

The Chan Immortal and the Tongbai Palace: How Imperial Patronage and Chan Buddhism Shaped the History of a Daoist Temple at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century*

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The Tongbai Palace 桐柏宮 is a Daoist temple located on Mount Tongbai 桐柏山 of Tiantai county 天台縣 (Zhejiang), one of the peaks of the Tiantai mountain range. It was built in 711 by Tang Emperor Ruizong 唐睿宗 (r. 684–690, 710–712) for the Daoist master Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735). It rose to prominence during the Tang and Song dynasties (seventh to thirteenth centuries) thanks to imperial sponsorship and to its links with famous court Daoists, like Sima Chengzhen and Du Guangting 杜光庭, and with the Shangqing 上清 and Lingbao 靈寶 traditions. The importance of Mount Tongbai is attested by its presence in many texts dating back to the Tang and Song dynasties, such as Xu Lingfu's 徐靈符 (c. 760–841) *Tiantaishan ji* 天台山記, the *Chicheng zhi* 赤城志 of 1223 by Chen Qiqing 陳耆卿 (1180–1237), and the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 among others.¹ We have very scarce information regarding the Tongbai Palace itself during the Yuan dynasty and until the first half of the Ming. The lack of data may have been caused by the decreased imperial funding, although sources of the Ming and Qing dynasties record that the temple had been restored a few times. For instance, even though it had been destroyed between the end of the Yuan dynasty and the beginning of the Ming, probably as a consequence of conflicts in the area during the dynastic change, it was soon restored during the reign

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¹ See *Yunji qiqian*, DZ 1032, *juan* 106, p. 13b. For texts included in the *Daozang* I have adopted the reference system established by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004): they are indicated by the letters "DZ," followed by the respective reference number.

of the first Ming emperor by the Daoist Jin Jingguan 金靜觀 and the superintendent Wu Weijing 吳惟敬.² In spite of its sustained significance, since the Tianqi 天啟 era (1621–1627) the Tongbai Palace was subject to attacks by local elite families that successfully, albeit temporarily, occupied part of its temple land.³

During the eighteenth century the Tongbai Palace became part of the Longmen 龍門 lineages of the Jiangnan area. Min Yide 閔一得 (1748–1836) himself, the author of the *Jin'gai xindeng* 金蓋心燈 and master of the eleventh generation of the Jin'gai Longmen lineage, asserted that he was initiated into the Longmen tradition at the Tongbai Palace by his master Gao Dongli 高東籬 (original name Qingyu 清昱; 1616–1768).⁴ The commentary to Gao Dongli's biography in the *Jin'gai xindeng* states that “since the thirteenth year of the Yongzheng reign [1735] he had been chief lecturer at the Chongdao Abbey [i.e., the Tongbai Palace] of Mount Tongbai in Tiantai” 至雍正十三年出主天台桐柏山崇道觀講席。⁵ Gao Dongli was also the abbot of the temple, as explained by the *Jingudong zhi* 金鼓洞志, the gazetteer of another Longmen institution located in Hangzhou.⁶ In fact, the *Jin'gai xindeng* states that Master Gao

² *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi* 天台山方外志, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 ed. (Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996), *juan* 4, pp. 17a–18a. This text contains a preface by the author, the Buddhist monk Wujin 無盡 (Chuangeng 傳燈, 1554–1628), dated to the year 1601.

³ The legal fight for the recovery of the temple land at the end of the Kangxi era is described in Zhang Lianyuan 張聯元 (*fl.* 1712–1722), ed., *Qingshengci zhi* 清聖祠志 (1722; in the collection of the Shanghai Library).

⁴ For an introduction to the text and its author, refer to Monica Esposito, *Creative Daoism* (Wil, Switzerland: UniversityMedia, 2013), pp. 17–90; idem, *Facets of Qing Daoism* (Wil/Paris: UniversityMedia, 2014), pp. 55–142.

⁵ *Jin'gai xindeng*, ed. Min Yide, in Hu Daojing 胡道靜 et al., eds., *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Chengdu: Ba-Shu shushe, 1992–1994), *juan* 4, p. 13a. For studies focusing on the branch of the Longmen lineage of Mount Jin'gai in Huzhou, see also Esposito, *Facets of Qing Daoism*, pp. 5–224; idem, “La Porte du Dragon: L'école Longmen du Mont Jingai et ses pratiques alchimiques d'après le *Daozang xubian* (*Suite au Canon Taoïste*)” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris VII, 1993). For other studies on this subject, see Yin Zhihua 尹志華, *Qingdai Quanzhen dao lishi xintan* 清代全真道歷史新探 (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2014); Ren Linhao 任林豪 and Ma Shuming 馬曙明, *Taizhou Daojiao kao* 台州道教考 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2009), pp. 347–72; Wu Yakui 吳亞魁, *Jiangnan Quanzhen Daojiao* 江南全真道教 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2006); Xun Liu, “Of Poems, Gods, and Spirit-Writing Altars: The Daoist Beliefs and Practice of Wang Duan (1793–1839),” *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 2 (December 2015), pp. 23–81; Vincent Goossaert, “Spirit Writing, Canonization, and the Rise of Divine Saviors: Wenchang, Lüzu, and Guandi, 1700–1858,” *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 2 (December 2015), pp. 82–125.

⁶ *Jingudong zhi*, ed. Zhu Wenzao 朱文藻 (1735–1806) (1807; reprint, Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2000), *juan* 7, pp. 4b–5a.

took the place of the former abbot, Fan Qingyun 范青雲 (1604–1748), and describes him as the patriarch of the “Chongdao Abbey [branch] of the Longmen lineage” 崇道觀龍門宗派.⁷ Fan Qingyun’s central position in the Jin’gai Longmen tradition is emphasized by the improbable story that he met Wang Changyue 王常月, the famous Daoist reformer of the Ming dynasty, in the year 1667 on which occasion he was given the *Bojian* 鉢鑑 in five *juan* by Wang, later expanded by Master Fan himself into the *Bojian xu* 鉢鑑續 in nine *juan*.⁸ Both texts are reported among the main sources used to write the *Jin’gai xindeng*, although no extant copy is known of today.⁹

These sources indicate that in the first half of the eighteenth century the Daoist groups of Zhejiang defining themselves as “Longmen” were thriving and that the lineage of the Jingu Grotto of Hangzhou, to which Gao Dongli belonged, for some reason was able to establish a branch at the Tongbai Palace. This happened just after the temple had risen to a very prestigious position as the consequence of imperial patronage. This event was so important that Fan Qingyun’s biography in the *Jin’gai xindeng* reports an edict by the Yongzheng emperor:

Shizong [r. 1722–1735] with a special decree orders to build the Chongdao Abbey and bestows on it 600 *mu* of land, so that the ancient statues of the Pure Sage Masters of Guzhu might shine again, and the ancient relics of the Chan Immortal [Zhang] Ziyang were known far and wide. Mount Tongbai thus became famous everywhere. This event took place in the twelfth year of

⁷ *Jin’gai xindeng*, *juan* 3, p. 47a; *juan* 4, p. 13a. From a biological perspective, Gao Dongli’s and Fan Qingyun’s longevity is suspicious to say the least, but longer-than-average life was a characteristic trait of many Daoist hagiographies, including those contained in the *Jin’gai xindeng* and especially for masters of older generations. It should be noted that the historical reliability of the *Jin’gai xindeng* has been questioned various times by scholars, such as Monica Esposito. She defined this text an “edifice” built by Min Yide to celebrate and legitimize his own branch of the Longmen lineage. Refer to the first two chapters of her *Creative Daoism* for an updated and detailed discussion of this topic.

