wang also appear in a play called *Ma Danyang's conversion of Liu Hangshou* 馬丹陽度脫劉行首 by the late Yuan or early Ming playwright Yang Jingxian 楊景賢 (fl. 1390). Hawkes, 154. Its popularity during the Ming dynasty resulted in the publication of illustrated images selected from Yuan dramas entitled *Yuan qu xuan tu* 元曲選圖 [Illustrations from selected Yuan dramas], which was printed in Wanli reign (1617) by Zang Maoxun 臧懋循 (1550-1620).

Besides in Yuan drama, the story of Ma and his wife Sun was well-known during the Ming dynasty. The separation of Ma and Sun and Sun's prior achievement of immortality became so famous that several images depicting this event are found in late Ming woodblock printed books. Here Ma is portrayed as a scholarly figure without three top-knots. For images of Ma and Sun, see Hong Zicheng 洪自誠, *Yuedantang xianfo qizong heke* 月旦堂仙佛奇蹤合刻 [Combined Carving of Adventures of the Deities of Daoism and Buddhism by Yuedan tang] (1602; repr., Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989), 163-164 and Wang Qi 王圻, *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪 [Illustrated Compendium of Three Realms] (1609; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 815. See also Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾, *Xinjuan xian yuan jishi* 新鐫仙媛紀事 [Newly Carved Chronicles of Female Transcendent] (1602; repr., Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989), 499-502.

⁷³ According to "Ji Qiu Changchun ji seng [Qiu Changchun and Daoist priests]," Wang consulted with different Quanzhen texts such as *Ganshui xianyuan lu*, *Fengyun qinghui* 風雲慶會, *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 [Writing of Panxi] and writings by second generation Quanzhen Daoists. Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao*, 66: 875-877.

Fengyun qinghui 風雲慶會 used by Wang Shizhen refers to *Xuanfeng qinghui* 玄風慶會. The same title was also used by Zhu Yizun in *Rixia jiuwen kao* to indicate *Xuanfeng qinghui*. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1576-1577. It seems that 'Fengyun' and 'Xuanfeng' were synonymously used at the time of late Ming and early Qing.

Panxi ji 磻溪集 [Writing of Panxi] is a literary collection that contains lyrical works by Qiu Changchun. It derives from a place name in Shaanxi where Qiu resided between 1174 and 1180. Its preface dates from 1186 and 1208. Qiu Chuji, *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 [Writing of Panxi] (DZ 1159). For more information on *Panxi ji*, see Schipper and Verellen, 1160-1161.

Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao*, 61: 805.

restoration at Baiyun guan, Wang credits Liu Yuanran with the temple's revival, perhaps because Liu was a teacher of Shao Yizheng or because Liu was a well-known court Daoist.

Although the new affiliation was made possible due to Zhao Yizhen's transmission of Quanzhen teaching, there is no evidence for Zhao's active support of Quanzhen Daoism.⁷⁴ For example, Zhao Yizhen had a scornful attitude toward the Quanzhen teaching as is evident in his own writing.⁷⁵ Furthermore, Zhao's transmission of Quanzhen teaching is also problematic. The master who transmitted the alchemical secrets to Zhao's teacher refused to join a Quanzhen monastery but instead stayed at Mount Longhu 龍虎, a center of the Zhengyi 正一 order.⁷⁶

Li Desheng's patronage was even more pompous than that of Shao Yizheng who was personally motivated to promote his master by connecting the famous immortal Qiu Changchun with his own master, Liu Yuanran. Li's claim to continuation of Shao's legacy, as well as his acknowledgement of the origin of the hall as Qiu Changchun's burial site, clearly serves to justify his role as the true successor to the Quanzhen Daoist teaching. The line of transmission that he outlines

⁷⁴ Zhao Yizhen, religious name Yuanyang, considers the Qingwei school as the synthesis of all teachings, Shangqing, Lingbao, Daode and Zhengyi, which are the four most important grades in the institution of ordination ranks in Tang liturgical Daoism. Qingwei is considered as their continuation as a synthesized form. Schipper and Verellen, 1290.

⁷⁵ It is found in a preface to a song of inner alchemy called *Huandan jinye ge* 還丹金液歌 [The Song of the Return of the Liquefied Gold to the Cinnabar Field]. Kristofer Schipper, "Master Chao I-chen and Ch'ing-wei School of Taoism," in *Dokyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化 [Daoism and Religious Culture], ed. Akizuki Kanei 秋月觀暎 (Tokyo: Hidakawa shuppansha, 1987), 715-731.

⁷⁶ Zhao's biography, written by Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1359-1410), the forty-third Celestial Master, states that Zhao became a disciple of Zhang Tianquan 張天全, who was a student of Jin Pengtou 金蓬頭 (1276-1336). Jin, one of the most influential Daoists of his time, was a hermit who is said to have originally belonged to the Quanzhen school, but who refused to join a Quanzhen monastery and instead installed himself on Longhu Mount, where Zhang Tianquan may have met Jin and transmitted the alchemical secrets from Jin. Ibid.

visually extends from the famous court Daoist Liu Yuanran, through his teacher Shao Yizheng, and ends with himself. This project likely happened because when Li Desheng visited Baiyun guan in 1509, another hall dedicated to Qiu Changchun perhaps served as a new center for worship of Qiu.⁷⁷

According to Vincent Goossaert, Quanzhen monastic institutions and a part of Quanzhen's ordination procedures survived during the Ming dynasty under the benevolent supervision of the Qingwei Daoists.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, there is no firm evidence for whether the hall with new iconography was used by Qingwei Daoists to espouse their teaching. Despite Shao's and Li's patronage, they do not seem to have perpetuated a Qingwei tradition at the hall. The abbot who was active in the second quarter of the fifteenth century was Zhengyi Daoist Ni Zhengdao and the abbot of the early sixteenth century was named Deyuan 德元, although his religious affiliation is not known.⁷⁹ Besides, Zhu Kuntian, the late seventeenth-century scholar, identifies Li Desheng as abbot of Palace of Heavenly Empress (Tianfei gong) 天妃宫 in Xiaozhigu 小直沽 (present Tianjin 天津).⁸⁰ Whatever the function, in the Ming period the newly renovated Changchun Hall visually conveys the transmission of teachings from the Seven Perfected to eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun and then to the five Qingwei masters.

⁷⁷ Appearance of the present Patriarch Qiu Hall will be discussed in Chapter 5.

⁷⁸ He also points out that the Quanzhen and Qingwei liturgical manuals were not very different in their daily services, *liandu* salvation rituals, and the grand classical retreat (*zhai*) and offering (*jiao*) rituals. Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 33, 269-270.

⁷⁹ Ni Zhengdao was appointed as abbot in 1435 and was active through late 1440s. See note 64 of Chapter 1. For the name of the abbot in early 1500s, see *Ming gu neiguanjian taijian Zhanggong muzhi ming* in Beijing tushuguan 54: 59.

⁸⁰ When Zu Kuntian mentions the location of stele by Li Desheng, Zhu refers to Li as the abbot of Tianfei gong. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1579. See also *Guangxu shuntian fuzhi* 17: 1088.

In spite of Shao's and Li's efforts, the five Qingwei Daoists or Qingwei affiliation were abandoned and slowly forgotten in Baiyun guan. By the early Qing dynasty, Quanzhen Daoists reclaimed the hall with new iconography. Resident Daoists refused to recognize Shao and Li, emphasizing continuous Quanzhen lineage at the temple.

3. Hall of the Seven Perfected and Its Reestablished Function during the Qing Dynasty

In the mid Qing, on the walls of the hall, then referred to as the Seven Perfected Hall due to enshrined statues, were depicted *Illustrations of Daoist(s) Practicing Cultivation (Daoliu ruding tu)* 道流入定圖, with streamers, screens and cloud decorations, replacing the deteriorated murals of the eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun.⁸¹ Daoist themes are evident from the contents of murals, which suggest the commission of the murals by resident Daoist clerics. These resident Daoist clerics were perhaps members of the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoists, given their active engagement in temple affairs from the early Qing period.

The Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoists patronized the erection of the Halls of Ancestral Masters in 1828 so as to stress a single continuous lineage of

⁸¹七真殿壁繪道流入定圖，幡幢雲氣雜不可紀，非十八弟子像。

Rixia jiuwen kao 94: 1580.

In translating *daoliu* 道流, literally meaning the current of Dao, I follow the interpretation by Rachewiltz, indicating person(s) who are in the current of Dao, i.e., Daoist(s). Igor De Rachewiltz, "The *Hsi-yu-lu* 西遊錄 by Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材," *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962), 81.

Ruding 入定 is a Buddhist terminology, meaning the practice of Buddhist monks to cut off karmic bonds. It can also suggest the death of Buddhist monk.

Murals of cloud decoration or *Daoliu ruding tu* do not survive.

Quanzhen Daoists in Baiyun guan.⁸² These two halls flanked the Seven Perfected Hall and enshrined the statues of the eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun, most likely to replace the lost murals in the hall.⁸³ The enshrinement of images was followed by the compilation of their biographies in 1848.⁸⁴ According to its preface, the primary goal of the *Chart of Daoist Immortals in Baiyun guan* was to document the lives of the eighteen disciples and Daoist immortals who resided in Baiyun guan and others who had contributed to the temple. It is significant that the compilers of the text did not include any record of the Qingwei Daoists in the text, thus stressing a single continuous lineage of Quanzhen Daoists in Baiyun guan.⁸⁵

Another iconographic change in the Seven Perfected Hall is closely related to the construction of the temple's religious identity and rearrangement of hierarchy of the Seven Perfected. Since much emphasis was placed on Qiu Changchun due to his status as a founding patriarch of the Longmen lineage, and Baiyun guan was reestablished as his major cult site, Qiu occupied the highest position among the Seven Perfected, which is evident in *Chart of Daoist Immortals in Baiyun guan*.⁸⁶

⁸² *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* (1828), Changbai Linqing in Oyanagi, 148-149.

⁸³ The statues of the eighteen disciples did not survive and the flanking halls now enshrine the Medicine King and the Savior from Suffering. For the original and current configurations of these two halls, see Chapter 3.

⁸⁴ *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 373-405.

⁸⁵ Unlike *Baiyun xianbiao*, Chen Mingguai (1824-1881), who compiled a lineage after Qiu Changchun in 1879 entitled *Changchun dao jiao yuanliu* 長春道教源流, included Zhao Yizhen, Liu Yuanran and Shao Yizheng in the lineage descended from Qiu Changchun. Chen, a native of Guangdong, became a Longmen Daoist at Sulao guan 醴醯觀 [Temple of Essence of Milk] in Mount Luofu 羅浮 (near Guangzhou). *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 1-157.

For more biographical information of Chen, see Pregadio, 253-254.

⁸⁶ Along with an establishment of the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in Baiyun guan during the late Qing period, the lineages of the rest of six patriarchs were also classified. For instance, Liu Chuxuan is a founding patriarch of Suishan 隨山 lineage of Quanzhen Daoism. As such, the rest of them are Tan Chudian's Nanwu 南無, Ma Yu's Yushan 遇山, Hao Datong's Huashan 華山, Wang Chuyi's Yushan 嵒山, and Sun Bu'er's Qingjing 清靜 branch. Oyanagi, 91-101. Like the name

When arranging the biographies of the Seven Quanzhen patriarchs, the authors, Meng Huoyi and Wanyan Chongshi, gave priority to Qiu over the other six patriarchs. As a consequence, the new hierarchical sequence was Qiu, Ma, Tan, Liu, Hao, Wang and Sun, with Qiu in the dominant position.⁸⁷

Aside from the changes made to the hierarchy regarding Qiu, there is also a change in position between two other patriarchs. The sequence of the remaining six patriarchs in the *Chart of Daoist Immortals* shows a slight deviation from the standard hierarchy as well as from the original configuration made by Li Desheng in 1509.⁸⁸ In the newly established hierarchy, Hao Datong occupies a higher position than Wang Chuyi. The change of sequence likely affected the switch of statues in the Seven Perfected Hall during the late Qing period, as documented by Japanese sinologists in the 1920s (see fig.3.16.2).⁸⁹ Although historical sources do not mention that the statues of Wang Chuyi and Hao Datong changed position, this switch occurred in the nineteenth century when clerics affiliated with the Huashan lineage (with Hao Datong as its founding patriarch) were the dominant power at Baiyun guan. For instance, Gao Rentong (1841-1907), the abbot of Baiyun guan who directed the

Longmen, which derived from the place of Qiu's meditation, some of the lineage names are associated with the place where they cultivated themselves such as Yushan 嵒山, while other names reflect the religious title of an adept such as Qingjing.

⁸⁷ *Zangwai daoshu* 31: 379-385.

⁸⁸ The standard hierarchy among the Seven Perfected is as follows: Ma-Tan-Liu-Qiu-Wang-Hao-Sun. *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173).

⁸⁹ The stele inscription written by Li Desheng was included in *Rixia jiuwen kao* by Zhu Kuntian in the late seventeenth century. The Qing editorial boards did not make any corrections on the location of statues in the Seven Perfected Hall in 1785, which suggests the modification of the location of the statues after 1785.

formation of the Quanzhen identity, belonged to the Huashan lineage.⁹⁰ The change in order may refer to his Huashan lineage. Furthermore, the ordination registers (登真錄) recording the number of ordained clerics in Baiyun guan during the late Qing dynasty and early Republican era show a dominant number belonging to the Huashan lineage of the Quanzhen Daoists, second only in number to those belonging to the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism.⁹¹ Thus, Huashan Daoists may have affected the shift of hierarchy among the patriarchs seen in the arrangement of statues in the hall during the nineteenth century.⁹²

The appearance of the patriarchs' birthday celebrations appears to result from the reclamation of the religious identity by Quanzhen Daoists at Baiyun guan during the Qing period.⁹³ Oyanagi's gazetteer briefly mentions the birthday celebration at the Seven Perfected Hall, which includes food and incense offering by abbot and resident Daoists.⁹⁴

The Hall of the Seven Perfected served a locus of temple's liturgy, performing ordination rituals and daily devotional rituals of Quanzhen Daoism. Li Yangzheng states that when Wang Changyue served as abbot in Baiyun guan, Wang performed the ordination rituals in the Seven Perfected Hall.⁹⁵ The preface of the ordination

⁹⁰ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 237. Gao was initially ordained as a Huashan lineage, but when acting as an ordination master, he had to take a Longmen lineage name (Mingtong 明洞). Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 172.

⁹¹ Yoshioka drew a table indicating the number of ordained clerics and their religious affiliation at Baiyun guan. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 230-233.

⁹² It was corrected in the early 1990s by the Chinese Daoist Association.

⁹³ *Yanjiu* continued to be observed at the temple. Although it had been celebrated at the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness during the Yuan and at Changchun hall during the Ming period, it became observed at the Patriarch Qiu Hall since its dedication in 1506. Patriarch Qiu Hall was a focus of this ritual until 1950s.

⁹⁴ Oyanagi, 59, 63, 64.

⁹⁵ Li Yangzheng, 73, 122.

precept written by Wang, the *Initial Precepts and Observances for Perfection* (*Chuzhen jielu*) 初真戒律, tells us that in 1656 Wang built an ordination platform at Baiyun guan to transmit these precepts.⁹⁶ Although the location of the platform is not certain, Wang's emphasis on ritual obeisance in front of images of the sages strongly suggests that it would have been situated within the Seven Perfected Hall.⁹⁷ Besides, the basic precept entitled *Precepts of the Three Refuges* (*San guiyi jie* 三皈依戒) in Wang's initial precepts is indicative of the significance of the role of masters (one of the Three Refuges which are Dao 道, Scriptures 經 and Masters 師).⁹⁸ The visual representation of early patriarchs, the Seven Perfected, may explain the performance of initial stage of ordination in this hall during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.⁹⁹

The focal point of Daoist monasticism is the daily performance of devotional rituals by the resident clergy, who strive to cultivate the Dao. The significance and content of the ritual clearly indicates its performance at Hall of the Seven Perfected. In analyzing the daily devotional ritual, I consulted with the surviving Qing text

Scripture of Devotional Ritual of Morning and Evening Altar of the Most High

⁹⁶ The *Initial Precepts and Observances for Perfection* (*Chuzhen jielu*) 初真戒律 contains a preface signed by Wang Changyue, which dates to 1656. For more information, see Pregadio, 284-286.

⁹⁷ *Zangwai daoshu* 10: 160.

⁹⁸ For the text, see Li Yangzheng, 200-203. For partial translation of *Initial Precepts and Observances for Perfection*, see Livia Kohn, *Cosmos & Community: The Ethical Dimension of Daoism* (Cambridge, MA: The Three Pines Press, 2004), 253-260.

⁹⁹ After the ordination platform was constructed in 1890 behind the Three Purities Pavilion, the last stage of ordination ritual (taking Great Precepts of Celestial Immortality (*Tianxian dajie*) 天仙大戒) occurred there. Before the construction of ordination platform, it is not clear where the ordination ritual was organized. When Weng Tonghe, grand councilor, reported his attendance (as a visitor) in an ordination ritual of 1884, he did not mention its location, setting and so forth. For the construction of ordination platform by Gao Rentong, see Oyanagi, 174-175. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 145. For the visit by Weng Tonghe, see *Weng Tonghe riji*, 1316. For more information on the Quanzhen ordination procedure, see Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 150-153.

Mysterious Gate (Taishang xuanmen zaowantan gongke jing) 太上玄門早晚壇功課經 and visual resources of daily devotional rituals performed at Baiyun guan and Wudang shan due to their similarities.¹⁰⁰

The preface of the *Scripture of Devotional Ritual* tells us that daily devotional rituals were intended to serve as a means of attaining immortality in a monastic setting and thus express the ultimate fulfillment of the purpose of monasticism.

According to this text,

Daily devotional ritual is an exhortation of merit. Exhorting one's own merit is to cultivate one's own Dao. Cultivating one's own Dao is to depend on the canon of previous sages. Reciting the golden book and jade invocation of previous sages is to understand one's original nature and true mind. Without rites and teaching, [one] cannot enlarge and spread the great Dao. Without devotional rituals and recitation [of scriptures], there is no protection and nourishment of original harmony. Scriptures are to serve as scriptures, because they are mind tradition of previous sages. Invocations are to serve as invocations, because they are wondrous method of ancient immortals... They are standards for those living in public monasteries, the ladder of those who ascend as immortals.

功課者，課功也。課自己之功者，修自己之道也。修自己之道者，賴先聖之典也。誦上聖之金書玉誥，明自己之本性真心。非科教不能弘揚大道，非課誦無以保養元和。經之為經，是前聖之心宗。誥之為誥，乃古仙之妙法。此是住叢林者之規範，昇仙者之梯躋。¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Taishang xuanmen zaowantan gongke jing* 太上玄門早晚壇功課經 [Scripture of Devotional Ritual of Morning and Evening Altar of the Most High Mysterious Gate] in *Zangwai daoshu* 29: 466-483.

For the contemporary morning and evening devotional ritual, see *Scripture of Daily Chanting Morning Ritual of Mysterious Gate (Xuanmen risong zaotan gongke jing)* 玄門日誦早壇功課經 and *Scripture of Daily Chanting Evening Ritual of Mysterious Gate (Xuanmen risong wantan gongke jing)* 玄門日誦晚壇功課經, visual resources distributed by Chinese Daoist Association and Mount Wudang Daoist Association of China. Rituals performed at Baiyun guan are also available online. For morning ritual, see <http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/OExYXrj5c5A/> (accessed November 14, 2011). For evening ritual, see <http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/mohlU6bK4L8/> (accessed November 14, 2011).

¹⁰¹ *Zangwai daoshu* 29: 466-483.

The preface of another ritual text *Qingwei hongfan daomen gongke* 清微宏範道門功課 [Devotional Ritual of the Great Standard of Daoist Teaching of Qingwei] also contains similar content. *Ibid.*, 444.

The performance of daily services has a long tradition in conjunction with Daoist monasticism, and in case of Quanzhen Daoism, the daily devotional rituals were also in practice in its early history.¹⁰² Daily devotional ritual of the present form likely originates at least as early as the seventeenth century when Wang Changyue served as abbot.¹⁰³ Although specific comments about the ritual are not provided, Wang alluded to the morning and evening recitations in his sermon, suggesting the performance of devotional rituals at Baiyun guan during the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ The daily rituals currently performed at the temple are same as surviving liturgical texts of the Qing dynasty, supporting the assumption that daily devotional rituals were part of the monastic routine there during the Qing.¹⁰⁵ Baiyun guan's early

The approximate dates of these texts are based on their inclusion in *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 [Essentials of the Daoist Canon]. *Zangwai daoshu* 29: 444-466. The *Qingwei hongfan* text is supposedly included in the early nineteenth century edition of *Daozang jiyao* and the *Taishang xuanmen* text to the newly published, early twentieth century edition.

¹⁰² Based on Tang liturgical manuals, the daily services (*changchao*) 常朝 were celebrated at dawn and dusk, consisting of the presentation of offerings and the extensive recitation of prayers and scriptures, perhaps adapting its form from Confucian and Buddhist daily services. For more information, see Kohn, *Cosmos & Community*, 93-95. In case of Quanzhen Daoism, pure rules of Quanzhen Daoism 全真清規, compiled in early fourteenth century, mentions the daily routine including the morning (朝真禮聖) and evening (晚參) services although details are not provided. *Quanzhen qinggui* (DZ 1235).

¹⁰³ Vincent Goossaert and Chen Yaoting also assume that the daily devotional rituals presently in use were fixed at the latest during the seventeenth century. Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 100. Chen Yaoting 陈耀庭, *Daojiao liyi* 道教礼仪 [Daoist Rituals and Ceremonies] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua, 2005), 12.

¹⁰⁴ Wang Changyue, *Biyuan tanjing* 碧苑壇經 [Platform Sutra of the Jade Garden] in *Zangwai daoshu* 29: 160. The text consists of discourses given by Wang during an ordination held at Baiyun guan in Nanjing. For the general information on the text, see Pregadio, 629.

¹⁰⁵ Baiyun guan presently uses the *Scripture of Daily Chanting of Morning and Evening Rituals of Mysterious Gate* (*Xuanmen risong zaowan gongke jing*) 玄門日誦早晚功課經, which is quite similar to the texts mentioned by Yoshioka, Julian Pas and Kim Sung-hae. When Yoshioka visited Baiyun guan in 1940, he attended the morning and evening daily services and according to him, Daoist priests used *Scripture of Morning Devotional Ritual of the Most High Quanzhen* (*Taishang Quanzhen zaotan gongke jing*) 太上全真早壇功課經 for the morning devotion and *Scripture of Evening Devotional Ritual of the Most High Quanzhen* (*Taishang Quanzhen wantan gongke jing*) 太上全真晚壇功課經, respectively. A 1983 reprinted edition of the same text was used when Julian Pas witnessed the ritual in 1985. When Kim Sung-hae visited Baiyun guan in 2001, she mentions the devotional ritual book

twentieth-century monastic code contains a regulation regarding the daily devotional rituals at the temple.¹⁰⁶ Itinerant Quanzhen Daoists who visited Baiyun guan during the Republican era were also tested about their knowledge of daily devotional ritual.¹⁰⁷

Scripture of Devotional Ritual provides its general outline of initial chanting of *buxu* 步虛 (Pacing the Void) and later recitation of scriptures and incantation.¹⁰⁸

The morning devotional ritual consists of opening rites including the chanting of *buxu* and main body of the ritual such as chanting incantations (咒), four canonical scriptures (經), and hymns (誥), which are followed by confession attributed to the Patriarch Qiu (丘祖懺文) and prayers (願).¹⁰⁹ The ritual ends with chanting of incantation dedicated to earth god (土地咒) and taking Three Refuges (三皈依).¹¹⁰

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Quanzhen Daoists as ritual traditionalists

reprinted at Baiyun guan in 2000, although she does not give the full title. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 240-241. Julian F. Pas, “Revival of Temple Worship and Popular Religious Traditions,” in *Turning of the Tide: Religion in China Today*, ed. Julian F. Pas (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press), 158-159. Kim Sung-hae, “Daoist Monasticism in Contemporary China,” in *Chinese Religions in Contemporary Societies*, ed., James Miller (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 105.

¹⁰⁶ *Original Standard Pure Rules of Quanzhen (Quanzhen yuanfan qinggui)* 全真元範清規 in Oyanagi, 74-76.

The early nineteenth-century monastic code also contains the regulation regarding the daily devotional rituals. According to it, monastic community has to uphold twice daily devotional rituals and their absence resulted in a punishment, which is kneeling for one stick of incense. *Qinggui xuanmiao* 清規玄妙 [Mysterious Wonder of Pure Rules], Min Yi'de in *Zangwai daoshu* 10: 612-613.

¹⁰⁷ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 238.

¹⁰⁸ 先念步虛，後諷經咒. *Zangwai daoshu* 29: 467.

¹⁰⁹ For the detailed interpretation of the *Scripture of Devotional Ritual of Morning and Evening Altar of the Most High Mysterious Gate*, see Min Zhiting, *Xuanmen risong zaowan gongke jing zhu* 玄門日誦早晚功課經注 [Commentary on the *Scripture of Daily Devotional Chanting of Mysterious Gate*] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2000). See also Erik J. Hammerstrom, “The Mysterious Gate: Daoist Monastic Liturgy in the Late Imperial China” (Master’s thesis, University of Hawaii, 2003), 45-84. Kim Sung-hae also provides a summary of structure in her article. Kim Sung-hae, 109.

¹¹⁰ The structure of the evening devotional ritual is similar to that of the morning such as opening rites, recitation of scriptures and hymns, and closing rites ending with taking refuges. However, the recitation of incantations and confession are lacking in the evening devotional ritual.

employed the existing rites as well as canonical texts. For instance, incantations recited in the morning ritual are same as the one recited in offering (*jiao*) rituals currently performed at Taiwan, and prayers (*yuan*) chanted on behalf of all beings are also evident in *Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao* (DZ 1125) and in modern communal ritual as well.¹¹¹ Hymns dedicated to Daoist deities and immortals are also adopted from the existing Daoist text, *Invocations and Precious Titles of Various Masters and Perfected* (*Zhu shizhen gao*) 諸師真誥 (DZ 309). All the texts recited in the daily devotional ritual are found in the Daoist Canon.¹¹² Quanzhen Daoists, however, were specific and selective in deciding which deities and immortals were suitable to their pantheon. In the morning devotional ritual, the deities and immortals who were chosen for attention were those belonging to the Quanzhen pantheon, like the Three Purities, the Four Emperors and the Emperor of the South Pole, the Five

¹¹¹ The first five incantations (淨心神咒, 淨口神咒, 淨身神咒, 安土地神咒, 淨天地解穢咒) exactly match Qingwei ritual in Taiwan. See Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾, *Chugokujin no shūkyō girei: Bukkyō, Dōkyō, minkan shinkō* 中国人的宗教儀禮: 佛教道教民間信仰 (Tōkyō: Fukutake shoten, 1983), 704. Also, Divine Incantation of the Golden Light (金光神咒) is recited in the offering (*jiao*) ritual in Taiwan. For the translation of the incantation, see Lagerwey, 87.

For *Rules and Precepts*, see Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 174.

For the modern communal ritual, see Lagerwey, 146.

¹¹² The scriptures recited in the morning devotional ritual are as follows: *the Scripture on Constant Clarity and Stillness, as Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao* (*Taishang Laojun shuo chang Qingjing jing*) 太上老君說常清靜經 (DZ 620), *the Wondrous Scripture for Ascending to Mystery, Averting Calamity, and Protecting Life of the Most High Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure* (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan xiaozai huming miao jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶昇玄消災護命妙經 (DZ 19), *the True Scripture for Dispelling Disasters and Saving from Calamities as Spoken by the Most High Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure* (*Taishang Lingbao tianzun shuo rangzai du'e zhenjing*) 太上靈寶天尊說禳災度厄真經 (DZ 357), and *the Wondrous Scripture of the Mind-Seal of the Exalted Jade Emperor* (*Gaoshang Yuhunag xinyin miao jing*) 高上玉皇心印妙經 (DZ 13).