⁸ On Wang Changyue and on his biography, see Esposito, *Facets of Qing Daoism*, pp. 143–224; Mori Yuria, “Tracing Back Wang Changyue’s Precepts for Novices in the History of Daoism,” *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 8 (2016), pp. 207–49; idem, “Ō Jōgetsu no sansō kai kōsō to jūnana seiki Kōnan Kinryō Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu kaiku undō: Ō Jōgetsu, Kangetsu Hōzō, Kengtsu Dokutai” 王常月の三層戒構想と一七世紀江南金陵佛教における戒律改革運動—王常月・漢月法藏・見月讀體, *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 33 (2016), pp. 45–66. On the *Bojian* and the *Bojian xu*, see *Jin’gai xindeng*, *juan* 3, p. 46b. Even though the meeting between Fan Qingyun and Wang Changyue did not historically happen, the fact that the *Jin’gai xindeng* reported it multiple times shows that Fan Qingyun played a central role in its narrative.

⁹ Both have been considered lost or even fictitious. See Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, p. 56.

the Yongzheng reign [1734], [thereafter] the master [i.e., Fan Qingyun] retired after gaining merit and surviving great perils.¹⁰

世宗憲皇帝特旨下頒，敕建崇道觀，賜田六百畝，使清聖孤竹子之古像重輝，禪仙紫陽氏之遺蹤顯著，桐柏一山遂為天下望。事在雍正十二年，此師出於萬死一生之餘而功成身退者。

This is an important piece of information because it mentions an instance of imperial patronage directed toward the Tongbai Palace during the Qing dynasty. Moreover, it states that the Yongzheng emperor granted 600 *mu* of land to the temple (roughly equivalent to 36 hectares).¹¹ It also creates a correspondence between the date in which Gao Dongli arrived at the temple and the year when the restoration had been completed, both dated to YZ 12 (1734).¹² We should notice that this excerpt mentions three other important personages: the two “masters of Guzhu” 孤竹子, also known as Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊, and the Daoist of the Song dynasty, Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (984/987–1082).¹³

Since the late Ming dynasty the area where the Tongbai Palace was to be rebuilt by the Yongzheng emperor, under the new name of Chongdao Abbey, had been often referred to as the site of the Qingsheng Shrine 清聖祠, itself part of the Tongbai Palace since the twelfth century. This was originally called Jiutian Puye Shrine 九天僕射祠 and it was dedicated to the two brothers Bo Yi and Shu Qi,

¹⁰ *Jin'gai xindeng, juan 3*, pp. 46a–b. Qing Emperor Shizong 清世宗 chose Yongzheng as the name of his reign. Some scholars use the latter to indicate the emperor himself.

¹¹ Units of measure, although officially established by the government, could differ according to the historical period and the location. Since the land was donated by the emperor, I have relied on the conversion table for the Qing dynasty reported by Wilkinson (1 *mu* = 614 m²), knowing that there is the possibility that this may only represent an approximation. See Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp. 557–58.

¹² Months follow the lunar calendar as found in the original sources. Numbers following two capital letters indicate the year according to the Chinese system: the letters refer to the era name (KX = Kangxi; YZ = Yongzheng; QL = Qianlong), while in brackets I provide the equivalent year according to the Gregorian calendar.

¹³ For a brief analysis of Zhang Boduan's birth and death dates, see Gai Jianmin 蓋建民, *Daojiao Jindan pai Nanzong kaolun: Daopai, lishi, wenxian yu sixiang zonghe yanjiu* 道教金丹派南宗考論——道派、歷史、文獻與思想綜合研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2013), pp. 399–402. On the Qingsheng Shrine, refer to Wang Ka 王卡, “Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren: Jianshu Longmen pai zongshi Fan Qingyun (xia)” 雍正皇帝與紫陽真人——兼述龍門派宗師范青雲(下), *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究, 2013, no. 2, pp. 1–6, 9–10.

who are mentioned both in Daoist and Confucian texts.¹⁴ According to a Daoist tradition attributed to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343), they were also known as the “Chief Administrators of the Ninth Heaven” (*Jiutian puye*) and were responsible for Mount Tongbai.¹⁵ The *Tiantaishan quanzhi* 天台山全志 (1717) records that the Tongbai [Chongdao] Abbey used to enshrine “two statues of Bo Yi and Shu Qi made of carved stone, big in size and very ancient, empty inside and polished on the outside. If knocked, they would emit a clear sound” 舊桐柏觀有二大石像，鑄製奇古，內空外潤，叩之鏗然有聲。¹⁶ At the time of the compilation of the *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, the shrine was in disrepair.¹⁷

This article focuses on the history of the Tongbai Palace during the period preceding the arrival of Gao Dongli and deals in particular with the events that led to its restoration during the Yongzheng reign, when the prestige and importance that it enjoyed thereafter were established. This represented a moment of rebirth for the Tongbai Palace. Before this period the temple had been in disrepair, especially since its land had been taken over by families of the county elite during the Ming Tianqi era. The purpose of the present study is to draw attention to the process of restoration of the Tongbai Palace in the broader context of imperial religious initiatives.

The Yongzheng reign has received less attention from scholars compared to the longer and more famous Kangxi and Qianlong eras, yet it was as influential, if not

¹⁴ Zhang Lianyuan, *Tiantaishan quanzhi* 天台山全志, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), *juan* 5, pp. 6b–7a. For an example of Daoist texts mentioning Bo Yi and Shu Qi, see *Yuanshi shangzhen zhongxian ji* 元始上真聖仙記 (*Zhongxian ji*, DZ 166), also known as *Zhenzhong shu* 枕中書 and attributed to Ge Hong. Refer also to the numerous occurrences of both names in the *Lunyu* and of Bo Yi in the *Mengzi*: D. C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2000), pp. 42, 58, 60, 166, and 186; idem, trans., *Mencius* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2013), pp. 216 and 218.

¹⁵ See *Zhongxian ji*, p. 8a. The attribution of this work to Ge Hong is highly controversial. See Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 107–8. For the translation of *Jiutian puye* and other official titles, I have relied on Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).

¹⁶ *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, *juan* 5, p. 6b. The local gazetteers of the Ming and the early Qing dynasties provide two versions of restitution of the statues to a new shrine built at the Chongdao Abbey, in the twelfth century. One of these involves the Daoist Wang Lingbao 王靈寶, elder brother and master of Wang Qizhen 王契真, who is the alleged author of one of the two versions of the *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 (DZ 1221). See *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi*, *juan* 9, p. 15a; *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, *juan* 5, p. 6b. The *Shangqing lingbao dafa* belongs to the Tiantai Lingbao tradition. See Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 1021–24.