Scriptures recited at the evening ritual are concerned of salvation of myriad things such as the *Wondrous Scripture of Saving from Suffering of the Most High Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure* (*Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miao jing*) 太上洞玄靈寶救苦妙經 (DZ 374), *the True Scripture of Nourishing Heaven and Attaining Dao as Spoken by the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning* (*Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao zhenjing*) 元始天尊說生天得道真經 (DZ 24), and *the Wondrous Scripture of Dispelling Oppressions and Dragging out of Suffering as Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao* (*Taishang daojun shuo jieyuan badu miao jing*) 太上道君說解冤拔度妙經 (DZ 372).

Patriarchs of the Northern School, the Five Patriarchs of the Southern School, the Seven Perfected, and Thunder deity. Two possible explanations exist for the inclusion of Thunder deity in Quanzhen monastic ritual. Either it represents an interpolation of Qingwei liturgical tradition into Quanzhen practice, or, since Thunder deity represents life, it could indicate the purpose of morning devotional ritual as life-giving in contrast to the role of the Celestial Worthy of Savior from Suffering, the primary deity of the evening devotional ritual.¹¹³

Literary evidence supports the significance of daily devotional rituals and their continuous practice during the Qing dynasty. The inclusion of Quanzhen pantheon, specifically Quanzhen patriarchs in the ritual, strongly suggests the significance of the masters in Quanzhen ritual practices, which is also visually manifested in the Hall of the Seven Perfected. The use of the hall in early Republican era and present time for daily devotional ritual indicates performance of daily devotional rituals at the Seven Perfected Hall during the Qing dynasty.

The use of the Seven Perfected Hall on a daily basis and the meaning and function of the devotional ritual designate the hall as a crucial space in the monasticism and in Quanzhen liturgical calendar. The statues of the seven Quanzhen patriarchs who always reside in the hall serve to illustrate the divine power visually in the ritual area as representatives of judicial authorities to inspect the ritual on the spot. In addition to the function of images as judicial authorities during the ritual, the seven Quanzhen patriarchs serve as representatives of teachers who transmit teachings to

¹¹³ Hammerstrom suggests Qingwei incorporation. Hammerstrom, 64. For more information on Thunder deity, see Schipper and Verellen, 1083. Scriptures recited during the evening devotional ritual also demonstrate its goal, salvation of all beings.

the monastic community through the morning ritual.¹¹⁴ This daily devotional ritual, designed to maintain contact with the previous patriarchs who are a source of inspiration to practitioners, supports the growth and maintenance of the sect's identity. In sum, daily devotional rituals assisted resident Daoists in their cultivation, and through the performance of the rituals during the Qing dynasty, this hall became a locus of monasticism, establishing itself as a liturgical center of the temple complex.

4. Conclusion

The present Hall of the Discipline of the Elders exhibits a dynamic history since its establishment in 1228. Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness furnished with a statue of Qiu Changchun and murals depicting his journey served a commemorative function and as a focus for patriarch worship until the collapse of the Yuan dynasty. At the similar time, the hall hosted the birthday celebration of Qiu, which continued to the mid-Ming dynasty when the hall solely dedicated to Qiu was built. During the Ming, the hall was used by different religious groups to reinforce their religious legitimacy. However, the revival of Quanzhen during the Qing dynasty brought new functions to this hall, thus legitimating and solidifying the Quanzhen identity of the temple. The hall's significance is also acknowledged in title plaques bestowed by both the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors.

Baiyun guan fell into disuse during the Cultural Revolution. When the temple reopened in 1980, it revived its previous function and configuration to emphasize its Quanzhen heritage. Daily devotional rituals were resumed and standardization of

¹¹⁴ Hammerstrom also asserts that throughout the morning ritual, the Daoist monastic community remembers and enacts previous transmissions and furthermore, they put themselves in a position to receive teachings. Hammerstrom, 30-71.

temple rituals from the early 1990s led to the designation of the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders as a ritual space for the celebration of birthdays of Daoist gods and immortals. Despite the recent change of tablets leading to incorrect identities, as well as the replacement of the eighteen disciples by popular deities in the flanking halls, the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders retains its significant function because it still houses images of the representative Quanzhen patriarchs central to its ritual function.

CHAPTER 5

A STUDY OF QIU'S ICONOGRAPHY IN PATRIARCH QIU HALL (QIUZU DIAN)

The popularity of Qiu Changchun and his birthday celebration during the Ming dynasty stimulated the creation of different biographies and a new iconography. The statue of Qiu Changchun in the present Patriarch Qiu Hall serves as visual evidence of the circulating vernacular literature representing Qiu as a castrated immortal, and after the enshrinement of the statue in the early sixteenth century, the hall became the new center for public festivals for his birthday celebration.¹ However, this new iconography was later changed in the Qing period. Quanzhen Daoists during the nineteenth century amended Qiu's iconography to present what they believed to be an appropriate, idealized depiction of the immortal.

Comparing accounts in historical texts with the iconography of the statue reveals a transformation of meaning and symbolism. The new iconography of Qiu

¹ Although I use the title "Patriarch Qiu Hall," it is misleading to associate the hall and its function with Quanzhen Daoist religious practices because it was rebuilt or refurbished in the early sixteenth century, as evident from its patron and context, including the iconography. As indicated in *Rixia jiuwen kao*, there was no title plaque in the halls of Baiyun guan during late imperial China. The earliest textual source to use the title "Patriarch Qiu Hall" (Qiu zu dian) to refer to this hall is the Qing edition of *Rixia jiuwen kao*. When this hall was refurbished with the installation of the statue at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it may have been known as the Hall of Changchun (Changchun dian), since Zhang Zan seemed to regard the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, then named Changchun Hall, as this newly refurbished hall with the statue of Qiu Changchun. See *Rixia jiuwen kao*, 1583. For the stele inscription by Zhang Zan, see Oyanagi, 133-135 and Beijing tushu guan 53:127.

Changchun, which appeared in the Ming dynasty, reflects a popular portrayal associated with his cult. However, the correction of this new iconography by temple clerics suggests the recovery of religious control intended to present an idealistic portrait of the patriarch.

1. The New Iconography in the Patriarch Qiu Hall

In the present Patriarch Qiu Hall, the 160-centimeter-tall dry lacquer statue of Qiu Changchun is housed in a wooden niche and attended by two statues of boy servants, who each hold a scroll (fig.5.1). The statue of Qiu Changchun has downcast eyes, slightly sunken cheeks, a mustache, and a goatee (fig.5.2). As will be discussed later, the mustache and goatee were added during the Qing dynasty. He wears an informal Daoist robe, albeit highly decorated, with a belt tied around his waist and a simple cloth cap. His orange-colored robe is decorated with flying cranes among colorful clouds with a meander pattern (*huiwen* 回紋) on the lapel. He is seated on a rock pedestal, holding a *ruyi* scepter in his right hand, with his left hand placed on the rock. A decorated screen located behind the statue of Qiu is part of the niche. The screen features a three-clawed dragon that emerges from dark clouds and a pearl symbolizing thunder in the upper left corner, with jutting rocks and waves along the bottom.

Historical sources are silent concerning the enshrinement of the statue of Qiu Changchun in the Patriarch Qiu Hall, but the eunuch Zhang Cheng in the early sixteenth century may have been the patron. Two steles were erected to praise Zhang's patronage: *Stele of the Restoration of Baiyun guan* (*Baiyun guan chongxiu*

bei) 白雲觀重修碑 by Zhao Shixian 趙士賢, and *Stele of the Meritorious Acts of the Perfected Qiu Changchun* (*Changchun Qiu zhenren daoheng bei*) 長春邱真人道行碑 by Zhang Zan 張瓚, both composed in 1506.² These epigraphic sources mention Zhang's lavish patronage of Baiyun guan from the first month of 1504 to the twelfth month of 1506. The stele by Zhang Zan relates that the temple appeared like the fairyland, Penglai (蓬萊之真境), after the completed restoration. It further cites Zhang Cheng's reverence of the statue of Qiu at the temple and the carving of Qiu's meritorious acts.³

Zhang Cheng may have patronized the enshrinement of the new statue at the present Patriarch Qiu Hall instead of refurbishing Changchun Hall (presently Hall of the Discipline of the Elders), because Changchun Hall, rebuilt by Shao Yizheng in 1457, was in a deteriorated condition when Li Desheng visited Baiyun guan in 1509.⁴

² For the stele written by Zhao Shixian, see Oyanagi, 130-132 and Beijing tushuguan 53: 126. For Zhang Zan's stele, see Oyanagi, 133-135 and Beijing tushu guan 53:127. The memorial stele dedicated to Zhang Cheng only mentions the restoration of Baiyun guan "out of his pious mind," but provides no details. Beijing tushuguan 54: 59.

³ 瞻其容儀於廟, 得考其行於厥石。

See Oyanagi, 135 and Beijing tushu guan 53:127.

⁴ Li describes the condition of Changchun Hall as follows:

"[I] see eaves and windows [of this hall] are falling off."
睹簷牖脫落。

For Li Desheng's visit to Baiyun guan, see *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1582.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the original name of the Patriarch Qiu Hall was Hall of Amplifying Felicity dedicated to the Supreme Emperor of Dark Heaven. The name changed when Zhang Cheng patronized Baiyun guan during the early sixteenth century.

Li Yangzheng presumes that the statue of Qiu in the Patriarch Qiu Hall was produced by the Nepalese artist Anige (1245-1306) during the Yuan dynasty and was moved to the Patriarch Qiu Hall during the Ming dynasty. Li compares the statue in the Patriarch Qiu Hall with the description made by Yang Shiqi in 1423 when Yang visited Baiyun guan and saw the statue of Qiu Changchun. According to Yang,

Also, Wang Shizhen, who describes the new statue in the *Sequel to the Writing of Yanzhou shanren* (*Yanzhou shanren sibu xu gao*) 龔州山人四部續稿 in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, testifies to the existence in the middle of the hall of only a statue of Qiu with a soft complexion and facial wrinkles.⁵ Wang's description suggests that the sculpture is clearly distinct from the one in the present Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.

The statue of Qiu Changchun in the Patriarch Qiu Hall displays a different iconography from the one in the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders, with slightly aged and effeminate features suggested by his sunken cheeks and gentle expression (figs.5.2-3). The emergence of the new iconography in Baiyun guan seems to be the result of developments in the cult of Qiu Changchun during the Ming dynasty and the widespread celebration of his birthday.

The Cult of Qiu Changchun

The cult of Qiu began during his lifetime. The miraculous phenomena associated with his magical power were well known, and Qiu was believed to be an

“At that time the statue [of Qiu Changchun] still exists. Its spirit was invigorating and clearly penetrating, attentive and calm, free and remote, as if a divine immortal.”
當時塑像尚存，其神爽清徹，凝靜簡遠翛然神仙人也。

Based on this, Li Yangzheng dates the statue to the Yuan dynasty. Li also identifies the artist as Anige, partly because a Nepalese scholar viewed the statue and confirmed it as a work of Anige. Also, Anige was active in producing murals and statues at Buddhist and Daoist temples of the Yuan capital in 1273. Li thus concludes that the statue may have been produced by Anige in 1273 in order to install it in the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness and later moved to the Patriarch Qiu Hall. Yang Shiqi, *Dongli xu ji*, 1: 20a-23a. Li Yangzheng, 74-78.

I cannot agree with Li Yangzheng's attribution. Firstly, the statue of Qiu Changchun was enshrined at the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness in 1228, not during the reign of Shizu. Secondly, the iconography of Qiu Changchun during the late Jin and Yuan dynasty was already standardized, as evident in surviving images (see figs.4.2-5) and the diffusion of the iconography that occurred during the Ming.

⁵ For the description of the statue and bibliographic information, see note 92 of Chapter 1.

immortal while he was still alive.⁶ His religious efficacy prompted summons and patronage from different emperors. That the worship of Qiu continued after his death is evident from the erection of memorial steles, the compilation of biographies and hagiographies, the making of sacred images during the late Jin through the Yuan dynasties, and the bestowal of honorary posthumous titles by two Yuan emperors.⁷ Qiu's representations, literary or visual, were consistent at the time since most of those circulating were produced under the guidance of Quanzhen institutions and organizations.⁸ The hagiography of Qiu Changchun of this time sanctions him as a divine immortal through the apotheosis of his life, which was the saving of several tens of thousands of lives.⁹

Different images of Qiu appeared in the collected writings and miscellaneous notes by Ming literati, perhaps due to the decline of the Quanzhen institutional

⁶ Qiu performed the rainmaking ceremony at Tianchang guan in 1220, which ended a drought. He created a cloud that functioned as an umbrella for those who were exposed to the severe heat. Waley, 55-58. When Qiu was recommended to Genghis Khan, he was believed to be a three-hundred-year-old immortal.

⁷ The representative biographies and hagiographies were compiled by Quanzhen Daoists such as *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173), *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (DZ 174), *Xuanfeng qinghui tu*, and *Quanzhen di wudai zongshi Changchun yandao zhujiao zhenren neizhuan*.

The religious title *Changchun yandao zhujiao zhenren* 長春演道主教真人 [Perfectured Changchun Who Cultivates the Dao and Directs Teaching] was bestowed by Emperor Shizu in 1269 and another title *Changchun quande shenhua mingying zhenjun* 長春全德神化明應真君 [Perfectured Lord Changchun of True Virtue, Divine Transformation and Bright Response] by Emperor Wuzong 武宗 in 1310. See *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (DZ 174).

⁸ Yuan dynasty textual sources provide biographical information about Qiu Changchun, with minor discrepancies. For instance, according to *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173), Qiu was from a prominent family and was well educated. However, the stele inscription *Zhongnan shan shenxian Chongyangzi Wang zhenren Quanzhen jiaozu bei* 終南山神仙重陽子王真人全真教祖碑 [Stele of Teaching Patriarch of Quanzhen, Immortal and the Perfectured Wang Chongyang at Mount Zhongnan] by Wanyan Shou 完顏璘 (1172-1232) informs us that Qiu was illiterate and was first taught to read and write by Wang Zhe. *Daojia jinshi lue*, 451. Also, most of the sources mention the burial of Qiu took place one year after his death; however, *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173) mentions Qiu's burial occurred three years after his death.

In terms of visual images, as mentioned in chapter 4, surviving images of Qiu from Jin and Yuan eras show the already established iconography.

⁹ See *Jinlian zhengzong ji* (DZ 173).

management and the popularization of Qiu Changchun and his birthday festival. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, Qiu was known to have been a military adviser to Yuan Shizu (Kublai).¹⁰ Although details associated with Qiu's activity are not provided in the *Collection of Grass and Tree* (*Caomu zi*) 草木子, it is presumed that there might have been a related story.¹¹ Qiu is also known as a person from the Zhishun 至順 reign (1330-32) of the Yuan dynasty. An early Ming text, *News from a Friend in Eastern Garden* (*Dongyuan youwen*) 東園友聞, includes an episode of Qiu Changchun.¹² According to it, in the Gengwu year of the Zhishun reign (1330), Qiu destroyed a newly built house instead of giving a compliment. Later Qiu explained the reason: he wanted to warn against settling down with material happiness or security. This specific episode is likely excerpted from the *Records Composed after Retiring from the Farm* (*Chuogeng lu*) 輟耕錄 by the late-Yuan and early-Ming scholar, Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316-1403). The biography of Qiu by Tao seems to be borrowed from the Daoist text, *Supplement to the Comprehensive Mirror of*

¹⁰ Ye Ziqi 葉子奇, *Caomu zi* 草木子 [Collection of Grass and Tree] in *Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan* 1: 55. This text was prefaced by the author in 1378. For more information on the text, see Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968), 110-111.

This information became widely circulated as seen in later writings. The Qianlong emperor mentions the summon of Qiu by Yuan Shizu in the stele commemorating the restoration of the temple in 1788. (Oyanagi, 144. See also Beijing tushuguan 75: 93.) Qiu was known as a military adviser or national patriarch of Yuan Shizu to Korean emissaries. (See Pak Chiwon, 483, 659. Kim Kyongson, 50.) A pious patron of the late Qing mentions that Baiyun guan was built by the order of Yuan Shizu. (*Baiyun guan juanchan beiji* written by Cai Yongqing in 1811. See Oyanagi, 145.)

¹¹ A twentieth-century folktale tells how Qiu became a military adviser of Yuan Shizu. According to the story, during the waning years of the Southern Song, Kublai was having difficulty in conquering northern China. One day, an old Daoist (Qiu Changchun) lectured Kublai to abstain from violence to win the support of the Han Chinese. Greatly impressed, Kublai appointed Qiu as his military adviser. (See the recounted folktale from the Yongle area in Shanxi in Katz, *Image of an Immortal*, 178-179.)

¹² The text includes histories of the Song and Yuan dynasties. The writer of this text is not known, but its preface, written during the Qing, informs us that some of the contents were borrowed from *Dongyuan ketan* 東園客談 [Conversation with a Guest in Eastern Garden] by Sun Daoyi 孫道易 (ca. 1383) and explains the title of the text.

Immortals Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages (Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian) 曆世真仙體道通鑒續編 (DZ 297), but this specific episode, added to the end of Qiu's biography, does not contain any information regarding the dates.¹³ The same episode of Qiu from the Zhishun reign is also found in a late-Ming text, *Literary Collection of Southern Window (Nanchuang biji)* 南窗筆記.¹⁴

Another Ming literary text, *Compilation of Conversations by Mr. Du (Dugong tanzuan)* 都公談纂 compiled by Du Mu 都穆 (1459-1525), tells three related anecdotes about Qiu Changchun.¹⁵ In the first, Yuan Taizu (Genghis) offered a cup of poisoned wine to Qiu Changchun to test Qiu's immortality; the poison did not kill Qiu, but it left a bald spot on top of his head. The next day, in the second anecdote, the emperor bestowed upon Qiu a jade Daoist cap, and Qiu's hair grew in the bald spot so that he was able to wear it.¹⁶ In the third anecdote, Taizu, who was so pleased with Qiu's talent, offered Qiu a princess in marriage, but Qiu castrated himself on the ninth day of the tenth month in order to uphold his religious faith. To commemorate

¹³ Tao Zongyi, *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄 [Records Composed after Retiring from the Farm], *juan*. 10. This text, compiled approximately in 1366, is based on a large number of sources such as Yuan history and popular literature. For more information on the text or Tao, see William H. Nienhauser, Jr. ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, vol. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 769-770. For the date of *Chuogeng lu*, see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, revised ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 875.

¹⁴ This episode was listed under the category of Daoism (道教). Yu Yuanchang 余元長 (1615-after 1646), *Nanchuang biji* 南窗筆記 [Literary Collection of Southern Window] in *Yanju biji* 燕居筆記 [Literary Collection of Leisure Hours] (1641-44; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1990), 6: 2807-2808.

¹⁵ Du Mu is a writer and art critic of Wuxian 吳縣 in the Suzhou area. For his biography, see Goodrich and Fang, 1322-1323.

¹⁶ With a bald spot, it is difficult to wear a Daoist cap, which uses a pin to hold the topknot.

this event, people in the imperial capital celebrated *yanjiu* (Castration on Ninth) 閹九.¹⁷

The *Compilation of Conversations*, a collection of unofficial histories, anecdotes, and other weird stories from the late Yuan to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, suggests that these three stories may have been popular in the imperial capital during the Ming dynasty. In particular, the first two episodes associated with Qiu's miraculous power are likely from the stories of the founding patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism, entitled *Lives of Immortals, Seven Perfected* (*Qizhen xianzhuan*) 七真仙傳. According to Schipper, this text, developed from *Chronological Biographies of the Seven Perfected* (*Qizhen nianpu*) 七真年譜 (DZ 175), was extant in a 1417 edition, although surviving examples date from the Qing dynasty.¹⁸ The earliest Qing example, *Precious Biographies of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals* (*Qizhen tianxian baozhuan*) 七真天仙寶傳, compiled in 1712, recounts the first two episodes of Qiu's miraculous power.¹⁹ The reappearance of the

¹⁷ 元太祖尊禮邱長春，屢試其術。一日，長春入朝，語弟子可掘坎以俟。及入，太祖賜鳩酒一杯，長春飲之，無難色。亟歸寢坎中，得生，頂發盡禿。明日，又謂弟子索絲繩以入，太祖賜玉冠，長春出絲繩係之而謝。太祖神其術，禮之愈隆。後欲妻以公主，堅不可辭，遂自腐以告絕。其日乃十月九日，今京師謂之閹九，為會甚盛。

Du Mu 都穆, *Dugong tanzuan* 都公談纂 [Compilation of Conversations by Mr. Du] in *Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan*, 536. The story of Qiu's castration is also found in Oyanagi, 61.

¹⁸ Schipper and Varellen, 1134.

¹⁹ *Minjian baojuan* 12: 299-300. *Qizhen tianxian baozhuan* is a vernacular novel with a precious scroll (*baojuan*) format. In the narrative, historical information was adapted and coalesced with imaginative fiction and legend to achieve a dramatic effect. Its preface informs us that this text was written in 1712, during the Kangxi reign, at Double Dragon Monastery (Shuanglong si) 雙龍寺 in the imperial capital. *Ibid.*, 212.

Another surviving example including these episodes is *Qizhen yinguo zhuan* 七真因果傳 [Biographies of Cause and Effect of the Seven Perfected] written by Huang Yongliang 黃永亮 in 1893. In it, the second episode of Qiu wearing a Daoist cap was slightly distorted. According to the twenty-eighth section, a gold bar was given by an empress to Qiu that he reshaped to wear it. *Xinkan qizhen yinguo*

episodes in the early Qing vernacular novel reveals the 1417 edition of *Lives of Immortals* as already a full-fledged novel and that Du Mu excerpted from it.

Regarding the castration of Qiu, it is not clear when this story originated, but a similar story is also found in the writing by Wang Shizhen in the late sixteenth century. Wang referred to the *Miscellaneous Notes from the Bean Garden* (*Shuyuan zaji*) 菽園雜記, written by Lu Rong 陸容 (1436-94) as the source of *yanjiu* 闍九 or Qiu's self-castration, which also points to the circulation of the castration story during the fifteenth century.²⁰ Wang's castration episode is similar to the one told by Du Mu, but Wang says the celebration of *yanjiu* 闍九 occurred during the ninth month in the imperial capital.²¹

A similar story of castration also appears in the late-Ming and early-Qing text, *Private Gleanings in the Reign of Wanli* (*Wanli yehuo bian*) 萬歷野獲編. This text includes the story of *yanjiu* 闍九, which had supposedly been transmitted through the generations. It tells the origin of *yanjiu* 闍九 as related to the Quanzhen Daoist, Qiu Xuanqing 丘玄清 (1326-92). According to this text, Qiu served as the abbot of the Palace of Five Dragons (Wulong gong) 五龍宮 at Mount Wudang, appointed by Zhang Sanfeng during the early years of the reign of the Hongwu 洪武 emperor (r.

zhuan 新刊七真因果傳 [Newly Published Biographies of Cause of Effect of the Seven Perfected] was newly carved in 1941 with accompanying illustrations. This was translated into *The Seven Taoist Masters: A Folk Novel of China* by Eva Wong. Eva Wong, trans., *The Seven Taoist Masters: A Folk Novel of China* (Boston: Shambhala, 1990), 167-168.

²⁰ According to Wang, when he was young, he read the story of Qiu's self-castration on the ninth month and the rejection of the palace lady given by Yuan Taizu. Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao*, *juan*. 66: 875-877.

Shuyuan zaji does not contain this information, which was also mentioned by Oyanagi. Oyanagi, 60.

²¹ Wang consulted many Quanzhen texts to clarify this anecdote of Qiu. He could not find any relevant information regarding Qiu's self-castration. Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao*, *juan*. 66: 875-877.

1368-98); due to his talents, Qiu was then appointed the imperial inspector (*yushi*) 御史. The court offered him the company of two palace ladies; however, Qiu could not break his vow and therefore castrated himself. Furthermore, this account states that Qiu was later promoted to the position of minister of state sacrifices (*Taichang qing*) 太常卿, and he died in the imperial capital. The text states that in spite of Qiu's considerable achievement, the date of his self-castration cannot be verified. Nevertheless, the imperial capital is not only crowded with visitors on the day of *yanjiu* 闋九 but also myriads of Quanzhen Daoists from all four directions gather there.²² This text also confirms the enshrinement of a statue of Qiu Xuanqing in Baiyun guan that looks just like an old lady (媪).²³

Unlike the stories mentioned by Du Mu or Wang Shizhen, the castration story found in the *Private Gleanings in the Reign of Wanli* identifies Qiu Xuanqing as the benefactor of the festival. This text also mentions two branches of Quanzhen Daoism with the surnames Tan, Ma, Liu, and Qiu. It is not clear whether Shen Zhen, the compiler of the last four supplements of the *Private Gleanings*, was aware of Qiu

²²全真道人丘玄清以是日就闋,故名闋九…洪武初以張三丰荐為五龍宮住持,有司又以賢才荐為御史矣。上以二宮人賜之,丘度不能辭,遂自宮,…後轉太常卿,…歿于京師。丘之事蹟甚著,但自宮之日月不可考,然京師是日,不但遊人塞途,而四方全真道人不期而集者。

Shen Defu 沈德符, *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬歷野獲編 [The Private Gleanings in the Reign of Wanli] in *Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan*, 2849-2850.

Shen Defu (1578-1642), a native of Xiushui 秀水, Zhejiang, is best known for his text *Wanli yehuo bian*. The text consists of three sections: the first 20 *juan* were written in 1606 and the 10 *juan* of the sequel were written in 1619. The supplement of 4 *juan* was added by the author's descendent Shen Zhen 沈振 in 1713. The information regarding Qiu is found in the third *juan* of the supplement, which suggests the information on *yanjiu* was gathered and included in the text at the early Qing dynasty. For more information on his biography, see Goodrich and Fang, 1190-1191. Information on the text is found in Franke, 102.

²³今觀其遺像,真儼然一媪也。

Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan, 2850.

Changchun and his birthday festival in Baiyun guan. However, the biography of Qiu Xuanqing provided by Shen accords with his biography found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources, such as the *Record of Biographies from Our Dynasty* (*Guochao xianzheng lu*) 國朝獻徵錄 and the *Gazetteer of the Great Taihe Mountain* (*Dayue Taihe shan zhi*) 大岳太火山志.²⁴ Neither the *Record of Biographies from Our Dynasty* nor the *Gazetteer of the Great Taihe Mountain* mentions the offering of palace ladies or Qiu's castration. Another text, *Veritable Records of Emperor Taizu*, relates the episode of women offered to Qiu but merely states that he turned them down.²⁵

Official sources do not explicitly speak about the castration of Qiu Xuanqing. However, it seems that Qiu indeed castrated himself, and this episode must have been very popular and later grafted onto the biography of Qiu Changchun, likely due to its

²⁴ Qiu Xuanqing, native of Fuping 富平, Xi'an 西安, studied with Huang Dezhen 黃得禎, moved to Mount Wudang, met Zhang Sanfeng and served as abbot at the Palace of Five Dragons. Due to his talents, he was summoned to the court, served as minister of state sacrifices, and performed rites of sacrifices to Heaven. After his death, Qiu was buried at the Palace of Five Dragons and the funerary rite was prepared by Zhang Zhi 張智, secretary in the Ministry of Rites.

Qiu's biography was attributed to his contemporary Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), and it was included in the *Record of Biographies from Our Dynasty* (*Guochao xianzheng lu*) 國朝獻徵錄 edited by Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1541-1610). Jiao Hong, *Guochao xianzheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄 [Record of Biographies from Our Dynasty] (16th c.; repr., Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1987), 118: 5234-35. Since Song's death predated to that of Qiu Xuanqing, the biography may have been written in the fifteenth century after the death of Qiu. For more information on Song Lian, see Goodrich and Fang, 1225-1231. *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* 大岳太火山志 [Gazetteer of the Great Taihe Mountain] was compiled by Wang Zuo 王佐 in 1556. Wang Zuo, *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* 大岳太火山志 [Gazetteer of the Great Taihe Mountain] in *Zangwai daoshu*, 32: 927-928.

Unlike the above-mentioned sources, de Bryun mentions that Qiu studied with a Qingwei master Huang Shunshen 黃舜申 (b. 1224), but it is not clear how he relates Huang Shunshen to Qiu Xuanqing. Pierre de Bryun, "Daoism in the Ming," in *Daoism Handbook*, 595.

²⁵ 上嘗賜以媵女，玄清固辭不受。

Taizu shi lu 太祖實錄 [The Veritable Records of Emperor Taizu] 225: 3298. See also Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 227-228.

eccentric aspects. The successful graft of the story is indicated in the *Private Gleanings*. The text suggests a seamless sequence of events, such as the service of Qiu Xuanqing in the imperial court, his castration, and the later celebration of his castration at Baiyun guan in Beijing, the imperial capital. The text does not state that the imperial court Qiu Xuanqing served was located in Yingtian 應天 (present Nanjing). Without this detail, the biography in the *Private Gleanings* implies Qiu's service in Beijing, his death, and the subsequent celebration of the festival in Baiyun guan.²⁶ Perhaps the similar factors between Qiu Changchun and Qiu Xuanqing such as surname, religious affiliation, and summons to the court smoothed the grafting of one biography onto another. Although *Private Gleanings* states that the castration date of Qiu Xuanqing cannot be verified, the dates provided by Du Mu and Wang Shizhen, the ninth day of the tenth month or the ninth month, clearly suggest the celebration of the birthday of Qiu Changchun—the nineteenth day, or ten and nine (十九)—and his birthday celebration, Festival on Ninth (*yanjiu*) 燕九. But most of all, the three sources of Du Mu, Wang Shizhen, and Shen Zhen state Baiyun guan as the place of celebrating the birthday of a castrated immortal.

The eccentric and unusual nature of the castration story may have aided its inclusion in the biography or hagiography of Qiu Changchun, which occurs about the same time as the popular mythmaking of Qiu Changchun. A fictionalized biography of Qiu found in the writing by Du Mu, or perhaps from the *Lives of Immortals, Seven Perfected*, shows the typical motifs found in the hagiography of Zhang Guolao, a

²⁶ Mount Wudang, where Qiu Xuanqing stayed before his imperial service, was not far from the court in Nanjing.

famous immortal who is also a member of the Eight Immortals. Zhang Guolao, summoned by Tang Xuanzong, was also tested to determine whether he was an immortal. Xuanzong proposed that Zhang marry a princess, but he refused and left the capital.²⁷ It is likely that the castration story (or the offering of palace ladies) and fictitious accounts became assimilated into the actual biography of Qiu Changchun and his birthday celebration.²⁸ Since the mid- or late-Ming period, the birthday celebration of Qiu Changchun had become synonymous with the celebration of castration or *yanjiu* 闞九 in Baiyun guan, which continued into the late Qing and early Republican era.²⁹

Yanjiu

As discussed in Chapter 4, the birthday of Qiu Changchun was celebrated by the Quanzhen monastic community during the Yuan dynasty at what is now the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders. However, during the Ming, Qiu's birthday had been incorporated into annual liturgical calendars (歲時) and marked for special celebration (節) in the imperial capital. Perhaps due to the widespread popularity of this celebration, *yanjiu* was once accounted for as the celebration of Qiu's death anniversary in the late Ming source, *Miscellaneous Notes About My Office at*

²⁷ For the hagiography of Zhang Guolao, see Little, 328.

²⁸ The similar case of popular mythmaking or continuous development of legends by combining fact and fiction is also found in the fictionalization of Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375). Hok-lam Chan, "The Making of a Myth: Liu Ji's Fictionalization in the *Yinglie zhuan* and Its Sequel," in *The Scholar's Mind: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Mote*, ed. Perry Link (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2009), 51-93.

²⁹ Zhenjun 震鈞, *Tianzhi ouwen* 天咫偶聞 [Hearsay from Close to Heaven] (1907; repr., Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1980), 198. Aoki Masaru 青木正兒, *Pekin fuzoku zupu* 北京風俗図譜 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964), 51. This book records the annual customs of Beijing during the late Qing and early Republican era.

Wanping.³⁰ Although Shen Bang mentions the celebration of Qiu's ascension, the date of ascension is still on the nineteenth day of the first month, which is the birthday of Qiu, instead of the ninth day of the seventh month. It is not clear how Shen Bang perceived *yanjiu* as the death anniversary since the late-imperial annual calendars include only birthdays of different deities—such as the God of Eastern Peak (3/28), Shakyamuni (4/08), or Guandi (5/13)—for public celebration.³¹ Considering the fact that Shen asserts the same date of the nineteenth day of the first month, and that no other sources mention *yanjiu* as the day of Qiu's ascension, it is likely that Shen Bang made a mistake when compiling his *Miscellaneous Notes*.³²

By the late Ming, the center of Qiu's birthday celebration had shifted to the present Patriarch Qiu Hall, and people in the imperial capital visited this hall to worship his statue (禮拜其象) and make sacrificial offerings (致漿祠下/ 致酌祠下).³³ During the Ming, it was believed that Qiu was buried under the statue in the

³⁰ Shen Bang states Qiu's ascension/death on *yanjiu* 燕九 in three different entries such as the entry of Qiu's biography in *juan* 16, celebration of *yanqiu* 燕丘 included in annual calendar 歲時 in *juan* 17, and the entry of Baiyun guan in *juan* 19. Shen synonymously uses *yanjiu* 燕九 and *yanqiu* 燕丘. Shen Bang, 186-7, 191, 232.

³¹ For Ming and Qing annual calendars, including celebrations of birthdays of various deities, see Naquin, *Peking*, 275, 442-443. No ascension/ death anniversary is found in Ming or Qing annual calendars.

Qiu's death anniversary had been observed in the Quanzhen community for at least several decades, though its practice waned along with the Quanzhen institutions at the end of the Yuan or the beginning of the Ming dynasty.

³² Shen's entry on Qiu under the category of Daoism and Buddhism 仙釋 also shows a mistake in the biographical information. Qiu's encounter with Wang occurred when he was nineteen years old, not nine, as Shen mentioned in the biography. Shen Bang, 186.

³³ *Wanshu zaji* mentions the worship of the statue on *yanjiu* 燕九. Shen Bang, 187.

Ming sources use the typical phrase of "making sacrifices to Qiu Changchun" (致漿祠下 or 致酌祠下) during the birthday celebrations. See *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 74b. *Rixia jiuwen kao* quoted the phrase from *Dijing jingwu lue*, but it uses the character 酌 instead of 漿. See *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575.

hall, which is located behind the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness.³⁴ Regardless of being incorrect, this belief continued into the late imperial and early Republican eras, during which the Patriarch Qiu Hall remained as the locus of *yanjiu*.³⁵

On the day of *yanjiu*, various sundry activities, including riding and archery, football contests, popular entertainers, picnicking, and the display of fireworks, took place in the open area in front of the temple.³⁶ These activities are also reflected in the self-explanatory names of the festival, such as Festival on Ninth (*yanjiu*) 燕九, Festival of Qiu (*yanqiu*) 燕丘, Feasting of Qiu (*yanqiu*) 宴丘/ 讌邱, or Fireworks on Ninth (*yanjiu*) 煙九. But most of all, visitors wished to encounter the immortal, and they believed that Qiu would appear in the disguise of a scholar (冠紳), a roaming gentleman (游士), a courtesan (冶女), or a beggar (乞丐).³⁷ An encounter with an immortal is supposed to prevent disease, prolong life, and give blessings, and thus

³⁴ Wang Shizhen testified to the burial of Qiu under the statue (卒之明年, 始以尸入龕, 葬於今像之下). Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xugao, juan*. 61: 805.

Similarly, a contemporary source *Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital* mentions that Qiu was buried behind the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness (葬于處順堂之後), which indicates the present Patriarch Qiu Hall. The same information is also found in the early Qing local gazetteer *Record of a Remembered Dream of the Capital (Chunming mengyu lu)* 春明夢餘錄. *Chunming mengyu lu* was written by Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1592-1676), but was published in 1761. *Chunming mengyu lu, juan*. 64.

Besides this, perhaps, due to the spread of Qiu's cult, Qiu was believed to be buried in the mound on east side of Baiyun guan, although the authors of the travel gazetteer state that it is not correct. See *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 73a

³⁵ For instance, due to the misconception of Qiu's burial place as the present Patriarch Qiu Hall, a late Qing literatus Wanyan Chonghou 完顏崇厚 (1824-1893) stated that the Patriarch Qiu Hall used to be the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness. *Changchun Qiu zhenren shishi* 邱長春真人事實 [Affairs and Facts of the Perfected Qiu Changchun], 1882. The stele was erected on the east side in front of the Patriarch Qiu Hall. See Oyanagi, 154-156.

Also, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo and Juliet Bredon described the Patriarch Qiu Hall as the burial place of Qiu. Yoshioka, "Taoist Monastic Life," 232. Bredon, 266.

³⁶ 白雲觀前作大會, 射箭擊毬人馬吼

Wu Kuan, *Jiacang ji* 16: 113.

For information on the fireworks, see *Wanli yehuo bian* in *Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan*, 2849.

³⁷ *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 73a-76a.

Qiu was worshiped and supplicated as a deity who could influence or intervene with the world of the living. An actual appearance of Qiu in disguise is missing from the biographies and hagiographies from the Yuan dynasty or vernacular novels of the late imperial period; however, manifestations of immortals in the above-mentioned disguises were common in traditional Chinese literature, as found in the hagiography of Lü Dongbin.³⁸

The fictionalized account of Qiu Changchun, the public celebration of Qiu, and the people's expectation of Qiu's descent in disguise all indicate the public perception of Qiu as an immortal. The emergence of the new iconography during the Ming period also supports the prevalent understanding of Qiu as a typical immortal figure.

The New Iconography of Qiu Changchun

The appearance of new iconography in the Patriarch Qiu Hall seems to be associated with the contemporary public perception of Qiu Changchun, especially his self-castration, as evident in the Ming-period sources. Wang Shizhen dismissed the possibility of Qiu's castration after he examined various Quanzhen texts; however, he still explicitly compares Qiu's appearance to that of a eunuch (閹官) when he visits Baiyun guan, and he also mentions the appearance of an old eunuch (老中涓) after

³⁸ For vernacular literature of late imperial China, see *Qizhen tianxian baozhuan* in *Minjian baojuan* 12: 211-329. See also *Qizhen zushi liexian zhuan* and *Qizhen yingguo zhuan*. In the case of Lü Dongbin, he appeared in the disguise of a government student, beggar, and a Daoist, in his hagiography. Miao Shanshi 苗善時 (fl. 1288-1324), *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 [An Account of the Divine Transformation and Wondrous Communications of the Sovereign Lord of Purified Yang] (DZ 305).

examining a painting of Qiu Changchun owned by a certain Mr. Wang.³⁹ The *Private Gleanings* also includes the castration story and affirms the effeminate appearance of the statue, comparing it to a beardless man with a soft complexion.⁴⁰ The text further identifies the statue as Qiu Xuanqing, a castrated Daoist. These examples exhibit the widespread popularity of a castrated immortal, whether it is Qiu Changchun or Qiu Xuanqing, and it seems that the castration story affected the appearance of a new iconography. The renovation of Patriarch Qiu Hall, including the installation of the statue, was commissioned by Zhang Cheng, a eunuch. There is no mention of Qiu's castration in the memorial steles commissioned by Zhang Cheng, but his patronage of Patriarch Qiu Hall implies an association of the eunuch patron with the castrated Daoist immortal.

The attire and posture of the statue reflect a generic portrayal of a Daoist figure, presenting Qiu as a publicly celebrated and famous immortal without representing any sectarian affiliation. The decorative motifs on his robe, his posture, and the selection of his attributes are commonly found in Daoist contexts. For instance, the motifs of cranes in clouds on the robe and the meander pattern on the robe's lapel denote longevity and immortality.⁴¹ Beyond the general symbolism, the decoration of cranes on the robe indicates a Daoist priest's vestments. The second prose-poem on the *Red Cliff* by Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101) describes the poet's

³⁹ Wang Shizhen, *Yanzhou shanren sibu xu gao*, 61: 805, 66: 876.

⁴⁰ *Wanli yehuo bian in Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan*, 2849-2850.

⁴¹ A meander pattern is a lengthy decorative motif and therefore represents eternity and longevity. According to Bartholomew, it has been a common motif in Chinese decorative arts since the Yuan dynasty. Bartholomew, 198.

dream of a Daoist priest dressed in a robe of crane feathers.⁴² Archaeological excavations reveal the crane motif on Daoist vestments from the Jin dynasty. For example, the excavated robe of the Daoist priest, Yan Deyuan 閻德源 (1094-1189), dated to 1189, displays the crane as a primary motif (fig.5.4).⁴³ A Daoist priest's vestment decorated with flying cranes is found in an illustration from a piece of Ming-period literature, *Plum in the Golden Vase* (fig.5.5).⁴⁴ Similar decorative motifs are also found in a Ming-period painting depicting Zhang Guolao (fig.5.6), although they are found on the border of his robe and not on the robe itself.⁴⁵

The portrayal of Qiu Changchun holding a *ruyi* scepter and sitting on a rock pedestal with legs pendent recalls similar depictions of Daoist figures in contemporary Ming-period woodblock prints. Images of the Imperial Lord of Eastern Floriate (Donghua Dijun) in the *Complete Compendium of the Deities of the Three Religions and Their Origins* (*Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan*) 三教源流搜神大全 (fig.5.7), of Song Lun 宋倫 in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals* (*Youxiang liexian quanzhuan*) 有象列仙全傳 (fig.5.8), and of Guangchengzi 廣成子 in the *Illustrated Compendium of Three Realms* (*Sancai tuhuui*)

⁴² Little, 195.

⁴³ The image is reproduced in *Wenwu*. Datong shi bowu guan 大同市博物馆, "Datong Jindai Yan Deyuan mufa jue jian bao 大同金代閻德源墓发掘简报 [Brief Report on Excavation of Jin Dynasty Tomb of Yan Deyuan in Datong]," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 4 (1978): no pagination. See plate 3. Yan Deyuan was an abbot of Tianchang guan and performed the ritual of universal salvation there. *Zhongdu shifang da Tianchang guan chongxiu bei* (1192) by Zheng Zidan in *Daojia jinshi lue*, 1024-1025.

⁴⁴ For a reproduction of the image, see Little, 192.

The illustrated image closely follows the text. According to Chapter 66 of *Plum in the Golden Vase*, the Daoist priest Huang is clad in a scarlet vestment with golden clouds and hundreds of cranes embroidered upon it. See Clement Egerton, trans., *The Golden Lotus* (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995), 3: 197.

⁴⁵ For the reproduction of the image, see Little, 329.

三才圖繪 (fig.5.9) all show similar depictions of this seated posture and choice of attribute: each figure sits on a rock with legs pendent and holds a *ruyi* scepter in his hands. The identification of each figure as a Daoist immortal or a deified Daoist practitioner is the central commonality of their accompanying hagiographies.⁴⁶ Such depictions seem to be generic representations of Daoist immortals or deities, for these persons exhibit varied iconographies depending on context. For instance, Donghua Dijun was depicted as an emperor or King Sire of the East (Dongwang gong) 東王公, attending the court of the primordial in the Palace of Eternal Joy (fig.5.10). Guangchengzi was portrayed as a Daoist hermit in a Ming-period painting (fig.5.11) showing the ideal rulership of an emperor.⁴⁷ In this painting, Guangchengzi does not hold a *ruyi* scepter, an attribute commonly held by a Daoist immortal or Daoist priest

⁴⁶ The hagiography of Donghua Dijun, also known as Wood Sire (Mugong) 木公 or King Sire of the East (Dongwang gong) 東王公, tells of his high status in the Daoist pantheon. As mentioned in previous chapters, Donghua Dijun was considered as an ancestral patriarch of Quanzhen Daoism; however, the hagiography does not include this formation except for providing the religious title bestowed by Yuan Shizu. Ye Dehui 葉德輝, *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 [Complete Compendium of the Deities of the Three Religions and Their Origins] (1909; repr., Taiwan: Danqing tushu gongsi, 1983), 22-25. *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* was compiled during the Jiajing reign (1522-1566) of the Ming dynasty. The text I consulted is a Qing reprint of the original Ming edition.

Song Lun, native of Luoyang, is a figure from the Zhou dynasty (1100-221 BCE), and it is said that he received the scripture from Lord Lao and later became an immortal. Wang Yunpeng 汪雲鵬, *Youxiang liexian quanzhuan* 有象列仙全傳 [An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals] (ca. 1600; repr., Taipei: Taiwang xuesheng shuju, 1989), 106-107. Wang Shizhen's name appears as a compiler of this text. However, as Kathlyn Liscomb suggests, his name was appropriated as the compiler to lend luster to the text. Kathlyn Maurean Liscomb, "Li Bai, a Hero among Poets, in the Visual, Dramatic, and Literary Arts of China," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September, 1999): 386. Guangchengzi is an early reincarnation of Laozi. This image portrays Xuanyuan 軒轅, mythical Yellow Emperor, calling upon Guangchengzi who was in recluse at Mount Kongtong 崆峒山 in search of immortality. *Sancai tuhui*, 780.

⁴⁷ For the interpretation and the reproduction of this image, see Little, 177. This painting was also produced to convey the theme of summoning the hermit, which was a frequently demanded subject at the Ming court. Wen C. Fong and James C.Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 347.

of high status.⁴⁸ In contrast, the statue of Qiu Changchun does hold a *ruyi* scepter and therefore was intended to project him as a Daoist immortal.

The symbolism of the statue with the dragon screen is a proclamation of Qiu Changchun's status as a Daoist deity and conveys that he should be worshiped and revered like other Daoist gods. For example, a Northern Song statue of Yi Jiang 邑姜 in the Sage Mother Hall 聖母殿, at Jin Shrine 晉祠 in Taiyuan, Shanxi, has a screen decorated with a dragon, water and clouds (fig.5.12). In the same temple complex, a Ming-dynasty statue of Guandi is also accompanied by a screen of dragons in clouds (fig.5.13). And a screen depicting dragons in clouds also accompanies the early Qing statue of Zhenwu, formerly enshrined in Baiyun guan (see fig.3.22). A photograph taken by Morrison during the early Republican era also shows a statue of a Daoist god accompanied by a dragon screen (fig.5.14), although its identity and date are not known. In the Sage Mother Hall, the installation of a dragon screen resulted from the identity of the goddess and the traditional myth of dragons; Yi Jiang was believed to be the Water Goddess of Shanxi, and dragons control the rain and the clouds. However, dragon screens were gradually adopted for statues of Daoist gods who are not associated with water, as evident in surviving images and photographs.⁴⁹ Therefore the dragon screen in the Patriarch Qiu Hall served to indicate Qiu as a Daoist god.

⁴⁸ Surviving portrait paintings of Daoist priests show the figure clad in a formal robe holding a *ruyi* scepter. For a portrait painting of Wang Changyue, see *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, no pagination.

⁴⁹ The dragon has multiple symbolic meanings in Daoism. For example, the dragon represents the resonance of *yang* or male energy or a symbol of one of the Five Elements, fire. It is also an important aspect of inner alchemy. It is not clear if a dragon screen accompanying Daoist statues entails the specific symbolism, unless the case is self-explanatory, as seen in the Sage Mother Hall.

The depiction of a castrated immortal, an apotheosis chosen by Zhang Cheng, popular stories of Qiu, and a public festival in Qiu's honor all shed light on the cult of an immortal during the Ming dynasty. The selection of attire, posture, and surrounding elements of the statue also enhances the public perception of a generic immortal figure without suggesting any sectarian affiliation.

2. The Change in Iconography during the Late Qing

The statue of Qiu Changchun, once with a beardless face, has been worshiped in the Patriarch Qiu Hall since its installation during the Ming dynasty.⁵⁰ The face of the statue was apparently repainted with a mustache and a goatee in the nineteenth century, when temple clerics attempted to construct a legitimate Longmen lineage at Baiyun guan.⁵¹ The amended image was first recorded by Li Ciming when he visited the temple on the birthday of Qiu (*yanjiu*) in 1873. Li described Qiu as having a white face with a beard or a mustache (鬚) and noted the difference between Qiu's face and the one described in the *Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital*.⁵² Li further mentions that, despite the beard on the face, Qiu does not look like an eighty-year-old man.

In addition, the emblem of a dragon served as an imperial symbol, referring to an emperor from the Han dynasty onward. Ming-dynasty imperial portraits and a Ming-dynasty court painting of imperial activity show a dragon screen behind the seated emperor. However, the appearance of dragon screen in Daoist temples prior to the imperial portrait suggests a separate development from the imperial cult, and a different meaning. For the symbolism of the dragon, see Eberhard, 83.

⁵⁰ The presence of the sculpture without any facial hair is attested in several sources, such as the *Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital*, *the Private Gleanings in the Reign of Wanli*, and the *Study of 'Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne'*, and all these sources mention a similar description of the statue of Qiu with a soft complexion. *Dijing jingwu lue* 3: 73a. *Wanli yehuo bian* in *Mingdai biji xiaoshuo daguan*, 2849-2850. *Rixia jiuwen kao* 94: 1575.

⁵¹ For more information, see Chapters 1 and 3.

⁵² Li Ciming, 5632.

Baiyun guan houses a Qing-dynasty hanging-scroll portrait painting of Qiu Changchun, entitled *Original Portrait of the Perfected Qiu (Qiu zhenren benxiang)* 邱真人本像 (fig.5.15). The painting presents Qiu as an itinerant Daoist, likely setting off on his journey to Central Asia. Qiu is clad in a tourist outfit and holds a staff, from which two scrolls are hanging. He is depicted in three-quarter view with an oval-shape face, slanted downcast eyes, a mustache, and a beard. The exact date and patron of this painting are not known, but the inscription written by the Qing official, Mou Changyu 牟昌裕 (1747-1808), in 1804 implies that he may be the patron.⁵³ In particular, the first line of the inscription accords with the iconography of the painting, describing Qiu as a carefree Daoist who floats around the world and discussing Qiu's elaborate outfit, which strongly suggests that Mou is the patron.⁵⁴ Mou served as a general director of the Grand Canal towards the end of his life, and he visited Baiyun guan because both he and Qiu Changchun were natives of Qixia 棲霞 in Shandong.

The similar features of facial hair between the hanging-scroll painting and the statue of Qiu Changchun in the Patriarch Qiu Hall suggest that one was a model for the other. Furthermore, the repainting of the statue is closely related to a series of

⁵³ Mou Changyu 牟昌裕, a native of Qixia, became *juren* 舉人 in 1777 and *jinshi* in 1790. His biography is found in the local gazetteer of Qixia county compiled during the Qianlong era, *Qianlong Qixia xianzhi* 乾隆棲霞縣志 [Gazetteer of Qixia County during the Qianlong Reign], and sequel to the gazetteer compiled during the Guangxu reign *Guangxu Qixia xian xu zhi* 光緒棲霞縣續志 [Sequel to the Gazetteer of Qixia County during the Guangxu Reign]. *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng* 中國地方志集成 [Compilation of Local Gazetteers in China]: *Shandong fu xianzhi ji* 山東府縣志輯 [Collection of Gazetteers of Counties in Shandong Province] (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995), 51: 143, 156.

⁵⁴ 飄然瓊佩與霞琚

For the full inscription accompanying the portrait of Qiu, see the brochure, *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*, published by the Chinese Daoist Association in 1994.

activities led by temple clerics during the nineteenth century in constructing the religious identity of Baiyun guan. Since Qiu is a founding patriarch of Longmen, patrons focused on him. For instance, Meng Huoyi and Wanyan Chongshi commissioned a handscroll painting depicting Qiu's journey to the West in 1833.⁵⁵ Wanyan Chonghou 完顏崇厚 (1824-93), a brother of Chongshi, wrote a biographical account of Qiu Changchun in 1882.⁵⁶ The statues of the eight Quanzhen masters who succeeded Qiu were enshrined in the Patriarch Qiu Hall during the same period in the nineteenth century.

Intriguingly, a problem lies in Qiu's iconography in this Baiyun guan painting, as it originally did not belong to Qiu but to Sun Simiao, as found in a late-Ming woodblock-printed book, *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals*. Compiled about 1600, the book contains the portrait of Sun Simiao (fig.5.16), showing precisely the same iconography as found in the painting of Qiu Changchun in Baiyun guan, although the portrait painting in Baiyun guan exhibits a highly decorated and elaborate outfit, reflecting the intention of the patron.⁵⁷ Interestingly, *An Illustrated Compendium* also includes a portrait image of Qiu Changchun (fig.5.17) showing a miraculous event from his biography, which recounts Qiu's reviving of a tree.⁵⁸ It is not clear why iconography associated with

⁵⁵ See note 142 of Chapter 1. The section of the painting which depicts Qiu and his disciples on journey is reproduced in *Beijing: The Treasures of an Ancient Capital*. Yan Chongnian, *Beijing: The Treasures of an Ancient Capital* (Beijing: Morning Glory Press, 1987), 73.

⁵⁶ Oyanagi, 154-156. This biographical account is almost same as Qiu's biography found in the *History of Yuan*. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 23, pt. 6: 3659-3661.

⁵⁷ *Youxiang liexian quanzhuan*, 390.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 595. His biographical account is found on pages 556-557. According to the stele inscription *Qiu Changchun zhenren chonghuo kubo bei* 丘長春真人重活枯柏碑 [Stele of the Perfected Qiu Changchun Reviving the Withered Cypress Tree], Qiu revived a dying tree in Xuanbao guan 玄寶觀

Sun Simiao was selected to depict Qiu Changchun.⁵⁹ The patron may have wanted to present an itinerant Daoist figure to emphasize the religious value of Qiu's famous journey to Central Asia.⁶⁰ Traditionally, the wandering Daoist who is aloof from society was idealized and revered. Qiu's journey must have been well-known during late imperial China because Qiu became known as the author of a famous Ming-period novel, *Journey to the West* 西遊記, possibly due to the confusion of the title of the novel and the record of Qiu's journey by Li Zhichang.⁶¹

The appearance of a different iconography of Qiu Changchun, with mustache and beard, as evident in *An Illustrated Compendium* as well as in a hanging-scroll

[Temple of Mysterious Treasure] in Pinggu 平谷, northeast of Beijing in 1227. *Qiu Changchun zhenren chonghuo kubo bei* 丘長春真人重活枯柏碑 [Stele of Adept Qiu Changchun Reviving the Withered Cypress Tree], Chen Mingbin. Oyanagi, 185-188. According to Oyanagi, this stele was originally located in Pinggu district. It was re-carved by Chen Mingbin in 1927. When Oyanagi visited Baiyun guan in early 1930s, the stele was located in front of Hall of the Discipline of the Elders. Currently this stele stands in front of the Patriarch Qiu Hall. The earlier biography of Qiu found in *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* and that in the illustrated compendium locate the place of this event as Yanxiang guan 延祥觀 [Temple of Prolonging Happiness]. *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* (1326), Liu Zhixuan (DZ 174).

The story of reviving a tree is commonly found in the lives of the perfected immortals, as seen in cases of Lü Dongbin and Ma Danyang. The hagiography of Lü Dongbin, *An Account of the Divine Transformation* (DZ 305) includes a story of Lü reviving a tree. See *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* (DZ 305). See also Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices," 182. The literary anthology by Ma, *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集 [Anthology of Gold and Jade from Cavern Mystery], also includes two episodes of Ma reviving trees. See *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集 [Anthology of Gold and Jade from Cavern Mystery], Ma Danyang (DZ 1149). See also Eskildsen, "The Beliefs and Practices," 304.⁵⁹ The appropriation of iconography or image is not new in Chinese religious art, as seen in the Daoist adaptation of Buddhist deities or related images; however, this case seems quite unusual, because Qiu Changchun already had his own iconography. Along with the addition of facial hair, all these cases indicate the development of his cult. For Daoist adaptation or appropriation of Buddhist images, see Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scriptures, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

⁶⁰ Sun Simiao is said to travel widely throughout his life. For his biography, see Pregadio, 925-926. Sun is also depicted as an itinerant Daoist priest in *Sancai tuhui*, but he has a basket full of herbs, showing his pharmaceutical capacity, instead of scrolls. *Sancai tuhui*, 807.