¹⁷ *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, *juan* 5, p. 7a.

more in some regards, for the development of Daoism during the Qing dynasty.¹⁸ In fact, few as they were, the years of the Yongzheng era contributed to profoundly change Chinese Daoism both at court and at a local level. A thorough study about the restoration of the Tongbai Palace sponsored by Shizong can be found in Wang Ka's 王卡 long and detailed "Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren," in two parts, which is dedicated to the history of the Tongbai Palace between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.¹⁹ Other studies of the history of the Tongbai Palace during the Yongzheng period are either less detailed, or do not employ a critical methodology suitable for academic standards.²⁰ The first part of Wang Ka's study, which focuses on the restoration of the temple, employs fundamental sources of the Kangxi and Yongzheng reigns and discusses the centrality of the cult of the Song-dynasty Daoist, Zhang Boduan, in the restoration of the temple. The present paper starts from the analysis presented in Wang Ka's study and tries to further study Shizong's religious perspective, both private and public, in relation with the case study of the restoration of the Tongbai Palace. I also strive to overcome the discourse of the "Doctrine of the Three Teachings" as an explanation of the events discussed in this case study, which I deem an oversimplification of the historical reality.

Works by most mainland Chinese scholars, such as Qing Xitai 卿希泰 and Tang Dachao's 唐大潮 *Daojiaoshi* 道教史, tend to stress Shizong's support of the doctrine of the Three Teachings and sometimes notice the imperial focus on the integration of Buddhism and Daoism, but fail to acknowledge how Shizong's doctrinal approach and his religious policies influenced Daoism during the eighteenth century.²¹ Even Monica Esposito's lifelong research on the Longmen tradition just started scratching

¹⁸ For proof of this, see the texts authored by Shizong and included at the beginning of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 and Vincent Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma: The Zhang Heavenly Master Institution and Court Taoists in Late-Qing China," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 17, no. 2 (2004), pp. 121–59. For a detailed study on the different versions of the *Daozang jiyao* and their history, refer to Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, pp. 177–263.

¹⁹ Wang Ka, "Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren: Jianshu Longmen pai zongshi Fan Qingyun (shang)" 雍正皇帝與紫陽真人——兼述龍門派宗師范青雲(上), *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu*, 2013, no. 1, pp. 22–39; idem, "Yongzheng huangdi yu ziyang zhenren (xia)," pp. 1–14.

²⁰ For an example of the second, see the rich compendia of excerpts on the Tongbai Palace in Zhao Zilian 趙子廉, *Tongbai xianyu zhi* 桐柏仙域志 (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2012) and *Tongbai chunqiu* 桐柏春秋 (Hong Kong: Tianma tushu youxian gongsi, 2003), which cover the main Chinese historical texts of each era from antiquity to modern times but contain almost no critical analysis of the sources.

²¹ Qing Xitai and Tang Dachao, *Daojiaoshi* (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2006), p. 334. A similar concept is expressed by Qing Xitai in other works, for example: "雍正帝則從「三教一體」的角度來看待儒釋道三教。" See Qing Xitai, *Zhonghua Daojiao jianshi* 中華道教簡史 (Taipei: Zhonghua daotong chubanshe, 1996), p. 313.

the surface on the significance of the restoration of the Tongbai Palace for the development of regional Daoist traditions during the Qing dynasty.²² Yin Zhihua's 尹志華 book on Qing Daoism conveys the perplexity of scholars about the lack of large initiation rituals during the Yongzheng and Qianlong periods, and of related information, while Wu Yakui's 吳亞魁 study on Jiangnan Daoism is founded on a rich collection of resources, but unfortunately does not deal in detail with the issue of Shizong's sponsorship of the Tongbai Palace.²³

Finally, major biographical studies on Shizong usually prefer to focus on his patronage of Buddhism: examples are Feng Erkang's 馮爾康 detailed analysis and Chen Jiexian's 陳捷先 work on Shizong.²⁴ Li Guorong's 李國榮 "Yongzheng yu dandao" 雍正與丹道 provides an overview on some of Shizong's Daoist activities from his ascent to the throne to his death.²⁵ It especially deals with the emperor's engagement in healing practices and his mysterious death, arguing that it was caused by alchemical experiments that he was conducting at court; yet it does not elaborate on the emperor's patronage of Daoism outside the court. Other studies have dealt at least in part with court Daoism during the early Qing dynasty. For example, Vincent Goossaert and Hosoya Yoshio 細谷良夫 both study the court Daoist Lou Jinyuan 婁近垣 (courtesy name Langzhai 郎齋; style names Sanchen 三臣 and Shangqing waishi 上清外史; 1689–1776) and his interaction with the Yongzheng emperor.²⁶ These and similar studies demonstrate that at the beginning of the Qing dynasty the Heavenly Masters 天師 of Mount Longhu 龍虎山, the predominant Daoist institution during the Ming dynasty, still retained authority, raising questions about the influence that they exerted in the contemporary religious environment of southern China.

For this article I have relied mainly on three kinds of primary sources: Daoist scriptures, official documents, and other texts authored by literati. The first group includes works contained in two collections: the *Daoist Canon* 道藏, first compiled in the Zhengtong era (1436–1449), and the *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書.²⁷ Official and literati's sources mainly encompass local gazetteers and imperial documents, including edicts and memorials to the throne (*Yongzheng chao Hanwen yuzhi huibian*

²² Esposito, *Facets of Qing Daoism*; idem, *Creative Daoism*; idem, "La Porte du Dragon."

²³ Yin, *Qingdai Quanzhen dao lishi xintan*, pp. 143–44; Wu, *Jiangnan Quanzhen Daojiao*.

²⁴ Feng Erkang, *Yongzheng zhuan* 雍正傳, 2nd ed. (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2014); Chen Jiexian, *Yongzheng xiezhen* 雍正寫真 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 2003).

²⁵ Li Guorong, "Yongzheng yu dandao," *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究, 1999, no. 2, pp. 83–89.

²⁶ See pp. 84–86 and 94 below.

²⁷ The *Zangwai daoshu*, published between 1992 and 1994, reproduces in thirty-six volumes 991 Daoist texts not included in the *Daoist Canon* of the Ming dynasty, mainly dating to the late Chinese empire. See Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1210–14.

雍正朝漢文諭旨彙編 and *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe* 宮中檔雍正朝奏摺). I have also relied on what can be considered imperial Buddhist sources, like the *Yuxuan yulu* 御選語錄, a collection of Buddhist teachings by different Chan masters, Zhang Boduan, and the Yongzheng emperor himself, edited by the latter. Gazetteers of Tiantai county, Taizhou prefecture, and Zhejiang province of the Song, Ming, and Qing dynasties have provided a great amount of details for this study, along with epigraphic material.

In the following pages, I will first introduce the state of the temple in the years preceding the Yongzheng reign and present documents that clarify the context in which Shizong's interest toward the Tongbai Palace developed. After this, I will explain the importance of Zhang Boduan for understanding Shizong's patronage of Daoism in the Taizhou prefecture and why this Daoist was central to the restoration of the Tongbai Palace. I will discuss the emperor's involvement in Buddhism and his efforts to promote Chan orthodox at court as the driving motive behind his patronage of the Tongbai Palace. Finally, I will briefly assess the viability of relying on the category of the Three Teachings to explain Shizong's patronage of the Tongbai Palace.

I. The Tongbai Palace before the Yongzheng Reign and the Project of Its Restoration

The above-mentioned details regarding the edification of the Chongdao Abbey provided in the *Jin'gai xindeng* are confirmed by official sources dated to the Yongzheng era. These are about one century older than Min Yide's work and, more importantly, contemporary to the events that they refer to. Among them, the document providing the most complete information on the first stages of the imperial interest toward the Tongbai Palace is a secret (palace) memorial sent by Li Wei 李衛 (courtesy name Youjie 又玠; 1687–1738), governor-general (*zongdu* 總督) of Zhejiang.²⁸

During the Yongzheng reign, memorials could belong to one of two categories. The institution of routine memorials (*benzhang* 本章), particularly in its *tiben* 題本

²⁸ *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志 (1736; reprint, Taipei: Jinghua shuju, 1967), *juan* 120, pp. 1a–1b; *juan* 121, p. 2a. The close ties between Shizong and Li Wei are well documented. He was one of the first to apply the emperor's fiscal reforms and was involved in the suppression of local "illicit" cults. See Feng, *Yongzheng zhuan*, pp. 154, 165–67, and 371–74; Li Guorong, "Yongzheng yu danda"; Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 22; Wang Ka, "Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (shang)"; Ye Jianhua 葉建華, *Zhejiang tongshi* 浙江通史, vol. 8, *Qingdai juan (shang)* 清代卷(上), ed. Jin Pusen 金普森 and Chen Shengyong 陳剩勇 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 2005), pp. 50–51.

form, was a legacy of the Ming dynasty reformed during the Qing. Officials used it when they needed to communicate with the emperor on issues related to their official duties, whereas the palace memorials (*zouzhe* 奏摺) were a communication system developed during the Kangxi reign and officially established by Shizong himself; they could be private or official, and secret, semi-secret, or non-secret.²⁹ The most noticeable advantage of employing palace memorials was, in fact, secrecy: routine memorials passed through numerous offices for formal cross-checking and duplication, while palace memorials were delivered directly to the emperor. The purposes of the palace memorial system were so varied (encompassing also religious and military affairs) that in itself its use does not help us univocally understand why Li Wei relied on it.³⁰

According to Li Wei's memorial, dated 1731, the emperor had previously asked Li Wei to gather information on sacred sites of the Tiantai Mountains:

I heard that in Tiantai there is the Grotto-Dominion of the Perfected Ziyang. May it be that there are also ritual areas or temples there? Please check carefully. If there are places where we can restore and improve, memorialize this in secret. I know also that there are many Buddhist temples in Tiantai: are there big public monasteries or famous temples [still extant]?³¹ Prepare a map of the whole Tiantai area and send it [to me]. Take your time and submit either a paper mountain with buildings made of rice, in the style of the

²⁹ Silas Hsiu-liang Wu 吳秀良, "The Memorial Systems of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644–1911)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967), pp. 7–75. The origin of the palace memorials is uncertain and it has been theorized that it could go as far back as the beginning of the Qing dynasty.

³⁰ Wu, "The Memorial Systems of the Ch'ing Dynasty," pp. 17–23, 35–37. According to some estimates, the memorial system was so welcome among officials that the emperor could receive up to forty or fifty memorials per day, forcing Shizong to rely on a small group of trustworthy co-operators, who formed the first nucleus of the Grand Council (*junji chu* 軍機處), formally established in 1729. See Wu, "The Memorial Systems of The Ch'ing Dynasty," pp. 9, 48; John K. Fairbank and Ssü-yu Têng, *Ch'ing Administration: Three Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 26. According to Liang Xizhe 梁希哲, there are 3,000 *mizhe* (secret memorials) from the Kangxi era and an astonishing total of more than 22,000 from the Yongzheng reign. See Liang, *Yongzheng di* 雍正帝 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1993), pp. 77–84.

³¹ A "public monastery" or "monastery of the ten directions" (*shifang conglin* 十方叢林) was an institution in which a monk of particular prestige was invited as abbot regardless of his lineage affiliation (i.e., he was chosen among "the ten directions"), as opposed to the "private monasteries" where the abbot and the monks all belonged to the same lineage. See Jiang Wu, "Building a Dharma Transmission Monastery in Seventeenth-Century China: The Case of Mount Huangbo," *East Asian History* 31 (June 2006), p. 37.

“Aoshan” [model], or made with the “bonsai” technique. There is no need to make a big one, just attend to details. You do not need to rush to prepare [it]. Send it in due time, so that I can enjoy looking at it. Moreover, [I have heard that] Ge Xianweng’s altar was also in Tiantai, but I do not know if it is in the same place as the Perfected Ziyang’s. I have heard that [Ge] Xianweng’s ritual platforms have all been destroyed and that [his] talismans and registers have been incorporated by Mount Longhu, but I do not know since which dynasty [the ritual platforms] have fallen into disrepair. If I wanted to restore them to their ancient state, would it be possible [for you] to make inquiries into his relics and lores, and cull and sort them? I have a wish: you can conduct a meticulous investigation and careful study, and then present [the results] to me. If they are two separate things, the ritual area of the Perfected Ziyang is the most important, because (with this special order) I am undertaking this matter precisely for his relics, as you should know.³²

天台山聞得有紫陽真人洞府，未知可有道場觀宇否？可詳細留心訪查。若有可應修理振興處，密議奏聞。向來知天台僧院亦甚多，可有大叢林有名望寺院否？可將天台總景繪一圖呈進。再隨便徐徐，或如鰲山，用紙山米家作法；或堆一盆景，不用大，務小巧為妙。亦不必急速製造，得時送來，以備觀玩。再，葛仙翁道場亦在天台，未知與紫陽真人仙踪一事否？聞得仙翁道場俱皆消磨，符錄皆歸龍虎山，未知從何代廢墜。今若振興復舊，可能查其遺跡傳聞整理否？朕有一心願，可代朕詳細查考議奏。若係兩事，紫陽真人道場更為切要。特諭。朕專為紫陽真人仙跡起見事也，卿可知之。

We can extrapolate some important details from the imperial missive. The first thing that must be pointed out is that Shizong related the Tiantai mountains to two of the most famous practitioners and theorists of the Daoist tradition, Zhang Boduan and Ge Xianweng 葛仙翁 (i.e., Ge Xuan 葛玄; 164–244). The former was famous for his *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇, dealing with the technique of self-cultivation known as Golden Elixir (*jindan* 金丹); the latter was Ge Hong’s paternal granduncle, a mythical Daoist linked to the Lingbao Daoist revelations of the fifth century. Both Zhang and Ge were related to alchemical practices. It will become clear below why it is especially significant that Shizong felt the need to communicate to Li Wei that he was primarily interested in Zhang Boduan. Furthermore, just after inquiring on Zhang Boduan’s ritual altars, the emperor asked about the presence of Buddhist public monasteries of significant size or importance in the area: the juxtaposition of Zhang Boduan and Buddhism is another aspect that I will clarify later. A third, interesting detail is

³² *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1977–1980), vol. 19, p. 53a.