⁶¹ According to Rolston, Wang Xiangxu 汪象旭 (fl. 1605-1668) and Huang Zhouxing 黃周星 (1611-1680) claimed in a 1663 commentary that Qiu Changchun was the author of the *Xiyou ji*, and thus Wang and Huang forged a preface by one of Qiu's younger contemporaries as evidence and included a biography of Qiu in their edition of the novel. David Rolston, *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary: Reading and Writing between the Lines* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 8, 73.

painting, suggests the existence of such images of Qiu during the late Ming or Qing dynasty. In vernacular novels, Qiu is similarly depicted with mustache and beard, even though the surviving images of Qiu date to the late Qing dynasty, as seen in the *Story of the Cause and Effect of the Seven Perfected* (*Qizhen yingguo zhuan*) 七真因果傳 (fig.5.18).⁶²

The modified appearance of Qiu Changchun in the Patriarch Qiu Hall was considered to be the truthful or more appropriate iconography by the temple clerics of the modern Baiyun guan. When this hall was decorated in early 2000, showing a narrative of Qiu's journey to Central Asia, Qiu was depicted as a Daoist with mustache and beard (fig.5.19), just as the central statue has appeared since the nineteenth century.

3. The Cult of Qiu Since the Qing Dynasty

Like the Ming-dynasty calendars, Qing and early Republican annual calendars, such as *Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital* and *Record of Annual Calendar in Yanjing* (*Yanjing suishi ji*) 燕京歲時記, also include the famous festival of *yanjiu*.⁶³ An offering (*jiao*) ritual was performed on *yanjiu*, sometimes with the help of the imperial household, but more focus was placed on the public celebration, including games and activities and the people's belief in the descent of the immortal in a disguise.⁶⁴ During the Qing dynasty, the *yanjiu* festival became famous beyond

⁶² For reproduction of the image, see Wong, 142.

⁶³ *Dijing suishi jisheng*, 12. *Yanjing suishi ji*, 49.

⁶⁴ For offering rituals on *yanjiu*, see *Qingdai Beijing zhuzhi ci*, 4 and Kim Kyongson, 50. For the donation of money from imperial household, see Oyanagi, 148-149.

the imperial capital, as seen in an early-Qing poem written by a scholar from Shandong and an early nineteenth-century travel diary by a Korean emissary.⁶⁵

During the late Qing dynasty, religious organizations supported the birthday celebration on a regular basis, such as the Religious Association of Eternity of Qiu Changchun (Changchun yongjiu shenghui) 長春永久聖會 and the Jade Artisans Guild at Baiyun guan (Baiyun guan yuqiye gonghui) 白雲觀玉器業公會.⁶⁶ Qiu was the patron saint of jade artisans, and their guild has been located in the imperial capital since 1789.

During the Republican era, the celebration of Qiu's birthday further included the public presentation of the image of Qiu Changchun from the Patriarch Qiu Hall.⁶⁷ According to an account by Juliet Bredon, who visited Baiyun guan in the early 1920s, the statue of Qiu was brought out of the temple and paraded around for all to see, as part of his birthday celebration.⁶⁸ Although such events are seldom recorded, the procession of tutelary deities—such as a community god, a city god, or an earth god—had been practiced from the Ming dynasty.⁶⁹ In addition to the processions of

A poem by Wang Chongjian mentions the legend of the descent of Qiu (相傳此日真人至). Wang Chongjian, *Qingxiang tang shiji*, 152. In a poem by Kong Shanren, Qiu is depicted as a disguised beggar. For more information, see the section “Qing Literati Accounts” in Chapter 1.

⁶⁵ For an early-Qing bamboo-branch lyric (*zhuzhi ci*) by Kong Shangren, see *Qingdai Beijing zhuzhi ci*, 4. Kim Kyongson, 50.

⁶⁶ Oyanagi, 159-161. See also Beijing tushuguan 86: 6-7.

Baiyun guan yuqiye gonghui shanyuan bei 白雲觀玉器業公會善緣碑 [Stele of Good Karma of Jade Artisans Guild at Baiyun guan], 1932. Beijing tushuguan, 97: 25-26. See also Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking*, 261. This stele is located on the east side of the Hermitage of Gathering Clouds.

⁶⁷ Japanese sinologists also mention the celebration of the festival at the Patriarch Qiu Hall. Oyanagi, 59-60. Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 324, 326.

⁶⁸ Bredon, 266-267.

⁶⁹ During the Ming dynasty, there was a procession (遍行境內) of the community god of soil (社) during the Yuanxiao (元宵) praying for the New Year. Kenneth Dean and Zheng Zhenman, *Historical Introduction to the Return of the Gods*, vol. 1 of *Ritual Alliances of the Putian Plain* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 325-326.

these deities, which were part of protecting their geographical territory, other deities were also paraded on inspection tours to honor them on their birthday celebrations and festivals.⁷⁰ It is not clear when the procession of the statue of Qiu Changchun was incorporated into his *yanjiu* celebration, but similar cases of deity processions as part of birthday celebrations indicate its initial appearance in the late imperial period, at the earliest. Various field reports from early Republican China testify to the procession of deities as a well-established practice on their birthday celebrations, which also supports the idea that the processions at Baiyun guan began during the late Qing period.⁷¹

In the 1940s, the death anniversary rite of Qiu Changchun resumed and was in practice in the Patriarch Qiu Hall for less than a decade.⁷² A Daoist ritual (道場) was

The procession of tutelary gods was commonly found during the Republican era. For instance, both John Shryock and David Crockett Graham recorded great parades including the images of deities such as City-god (chenghuang) 城隍 or Earth-god (tudi) 土地 on their birthdays. Shryock witnessed the birthday parade of the City-god of Anqing 安庆 in Anhui province and Graham did those of City-god of Yibin 宜宾 in Sichuan province and Earth-god of Yazhou 牙舟 in Guizhou 贵州 province. John Shryock, *The Temples of Anking and Their Cults: A Study of Modern Chinese Religion* (1931; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1973), 103-105. David Crockett Graham, *Folk Religion in Southwest China* (Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 1961), 153-155.

For the contemporary village procession celebrating Yuanxiao in Putian plain, see part 2 of Kenneth Dean and Zheng Zhenman, *A Survey of Village Temples and Ritual Activities*, vol. 2 of *Ritual Alliances of the Putian Plain* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010).

⁷⁰ Naquin comments on inspection tours of Eastern Peak (Dongyue) as part of his birthday celebration (03/28) in the imperial capital during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Naquin, *Peking*, 239, 516.

Paul Katz examines the late imperial cult of Marshal Wen in Zhejiang province. During the festivals dedicated to the marshal, the host temples organized the procession throughout the city. Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: the Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 148-153, 209-213.

⁷¹ Besides the procession of tutelary deities mentioned in note 69, in 1930, the statue of Mazu was paraded on her birthday, which was believed to bring great fortune. For the birthday celebration of Mazu, which was resumed in 2002, see Kenneth Dean and Zheng Zhenman, *Historical Introduction*, 213-215.

⁷² Gazetteers or site surveys written in the early twentieth century are immensely useful in tracing liturgies at Baiyun guan. Although the late Qing Baiyun guan monastic codes such as pure rules or rule board (*guibang*) 規榜 transcribed by Oyanagi do not mention any detailed information related to liturgical calendar, Yoshioka referred to *Quanzhen daofan* 全真道範 [Daoist Standard of Quanzhen] as the source of liturgical activities at Baiyun guan including the death anniversary rite of Qiu. The

performed on the ninth day of the seventh month after the morning devotional ritual or before the evening devotional ritual. The content of the ritual is not known, but it likely followed the classical Daoist ritual because incense and offerings were presented to the statue. A written memorial was burnt in front of the hall in the morning and outside of the front gate in the evening.⁷³

Social and political events such as the establishment of the Communist government and the Cultural Revolution in particular brought the eventual cessation of Qiu's birthday celebrations.⁷⁴ Following the restoration of the temple in the 1980s, traditional activities were revived but with significant changes. When a Western religious historian visited Baiyun guan on Qiu's birthday in 1985, a ritual was performed in Patriarch Qiu Hall,⁷⁵ but standardization in temple rituals by the early 1990s led to its performance in the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.

Today, the annual birthday festivals of Qiu do not have as many participants as those of the late dynastic era, and the various recreational and musical activities, once conducted by visitors from all walks of life, no longer occur at the site. When I attended *yanjiu* in 2007, a pious worshiper distributed a handout explaining the

rules or rule board were changed periodically, mostly when a new abbot was appointed, and this set of code was enacted by An Shilin while he served as a prior and abbot. Yoshioka specifies the establishment of this code at 1940, which suggests the resumption of the death anniversary rite at the similar time. However, this rite was likely performed for a short time, because the liturgical calendar of modern Baiyun guan does not include the death anniversary rite of Qiu. For more information on *Quanzhen daofan* 全真道範 and the death anniversary rite of Qiu, see Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 246-247, 325. For the liturgical calendar of modern Baiyun guan, see Li Yangzheng, 281-286.

⁷³ Yoshioka, *Dōkyō no kenkyū*, 326-327.

⁷⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 3, Baiyun guan experienced almost ten years without leadership after the establishment of the Communist government and faced additional adversity during the Cultural Revolution.

⁷⁵ Julian F. Pas, "Revival of Temple Worship and Popular Religious Traditions," in *Turning of the Tide*, 159.

birthday festival of Qiu along with a short text re-introducing the religious beliefs and practices to a generation that at best knows little or nothing about Quanzhen Daoism.

3. Conclusion

The statue of Qiu Changchun in the Patriarch Qiu Hall displays associations with his cult and reflects the popular vernacular of the Ming dynasty. However, the modified iconography of Qiu during the late Qing testifies to the evolving perception of the immortal as an idealized, carefree wanderer. The Patriarch Qiu Hall remained a cult center, holding celebrations of public festivals for more than four hundred years, and its significance attracted imperial recognition, as seen in the bestowal of an alms bowl and couplets for the columns in the hall.⁷⁶

The political and social circumstances of mid- to late-twentieth-century China brought changes in the liturgical calendar of Baiyun guan, severing temple activities that later resumed only on a reduced scale. As performed in the present, the birthday celebration of Qiu lacks the meaning and significance it once had. However, the resumption of Qiu's birthday celebration in the modern Baiyun guan and the installation of a hanging sculpture depicting Qiu's journey to the West clearly indicate the temple's unremitting efforts to restore and continue a living tradition of Quanzhen Daoism in Baiyun guan.

⁷⁶ See the section "Qing Patronage" in Chapter 1.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has addressed the development and evolution of the Baiyun guan temple. It has explored the history, patronage, and images of the temple in order to reveal its different purposes, the roles of its patrons, the pattern of its iconographic programs (that define its pantheon), and its association with a religious sect.

Although the examination of Baiyun guan during the late imperial period reveals some similarities with religious temples found in the same locality, it also provides an exemplary case study that demonstrates the persistence of religious sectarianism into the present.

The temple was founded in the Tang dynasty as the Imperial Temple of the Mysterious Origin (Xuan yuan huang di miao) as one of many imperial temples to venerate Laozi, who was considered an ancestral deity of the Tang founding family. It was renamed Tianchang guan in accordance with the imperial birthday celebration. The Jin court continued to patronize Tianchang guan due to its optimal location in the imperial capital. With the enshrining of various Daoist divinities, topped with the Three Purities (Sanqing), the temple was later renamed Taiji gong.

The Quanzhen patriarch, Qiu Changchun, is an important figure in the flourishing of Quanzhen Daoism as well as the formation of the temple's religious identity and its gradual acceptance. Tianchang guan, which was renamed Changchun gong after Qiu's religious name, was patronized by the Mongol court. During the

Yuan dynasty, Quanzhen patriarchs who resided in Changchun gong performed many imperially-sponsored Daoist rituals, sometimes with emperors in attendance.

Baiyun guan, initially built as a memorial shrine of Qiu Changchun during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, became a Daoist temple at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. From the time it was built on its present site, Baiyun guan gradually acquired new halls equipped with images, with the help of court and Daoist clerics in residence. By the end of the Ming dynasty, most of the primary halls on the central axis stood at their present locations, their construction facilitated by court patronage and non-Quanzhen clergy. Through different activities, including the birthday festival of Qiu Changchun or *yanjiu* and the enshrinement of images, the temple became a notable site for the cult of Qiu Changchun, thus helping to identify the temple as a Quanzhen site.

The Qing emperors patronized the major restoration of Baiyun guan, dispensing regular and occasional stipends to support the temple. In the later Qing dynasty, from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, lay patrons and congregations actively engaged in the construction of several side halls in ancillary lines and sponsored the birthday rituals of various gods and immortals, including that of Qiu Changchun. The cult of Qiu spread during the Qing dynasty, and visitors from the different social strata attended the birthday rituals of Qiu.

Towards the late Qing dynasty, the temple clerics established the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in Baiyun guan, promoting both Qiu Changchun as a founding patriarch and Wang Changyue as a successor. In order to emphasize and validate the temple's religious identity, late Qing patrons compiled hagiographies,

inscribed steles, and built minor halls enshrining Quanzhen masters, including one dedicated to Wang Changyue. Also, the temple established the proper hierarchy by rearranging the gods and deities displayed in the temple and presenting the Three Purities in the highest position.

The examination of the halls in Baiyun guan suggests their Qing date, as evident in the building materials of brick and stone and the lack or omission of brackets. Most of the primary halls on the central axis were rebuilt during the Qianlong reign, although the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders still has its original building structure from the Ming period. All of the minor halls on the ancillary lines were constructed during the mid- or late-Qing dynasty, mostly through lay patronage. Among them, the Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü is distinctive due to its glazed green-color roof tiles, which indicate noble patronage.

The Baiyun guan pantheon, reconstructed by Longmen clerics during the late Qing, became the standard pantheon that remains even today. After the catastrophic destruction of religious buildings and statues during the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Daoist Association at Baiyun guan tried to reinstate the past configuration, centering on the standard hierarchy. By restoring the original Baiyun guan divinities, the temple retained its sectarian identity because the primary deities enshrined in the late Qing period did not change. However, significant peripheral changes reflect the recent devotional worship in modern Baiyun guan, demonstrating the temple's role as a living entity, constantly transforming itself to embrace popular appeal.

Despite the significance of the Three Purities in the reconstructed hierarchy, the core iconographic program in the history of Baiyun guan has centered on the

Quanzhen patriarchs in the halls of Discipline of the Elders and of the Patriarch Qiu, which indicate the temple's religious identity. The Hall of the Discipline of the Elders was initially built for funerary purposes. It was then named the Hall of Dwelling in Favorableness, with an enshrined statue of Qiu Changchun, and it mainly served as a locus of Quanzhen patriarch worship, especially for the birthday celebration of Qiu Changchun by the monastic community during the Yuan dynasty. The rendering of Qiu as a young Daoist in the established iconography suggests the widespread practice of Quanzhen patriarch worship primarily in the religious community. Qiu's official outfit of a Daoist robe with a tablet denotes him as a bureaucratic official in the Quanzhen hierarchy.

During the mid-Ming dynasty, non-Quanzhen clerics highlighted the Quanzhen lineage by installing six more statues of the Quanzhen patriarchs and painting eighteen disciples of Qiu Changchun in the present Hall of the Discipline of the Elders. Regardless of the non-Quanzhen patronage, the surviving statues of six Quanzhen patriarchs demonstrate an employment of established iconography. Showing all seven patriarchs in similar attire and posture, the hall manifests the Quanzhen lineage.

With the revival of Quanzhen Daoism, especially the Longmen lineage in the Qing dynasty, the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders reinforced the sectarian identity of the temple by holding the ordination rituals and daily devotional rituals. Both rituals are central to the Quanzhen Daoist liturgical calendar, in terms of the succession of lineage and the recurrence of the teachings through the daily rituals in monastic life. The significant role of masters in Quanzhen Daoism and the presence

of statues of early patriarchs in the ritual setting clearly suggest that this hall was the focus of the temple complex.

While the function of the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders is deeply associated with Quanzhen religious practices, the Patriarch Qiu hall appeared in the late Ming period and reflected the cult of Qiu and the circulating story of the immortal. The different iconography of Qiu with slightly aged and effeminate features in the Patriarch Qiu Hall reflects the popular belief of a castrated immortal. His casual attire within a landscape setting also enhances the notion of typical immortal figure without emphasizing any religious sectarianism. However, with the revival of the Longmen lineage at Baiyun guan, the temple clerics amended the iconography to represent an idealized or appropriately Daoist figure. About the same time in the late Qing, a new iconographic program was introduced in this hall with the addition of eight statues of Quanzhen masters, who followed the teaching of Qiu. In addition to the function of this hall as a center for Qiu's birthday celebration, it was a space for the death anniversary ritual for a short time during the Republican era. With the recovery of religious control by the Longmen lineage of Quanzhen Daoists, this hall became another indicator of sectarian identity during the late Qing.

In spite of the temple's continuing traditional functions as a public space, the occasions and scale of rituals and festivals in the present-day Baiyun guan have been reduced a great deal from practices of the past. The liturgical calendar recorded by the Japanese sinologists at the beginning of the twentieth century shows more than twenty rituals performed in the temple throughout the year; presently, twelve public

rituals or festivals are performed in Baiyun guan each year.¹ The late Qing liturgical calendar is centered on the Quanzhen patriarchs, such as the birthday festivals of the Seven Quanzhen Patriarchs, Zhongli Quan, and Lü Dongbin. However, when the Chinese Daoist Association resumed public rituals and festivals after the 1980s, the temple prioritized the significant deities in the reconstructed pantheon, such as the celebration of the birthday festivals of the Three Purities.²

In the present day, the Hall of the Discipline of the Elders holds these rituals, unlike the late-Qing or early-Republican practices; at that time, the rituals occurred in their designated halls, such as the birthday festival of Zhenwu held in Zhenwu Hall.³ Thus, the current significance and scale of rituals and festivals do not rival their earlier performances. Most significantly, the yearly birthday festival of Qiu has fewer participants than the past, and the festival's recreational and musical celebrations, once conducted by visitors from all walks of life, no longer occur.

The history of Baiyun guan clearly illustrates the dynamics of the temple clerics and patrons in the formation and codification of its religious identity. It also shows the development and evolution of its buildings as well as that of the religious pantheons within them. The worship of ancestral patriarchs of Quanzhen Daoism is closely related to the formation and development of the sectarian identity of the temple and demonstrates the spread and circulation of the cult. The revival of the cult

¹ For the liturgical calendar of the late Qing or the early Republican eras, see Oyanagi, 58-69.

² Previously, only the birthday festival of Laozi (2/15) was celebrated in the temple; however, presently birthday festivals of Yuanshi tianzun (*dongzhi* 冬至 or winter solstice), Lingbao tianzun (*xiazhi* 夏至 or summer solstice) and Daode tianzun or Laozi (2/15) are celebrated. Similarly, among Quanzhen patriarchs, birthday festivals of Qiu Changchun (1/19) and Lü Dongbin (4/15) are performed today.

³ The birthday festival of Zhenwu (3/3), once performed, does not occur in the present Baiyun guan.

of Qiu in the late twentieth century, following its termination during the Cultural Revolution, reflects the efforts of the temple clerics to continue its sectarian tradition in spite of its changed significance.

Baiyun guan is presently the largest Daoist temple in the city of Beijing and it exemplifies the ancient and living traditions. Over time, it has been transformed in accordance with political and religious changes. The study of its past and present demonstrates the continuation of its tradition as well as its on-going revisions. As an active temple and a center of Daoist practices, Baiyun guan will continue to be a meaningful subject in the future study of religious art, Chinese religions, and the dynamics of Daoist culture.

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Beiping kao* 北平考 [A Study of Beijing]. 15th c. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1980.
- Bo Yuchan 白玉蟾. *Haiqiong Bo zhenren yulu* 海琼白真人語錄 [Recorded Sayings of the Perfected Bo from Qiongzhou on Hainan]. 1251. DZ 1307.
- Chen Minggui 陳銘珪. *Changchun daojiao yuanliu* 長春道教源流 [Origin and Development of the Daoist Teaching of Qiu Changchun]. 19th c. Vol. 31 of *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts Outside the Daoist Canon]. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Chen Zhixu 陳致虛. *Shangyang zi jindan dayao xianpai* 上陽子金丹大要仙派 [Lineage Pertaining to Master Shangyang's Essentials of the Elixir]. Ca. 1331. DZ 1070.
- Daozang* 道藏 [Daoist Canon]. 1445. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1962.
- Ding Fubao 丁福保. *Daozang jinghua lu* 道藏精華錄 [Record of Essence of the Daoist Canon]. 1922. Reprint, Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji, 1989.
- Dongxuan lingbao sanding fengdao kejie yingshi* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 [Practical Introduction to the Rules and Precepts for Worshipping the Dao of the Three Caverns in the Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure]. Tang. DZ 1125.
- Dongyuan youwen* 東園友聞 [News from a Friend in Eastern Garden]. Early Ming. Reprint, Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1966.
- Du Mu 都穆. *Dugong tanzuan* 都公談纂 [Compilation of Conversations by Mr. Du]. 1459-1525. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2005.
- Fucha dunchong 富察敦崇. *Yanjing suishi ji* 燕京歲時記 [Record of Annual Calendar in Yanjing]. 1908. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1981.
- Gaoshang Yuhunag xinyin miaojing* 高上玉皇心印妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of the Mind-Seal of the Exalted Jade Emperor]. Southern Song. DZ 13.
- Gongguan beizhi* 宮觀碑志 [Stele Inscriptions of Temples and Monasteries]. Ming. DZ 972.

- Guangxu Qixia xian xu zhi* 光緒棲霞縣續志 [Sequel to the Gazetteer of Qixia County during the Guangxu Reign]. 1879. Vol. 51 of *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng* 中國地方志集成 [Compilation of Local Gazetteers in China]: *Shandong fu xianzhi ji* 山東府縣志輯 [Collection of Gazetteers of Counties in Shandong Province]. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995.
- Hong Zicheng 洪自誠. *Yuedantang xianfo qizong heke* 月旦堂仙佛奇蹤合刻 [Combined Carving of Adventures of the Deities of Daoism and Buddhism by Yuedan tang]. 1602. Reprint, Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989.
- Hu Daojing 胡道靜, ed. *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 [Daoist Texts outside the Daoist Canon]. 36 vols. Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Huang Fengchi 黃鳳池, Wang Shi 汪氏, and Zang Maoxun 臧懋循. *Tang shi huapu. Shi yu huapu. Yuan qu xuan tu* 唐詩畫譜. 詩餘畫譜. 元曲選圖 [A Collection of Illustrated Tang Poems. A Collection of Surplus of Illustrated Poems. Illustrations from Selected Yuan Dramas]. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1994.
- Huang Yongliang 黃永亮. *Qizhen yinguo zhuan* 七真因果傳 [Biographies of Cause and Effect of the Seven Perfected]. Late Qing. Reprint, Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1999.
- Jiao Hong 焦竑. *Guochao xianzheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄 [Record of Biographies from Our Dynasty]. 16th c. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1987.
- Kim Kyongson. *Yonwon chikchi* [Guide for a journey to Beijing]. 1833. Vol. 11 of *Kukyok yonhaengnok sonjip* [Selected writing of record of journey to Beijing]. Reprint, Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1976-1982.
- Li Ciming 李慈銘. *Yuemantang riji* 越縵堂日記 [Diary of Yueman Hall]. 1873. Reprint, Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2004.
- Li Daochun 李道純 and Cai Zhiyi 蔡志頤. *Qunxian ji* 群仙集 [Collected Works of Group of Immortals]. Late 13th and early 14th c. Vol. 18 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Li Daoqian 李道謙. *Ganshui xianyuan lu* 甘水仙源錄 [Record of the Immortals from the Sweet Water [River]]. 1289. DZ 973.

- Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, and Zhou Jiamei 周家楣. *Guangxu Shuntian fu zhi* 光緒順天府志 [Gazetteer of the Capital/Shuntian fu during the Guangxu Reign]. 1886. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 2001.
- Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 and Huang Pengnian 黃彭年. *Jifu tongzhi* 畿輔通志 [Gazetteer of the Capital]. 1910. Reprint, Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1968.
- Li Xian 李賢 and Wen An 萬安. *Da Ming Yitong zhi* 大明一統志 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Ming Dynasty]. 1461. Reprint, Xian: Sanqin, 1990.
- Li Zhichang 李志常. *Changchun zhenren xiyou ji* 長春真人西遊記 [Record of the Journey of the Perfected Changchun to the West]. 1228. DZ 1429.
- Liang Qian 梁潛. *Bo'an ji* 泊菴集 [Writing of Bo'an]. 1366-1418. Reprint, Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1976.
- Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian xubian* 曆世真仙體道通鑒續編 [Supplement to the Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Dao through the Ages]. 14th or 15th c. DZ 297.
- Liu Ruoyu 劉若愚 and Gao Shiqi 高士奇. *Ming gong shi* 明宮史 [History of the Ming Palace]. 17th c. Reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shufang, 1991.
- Liu Tong 劉侗 and Yu Yizheng 于奕正. *Dijing jingwu lue* 帝京景物略 [Description of the Scenery of the Imperial Capital]. 1635. Reprint, Shanghai: Gudian wenshu, 1957.
- Liu Xu 劉煦. *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [History of the Tang Dynasty]. 945. Reprint, Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian, 2004.
- Liu Zhixuan 劉志玄. *Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 [Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Transmission of the Golden Lotus [School]]. 1326. DZ 174.
- Lu Daohe 陸道和. *Quanzhen qinggui* 全真清規 [Pure rules of Quanzhen Daoism]. 14th c. DZ 1235.
- Lu Xiangqing 盧祥慶. *Daojiao huaxiang* 道教畫像 [Pictorial Images of Daoism]. 1797. Vol. 35 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Ma Yu 馬鈺. *Dongxuan jinyu ji* 洞玄金玉集 [Anthology of Gold and Jade from Cavern Mystery]. 1184. DZ 1149.

- Miao Shanshi 苗善時. *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 [An Account of the Divine Transformation and Wondrous Communications of the Sovereign Lord of Purified Yang]. Late 13th and early 14th c. DZ 305.
- Min Yide 閔一得. *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 [Transmission of the Mind-Lamp from Mount Jin'gai]. 1817. Vol. 31 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- . *Qinggui xuanmiao* 清規玄妙 [Mysterious Wonder of Pure Rules]. 19th c. Vol. 10 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Ming shi lu* 明實錄 [The Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty]. Reprint, Nan'gang: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo, 1966.
- Mu Zhang'a 穆彰阿 and Pan Xi'en 潘錫恩. *Jiaqing chongxiu Da Qing yitong zhi* 嘉慶重修大清一統志 [The Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Great Qing Dynasty Revised during the Jiaqing Reign]. 1842. Reprint, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934.
- Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁. *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [Standard History of the Tang Dynasty]. 1060. Reprint, Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian, 2004.
- Pak Chiwon. *Kokyok Yorha ilgi* [Diary of the Journey to Rehe]. 1780. Reprint, Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1968.
- Pan Rongbi 潘榮陛. *Dijing suishi jisheng* 帝京歲時紀勝 [Famous Sites in the Annual Calendar of the Capital]. 1758. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1981.
- Qianlong Qixia xianzhi* 乾隆棲霞縣志 [Gazetteer of Qixia County during the Qianlong Reign]. 18th c. Vol. 51 of *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng* 中國地方志集成 [Compilation of Local Gazetteers in China]: *Shandong fu xianzhi ji* 山東府縣志輯 [Collection of Gazetteers of Counties in Shandong Province]. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995.
- Qin Zhi'an 秦志安. *Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記 [Record of True Line Transmission of the Golden Lotus School], 1241. DZ 173.
- Qinding Zongguan Neiwu fu xianxing zeli erzhong* 欽定總管內務府現行則例二種 [Imperially Issued Regulations for the Imperial Household Agency]. Late Qing. Reprint, Haikou: Hainan, 2000.