Shizong's mention of Mount Longhu, which I think might point to two possibilities: either the emperor recognized the possibility that the Heavenly Masters institution established there exerted influence on the Daoism of Tiantai, or the source of his information on the Tongbai Palace was closely linked to Mount Longhu. The analysis of the relations between the Tongbai Palace, Zhang Boduan, and Buddhism is the objective of the following pages.

The governor decided to dispatch the tax circuit intendant, Zhu Lunhan 朱倫瀚, to survey the area and, after receiving his report, Li Wei replied to the emperor. After the incipit, the memorial briefly summarizes the history of the Tongbai Palace:

This abbey rose during the Tang [dynasty] and prospered during the Song. People in the past have recorded the number of its buildings, the extension of its land, and the amount of wealth that it had received in donations, which other temples could not compare to. In the Xuanhe era [1119–1125], the Daoist Wang Lingbao asked the emperor to bring back the two statues of Bo Yi and Shu Qi to the abbey. . . . He built the Jiutian Puye Shrine to house them: this was later renamed Qingfeng Shrine. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty [the temple] was rebuilt because it had been destroyed by a fire. In the Tianqi era [1620–1627], Wei Zhongxian's associate, Zhang Tianyu, conspired to [take possession of] this place because of [its] geomantic properties. He first sent his servants, who pretended to be Daoist monks, to torment their [Daoist] companions, so that all fled. Then he accused the temple of having extorted the land, so he returned more than 2,000 *mu* of land to the government and made it public again. . . . Today, the foundations of the main hall of the Qingfeng Shrine are occupied by the grave of his son Zhang Ruoying and only the two statues of the Pure Sages [Bo Yi and Shu Qi] remain.³³ That was the reason behind the fall and ruin of [Ge] Xianweng and the Perfected Ziyang's ritual grounds. Now only the Daoist monk, Fan Qingyun, sternly remains there. It is unknown where Ge's talismans and registers have gone.³⁴

此觀興於唐而盛於宋。昔人記載殿宇之繁，基址之廣，賜產之多，他處無與為比。宣和中，有道士王靈寶，自宮中請有伯夷叔齊二石像歸觀。……建九天僕射祠以居之，後改為清風祠。明初燬於火，後復興建。天啟間，魏忠賢羽黨張天郁，謀此地為風水。先令家奴充為道士，凌虐侶伴，悉皆星散。又借搜括之名，將賜田二千餘畝官賣歸公。……清風祠正殿之基，已為其子張若英佔葬作墳，惟清聖二石像尚在。此仙翁、真人道場消磨廢墜之所由。至今只有道士范青雲一人苦守於此。其符籙歸於何處，則俱不得而知矣。

³³ See note 14 above.

³⁴ *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe*, vol. 19, pp. 51b–52a.

What is described by Li Wei is confirmed by earlier gazetteers, such as the *Chicheng zhi*, the *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi* 天台山方外志 by (Shi) Chuangdeng (釋) 傳燈 (1554–1628) and the *Tiantaishan quanzhi* (“Original Preface” 原序 by Gu Qiyuan 顧起元, 1565–1628, and preface by the editor of 1717) by Zhang Lianyuan 張聯元 (courtesy name Juean 覺菴; fl. 1712–1722). Moreover, both the *Tiantaishan quanzhi* and the *Qingshengci zhi* 清聖祠志 (1722) of the end of the Kangxi period state that what remained of the Tongbai Palace was in a status of disrepair, worsened by the occupation of the temple land by the local elite. According to Li Wei, the family of a certain Zhang Tianyu 張天郁, affiliated with the infamous court eunuch Wei Zhongxian (1568–1627), had seized the temple land in the Tianqi era (1620–1627) and built a family grave on the ruins of the Qingfeng (i.e., Qingsheng) Shrine. This situation had already been denounced by Pan Lei 潘耒 (courtesy name Cigeng 次耕; style name Jiatang 稼堂; 1646–1708) in his “Travelling on the Tiantai Mountains” 遊天台山記, who harshly criticized the behaviour of the Zhang family:

[Travelling] further some ten *li* southward, I arrived at the vestiges of the Tongbai Palace, which is the Daoist Jinting Grotto-Heaven. . . . The disciples of Ge Xuan and Sima Chengzhen lived here. . . . Today everything is covered with vegetation, except the Sanqing Hall [where] raindrops become tears dripping from Tianzun’s face. The son of a local official’s [i.e., Zhang Tianyu] family is buried next to it.³⁵ People say that this was the main reason behind the temple’s decay. With their deluded geomantic practices and avid interest for propitious land, there is nothing that this kind of people would not have done in order to obtain the land, even openly occupying Buddhist or Daoist temples and burying their own bones under that soil. How could these people gain any benefit from actions that they themselves do not realize being a sin? I loathe their greed and pity their folly! This place had more than ten stelae from

³⁵ Zhang Tianyu’s real name was Zhang Wenyu 張文郁 (courtesy name Congzhou 從周; style names Taisu 太素 and Taoyuan sanren 桃源散人; 1578–1655). He worked for the Ministry of Work 工部 and was nominated sub-director 少卿 of the Court of the Imperial Stud 太僕寺, Right Censor-in-chief 右都御史, and Left Vice Minister of Work 工部左侍郎 during the Tianqi reign. He was later impeached as associate of the court eunuch Wei Zhongxian. See Shao Tingcai 邵廷采, *Dongnan jishi* 東南紀事 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2002), pp. 184–98; Wan Sitong 萬斯同, *Mingshi* 明史, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* ed., *juan* 354, p. 26a; Han Kuang 韓爌 et al., *Qinding ni’an* 欽定逆案, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* ed., p. 16a; Zhang Wenyu, *Zhang Taisu shilang zizhu nianpu* 張太素侍郎自著年譜, a handwritten manuscript in the collection of Linhai City Museum 臨海市博物館. On Wei Zhongxian, see John W. Dardess, *Blood and History in China: The Donglin Faction and Its Repression, 1620–1627* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

the Tang and Song dynasties: I looked for them everywhere, but I could not find them. The stone effigies of Bo Yi and Shu Qi solemnly sit side by side. How did the two masters from the Zhuzi kingdom arrive here?³⁶

又南十餘里，得桐柏宮遺墟，是道家金庭洞天也。……自葛仙公、司馬子微之徒居之，……今皆鞠為茂草，惟存三清殿一間，雨淋天尊面，淚下蘇蘇。有宦家子葬其旁，人言宮觀之廢半由此。自人之惑於堪輿，貪得吉地也，而可以勢力攘奪者，無所不為，乃至佛刹仙宮，亦公然掩取而埋其骨。罪之不圖，福於何有？吾惡其貪，亦憐其愚耳。此地有唐宋碑十餘通，徧求之不可得。夷齊二石像儼然並坐，孤竹子何得在此？

During the second half of the Ming dynasty, the encroachment of temple land was not uncommon and historical sources contain many examples of litigations for the control of resources (including not only land, but everything on it, especially water and wood) managed or claimed by religious institutions, both Buddhist and Daoist. Apart from local gentry trying to occupy properties belonging to religious institutions, the land was sometimes illegally sold for personal profit by the monks themselves, claimed back by the heirs of a deceased donor, or even surreptitiously substituted with a less valuable plot. Both sides could try to gain an advantage by relying on shady practices; therefore, sometimes monks and donors alike preferred to prepare an exhaustive list of the temple land to be included in the temple gazetteer or to be recorded on a stele erected nearby.³⁷

Pan Lei was acquainted with the main Daoist figures involved in the Palace's history and seems sincerely bothered by the occupation of its land. His travel record ends with a reference to the statues of Bo Yi and Shu Qi that were clearly very

³⁶ *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, juan 13, pp. 8b–9a.