- Qingwei hongfan daomen gongke* 清微宏範道門功課 [Devotional Ritual of the Great Standard of Daoist Teaching of Qingwei]. Qing. Vol. 29 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Qiu Chuji 丘處機. *Panxi ji* 磻溪集 [Collection of Panxi]. 1186-1208. DZ 1159.
- Qizhen tianxian baozhuan* 七真天仙寶傳 [Precious Biography of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals]. 1712. Vol. 12 of *Minjian baojuan* 民間寶卷 [Precious Scroll of Popular Religion]. Reprint, Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005.
- Qizhen zushi liexian zhuan* 七真祖師列仙傳 [Stories of Daoist Transcendent, the Seven Patriarchs]. 1893. Reprint, Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1999.
- Shen Bang 沈榜. *Wanshu zaji* 宛暑雜記 [Miscellaneous Notes about My Office at Wanping]. 1593. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1961.
- Shen Defu 沈德符. *Wanli yehuo bian* 萬歷野獲編 [The Private Gleanings in the Reign of Wanli]. 1713. Reprint, Beijing: Jinghua, 2001.
- Shi Zhijing 石志經. *Xuanfeng qinghui tu* 玄風慶會圖 [Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism]. 1305. Vol. 16 of *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺 [Collection of Omitted Documents of the Three Grottoes]. Reprint, Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005.
- Song Lian 宋濂. *Yuanshi* 元史 [History of the Yuan Dynasty]. 1370. Reprint, Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian, 2004.
- Sun Chengze 孫承澤. *Chunming mengyu lu* 春明夢餘錄 [Record of a Remembered Dream of the Capital]. Early Qing. Reprint, Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1965.
- Taishang daojun shuo jieyuan badu miaojing* 太上道君說解冤拔度妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of Dispelling Oppressions and Dragging out of Suffering as Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao]. Tang. DZ 372.
- Taishang dongxuan lingbao jiuku miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶救苦妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of Saving from Suffering of the Most High Cavern Mystery Numinous Treasure]. 1124. DZ 374.
- Taishang dongxuan lingbao shengxuan xiaozai huming miaojing* 太上洞玄靈寶昇玄消災護命妙經 [Wondrous Scripture for Ascending to Mystery, Averting Calamity, and Protecting Life of the Most High Cavern Mystery of Numinous Treasure]. Tang. DZ 19.

- Taishang Laojun shuo chang Qingjing jing* 太上老君說常清靜經 [Scripture on Constant Clarity and Stillness, as Spoken by the Most High Lord Lao]. First half of Tang. DZ 620.
- Taishang Lingbao tianzun shuo rangzai du'e zhenjing* 太上靈寶天尊說禳災度厄真經 [True Scripture for Dispelling Disasters and Saving from Calamities as Spoken by the Most High Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure]. DZ 357.
- Taishang xuanmen zaowantan gongke jing* 太上玄門早晚壇功課經 [Scripture of Devotional Ritual of Morning and Evening Altar of the Most High Mysterious Gate]. 19th c. Vol. 29 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀. *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄 [Records Composed after Retiring from the Farm]. 1366. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1963.
- Tuotuo 脫脫. *Jinshi* 金史 [History of the Jin Dynasty]. 1344. Reprint, Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian, 2004.
- Wang Changyue 王常月. *Biyuan tanjing* 碧苑壇經 [Platform Sutra of the Jade Garden]. 16th c. Vol. 29 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Wang Chongjian 王崇簡. *Qingxiang tang shiji* 青箱堂詩集 [Poetry Collection from the Qingxiang Hall]. 1676. Reprint, Tainan, Taiwan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997.
- Wang Chongyang 王重陽. *Chongyang Quanzhen ji* 重陽全真集 [Collection of Quanzhen by Chongyang]. 1188. DZ 1153.
- Wang Chuyi 王處一. *Yunguang ji* 雲光集 [Collected Works of Radiance of the Clouds]. 1217. DZ 1152.
- Wang Mingqing 王明清. *Huichen lu* 揮塵錄 [Record of Huichen]. 13th c. Reprint, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934.
- Wang Pu 王溥. *Tang hui yao* 唐會要 [Important Documents of the Tang Dynasty]. 10th c. Reprint, Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1963.
- Wang Qi 王圻. *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖繪 [Illustrated Compendium of Three Realms], 1609. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1988.

- Wang Shizhen 王世貞. *Yanzhou shanren sibu xu gao* 弇州山人四部續稿 [Sequel to the Writing of Yanzhou shanren/Wang Shizhen]. 1576-1590. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1987.
- Wang Yunpeng 汪雲鵬. *Youxiang liexian quanzhuan* 有象列仙全傳 [An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals]. ca. 1600. Reprint, Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989.
- Wang Zhi 王直. *Yi'an ji* 抑庵集 [Writing of Yi'an]. 1379-1462. Reprint, Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1978.
- Wang Zuo 王佐. *Dayue Taihe shan zhi* 大岳太和山志 [Gazetteer of the Great Taihe Mountain]. 1556. Vol. 32 of *Zangwai daoshu*. Reprint, Chengdu: Bashu, 1992.
- Wei Yijie 魏裔介. *Jianjitang wenji* 兼濟堂文集 [Writings from Jianji Hall]. 1711. Reprint, Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1973.
- Weng Tonghe 翁同龢. *Weng Tonghe riji* 翁同龢日記 [Diary of Weng Tonghe]. 19th c. Reprint, Taipei: Chengwen, 1970.
- Wu Jingsuo 吳敬所. *Guose tianxiang* 國色天香 [Extraordinary Beauties, Heavenly Fragrance]. 1587. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1990.
- Wu Kuan 吳寬. *Jiacang ji* 家藏集 [Writing of the Family Collection]. 1435-1504. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991.
- Xinkan qizhen yingguo zhuan* 新刊七真因果傳 [Newly Published Biographies of Cause of Effect of the Seven Perfected]. Early 20th c. Reprint, Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chuban she, 1999.
- Yang Erzeng 楊爾曾. *Xinjuan xian yuan jishi* 新鐫仙媛紀事 [Newly Carved Chronicles of Female Transcendent]. 1602. Reprint, Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989.
- Yang Miren 楊米人 and Lu Gong 路工. *Qingdai Beijing zhuzhi ci* 清代北京竹枝詞 [Bamboo-Branch Lyrics of Qing Dynasty Beijing]. Late Qing. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1982.
- Yang Shiqi 楊士奇. *Dongli xu ji* 東里續集 [Sequel to the Writing of Dongli]. 1365-1444. Reprint, Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1979.

- Ye Dehui 葉德輝. *Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan* 三教源流搜神大全 [Complete Compendium of the Deities of the Three Religions and Their Origins]. 1909. Reprint, Taiwan: Danqing tushu gongsi, 1983.
- Ye Ziqi 葉子奇. *Caomuzi* 草木子 [Collection of Grass and Tree]. 1378. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2005.
- Yelu Chucui 耶律楚材. *Xuanfeng qinghui lu* 玄風慶會錄 [Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism]. 1232. DZ 176.
- Yu Minzhong 于敏中 and Yinglian 英廉. *Qinding Rixia jiuwen kao* 欽定日下舊聞考 [Imperially Commissioned Study of ‘Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne’]. ca. 1785. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1985.
- Yu Shenxing 于慎行. *Gushan bizhu* 穀山筆塵 [Literary Collection from the Mountain Lodge of Grain City]. 1603. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1993.
- Yu Yuanchang 余元長. *Yanju biji* 燕居筆記 [Miscellany for Leisure Hours]. 1641-1644. Reprint, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1990.
- Yuanshi tianzun shuo shengtian dedao zhenjing* 元始天尊說生天得道真經 [True Scripture of Nourishing Heaven and Attaining Dao as Spoken by the Celestial Worthy of the Primordial Beginning]. Tang. DZ 24.
- Zha Shenxing 查慎行. *Renhai ji* 人海記 [Notes on Society]. 1650-1727. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1989.
- Zhang Junfang 張君房. *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels]. Tang. DZ 1032.
- Zhang Shangying 張商英. *Sancai dingwei tu* 三才定位圖 [Illustrated Pantheon of the Three Realms]. 11th-12th c. DZ 155.
- Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉. *Mingshi* 明史 [History of the Ming Dynasty]. 1735. Reprint, Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian, 2004.
- Zhang Wanfu 張萬福. *Sandong fafu kejie wen* 三洞法服科戒文 [Rules and Precepts Regarding Ritual Vestments of the Three Caverns]. 8th c. DZ 788.
- Zhenjun 震鈞. *Tianzhi ouwen* 天咫偶聞 [Hearsay from Close to Heaven]. 1907. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1980.

"Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng" bianji gongzuo weiyuanhui 《中國地方志集成》編輯工作委員會, ed. *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng* 中國地方志集成 [Compilation of Local Gazetteers in China]: *Shandong fu xianzhi ji* 山東府縣志輯 [Collection of Gazetteers of Counties in Shandong Province]. 95 vols. Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995.

Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian chengbian juan weiyuan hui 中國宗教歷史文獻集成編纂委員會, ed. *Minjian baojuan* 民間寶卷 [Precious Scroll of Popular Religion]. 20 vols. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005.

Zhongguo zongjiao lishi wenxian chengbian juan weiyuan hui 中國宗教歷史文獻集成編纂委員會, ed. *Sandong shiyi* 三洞拾遺 [Collection of Omitted Documents of the Three Grottoes]. 20 vols. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2005.

Zhushi shengdan chongju zhuoxian yi 諸師聖誕沖舉酌獻儀 [Rituals for the Presentation of Offerings on the Anniversaries of the Birthdays and the Ascensions of the Various Masters]. DZ 482.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Aoki Masaru 青木正兒. *Pekin fūzoku zufu* 北京風俗図譜 [Illustrated Customs of Beijing]. Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1964.
- Arlington, L.C. and William Lewisohn. *In Search of Old Peking*. Shanghai: The French Bookstore, 1935.
- Baiyun guan. *Taishang xuanmen risong zaoke xianjing* 太上玄门日诵早课仙经 [Divine Scripture of Daily Chanting Morning Ritual of Most High Mysterious Gate], <http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/OExYXrj5c5A/>. 2009.
- Baiyun guan. *Taishang xuanmen risong wanke xianjing* 太上玄门日诵晚课仙经 [Divine Scripture of Daily Chanting Evening Ritual of Most High Mysterious Gate], <http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/mohlU6bK4L8/>. 2010.
- Baoning si mingdai shuilu hua 宝宁寺明代水陆画 [Ming Dynasty Water and Land Ritual Paintings in Baoning Monastery]. Beijing: Wenwu, 1985.
- Bartholomew, Terese Tse. *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art*. San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2006.
- Beijing gucha mingsi* 北京古刹名寺 [Ancient Temples in Beijing]. Beijing: Zhongguo shijie yu, 1998.
- Beijing shi dang'an guan 北京市档案馆. *Beijing simiao lishi ziliao* 北京寺庙历史资料 [Historical Material of Temples in Beijing]. Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an guan, 1997.
- Beijing shi wenwu ju 北京市文物局, ed. *Ming Qing shuilu hua* 明清水陆画 [Paintings for Water and Land Ritual from the Ming and Qing Dynasties]. Beijing: Beijing, 2005.
- Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館. *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編 [Collected Ink-Rubbings of Chinese Historical Steles Housed in the Beijing Library]. 100 vols. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji, 1989-1991.
- Benn, Charles D. "Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of Emperor Hsuan-Tsung (712-755)." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1977.
- Beurdeley, Michel. *Chinese Furniture*. Trans. Katherine Watson. Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1979.

- Boltz, Judith M. *Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkeley, California: Center for East Asian Studies and University of California, Berkeley, 1987.
- Boyd, Andrew. *Chinese Architecture and Town Planning, 1500 B.C-A.D. 1911*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Bredon, Juliet. *Peking: A Historical and Intimate Description of Its Chief Places of Interest*. 3rd ed. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1931.
- Brinker, Helmut. "Ch'an Portraits in a Landscape." *Archives of Asian Art* 27 (1973/74): 8-29.
- Bruckner, Christopher. *Chinese Imperial Patronage: Treasures from Temples and Palaces*. London: Asia Gallery, 1998.
- de Bruyn, Pierre. "Daoism in the Ming." In *Daoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn, 594-622. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Bush, Susan and Hsio-yen Shih. *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Bush, Susan H. and Victor Mair. "Some Buddhist Portraits and Images of the Lu and Ch'an Sects in Twelfth- and Thirteenth- Century China." *Archives and Asian Art* 31 (1977/78): 32-51.
- Cao Xueqin and Gao E. *A Dream of Red Mansions*. Trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang. Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1978.
- Chai Zejun 柴泽俊. *Shanxi siguan bihua 山西寺觀壁畫* [Temple Murals in Shanxi Province]. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997.
- Hok-lam Chan. "The Making of a Myth: Liu Ji's Fictionalization in the *Yinglie zhuan* and Its Sequel." In *The Scholar's Mind: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Mote*, edited by Perry Link, 51-93. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2009.
- Chen Bing 陈兵. "Mingdai Quanzhen dao 明代全真道 [Quanzhen Daoism in the Ming Dynasty]." *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 1 (1992): 40-51.
- _____. "Qingdai Quanzhen dao Longmen pai de zhongxing 清代全真道龙门派的中兴 [Renewal of Longmen Lineage of Quanzhen Daoism in the Qing Dynasty]." *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究, no. 2 (1988): 84-96.

- Chen Yaoting 陈耀庭. *Daojiao liyi* 道教礼仪 [Daoist Rituals and Ceremonies]. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua, 2005.
- Chen Yuan 陳垣, ed. *Daojia jinshi lue* 道家金石略 [Daoist Epigraphy]. Beijing: Wenwu, 1988.
- Chen Zongfan 陳宗蕃. *Yandu congkao* 燕都叢考 [Compendium on the Capital]. 1930-1931. Reprint, Beijing: Beijing guji, 1991.
- Chinese Daoist Association. *The White Cloud Daoist Temple*. Beijing: Beijing Daojiao xiehui, 1994.
- Clunas, Craig. *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- . *Empire of Greatness: Visual and Material Cultures of Ming China, 1368-1644*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2007.
- Datong shi bowu guan 大同市博物馆. “Datong Jindai Yan Deyuan mufa jue jian bao 大同金代阎德源墓发掘简报 [Brief Report on Excavation of Jin Dynasty Tomb of Yan Deyuan in Datong].” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 4 (1978): 1-7.
- Davis, Edward. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2001.
- Dean, Kenneth and Zheng Zhenman. *A Survey of Village Temples and Ritual Activities*. 2 vols. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Dobbins, James C. “Portraits of Shinran in Medieval Pure Land Buddhism.” In *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, edited by Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf, 19-48. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Dott, Brian Russell. “Ascending Mount Tai: Social and Cultural Intersections in Eighteenth Century China.” PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1998.
- Douin, G. “Ceremonial de la cour et coutumes du peuple de Peking,” *Bulletin de l'association amicale franco-chinois* 2 (1910): 105-138, 215-237, 327-368. Quoted in Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Duara, Prasanjit. “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, the Chinese God of War.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (1988): 778-95.

- Eberhard, Wolfram, trans. *A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols: Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought*. London and New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.
- Ebrey, Patricia. *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- _____. *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1991.
- von Erdberg Consten, Eleanor. "A Statue of Lao-tsu in the Po-yun-kuan," *Monumenta Serica* 7, no. 6 (1942): 235-241.
- Eskildsen, Stephen. "The Beliefs and Practices of Early Ch'uan-chen Taoism." Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1989.
- _____. *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters*. Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2004.
- Esposito, Monica. "Longmen Taoism in Qing China: Doctrinal Ideal and Local Reality." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 191-231.
- _____. "The Longmen School and its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty." In *Religion and Chinese Society. Volume II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, edited by John Lagerwey, 621-698. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004.
- Feng Junjie 冯俊杰. *Shanxi shenmiao juchang kao* 山西神庙剧场考 [Study of Theaters at Temples and Shrines in Shanxi]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006.
- Fisher, Carney T. *The Chosen One: Succession and Adoption in the Court of Ming Shizong*. Australia: Australian National University, 1990.
- Fong, Wen C. *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 1984. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Images of the Mind" shown at the Art Museum, Princeton University.
- Fong, Wen C. and James C.Y. Watt. *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum*, 1996. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Possessing the Past" shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- Foulk, T. Griffith. "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, edited by Patricia Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, 147-208. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993.
- Foulk, T. Griffith and Robert Sharf. "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 7 (1993-1994): 149-219.
- Fowler, Sherry D. *Murōji: Rearranging Art and History at a Japanese Buddhist Temple*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.
- Franke, Wolfgang. *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968.
- Fu Qinjia 傅勤家. *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 中國道教史 [A History of Chinese Taoism]. Reprint. Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1998.
- Fu Xinian and Nancy S. Steinhardt. *Chinese Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Beijing: New World Press, 2002.
- Gaochun xian wenhuaju 高淳縣文化局, ed. *Ming Qing daojiao shen xiang hua* 明清道教神像畫 [Daoist Paintings from Ming and Qing Dynasties]. Nanjing: Nanjing, 2006.
- Glahn, Else. "Unfolding the Chinese Building Standards: Research on the *Yingzhao fashi*." In *Chinese Traditional Architecture*, edited by Nancy Steinhardt, 48-57. New York: China Institute in America, 1984.
- Goodrich, L. Carrington and Chaoying Fang. *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- Goossaert, Vincent. "La creation de taoïsme moderne l'ordre Quanzhen." PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1997.
- _____. "The Invention of an Order: Collective Identity in Thirteenth-Century Quanzhen Taoism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 111-138.
- _____. "The Quanzhen Clergy, 1700-1950." In *Religion and Chinese Society: Vol. II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, edited by John Lagerwey, 699-771. Hong Kong: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient and Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002.
- _____. *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics*. Cambridge, Mass & London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007.

- Goossaert, Vincent and Paul R. Katz. "New Perspectives on Quanzhen Taoism: The Formation of a Religious Identity." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 91-94.
- Graham, David Crockett. *Folk Religion in Southwest China*. Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 1961.
- De Groot, J.J.M. *The Religious System of China, Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect. Manners, Custom and Social Institutions Connected Therewith*. Taiwan: Ch'eng-wen Publishing, 1967.
- Guoli gugong bowu yuan 國立故宮博物院. *Changsheng de shijie: Daojiao huihua tezhan tulu* 長生的世界：道教繪畫特展圖錄 [Realm of the Immortals: Catalogue of a Special Exhibition of Taoist Paintings], 1996. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Changsheng de shijie" shown at the National Palace Museum, Taipei.
- Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫. *Chūgoku no Dōkyō no genjō: dōshi, dōkyō, dōkan* 中国道教の現状：道士、道協、道觀 [The Present Situation of Chinese Daoism: Daoist Priests, Daoist Associations, and Daoist Temples]. Tōkyō: Kyuko shoin, 1990.
- _____. *Chūgoku no Dōkyō: sono katsudō to dōkan no genjō* 中国の道教：その活動と道觀の現状 [Daoism in China: Its Activity and Present Situation of Daoist Temples]. Tōkyō: Kyuko shoin, 1995.
- Hammerstrom, Erik J. "The Mysterious Gate: Daoist Monastic Liturgy in the Late Imperial China." Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 2003.
- Hansen, Valerie. *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Harvard-Yenching Library. <http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/harvard-yenching/collections/morrison/>
- Hawkes, David. "Quanzhen Plays and Quanzhen Masters." *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 69 (1981): 153-170.
- Huang, Shi-shan Susan. "The Triptych of *Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water* and the Making of Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279)." PhD diss., Yale University, 2002.

- Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Wai-kam Ho, ed. *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: the Collections of the Nelson-Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1980. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting” shown at Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum and the Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, ed. *Zhonghua Daojiao da cidian* 中华道教大辞典 [Great Dictionary in Chinese Daoism]. Beijing: Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1995.
- Huang, Shi-shan Susan. “Summoning the Gods: Paintings of Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water and Their Association with Daoist Ritual Performance in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279).” *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 1 (2001): 5-52.
- _____. “The Triptych of Daoist Deities of Heaven, Earth and Water and the Making of Visual Culture in the Southern Song Period (1127-1279).” PhD diss., Yale University 2002.
- Hummel, Arthur William. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912*. Washington: U.S. Government Print, 1943-44.
- Ikeda Suetoshi 池田末利. “Mukashi no Pekin no Hakuunkan 昔の北京の白雲觀 [The Past of Baiyun guan in Beijing].” *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 69 (1987): 72-92.
- Jing, Anning. “Yongle Palace: The Transmission of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368).” Ph.D diss., Princeton University, 1994.
- _____. *The Water God's Temple of the Guangsheng Monastery: Cosmic Function of the Art, Ritual, and Theater*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- _____. “The Longshan Daoist Caves.” *Artibus Asiae* 68, no. 1 (2008): 7-56.
- Johnson, David. “Mu-lien in Pao-chuan: The Performance Context and Religious Meaning of the Yu-ming Pao-ch'uan.” In *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religions: Five Studies*, edited by David Johnson, 55-103. Berkeley, Ca.: University of California, 1995.
- Kaikodo gallery. *Kaikodo Journal*, 2002.
- Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed. *Pilu si bihua* 毘盧寺壁畫 [Murals of the Pilu Temple]. Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu, 1998.

- Katz, Paul R. *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: the Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1995.
- _____. *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lu Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- _____. "Writing History, Creating Identity-A Case Study of the *Xuanfeng qinghui tu*." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2002): 161-178.
- Kim Sung-hae. "Daoist Monasticism in Contemporary China." In *Chinese Religions in Contemporary Societies*, edited by James Miller, 101-122. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006.
- Kohn, Livia, ed. *Daoism Handbook*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000.
- _____. *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2003.
- _____. *Cosmos & Community: The Ethical Dimension of Daoism*. Cambridge, MA: The Three Pines Press, 2004.
- Kohn, Livia and Russell Kirkland. "Daoism in the Tang (618-907)." In *Daoism Handbook*, edited by Livia Kohn, 339-383. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Komjathy, Louis. *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-Transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Kubo Noritada 窪徳忠. "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1 北京白雲觀の現状について 3 [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing, Part 3]." *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學 7, no. 3 (1943): 21-30.
- _____. "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1 北京白雲觀の現状について 2 [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing, Part 2]." *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學 7, no. 2 (1943): 32-36.
- _____. "Pekin Hakuunkan no genjō ni tsuite 1 北京白雲觀の現状について 1 [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing, Part 1]." *Shina Bukkyō Shigaku* 支那佛教史學 7, no. 1 (1944): 63-72.
- _____. *Chūgoku no shūkyō kaigaku: Zhenshinkyō no seiritsu* 中国の宗教改革 : 全真教の成立 [Religious Reformation in China: the Formation of Quanzhen Daoism]. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1968.

- _____. “Pekin Hakuunkan no genkyō ni tsuite 北京白雲觀の現況について [The Present Situation of Baiyun guan in Beijing].” *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教 69 (1987): 44-56.
- Lagerwey, John. *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*. New York: Macmillan, 1987.
- Levine, Gregory P.A. *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Li He and Michael Knight. *Power and Glory: Court Arts of China's Ming Dynasty, 2008-2009*. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Power and Glory: Court Arts of China's Ming Dynasty” shown at Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Saint Louis Art Museum, and Indianapolis Museum of Art.
- Li Jiarui 李家瑞, ed. *Beiping fengsu leizheng* 北平風俗類徵 [A Compendium of Beijing Customs]. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937.
- Li Yangzheng 李养正. *Xinbian Beijing Baiyun guan zhi* 新编北京白云观誌 [New Edition of the Gazetteer of Baiyun guan in Beijing]. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua, 2003.
- Liang Ssu-ch'eng. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types*. Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1984.
- Liao Ping. *The Yongle Palace Murals*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1985.
- Liscomb, Kathlyn Maurean. “Li Bai, a Hero among Poets, in the Visual, Dramatic, and Literary Arts of China.” *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (Sep., 1999): 354-389.
- Little, Stephen. *Realm of the Immortals: Daoism in the Arts of China*, 1988. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Realm of the Immortals: Daoism in the Arts of China” shown at Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Little, Stephen and Shawn Eichman. *Taoism and the Arts of China*, 2000. Published in conjunction with the exhibition “Taoism and the Arts of China” shown at Art Institute of Chicago and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.
- Liu Houhu 劉厚祜, “Baiyun guan yu Daojiao 白雲觀與道教 [Baiyun guan and Daoism].” *Daoxie huikan* 道協會刊, no. 6 (Nov., 1980): 16-41.
- Liu, Laurence. *Chinese Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli, 1989.

- Liu, Xun. "Visualizing Perfection: Daoist Paintings of Our Lady, Court Patronage, and Elite Female Piety in the Late Qing." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64, no. 1 (2004): 57-115.
- Liu, Yang. "Images for the Temple: Imperial Patronage in the Development of Tang Daoist Art." *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 189-261.
- Liu Zhaohe 刘兆鹤 and Wang Xiping 王西平. *Chongyang gong dao jiao beishi* 重陽宮道教碑石 [Stele of Daoism in Chongyang Temple]. Shanxi: Jinshi wenxian hui ji, 1998.
- Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, ed. *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 [Great Dictionary of Chinese]. 13 vols. Xianggang: Sanlian shudian Xianggang fendian, 1987-.
- Ma Shutian 马书田. *Zhongguo Daoshen* 中国道神 [Chinese Daoist Gods]. Beijing: Tuanjie, 2006.
- Mair, Victor H. *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1998.
- Marsone, Pierre. "Le Baiyun guan de Pékin: Épigraphe et Histoire." *Materiaux pour l'étude de la religion chinoise-Sanjiao wenxian* 三教文献 3 (1999): 73-136.
- . "The Accounts of the Foundation of the Quanzhen Movement: A Hagiographic Treatment of History." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 95-110.
- Maspero, Henri. *Taoism and Chinese Religions*. Trans. Frank A. Kierman. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981.
- Min Zhiting. *Xuanmen risong zaowan gongke jing zhu* 玄門日誦早晚功課經注 [Commentary on the *Scripture of Daily Devotional Chanting of Mysterious Gate*]. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2000.
- Mollier, Christine. *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scriptures, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- Mori Yuria 森由利亚. "Zennshinkyō Ryōmon-ha kaifu kō 全真教龍門派系譜考 [Longmen Lineage in Quanzhen Daoism]." In *Dōkyō bunka e no tenbō* 道教文化への展望 [Perspective on Daoist Culture], edited by Dōkyō Bunka kenkyūkai, 181-211. Tōkyō: Hirakawa, 1994.

- Morrison, Hedda. *A Photographer in Old Peking*. Hong Kong, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Naquin, Susan. “The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng Shan: Religious Organizations and Sacred Site.” In *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chun-fang Yu, 333-377. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1992.
- . *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Naquin, Susan and Yu Chun-fang, eds. *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Noguchi Tetsurō 野口鐵郎, ed. *Dōkyō jiten* 道教事典 [Dictionary of Daoism]. Tōkyō: Hirakawa, 1994.
- Ōfuchi Ninji 大淵忍爾. *Chugokujin no shūkyō girei: Bukkyō, Dōkyō, minkan shinkō* 中国人の宗教儀禮: 佛教道教民間信仰 [Chinese Religious Practices: Buddhism, Daoism and Popular Religion]. Tōkyō: Fukutake shoten, 1983.
- Overmyer, Daniel. *Precious Volumes: An Introduction to Chinese Sectarian Scriptures from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Overmyer, Daniel. “Quanzhen Daoist Influence on Sectarian ‘Precious Volumes’ from the Seventeenth Century.” In *Daojiao yu minjian zongjiao yanjiu lunji* 道教與民間宗教研究論集 [Collection of Papers on Daoism and Popular Religion], edited by Lai Chi Tim, 73-93. Hong Kong: Xuefeng wenhua shiye, 1999.
- Oyanagi Shigeta 小柳司氣太. *Hakuunkan shi* 白雲觀誌 [Gazetteer of Baiyun guan]. Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin Tōkyō kenkyūjo, 1934.
- Pas, Julian F. *Turning of the Tide: Religion in China Today*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Prip-Møller, Johannes. *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967.