³⁷ For a study on the relationship between gentry and Buddhist temples during the late Ming, see Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University and Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1993). See also Thomas M. Buoye, *Manslaughter, Markets, and Moral Economy: Violent Disputes over Property Rights in Eighteenth-century China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Martin Heijdra, “The Socio-economic Development of Rural China during the Ming,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 8: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part 2, ed. Denis C. Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 439–41; Tsurumi Naohiro, “Rural Control in the Ming Dynasty,” trans. Timothy Brook and James Cole, in *State and Society in China: Japanese Perspectives on Ming-Qing Social and Economic History*, ed. Linda Grove and Christian Daniels (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press), pp. 245–77. Chuandeng's *Youxi biezhi* 幽溪別志 contains the list of land of the Gaoming temple 高明寺 of Tiantai, where the author of the gazetteer resided.

popular among literati travelling to Mount Tongbai, as they were mentioned even when no reference was made to personages like Sima Chengzhen, who were much more important regarding the history of the temple. The two mythical sages are mentioned in many travel records of the Ming dynasty collected in local gazetteers of Tiantai, usually in relation to the Tongbai Palace or the Qingsheng Shrine. Wang Shixing's 王士性 (1547–1598) "Travelling in the Tiantai Mountains" 游天台山記, Wang Siren's 王思任 (1576–1646) "Travelling in the Tiantai Mountains" 游天台山記, Dai Ao's 戴澳 (*jinshi* in 1613) "Travelling Again in the Tiantai Mountains" 重遊天台山記, and Tao Wangling's 陶望齡 (1562–1609) "Journey on Roads of the Tiantai Mountains" 遊天台山上路程記 all make references to Bo Yi and Shu Qi, and to their statues.³⁸ It does not come as a surprise that the two sages were so popular among late Ming literati. They had been an example of virtue since the times of Confucius and Mencius and were still considered as such during the Ming and Qing dynasties, so that Zhang Lianyuan in his *Qingshengci zhi* could write:

I have studied the four moral standards, called propriety, justice, integrity, and honour, [so I know that those] insulting the sages and attacking the worthy are degenerate [people]. Bo Yi and Shu Qi are called sages and worthy and are mentioned repeatedly in the *Lunyu* and the *Mengzi*: anyone who does not know them is simply ignorant of the existence of Confucius and Mencius.³⁹

卑府查禮、義、廉、恥，謂之四維。侮聖蔑賢，即為敗類。夷齊之曰聖曰賢，迭見于孔孟之書，不知有夷齊，即不知有孔孟也。

They represented the paradigm of loyalty and as such were also central in the neo-Confucian debates of the mid-Ming dynasty, which surely contributed to their popularity.⁴⁰ In spite of the strong attraction that the two sages clearly exerted on literati of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have yet to find evidence of an organized cult entailing pilgrimages to the shrine. Moreover, the state of disrepair of the temple, testified by these literati, suggests that by the end of the Ming dynasty it did not receive consistent sponsorship, not even from private sources.

The opposition to the land encroachment is best represented by the prefect (*zhifu* 知府) of Taizhou, Zhang Lianyuan, who was unrelated to Zhang Tingyu's clan. Between the year KX 51 (1712) and KX 60 (1721) he used his prestige to help the

³⁸ *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi*, *juan* 22, pp. 5a–5b; *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, *juan* 12, pp. 6a–9b; *juan* 13, pp. 1a–3b.

³⁹ *Qingshengci zhi*, *juan* 1, pp. 15b–16a.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Youngmin Kim, "Political Unity in Neo-Confucianism: The Debate between Wang Yangming and Zhan Ruoshui," *Philosophy East and West* 64, no. 2 (April 2012), pp. 246–63.

Qingsheng Shrine take back the land of the temple.⁴¹ He was partially successful and compiled the *Qingshengci zhi* to collect all the documents on the case of land encroachment, hoping that in this way he might avoid future retaliation by the local elite.

Li Wei's secret memorial to the throne and Zhang Lianyuan's *Qingshengci zhi* do not reveal Fan Qingyun's age, nor his lineage affiliation. Nonetheless, Shizong's mention of Mount Longhu reminds us that Fan Qingyun was operating in the geographical context of southern Daoism. This area had been under the influence of the Heavenly Masters, whose centre of power had been located since the Tang and Song dynasties on Mount Longhu. They had received the authority of managing Daoism in southern China from the Yuan dynasty after the Mongols conquered the Southern Song (1276) and enjoyed close links to the court during the Ming dynasty.⁴² It would be worthwhile to do more research on the connections between the Heavenly Masters and the Daoist traditions of Tiantai during the late imperial times.

The secret memorial continues reporting the results of Li Wei's survey, which encompassed the entire Taizhou prefecture:

Today in [Linhai] there is still the Ziyang Mansion, said to be the dwelling of the Perfected, which has long been transformed into the Yuantan [Xuantan] Temple; another building has been erected on its left side to enshrine a statue of the immortal. Moreover, because the Perfected wrote the *Wuzhen pian*, to the north of the prefectural government there is the Wuzhen Bridge and in the northern part of [Linhai] city there is the Wuzhen Lane: both are still existent. According to the tradition, the place where [Ziyang] bathed and transcended is the Baibu Brook, sixty *li* northwest of today's Linhai county seat. Now on the Baibu Peak only a shrine on three aisles with a statue of the immortal and a poem engraved on a stele remains. In addition, in Tiantai there is only the Tongbai Palace, where the Perfected is said to have practised self-cultivation. No other [place linked to Zhang Boduan] is in the records. Therefore, there is no doubt that the Perfected Ziyang hailed from Linhai.⁴³

⁴¹ (Minguo) *Taizhou fuzhi* (民國) 台州府志 (1936; reprint, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), *juan* 10, p. 30a.

⁴² T. H. Barrett, "The Emergence of the Taoist Papacy in the T'ang Dynasty," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 7, no. 1 (1994), pp. 89–106; Vincent Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," pp. 121–59; Yonghua Liu, "Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China: The Case of the Imperial Music Office (*Shenyue Guan*), 1379–1743," *Late Imperial China* 33, no. 1 (June 2012), pp. 55–88; Mark R. E. Meulenbeld, *Demonic Warfare during the Ming: The Emperor and His Daoist Warriors*, chap. 4 in *Demonic Warfare: Daoism, Territorial Networks, and the History of a Ming Novel* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), pp. 132–67.