- Qiao Yun. *Taoist Buildings: Ancient Chinese Architecture*. New York: Springer-Wien, 2001.
- Qing Xitai 卿希泰. *Zhongguo Daojiao shi* 中国道教史 [History of Daoism in China], 4 vols. Rev. ed. Chengdu: Sichuan renmin, 1996.
- de Rachewiltz, Igor. “The *Hsi-yu-lu* 西遊錄 by Yeh-lu Ch’u-ts’ai 耶律楚材.” *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962): 1-128.
- Reiter, Florian C. “The Soothsayer Hao Ta-t’ung (1140-1212) and his Encounter with Ch’uan-chen Taoism.” *Oriens Extremus* 28 (1981): 198-205.
- _____. “The Ch’uan-chen Patriarch T’an Ch’u-tuan (1123-1185) and the Chinese Talismanic Tradition.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 146 (1996): 139-155.
- _____. “The Blending of Religious Convictions and Scholarly Notions in the Life of the Taoist Patriarch Liu Ch’u-hsuan (1147-1203).” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 147 (1997): 425-460.
- Rolston, David. *Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary: Reading and Writing between the Lines*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Roy, David Tod, trans. *The Plum in the Golden Vase or, Chin P’ing Mei*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Schipper, Kristofer. “Master Chao I-chen and Ch’ing-wei School of Taoism.” In *Dokyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化 [Daoism and Religious Culture], edited by Akizuki Kanei 秋月観暎, 715-731. Tōkyō: Hirakawa, 1987.
- Schipper, Kristofer and Franciscus Verellen, eds. *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Seidel, Anna. “A Taoist Immortal of the Ming Dynasty: Chang San-feng.” In *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, edited by William Theodore de Bary, 483-531. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Shahar, Meir. “Vernacular Fiction and the Transmission of God’s Cults in Late Imperial China.” In *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in China*, edited by Meir Shahar and Robert P. Weller, 184-211. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996.

- Sharf, Robert H. "The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China." *History of Religions* 32, no. 1 (Aug., 1992): 1-31.
- Shryock, John. *The Temples of Anking and Their Cults: A Study of Modern Chinese Religion*. 1931. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973.
- Sotheby's. *Important Chinese Ceramics Jade Carvings and Works of Art*. New York: 23 October 1976.
- _____. *Chinese Ceramics and Works of Art*. New York: 5 November 1977.
- _____. *Important Chinese Works of Art and Chinese Paintings*. New York: 2 November 1979.
- Steinhardt, Nancy, ed. *Chinese Traditional Architecture*. New York: China House Gallery, 1984.
- _____. "Taoist Architecture." In *Taoism and Arts of China*, edited by Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, 57-76. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, in association with University of California Press, 2000.
- _____. *Chinese Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Strassberg, Richard E. *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.
- Stuart, Jan and Evelyn Rawski. *Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits*, 2001. Published in conjunction with the exhibition "Worshipping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits," shown at Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.
- Su Qiming 蘇啓明. *Daojiao wenwu* 道教文物 [Cultural Artifacts of Daoism]. Taipei: National Museum of History, 1999.
- Sun Dazhang 孙大章. *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中国古代建筑史, *Di 5 juan* 第五卷: *Qingdai jianzhu* 清代建筑 [History of Chinese Traditional Architecture, Vol. 5, Architecture of Qing Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu, 2002.
- Tang Daijian 唐代剑. *Wang Zhe Qiu Chuji pingzhuan* 王嘉丘处机评传 [Biographical Account of Wang Zhe and Qiu Chuji]. Nanjing: Nanjing daxue, 2000.
- Thorp, Robert L. *Son of Heaven: Imperial Arts of China*. Seattle: Son of Heaven Press, 1988.

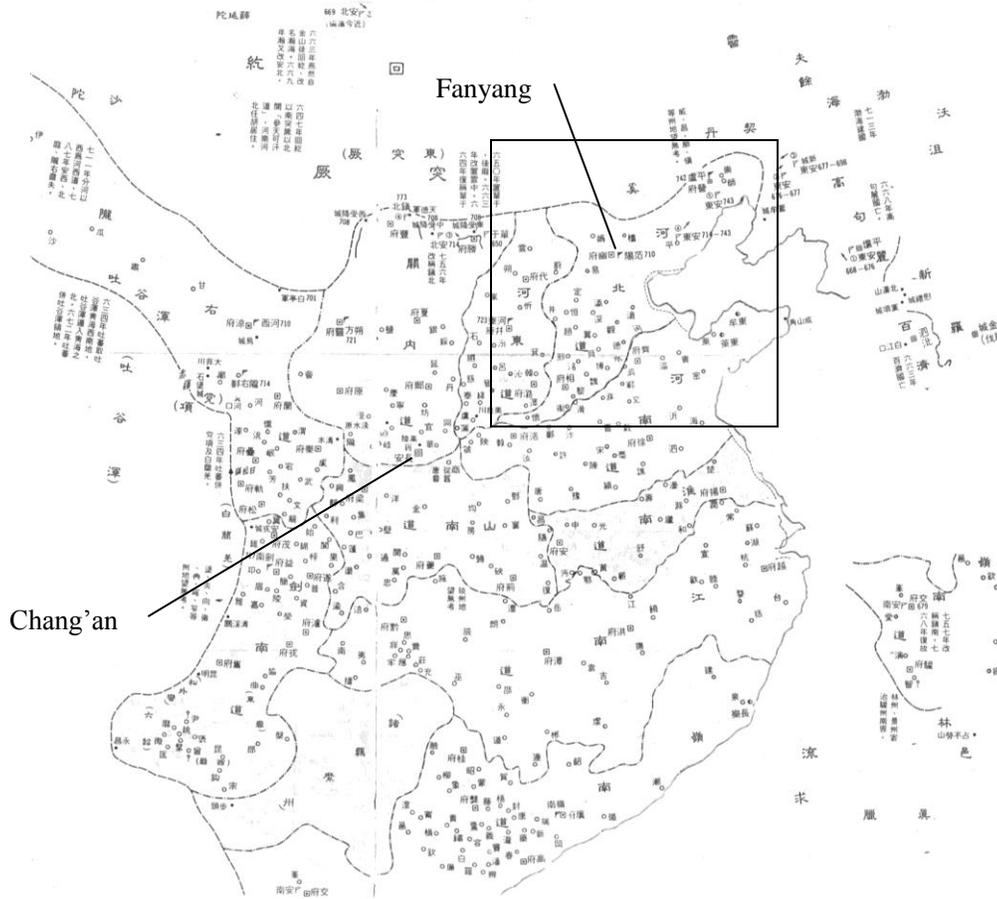
- Tokiwa Daijō 常磐大定 and Sekino Tadashi 関野貞. *Chugoku bunka shiseki* 中国文化史蹟 [Historical Remains of Chinese Culture]. 13 vols. Kyoto: Hozokan, 1975.
- Twitchett, Denis., ed. *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, *Sui and T'ang China, 589-906 Part I*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Vinograd, Richard. *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Waley, Arthur, trans. *The Travels of an Alchemist: The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hindu Kush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan*. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1931.
- Wang, Richard G. "Taoist Writings Packaged in Ming Popular Encyclopedias and Their Editing Strategies." In *Religion and Chinese Society. Volume II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, edited by John Lagerwey, 591-619. Hong Kong: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient and Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2002.
- Wang Xun 王遜. "Yongle gong Sanqing dian bihua ticaishi 永乐宮三清殿壁画題材試探 [Trial of Subject Matter of Murals of Sanqing dian in Yongle gong]." *Wenwu* 文物, no. 8 (1963): 19-39.
- Wang Yi'e 王宜娥. *Daojiao meishu shihua* 道教美术史话 [History of Daoist Art]. Beijing: Beijing Yanshan, 1994.
- _____. *Zhongguo Daojiao* 中国道教 [Daoism in China]. Beijing: Wuzhou chuanbo, 2004.
- Wang Yucheng 王育成. "Ming Yongle caihui Zhenwu lingying tuce 明永樂彩繪真武靈應圖冊 [Album of Miraculous Manifestations of Zhenwu during the Yongle Reign of Ming Dynasty]." *Daoyun* 道韻 4, no. 10 (1999): 10-72.
- _____. *Mingdai caihui Quanzhen zongzu tu yanjiu* 明代彩繪全真宗祖圖研究 [Research on Paintings of Quanzhen Patriarchs from Ming Dynasty]. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 2003.
- Weidner, Marsha, ed. *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.
- Welch, Holmes. *The Parting of the Way: Lao Tzu and the Taoist Movement*. London: Methuen and Co., 1958.

- _____. *Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Welch, Holmes and Anna Seidel, eds. *Facets of Taoism—Essays in Chinese Religion*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Werner, E.T.C. *Dictionary of Chinese Mythology*. New York: Julian Press, 1961.
- _____. *Myths and Legends of China*. Rockville, MD: Wildside Press, 2005.
- Wicks, Ann Barrot, ed. *Children in Chinese Art*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.
- Wong, Eva, trans. *Seven Taoist Masters: A Folk Novel in China*. Boston: Shambhala, 1990.
- Wong, Young-tsu. *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2001.
- Wu, Cheng-han. “The Temple Fairs in Late Imperial China.” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1988.
- Xie Zhi’an 谢志安 and Wang Liwei 王理唯 et al. *Huxian wenwu zhi* 戶縣文物志 [Gazetteer of Historical Relics in Hu County]. Shaanxi: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995.
- Xu Jialu 許嘉璐, ed. *Ershisi shi quanyi* 二十四史全譯 [Complete Translation of Twenty-Four Dynasties of Chinese History]. 24 vols. Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian, 2004.
- Xu Wei 徐威. *Guangji si* 廣濟寺 [Temple of Great Charity]. Beijing: Huawen, 2003.
- Yan Chongnian. *Beijing: The Treasures of an Ancient Capital*. Beijing: Morning Glory Press, 1987.
- Yang, C.K. *Religion in Chinese Society*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1970.
- Yao Tao-chung. “Ch’uan-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.” PhD diss., University of Arizona, 1980.
- Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. *Dōkyō no kenkyū* 道教の研究 [Research on Daoism]. Kyoto: Hozokan, 1952.

- _____. *Eisei e no negai* 永生の願い [In Search of Immortality]. Tōkyō: Tankosha, 1970.
- _____. “Taoist Monastic Life.” In *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, edited by Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, 229-252. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Zhang Jiyu 张继禹, ed. *Daojiao shenxian huaji* 道教神仙畫集 [Albums for Taoist Deities and Divine Immortals]. Beijing: Huaxia, 1995.
- Zhang Mingyuan 张明远. *Taiyuan Longshan Daojiao shiku yishu yanjiu* 太原龙山道教石窟艺术研究 [Research on Daoist Cave Art at Dragon Mount in Taiyuan]. Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu, 2002.
- Zhang Qiyun 張其昀, Xu Shengmo 徐聖謨, and Cheng Guangyu 程光裕. *Zhongguo lishi ditu* 中國歷史地圖 [Historical Map of China]. 2 vols. Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue, 1980-1984.
- Zhang Xiaosong 张晓松. *Qiu Chuji dazhuan* 丘处机大传 [Biography of Qiu Chuji]. Qingdao: Qingdao, 2005.
- Zhang Yuying 张育英. *Zhongguo fodoao yishu* 中国佛道艺术 [Buddhist and Daoist Art of China]. Beijing: Zhongjiiao wenhua, 2000.
- Zhang Zhizhe 张志哲, ed. *Daojiao wenhua cidian* 道教文化辞典 [Encyclopedia of Daoist Culture]. Shanghai: Jiangsu guji, 1994.
- Zhongguo Daojiao xiehui 中国道教协会, ed. *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辞典 [Dictionary of Chinese Daoism]. Beijing: Huaxia, 1995.
- Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwu guan 中国佛教图书文物馆. *Fayuan si* 法源寺 [Source of Dharma Temple]. Beijing: Fayuan si liutong chu, 1981.
- Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國美術全集編輯委員會, ed. *Siguan bihua* 寺觀壁畫 [Temple Murals]. Vol. 13 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji, Huihua bian* 中國美術全集. 繪畫編 [Complete Collection of Chinese Art: Painting]. Beijing: Wenwu, 1988.
- Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國美術全集編輯委員會, ed. *Yuan Ming Qing diaosu* 元明清雕塑 [Sculptures from Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties]. Vol. 6 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji, Diaosu bian* 中國美術全集. 雕塑編 [Complete Collection of Chinese Art: Sculpture]. Beijing: Renmin meishu, 1988.

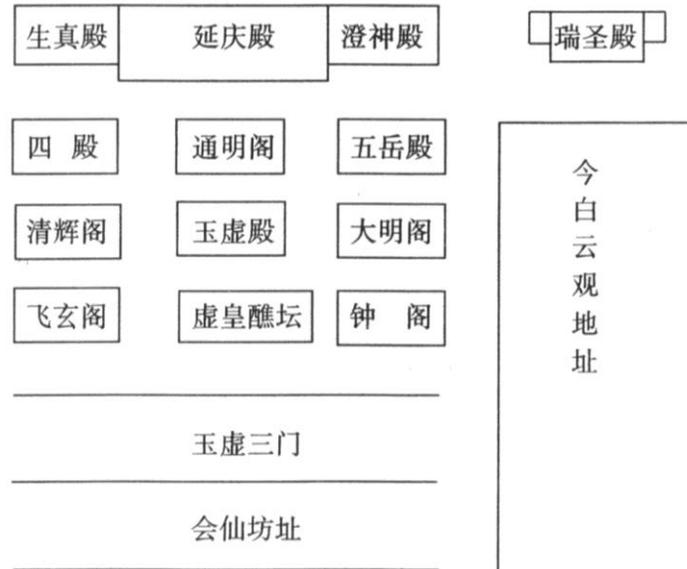
Zhongguo meishu quanji bianji weiyuan hui 中國美術全集編輯委員會, ed. *Zongjiao jianzhu* 宗教建築 [Religious Architecture]. Vol. 7 of *Zhongguo meishu quanji, Jianzhu yishu bian* 中國美術全集. 建築藝術編 [Complete Collection of Chinese Art: Architecture]. Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye, 1988.

Zhou Gaode 周高德 and Zhang Sijian 張嗣堅. *Daojiao Quanzhen di yi conglin: Beijing Baiyun guan* 道教全真第一丛林北京白云观 [Baiyun guan in Beijing: The First Public Monastery of Quanzhen Daoism]. Beijing: Beijing Baiyun guan bianyin, 1999.



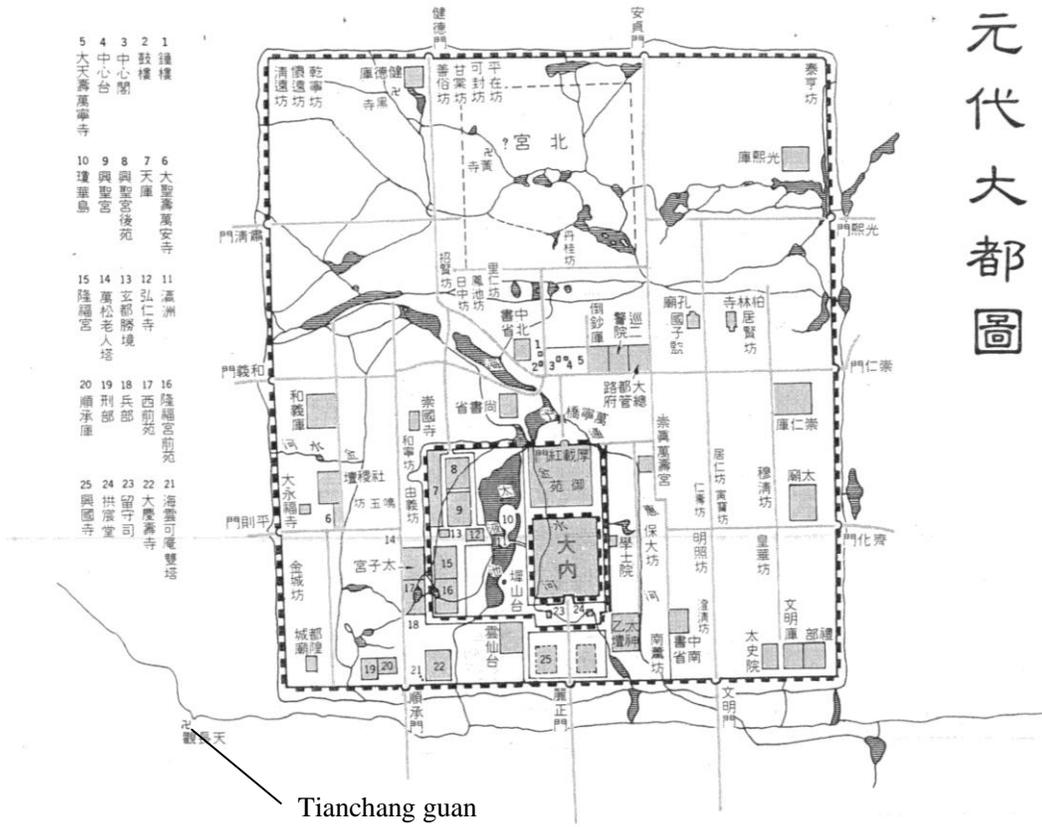
1.1. Map of Tang dynasty China: Hebei district indicated by square.

附表一：金代十方大天长观的建置

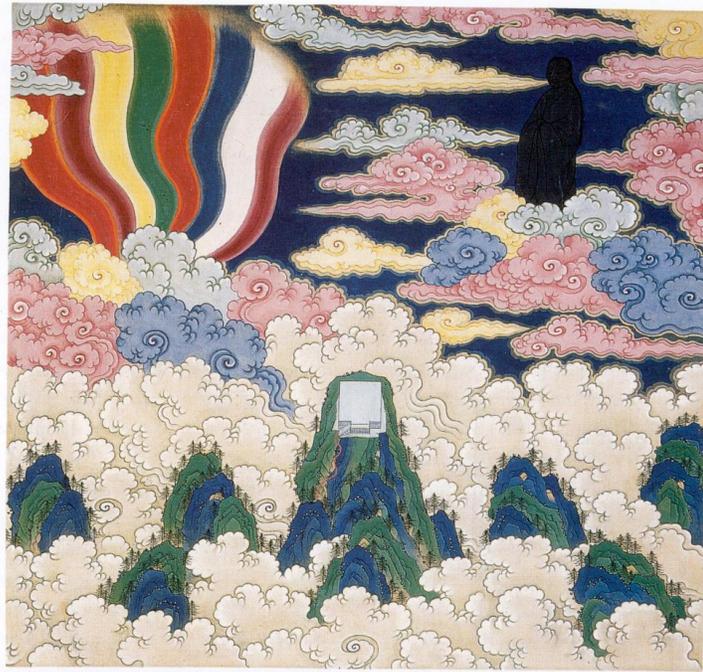
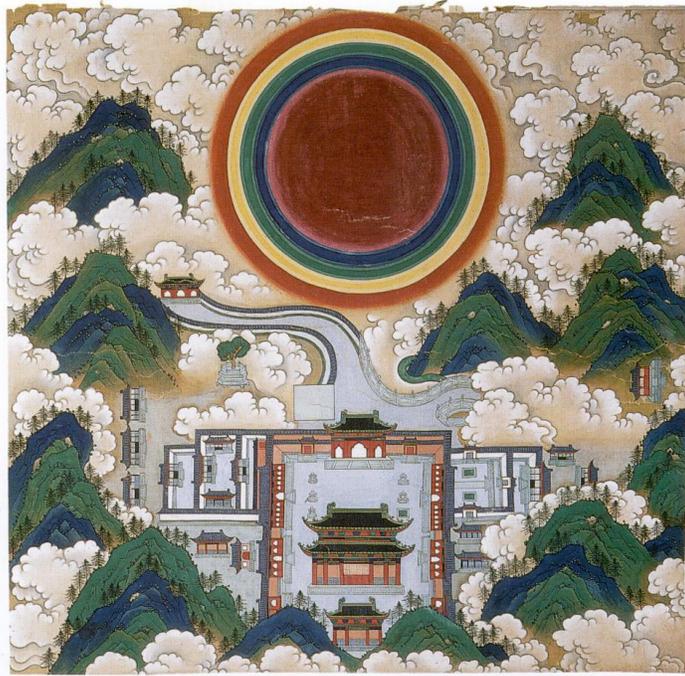


1.2. Rough plan of Tianchang guan in the Jin dynasty after Liu Houhu.

元代大都圖



1.3. Plan of Yuan dynasty capital Dadu and Tianchang guan (later Changchun gong).



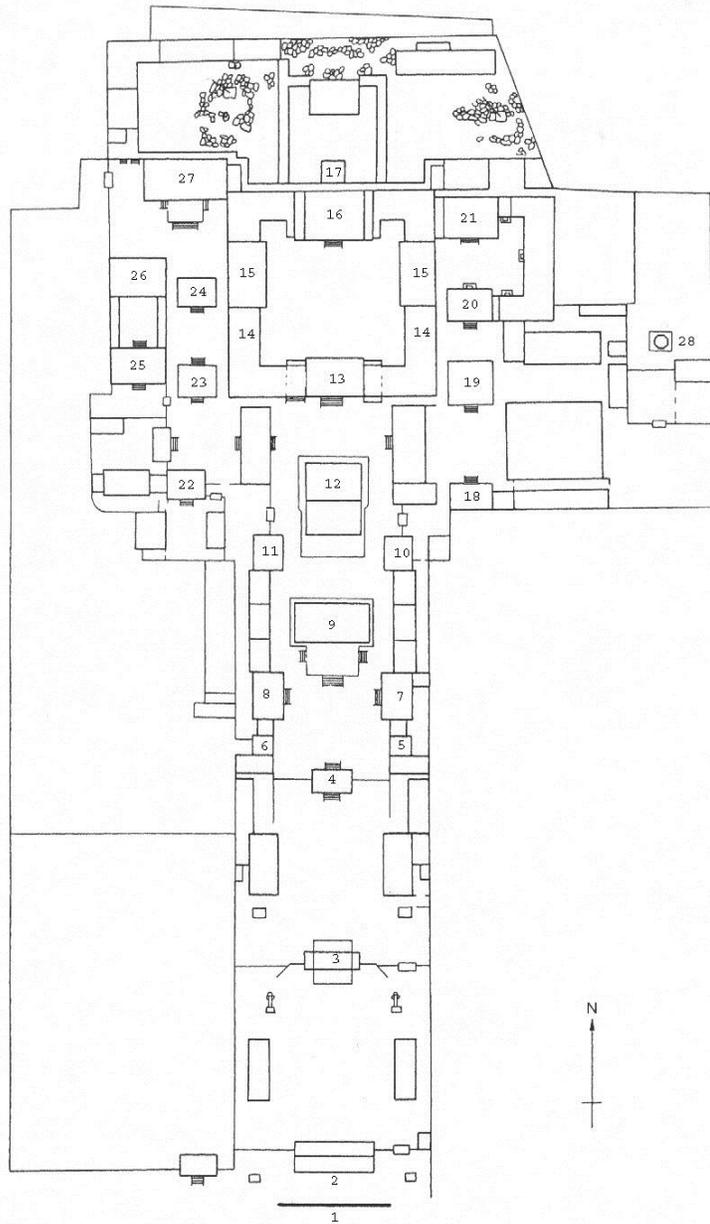
1.4. Anonymous, *Miraculous Manifestations of Zhenwu at Mount Wudang* (*Wuliang fushou tu*). Ming, early 15th century. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 56 x 85 cm (each section). Baiyun guan.



2.1. Baiyun guan. A bird's eye view.



2.2. Screen Wall. *Wan'gu changchun* from right to left.



2.3. Baiyun guan. Ground plan. 2008.

1. Screen wall. 2. Pailou. 3. Shanmen. 4. Linguan dian. 5. Drum tower.
 6. Bell tower. 7. San'guan dian. 8. Caishen dian. 9. Yuhuang dian.
 10. Yaowang dian. 11. Jiuku dian. 12. Laolü tang. 13. Qiuzu dian.
 14. Display room. 15. Guest hall. 16. Sanqing ge/Siyu dian. 17. Ordination platform.
 18. Sanxing dian. 19. Cihang dian. 20. Zhenwu dian. 21. Leizu dian. 22. Citang.
 23. Yuanjun dian. 24. Wenchang dian. 25. Baxian dian. 26. Lüzu dian.
 27. Yuanchen dian. 28. Pagoda dedicated to Adept Luo.



2.4. Pailou.



2.5. Pailou. Back view.



2.6. *Pailou*. Detail.



2.7. *Pailou*. Palace of Harmony and Peace (Yonghe gong), Beijing.



2.8. *Shanmen.*



2.9. *Shanmen*. Detail. People touching a carved monkey.



2.10.1. *Shanmen*. Detail. God of Longevity.



2.10.2. *Shanmen*. Detail. Eight Auspicious Symbols.



2.11. Short wall connected to *shanmen*. Detail. Peonies.



2.12. Arched gateway to Temple of Jade Void (Yuxu guan) on Mount Wudang after Qiao Yun.



2.13.1. Bridge of Harboring Wind (Wofeng qiao).



2.13.2. Bridge of Harboring Wind (Wofeng qiao). Side view.



2.14. Bridge in early 20th century after Hedda Morrison.



2.15.1. Hall of Numinous Official (Linguan dian).



2.15.2. Hall of Numinous Official (Linguan dian). Back view.



2.16. Hall of Numinous Official (Linguan dian). Detail. Lintel.



2.17. General view of Hall of Numinous Official (Lingguan dian)
in early 20th century after Oyanagi.



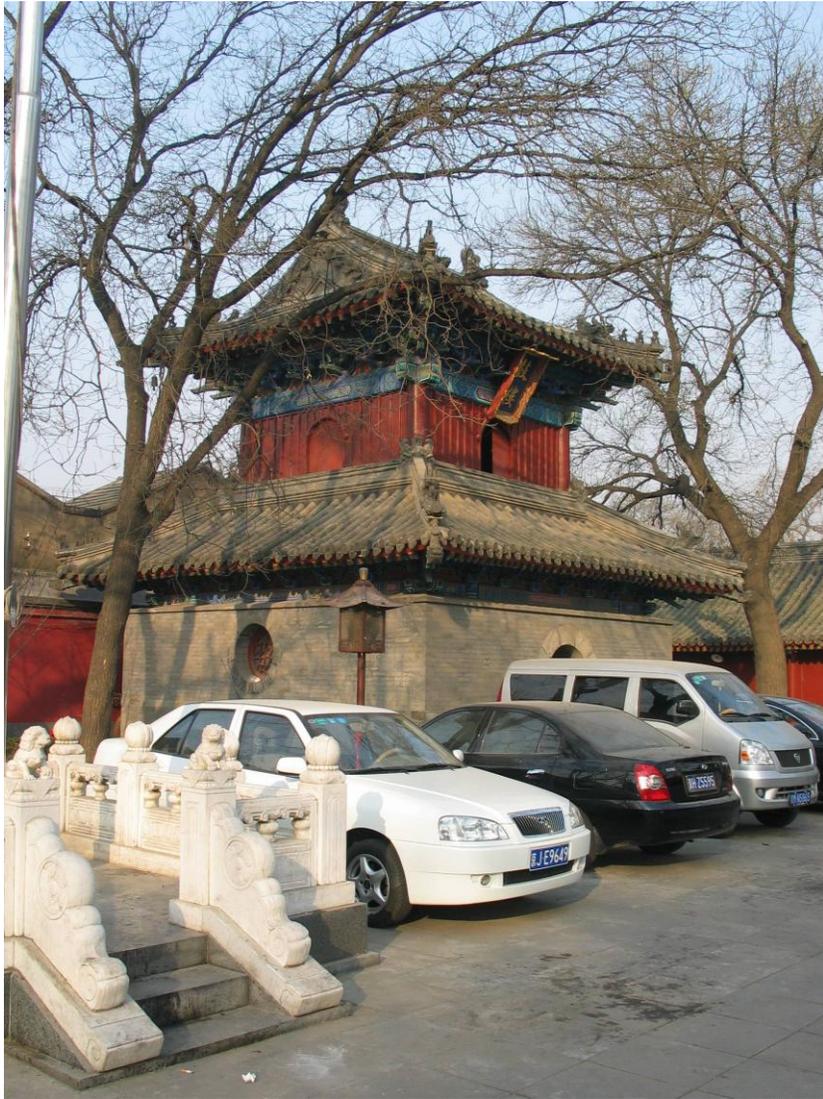
2.18. Drum Tower (Gulou).