⁴³ *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe*, vol. 19, p. 51a.

今府城中尚有紫陽樓，傳為真人故居，久已改建元壇廟，另起樓於左側，為仙像以祀。又因真人曾著《悟真篇》，故府治之北有悟真橋，并有悟真坊在於城北，皆其遺蹟。至相傳洗浴遁去之處，在臨海縣西北六十里百步溪。今百步嶺之半山，僅存祠屋三間，供有真人石像、題詩碑記。其在天台，惟桐柏宮有真人於此棲真修煉之蹟，餘無所傳。則紫陽真人確為臨海人無疑也。

The text ends by suggesting a plan of action to sponsor Zhang Boduan's cult in the Taizhou area, together with a list of Buddhist temples located in Tiantai county, as required by the emperor, and classified according to their conditions:

The Emperor has stated that it would be suitable to restore and develop the prosperity of the ancient places listed above. [I suggest] restoring the Ziyang Tower of Taizhou as an abbey like in the past and relocating the Xuantan Temple. The Wuzhen Bridge and Lane should be repaired. It is reported that the sanctuary halfway to the Baibu Peak is located on a narrow and steep terrain and that the place, hosting the statue [of Zhang Boduan], is only a tile-covered building on three naves hanging from the mountainside. It cannot be enlarged, therefore a new shrine should be built on a plain area at the foot of the mountain (which will improve the outlook of the area). Regarding the Tongbai Abbey, encompassing the famous ritual areas of the two immortals [Zhang Boduan and Ge Xuan], it stands on a place that has many ancient and famous relics; it occupies a large ground and its land records are still extant: we only need to remove the tomb of the local despot, take back the occupied hall, and open up its uncultivated land in compliance with the [aforementioned] records. Once the teachings of the ancestral tradition have been restored, it will be called a grand abbey. I respectfully leave to his majesty the choice of its scale and style.

...

His Majesty was already aware that there are many Buddhist temples in Tiantai, but would like to know if there is any renowned, large public monastery. He has ordered an enquiry.

Tiantai was called Grotto-Heaven and Blissful-Land. Formerly there were seventy-two Buddhist monasteries in total, but they gradually fell into disrepair. There is no need to speak of the small temples and thatched retreats that are neither Buddhist nor Daoist sites and that literati since the antiquity have seldom described as places to visit. Apart from them, the biggest and most famous Buddhist temples today are two, Wannian and Gaoming: they are intact and the easiest to repair. There are also the Tianzhu, Tianmu, and Tianfeng temples. In addition, there are the Guoqing, Shanxing, Huguo, Daci,

Baijing Terrace, and other Buddhist temples, [but] all of them have been in ruins for many years.⁴⁴

誠如聖諭，宜為整理振興，以誌千古之盛。所有台州府城之紫陽樓當復舊觀，元壇廟應為移建，悟真橋、坊俱宜興修。其百步嶺半之祠，據稱地勢窄峻，供石像處僅瓦屋三小間，懸於山腰，不能開拓，應於山下平曠之所，擇地起建，庶肅觀瞻。至桐柏觀即為兩仙道場，勝蹟之所會萃，其地基址廣闊，現有鱗冊可據，止須闢治草萊，清理從前豪強佔墾基墳田，重整宗風，可稱大觀，其規制大小款式若何之處，恭請聖明欽定。

……

又前奉硃諭：向來知天台僧院亦甚多，可有大叢林有名望寺院否？欽此。

遵查天台向稱洞天福地，從前寺院共有七十二處，迨後日漸頹廢。今除茅庵小寺向非仙佛道場，并古來文人墨士偶爾留題駐足者，無庸議及外，其古刹之最大而著名者，則有萬年、高明二寺，尚屬完整易葺，天柱、天姥、天封三寺次之。若國清、善興、護國、大慈、拜經臺等寺，皆年久圯損。

Regarding the Daoist temples, it must be noted that in the memorial there is no suggestion on how to rebuild the Tongbai Palace. Later sources proved that the plan drafted in the memorial was followed quite thoroughly. The Ziyang (Daoist) Temple 紫陽道院, established in Linhai at Zhang Boduan's alleged home, received an imperial plaque with the four characters 萬法圓通, while the Ziyang Abbey 紫陽觀 was built in YZ 11 (1733) next to the Baibu Brook 百步溪.⁴⁵

Li Wei submitted a comprehensive and detailed list of Buddhist temples to the emperor, dividing them by the status of their buildings. The first two groups were “the biggest and most famous” ones and those “still intact” and could be conveniently restored. If the emperor wanted just to generally sponsor a Buddhist institution, even merely to balance out his patronage of Daoist temples in the same area, he had plenty of choices without the need to start large engineering works. Instead, later sources show that he chose to restore the Guoqing Temple 國清寺, one of the temples that had been listed as being in disrepair; once the renovation was finished in the year YZ 12 (1734), he also bestowed it with a plaque with the four characters *huayan jingyu* 華嚴淨域 (Pure Land of the Flower Garland).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 52a–b.

⁴⁵ On the Ziyang Temple, see *Zhejiang tongzhi*, *juan* 232, pp. 32b–33a. On the Ziyang Abbey, see *ibid.*, p. 12a.

⁴⁶ *Zhejiang tongzhi*, *juan* 232, pp. 1a–2a; Tiantaixian dang'anju 天台縣檔案局, *Fozong daoyuan* 佛宗道源 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 2015), p. 45. The Guoqing Temple had already been repaired by Emperor Kangxi in the year KX 18 (1679).

Shizong's juxtaposition of the Tongbai Palace and the Buddhist temples of Tiantai along with his interest in Zhang Boduan cannot be dismissed as merely accidental. On the other hand, relying on the doctrine of the Three Teachings as an all-encompassing explanation would not help us appreciate the specific nuances entailed in these events and would only have the effect of oversimplifying the discourse underlying Shizong's patronage. The relationship between the Tongbai Palace, Zhang Boduan, and Buddhism was established during the second half of the Yongzheng reign through a series of initiatives at court that were justified by the emperor's peculiar religious paradigm.

Finally, the method of communication required by the emperor deserves a brief assessment. Palace memorials were a specific kind of document that had to be distinguished from the routine memorials employed for common bureaucratic communication. In fact, they were often used to correspond on private matters and if Shizong deemed the patronage of the Tongbai Palace a personal religious interest, this might explain the reliance on the palace memorial. There is another detail that complicates this analysis. Li Wei recorded that he sent the tax circuit intendant Zhu Lunhan to survey the Taizhou area in what is described as a secret mission, "with the excuse of inspecting the irrigation works on the sluices of the Jinqing Harbour" 借以查勘金清港閘水利工程為題。⁴⁷ Therefore, in this case the palace memorial system was not only used for the non-official nature of the matter discussed therein, but also for the need of secrecy. I have not found evidence that might conclusively explain the reasons behind the extreme confidentiality of these dealings so this topic is still open to further research. Yet, even if it were true that the restoration of the Tongbai Palace was considered by Shizong as a private matter, as it is also suggested by the unofficial character of related Buddhist initiatives at court (see below), it would be very difficult to confine the meaning and influence of these events to the private sphere: Shizong himself did not hide his admiration for Zhang Boduan in public documents and he even canonized some of Zhang's writings as part of the new edition of the *Buddhist Canon*.