2.19. Bell Tower (Zhonglou).



2.20. Bell Tower, Ten Thousand Years Longevity Monastery (Wanshou si), Beijing.



2.21. Bell Tower, Great Clarity Monastery (Guangji si), Beijing.



2.22. Hall of Three Officials (San'guan dian).



2.23. Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian).



2.24. Hall of God of Wealth (Caishen dian). Detail. Brackets.



2.25. Hall of Three Officials (San'guan dian). Detail. Inside view. Brackets.



2.26.1. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian).



2.26.2. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Back view.



2.27. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Side view.



2.28. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Interior. Detail. Ceiling.



2.29. Hall of Jade Emperor (Yuhuang dian). Detail. Brackets.



2.30. Precious Hall of Great Hero (Daxiong baodian). Dharma Source Monastery (Fayuan si), Beijing. Detail. Brackets.



2.31. Hall of God of Medicine King (Yaowang dian).



2.32. Hall of Savior of Suffering (Jiuku dian).



2.33. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laoli tang).



2.34.1. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Side view. Photograph taken in early 1980s after Qiao Yun.



2.34.2. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Roofs.



2.35. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Hipped and gabled roof on the northern part of the building.



2.36. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Lintel.



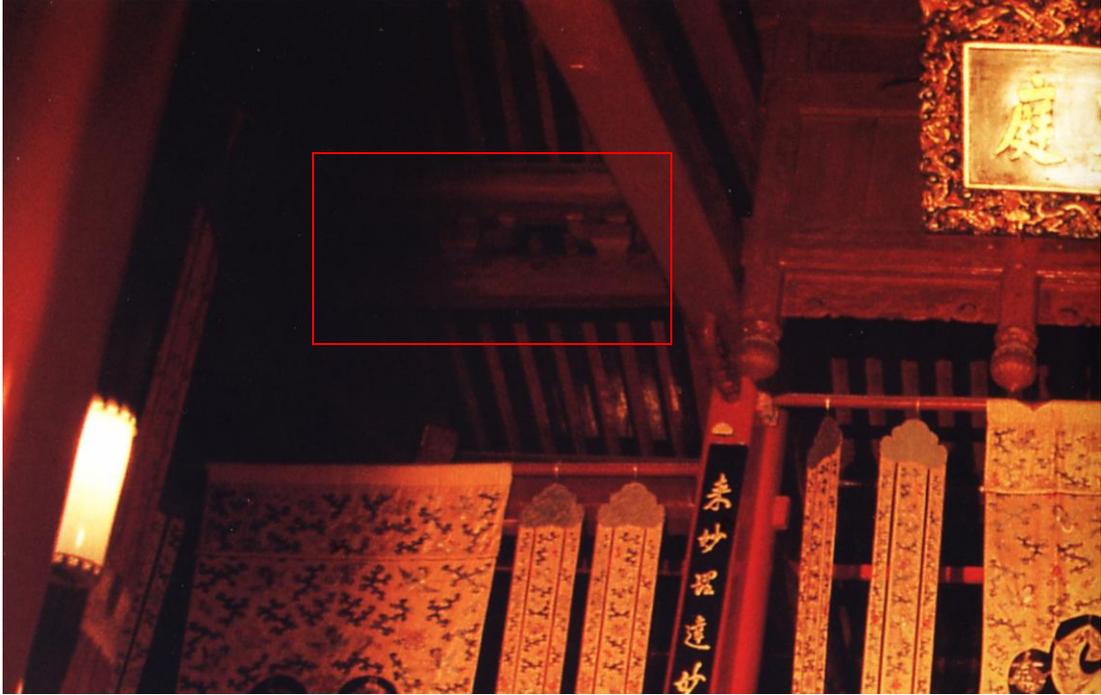
2.37. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Detail. Corner brackets.



2.38. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Back view. Detail. Four intermediate brackets in the central bay are indicated by square.



2.39. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Detail. Ceiling in the front part of building.



2.40. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Detail. Ceiling in the back part of building: bracket arms are indicated by square.



2.41. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Detail. Brackets from the original building are indicated by square.



2.42. Diamond Hall (Jingang dian). Protect the Nation Monastery (Huguo si), Beijing.
Detail. Brackets.



2.43.1. Hall of Patriarch Qiu (Qiu zu dian).



2.43.2. Hall of Patriarch Qiu (Qiu zu dian). Back view.



2.44. Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge) with Four Rulers Hall (Siyu dian).



2.45. Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge). Detail. Lintels.



2.46. Abbot's hall on east of Four Rulers Hall (Siyu dian).



2.47. Ordination platform behind Three Purities Pavilion (Sanqing ge).



2.48. Hall of the Three Star-Lords (Sanxing dian).



2.49.1. Hall of the Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian).



2.49.2. Hall of the Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian). Back view.



2.50. Hall of the Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian). Side view.



2.51. Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian).



2.52. Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder (Leizu dian).



2.53. Hall of the Patriarch of Thunder (Leizu dian). Interior. Detail. Painted panels in the ceiling.



2.54. Pagoda dedicated to an Adept Luo.



2.55.1. Shrine Hall (Citang).



2.55.2. Shrine Hall (Citang). Detail. Title plaque.



2.55.3. Shrine Hall (Citang). Back view.



2.56.1. Yuanjun Hall (Yuanjun dian).



2.56.2. Yuanjun Hall (Yuanjun dian). Back view.



2.57. Hall of the God of the Literature (Wenchang dian).



2.58. Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian).



2.59. Entrance to the cloister of Hall of the Eight Immortals (Baxian dian) and Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzu dian).



2.60. Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzū diān).



2.61.1. *Chongxiu Lüzu dian beiji* [Record of Stele in Restoring the Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü] (1887) by Gao Rentong at the western corner of Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzu dian).



2.61.2. *Chongxiu Lüzü dian linggan bei* [Stele of Inspiration in Restoration of the Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü] (1889) by Gao Rentong at the eastern corner of Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian).



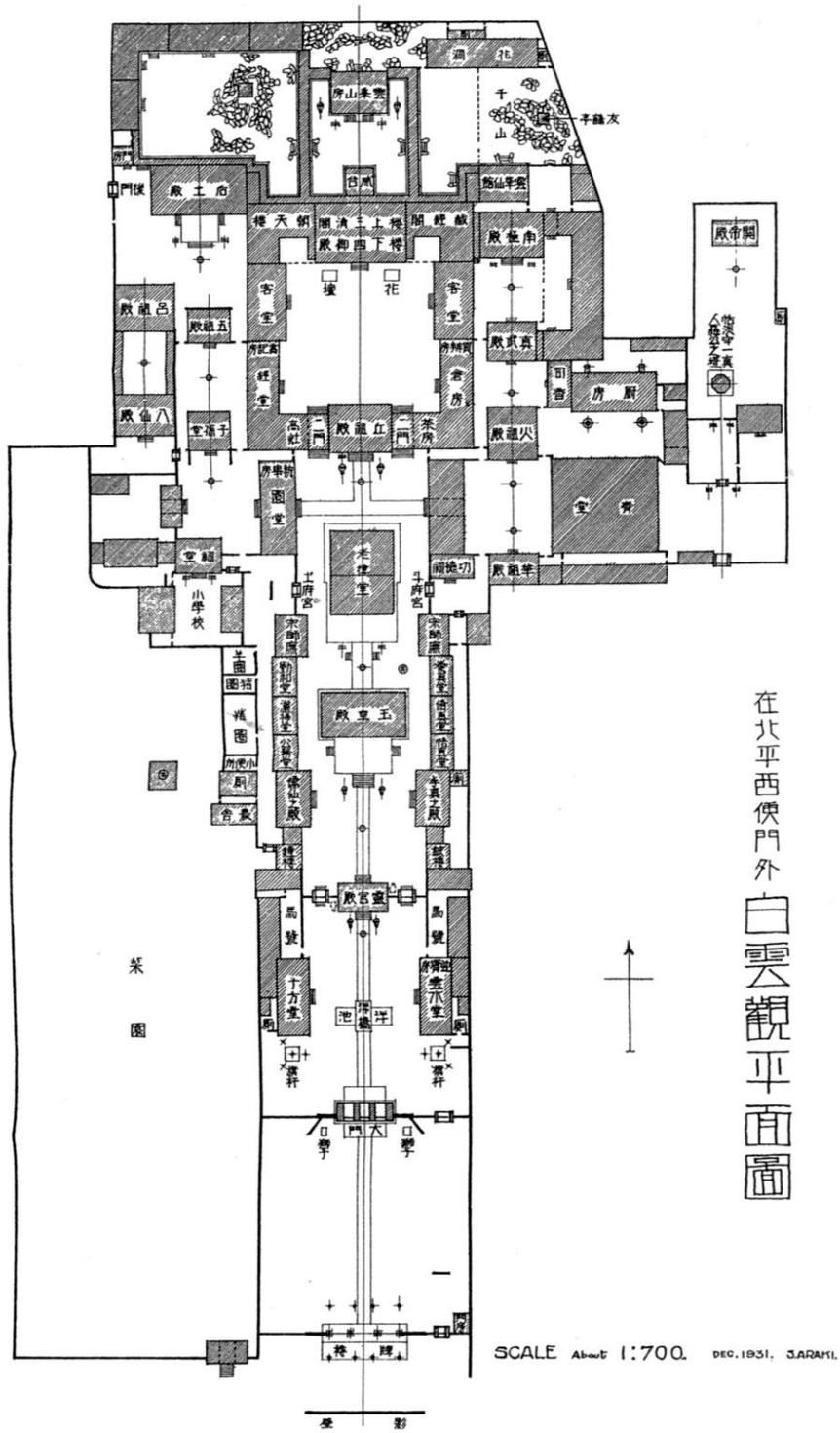
2.62. Hall of the Ancestral Patriarch Lü (Lüzü dian). Detail. Roof.



2.63.1. Hall of the Dipper Mother with Gods of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian).



2.63.2. Hall of the Dipper Mother with Gods of Root Destiny (Yuanchen dian).
Entrance.



3.1. Ground plan of 1931 Baiyun guan after Oyanagi.



3.2. *Wang lingguan*. Ming. Wood, approximately 120 cm.



3.3.1. Anonymous, *Marshal Zhao*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.



3.3.2. Anonymous, *Marshal Ma*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.



3.3.3. Anonymous, *Marshal Wen*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.

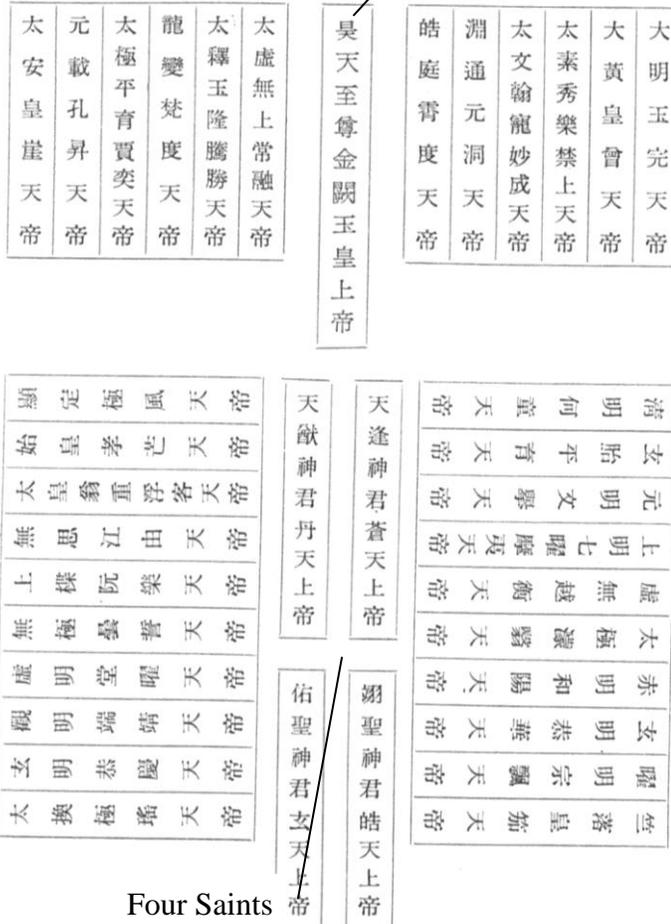


3.3.4. Anonymous, *Marshal Yue*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 235 x 112 cm.



3.4. Screen surrounding the statue of Wang lingguan (back view).
Modern after 1994. Wood.

Jade Emperor



3.5. Plan of location of statues in Jade Emperor Hall (Yuhuang dian) in early 20th century after Yoshioka.



3.6. *Jade Emperor*. Ming. Wood, approximately 180 cm.



3.7. *Jade Emperor*. Detail. Throne. Ming. Wood, approximately 180 cm.



3.8. Qing imperial throne in Shenyang.



3.9. Anonymous, *Portrait of Ming Yongle Emperor*. Detail.
Dragon head indicated by square. Ming. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 220 x
150 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



3.10.1. *Daoist adept, Zhang Daoling, Xu Xun* from left. Ming. Bronze.



3.10.2. *Daoist adept, Ge Xuan, Sa Shoujian* from right. Ming. Bronze.



3.11. Anonymous, *Stars of Northern Dipper*. Late Qing or modern.
Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.12. Anonymous, *Stars of Southern Dipper*. Late Qing or modern.
Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.13. Anonymous, *Inspection Tour*. Qing.
Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.14. Anonymous, *Inspection Tour*. Qing.
Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.15.1. Anonymous, *Stars of East in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing.
Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.15.2. Anonymous, *Stars of West in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing.
Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.15.3. Anonymous, *Stars of South in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



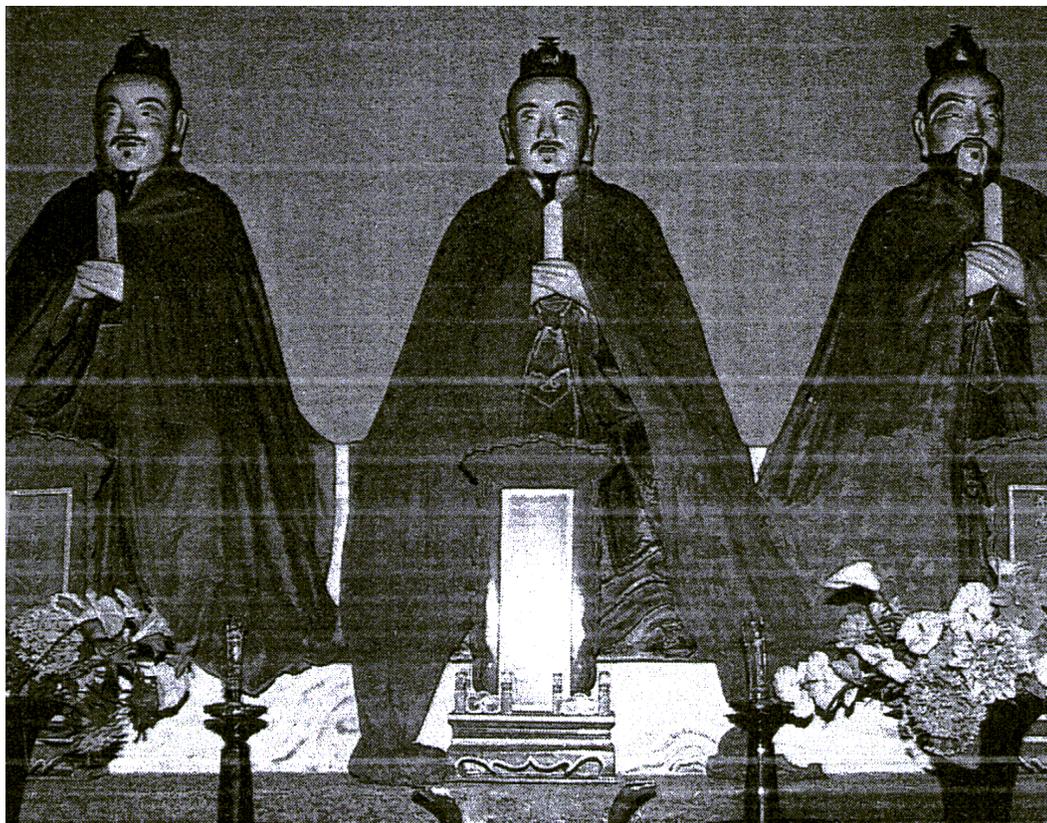
3.15.4. Anonymous, *Stars of North in Twenty-eight Constellations*. Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper.



3.16.1. *Ma Yu, Tan Chuduan, and Liu Chuxuan* from right. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in 1931 after Oyanagi. t).



3.16.2. *Sun Bu'er*, *Wang Chuyi*, and *Hao Datong* from left. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in 1931 after Oyanagi.



3.17.1. *Ma Yu*, *Tan Chuduan*, and *Liu Chuxuan* from right. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in since early 1990s after Hachiya.

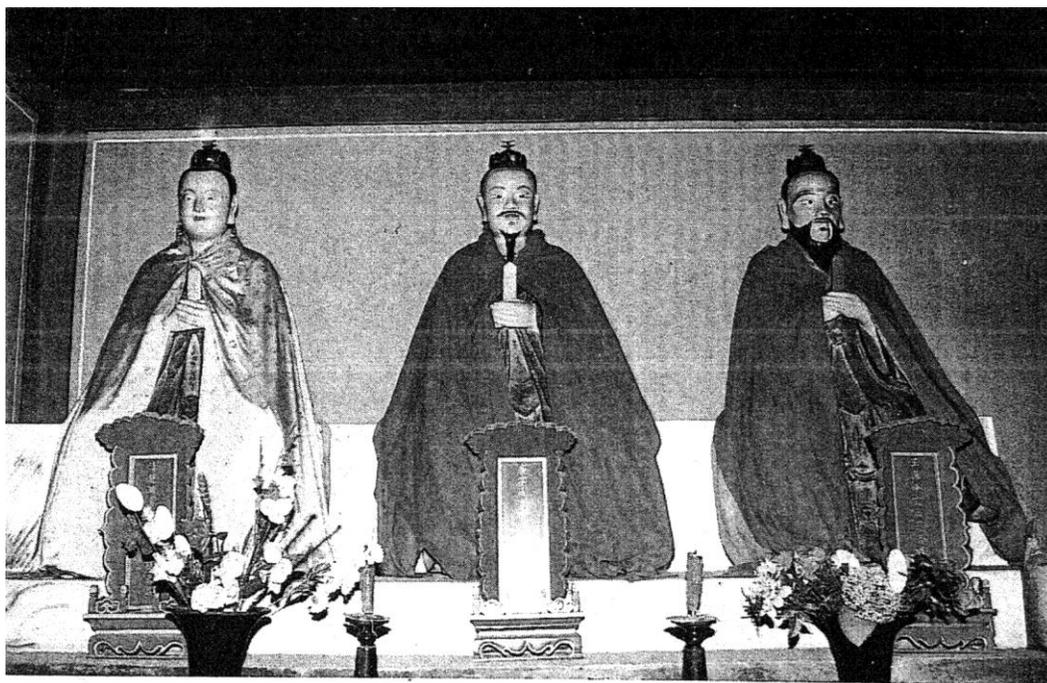


図10 七真 左から孫不二、郝広寧、王玉陽

3.17.2. *Sun Bu'er, Hao Datong, and Wang Chuyi* from left. Hall of the Discipline of the Elders (Laolü tang). Interior. Photograph taken in since early 1990s after Hachiya.



3.18. *Qiu Changchun*. Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiuzu dian). Photograph taken in 1931 after Oyanagi.



3.19. *Qiu Changchun with two attendant figures*. Ming. Dry lacquer, approximately 160 cm.



3.20. Hanging sculpture depicting Qiu's journey to the Central Asia. Patriarch Qiu Hall (Qiu zu dian). Ca. 2000.



3.21. Statue of Laozi in front of Three Purities after Hedda Morrison.



3.22.1. *Celestial Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuanshi tianzun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.



3.22.2. *Celestial Worthy of Numinous Treasure (Lingbao tianzun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.



3.22.3. *Celestial Worthy of the Way and Its Power (Daode tianzun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.

具大總持門。若儒道釋之度我度他。皆從這裏。

金臺玉局繞彤雲。上有真人稱老君。八十一化長生訣。五千餘言不朽文。

三聖圖

陀羅門啟真如出。圓覺海中光慧日。靈山會上說真言。滿舌蓮花古文佛。

六經刪定古文章。洙泗源深教澤長。繼往開來參造化。大成至聖文宣王。

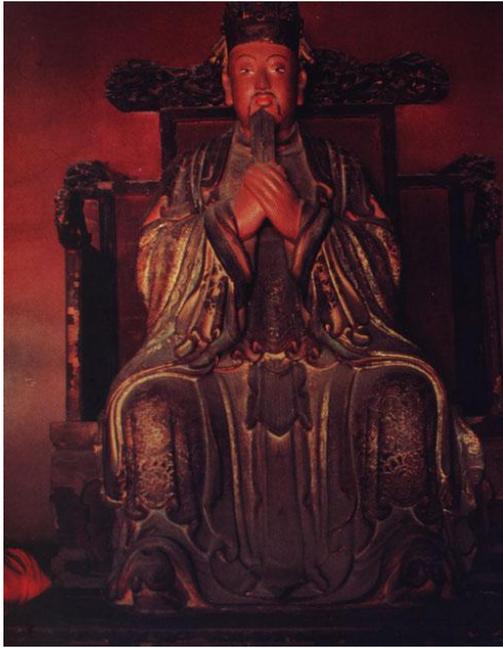
能知真實際。而天地人之自造自化。只在此中。



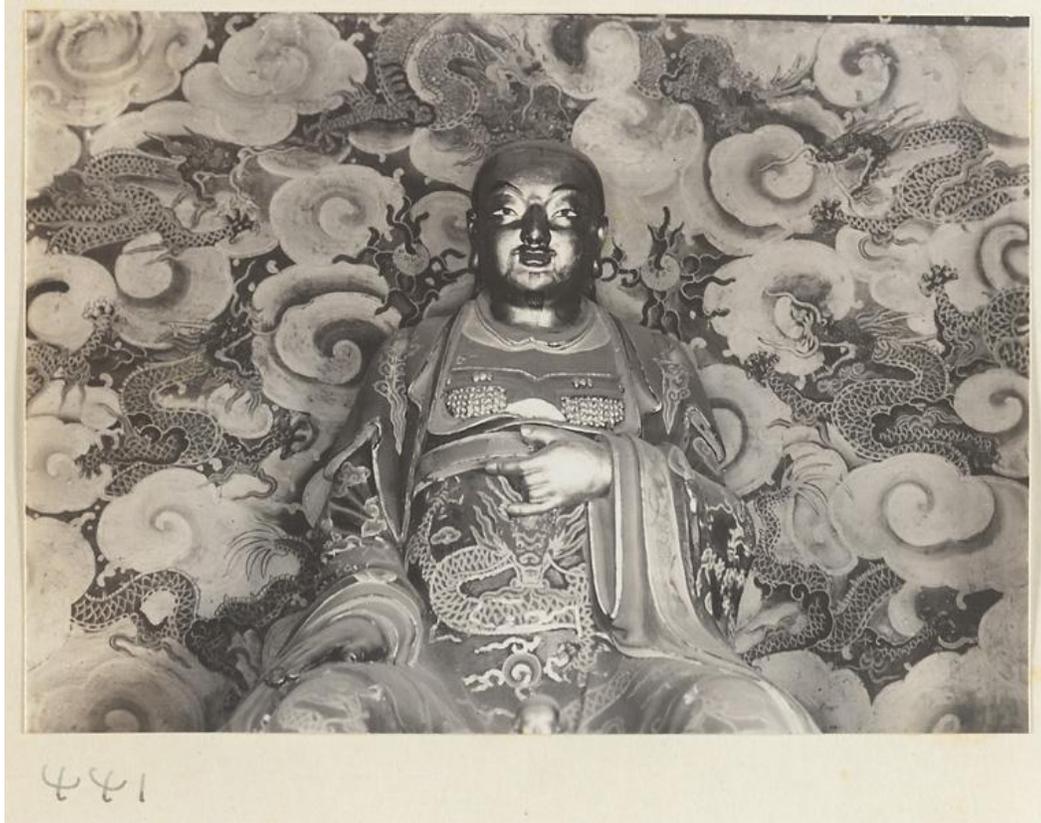
3.23. Triad of Three Religions in Principles of Balanced Cultivation of Inner Nature and Vital Force (Xingming guizhi). 1669 edition.



3.24.1. *Emperors of Southern Pole and Purple Tenuity* with the tablet of the Jade Emperor in the center. Qing. Clay-mold dry lacquer, 130 cm.



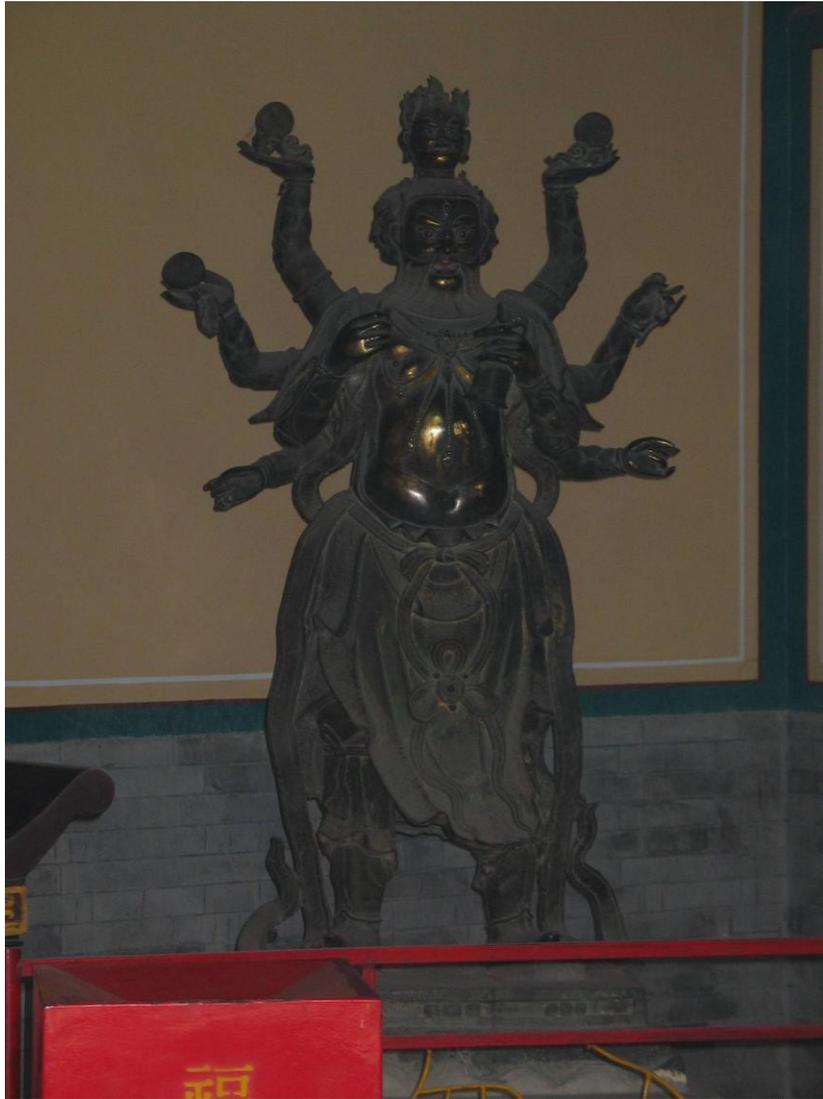
3.24.2. *Empress of the Earth, Emperor of Southern Pole, Emperor of Purple Tenuity, Celestial Emperor (clockwise). Qing. Clay-mold dry lacquer, 130 cm.*



3.25. *Zhenwu*. Zhenwu Hall (Zhenwu dian). Photograph taken by Hedda Morrison.



3.26. *Zhenwu*. Late Ming?. Bronze, approximately 200 cm.



3.27.1. *Tianpeng*. Ming. Bronze.



3.27.2. *Tianyou*. Ming. Bronze.



3.28. *Wang Changyue*. Late Qing.



3.29. East wall of Offspring Hall (Zisun tang) after Hedda Morrison.



3.30.1. *Sovereign of the Clouds of Dawn (Bixia yuanjun)*. Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 140 cm.



3.30.2. Goddess of Heavenly Flower (*Tianhua niangniang*), Goddess of Eyesight (*Yan'guang niangniang*), Goddess of Children (*Songzi niangniang*), Goddess of Birth (*Cuisheng niangniang*) (clockwise). Qing. Hemp-cored dry lacquer, approximately 120 cm.



3.31. *Lü Dongbin*. Ming. Wood, 95 cm.



3.32.1. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *Han Xiangzi and Cao Guojiu*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.



3.32.2. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *Lan Caihe and Zhang Guolao*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.



3.32.3. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *Lü Dongbin and Zhongli Quan*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.



3.32.4. Huang Yiru and Zhu Chan, *He Xian'gu and Li Tieguai*. Late Qing. Framed hanging scroll, ink and light colors on paper.



3.33.1. Ancestral Patriarch Lü Hall (Lüzü dian). Detail. Plaques.



3.33.2. Ancestral Patriarch Lü Hall (Lüzü dian). Detail. Plaques.



3.34. *Zhang Sanfeng*. Hall of Abundant Truth (Fengzhen dian) after Hedda Morrison.



3.35. *Zhang Ben*. Hall of Confucian Immortal (Ruxian dian) after Oyanagi.



3.36. *Jingsu Jiuku Sanguan Caishen Yaowang sidian shengxiang ji* [Record of Reverently Enshrining Statues in Savior from Suffering Hall, Hall of the Three Officials, Wealth-god Hall and Medicine King Hall] (1990) on the south-western corner of exterior wall in Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian).



3.37.1. *God of Earth*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.



3.37.2. *God of Heaven*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.



3.37.3. *God of Water*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.



3.38.1. *Martial Wealth-god Zhao Gongming*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 190 cm.



3.38.2. *Civil Wealth-god Bi Gan*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 190 cm.



3.38.3. *Martial Wealth-god Guan Yu*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 190 cm.



3.39. *Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji* [Record of Restoring/Building Halls of Ancestral Masters in Baiyun guan] (1828) by Wanyan Linqing on the north-western corner of exterior wall in Medicine King Hall (Yaowang dian) (upper one).



3.40.1. *Sun Simiao*. After 1990. Painted wood, approximately 190 cm.



3.40.2. *Hua Tuo*. After 1990. Painted wood, approximately 190 cm.



3.40.3. *Zhang Xian*. After 1990. Painted wood, approximately 190 cm.



3.41. *Heavenly Worthy Savior from Suffering (Jiuku tianzun)*. 1990. Clay sculpture painted with gold, approximately 200 cm.



3.42. *Zhenjun dian xianghuo jie* [Stele of Donating Incense in Zhenjun Hall] (1844) on the eastern corner of southern wall at Hall of Three Star Lords (Sanxing dian).



3.43.1. Hua Tuo after Hedda Morrison.



3.43.2. Three doctors on the west side of Hua Tuo after Hedda Morrison.



3.44.1. *God of Happiness*. 2000. Painted wood, 180 cm.



3.44.2. *God of Emolument*. 2000. Painted wood, 180 cm.



3.44.3. *God of Longevity*. 2000. Painted wood, 180 cm.



3.45.1. Baiyun guan Huozu dian xiangdeng bushi leming zhi beiji [Record of Stele Regarding the Donation of Incense at Fire-god Hall in Baiyun guan] (1826), Wanyan Linqing on the eastern corner of Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian).



3.45.2. *Yongqing shanhui bei* [Stele of Philanthropic Association of Everlasting Blessings] (1826) on the western corner of Compassionate Sailor Hall (Cihang dian).



3.46. *Guanyin* with *Shancai* and *Longnu*. 2000. Painted wood, 210 cm.



3.47. Old Man of South Pole (Nanji) laoren after Hedda Morrison.



3.48. *God of Thunder*. 1602. Bronze, 270 cm.



3.49.1. *Generals* in Thunder Department on west. 1602. Bronze, 190 cm.



3.49.2. *Generals in Thunder Department on east.* 1602. Bronze, 190 cm.



3.50. *God of Literature (Wenchang)*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 200 cm.



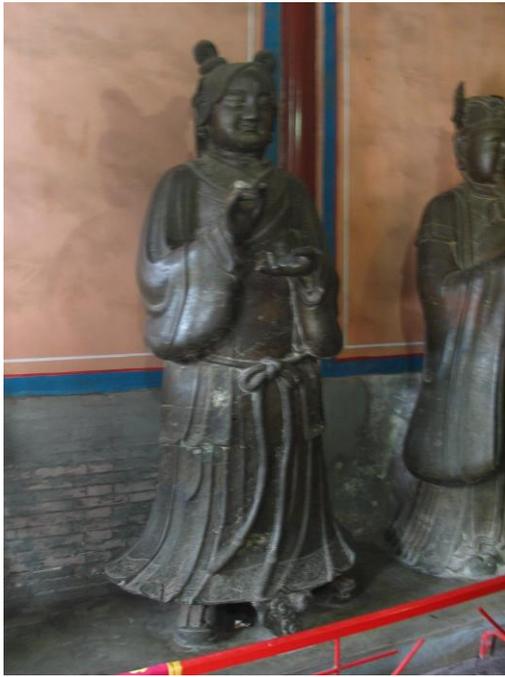
3.51.1. *Confucius*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 190 cm.



3.51.2. *Zhu Xi*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 190 cm.



3.52.1. *Attendant officials*. 1602. Bronze, 170 cm.



3.52.2. *Tiannong* and *Diya*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 190 cm.



3.52.3. *Attendant figures*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 170 cm.



3.52.4. *Attendant figures*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 170 cm.



3.53. *General*. 1602. Bronze, approximately 225 cm.



3.54. Four statues in Eight Immortals Hall (Baxian dian) after Hedda Morrison.



3.55.1. *He Xian'gu, Lü Dongbin, Lan Caihe, Li Teiguai* on west wall.
2001. Painted wood, approximately 135 cm.



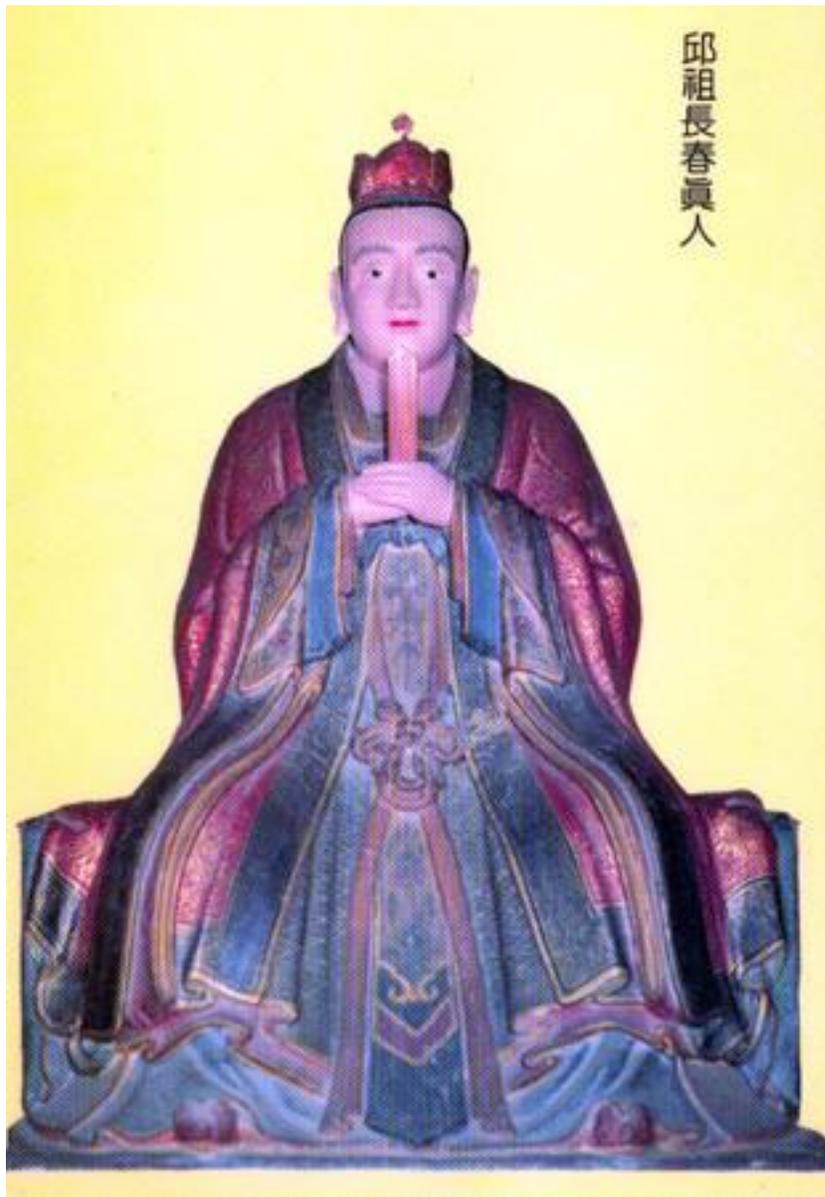
3.55.2. *Cao Guojiu, Han Xiangzi, Zhang Guolao, Zhongli Quan* on east wall. 2001.
Painted wood, approximately 135 cm.



3.56.1. *Dipper Mother*. 2000. Painted wood, approximately 180 cm.



3.56.2. *Sixty Root Destiny*. 2000. Painted wood, approximately 120 cm.



4.1.1. *Qiu Changchun*. 1228. Dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.



4.1.2. *Qiu Changchun*. 1228. Dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.



4.1.3. *Qiu Changchun*. 1228. Dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.



4.2. Illustrated portrait of Qiu Changchun in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*).



4.3. Image of Qiu Changchun found in *Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism (Xuanfeng qinghui tu)*: Qiu building Temple of Great Void (Taixu guan).



4.4.1. Skeleton lecture on west hall in Chongyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong): Qiu Changchun wearing the blue robe.



4.4.2. Rejection of an unworthy man on west wall in Chongyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong): Qiu Changchun on the far left.



4.4.3. Arrest of the stone on west wall in Chongyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong): Qiu Changchun on the far left.



4.5.1. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun*, *Collected Works of Group of Immortals* (*Qunxian ji*). 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



4.5.2. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



4.5.3. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun, Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



4.5.4. Anonymous, *Qiu Changchun*, *Collected Works of Group of Immortals* (*Qunxian ji*). 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



4.6. Seven Perfected in Dragon Mountains (Shanxi) after Tokiwa Daijō.



4.7. Depiction of Three Teachers Hall indicated by square in *Illustrated Record of the Celebrated Encounter with Daoism* (*Xuanfeng qinghui tu*).



4.8. Illustrated portrait of Ma Yu in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*).



4.9.1. Anonymous, *Ma Yu*, *Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



4.9.2. Anonymous, *Ma Yu*, *Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



4.9.3. Anonymous, *Ma Yu*, *Collected Works of Group of Immortals (Qunxian ji)*. 1483. Album leaf, ink, colors, gold on paper, 26.4 x 14 cm (each page). National Library of China.



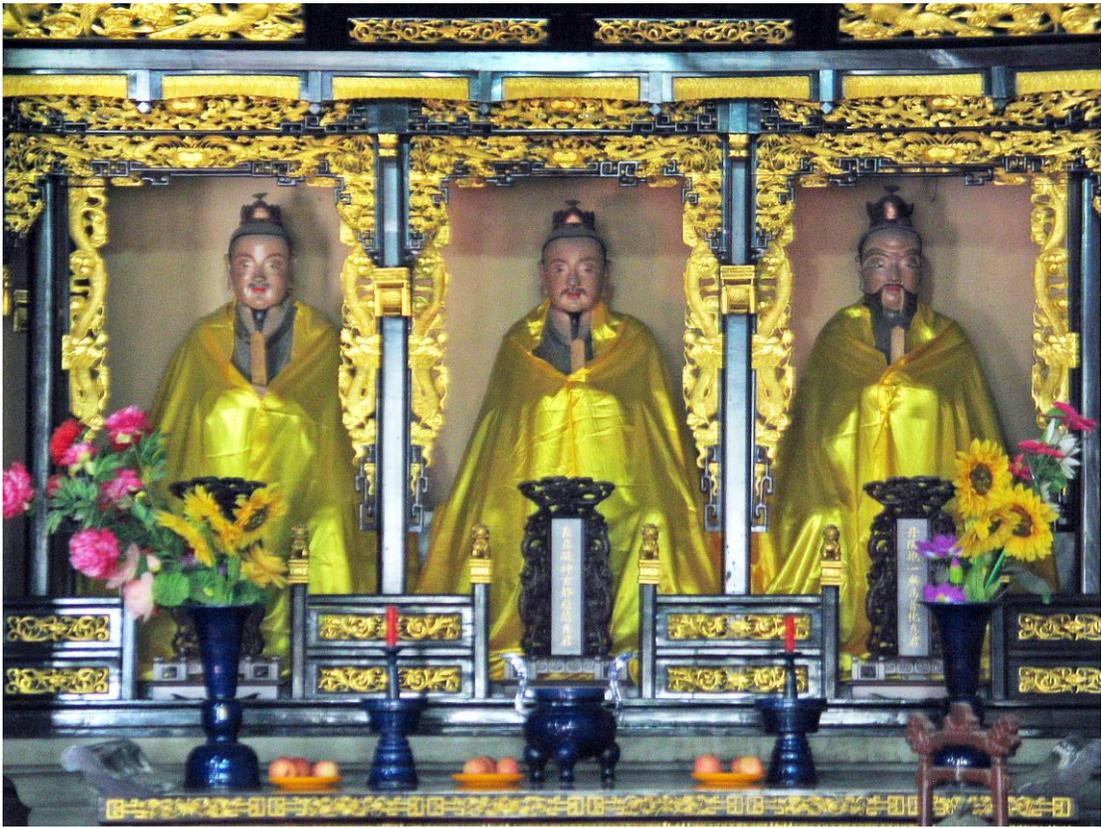
4.10. Statue of Lü Dongbin depicted in Chunyang Hall
at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong).



4.11. Illustrated portrait of Lü Dongbin in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*).



4.12. Birthday celebration of Lü Dongbin depicted in Chunyang Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy (Yongle gong).



4.13.1. *Ma Yu, Tan Chuduan* and *Liu Chuxuan* from right. 1509. Dry lacquer, 145 cm (Ma Yu), 140 cm (*Tan Chuduan, Liu Chuxuan*).



4.13.2. *Wang Chuyi, Hao Datong, and Sun Bu'er* from right. 1509.
Dry lacquer, 140 cm.



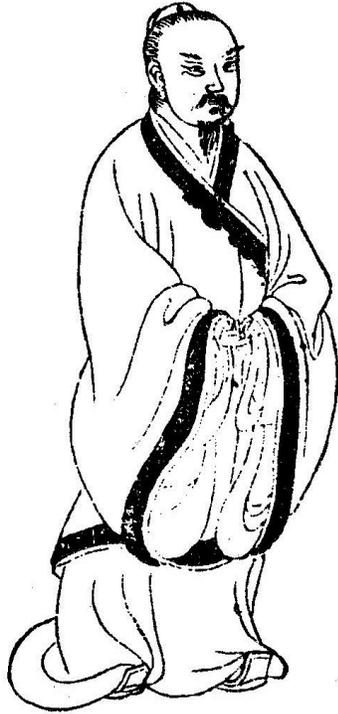
4.14. Liu Chuxuan in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*) and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.



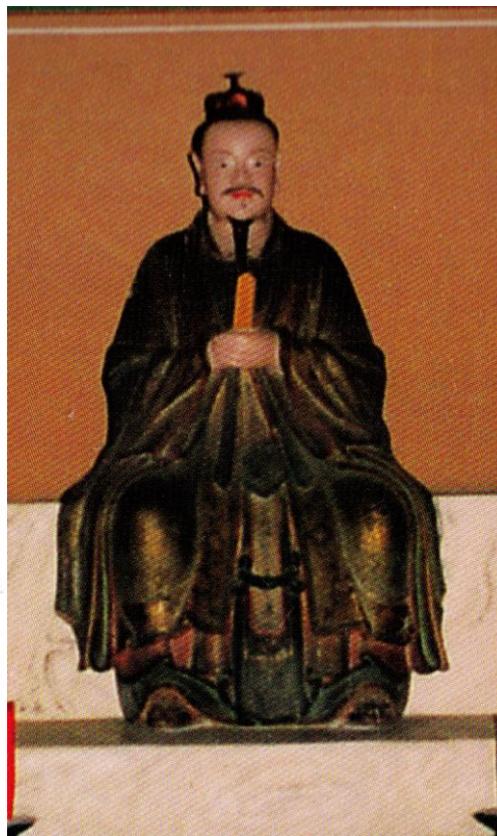
4.15. Hao Datong in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*) and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.



4.16. Sun Bu'er in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*) and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.



4.17. Tan Chudian in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*) and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.



4.18. Wang Chuyi in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*) and in Hall of the Discipline of the Elders.



4.19. *Ma Yu*. 1509. Dry lacquer, 145 cm.



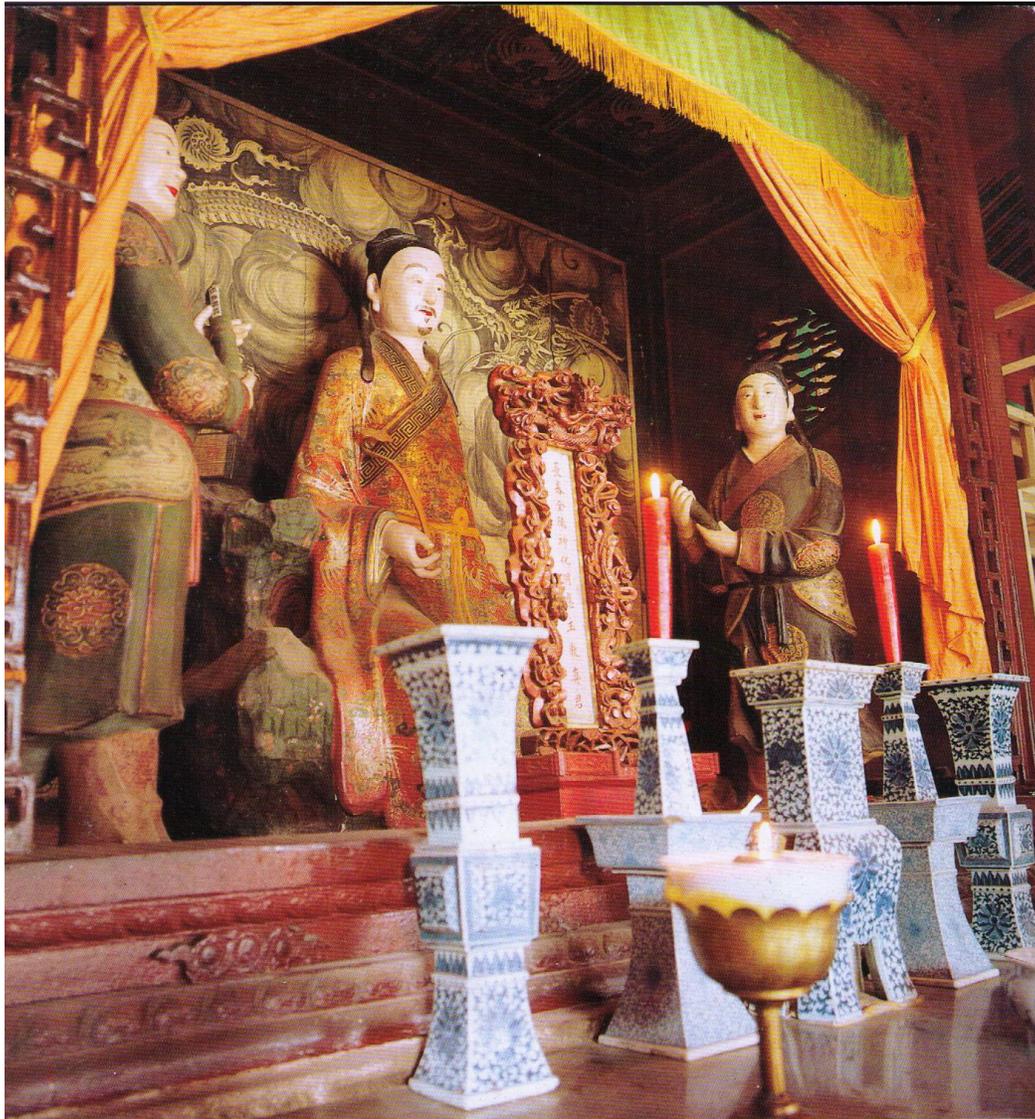
4.20. Wang Zhe in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuan*).



4.21. Ma Yu in *Precious Biography of Seven Perfected, Heavenly Immortals* (*Qizhen tianxian baozhuan*).



4.22. Wang Chuyi in *Portraits and Biographies Concerning the Origin of the Masters of the True Line of Golden Lotus (School) Transmission* (*Jinlian zhengzong xianyuan xiangzhuàn*) and in *Precious Goodness Scroll* (*Baoshan juàn*).



5.1. *Qiu Changchun*. 1506. Dry lacquer, approximately 160 cm.



5.2. *Qiu Changchun*. Detail. 1506. Dry lacquer, approximately 160 cm.



5.3. *Qiu Changchun*. Detail. 1228. Dry lacquer, approximately 145 cm.



5.4. Daoist robe excavated at the tomb of Yan Deyuan after *Wenwu*.



5.5. Anonymous, *Daoist ritual from the Plum in the golden vase*. Qing. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk, 39 x 31.2 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.



5.6. Anonymous, *The Immortal Zhang Guolao*. Ming. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 183.8 x 104.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



5.7. Donghua dijun in the *Complete Compendium of the Deities of the Three Religions and Their Origins* (*Sanjiao yuanliu soushen daquan*).



5.8. Song Lun in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals* (*Youxiang liexian quanzhuan*).



5.9. Guangchengzi in *Illustrated Compendium of Three Realms (Sancai tuhui)*.



5.10. Wood Sire in Three Purities Hall at Palace of Eternal Joy.



5.11. Wu Wei, *Discussing the Dao*. Ming. Handscroll, ink on paper, 30 x 97.5 cm. Tianjin Municipal Art Museum.



5.12. *Yi Jiang* at Sage Mother Hall, Jin Shrine



5.13. *Guandi*, Jinci in Shanxi. Ming.



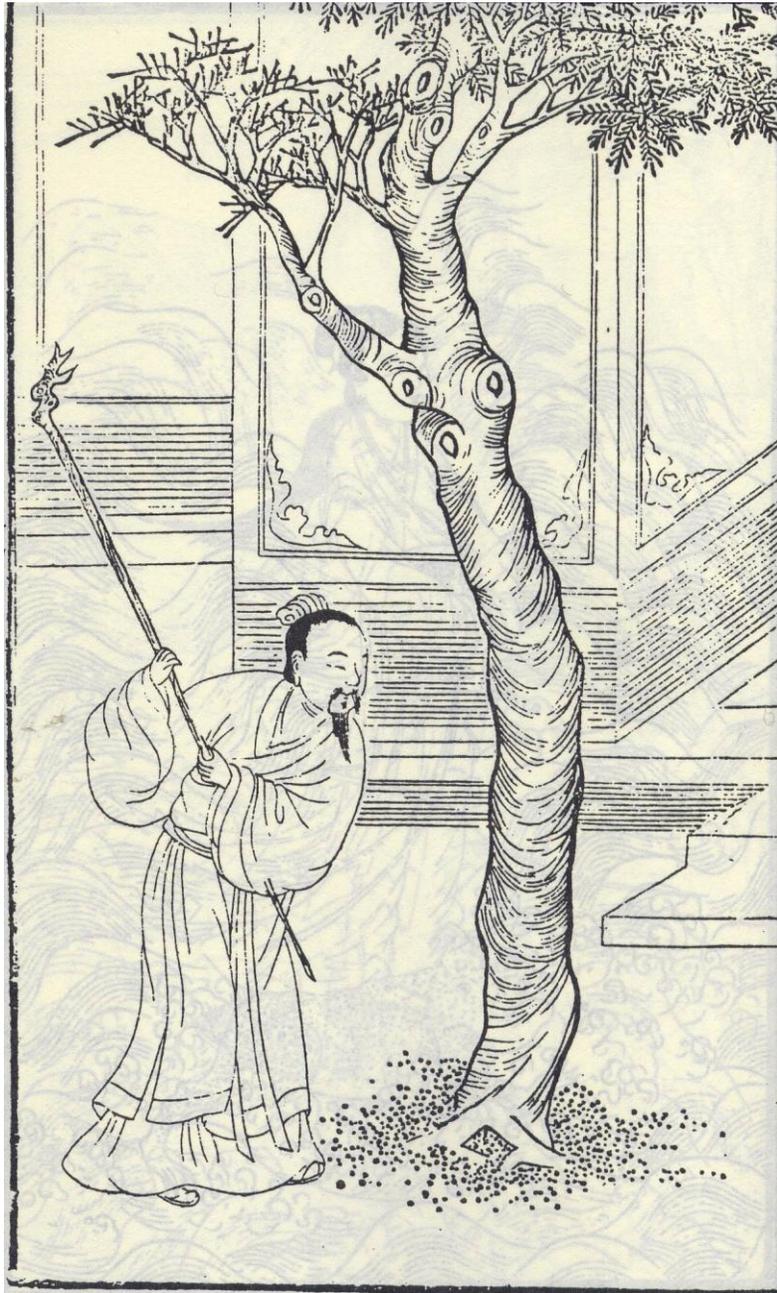
5.14. Heilong tan after Morrison.



5.15. Anonymous, *Original Portrait of the Perfected Qiu*. 1804. Hanging scroll, colors on silk.



5.16. Sun Simiao in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals* (*Youxiang liexian quanzhuan*).



5.17. Qiu Changchun in *An Illustrated Compendium of Hagiographies for Daoist Immortals* (*Youxiang liexian quanzhuan*).

苦根盡相脩
心變
陰魔起幻由
人生



5.18. Qiu Changchun in *An Account of the Cause and Effect of the Seven Perfected* (*Qizhen yinguo zhuan*).



5.19. Qiu (wearing a blue robe) meeting with Genghis Khan in Patriarch Qiu Hall.