We are used to considering the Tongbai Palace as a Daoist temple, but what was its link to Zhang Boduan, to the imperial interest in the Buddhist institutions of Tiantai, and to Shizong himself? Below, I will try to demonstrate that the emperor did not restore the Tongbai Palace because he wanted to support a Daoist institution as such, but because he was convinced that the temple was related to Zhang Boduan: this is the interpretative key to understanding the imperial patronage of the Tongbai Palace. Even more importantly, the significance of Zhang Boduan in this context did

⁴⁷ *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe*, vol. 19, p. 51a; Wang Ka, "Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (shang)," pp. 27–28.

not come from his contribution to Daoism, but from what the emperor considered his thorough understanding of Chan Buddhism and the fact that he combined Buddhist and Daoist doctrines.

II. Zhang Boduan and the Tongbai Palace

Only few, somewhat reliable facts of Zhang Boduan's life are known today. The earliest and probably most certain biographical evidence is included in the "Preface" 序 and "Postface" 後序 to the *Wuzhen pian*, attributed to Zhang Boduan himself and dated respectively to the years 1075 and 1078. It was written that he went to Chengdu in the year *jiyou* of the Xining reign 熙寧己酉 (1069) at the service of Lu Longtu 陸龍圖 (1022–1070). There he met a "Perfected" 真人, who bestowed on him the instructions on the Golden Elixir, on medicine, and on the *huohou* 火候 technique. After Zhang failed thrice to transmit what he had learnt, he wrote the *Wuzhen pian* to record his teachings and transmit them to worthy disciples. The text of the *Wuzhen pian*, along with its main commentaries, can be found in the *Daoist Canon*: these constitute the majority of the earliest sources for the study of Zhang Boduan's life. Among them, there are the *Wuzhen pian ji* 悟真篇記 (before 1173) by Lu Sicheng 陸思誠, the *Zhang zhenren benmo* 張真人本末 (late twelfth to early thirteenth century) and the *Xue Zixian shiji* 薛紫賢事蹟 (1169) included in the *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao* 紫陽真人悟真直指詳說三乘祕要, and the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 by Zhao Daoyi 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307), all stating that Zhang Boduan was born in Tiantai.⁴⁸ My reading of these and other texts dated between the Song and the Ming dynasties has not revealed any early reference to the presence of Zhang Boduan at the Tongbai Palace.

The only confirmed link between the Daoist and Tiantai is precisely the piece of information from the "Preface" and "Postface," where he describes himself as a man of Tiantai. Another early source, though, provides different information: the *Chicheng zhi* by Chen Qiqing states that Zhang Boduan was a "native of the prefecture [of Taizhou]" 郡人.⁴⁹ The discrepancy between different sources of the Song dynasty has

⁴⁸ *Wuzhen pian ji*, in *Wuzhen pian san zhu* 悟真篇三注, DZ 142, p. 1a; *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*, DZ 143, pp. 15a–17a; *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, DZ 296, juan 49, pp. 7b–11a. Schipper argued that this text, originally part of the *Sancheng biyao*, was erroneously moved at the beginning of the *Wuzhen pian san zhu* by the editors of the *Daoist Canon*. See Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, p. 820; *Ziyang zhenren Wuzhen zhizhi xiangshuo sancheng biyao*, pp. 15a–16b. See also Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 812–16.

⁴⁹ *Chicheng zhi*, *Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

spurred scholars to investigate an otherwise unchallenged piece of information.⁵⁰ I will not deal with this issue here, because it has been already discussed in detail by other scholars, but it should be noted that even if Zhang Boduan did come from Tiantai county, as it seems to be, the *Wuzhen pian* explicitly states that he received teachings on the Golden Elixir after he arrived in Chengdu: it may be theorized that he was already practising Daoism in his native county before leaving it, but this is bound to remain a conjecture until additional proofs are available.

Apart from the question of Zhang Boduan's hometown, the sources cited above do not support the claim that he practised self-cultivation at the Tongbai Palace or that he ever resided there. Other historical materials from the Song dynasty have not mentioned the presence of Zhang Boduan at the temple, either. Two stelae, the *Annotation by the Department of State Affairs on the Chongdao Abbey of Tongbai* 宋桐柏崇道觀尚書省帖碑 of the seventh month of Qiandao 乾道 2 (1166) and the *Official Appointment of the Baiyun Changshou Abbey* 宋白雲昌壽觀敕牒碑 of the eleventh month of the year Qiandao 6 (1170), were composed only about a hundred years after Zhang Boduan passed away, but fail to record any relation between the Chongdao Abbey (as the Tongbai Palace was then called) and Zhang Boduan or his "Southern Lineage," while they mention other Daoists who operated at the temple.⁵¹ Therefore, it is not possible to support the theory that Zhang Boduan practised at the Tongbai Palace on the basis of early historical texts.

⁵⁰ For studies on this topic, refer to Fan Guangchun 樊光春, "Zhang Boduan shengping kaobian" 張伯端生平考辨, *Zhongguo Daojiao* 中國道教, 1991, no. 4, pp. 12–16; Ren and Ma, *Taizhou Daojiao kao*, pp. 311–13; Wang Ka, "Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (shang)," pp. 29–32; Xu Shangshu 許尚樞, "Zhang Boduan jiguan kaobian" 張伯端籍貫考辨, in *Tiantaishan wenhua yanjiuhui chengli 20 zhounian xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 天台山文化研究會成立 20 週年學術研討會論文集, ed. Zhejiang sheng Taizhou shi Tiantaishan wenhua yanjiuhui 浙江省台州市天台山文化研究會 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2011), pp. 232–35; Zheng Weiyi 鄭為一, "Zhang Boduan jiguan kaobian de jige guanjian wenti" 張伯端籍貫考辨的幾個關鍵問題, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu*, 2013, no. 4, pp. 38–43. In the memorial, Li Wei argued that Zhang Boduan was from Linhai. His position can be explained by two facts. First, the majority of the edifices linked to Zhang Boduan was located in Linhai, including the Ziyang Mansion that was said to be the home of the immortal. It is also possible that Li Wei had been heavily influenced by two sources that had been compiled roughly forty years earlier, the *Linhai xianzhi* 臨海縣志 and the *Taizhou fuzhi* 台州府志, both of KX 22 (1683), which record that Zhang Boduan hailed from Linhai.

⁵¹ *Liang-Zhe jinshi zhi* 兩浙金石志, *Shike shiliao congshu* 石刻史料叢書 ed. (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1967), *juan* 9, pp. 36a–38a, 42a–47a. This has also been pointed out in Fan Guangchun, "Zhang Boduan shengping kaobian," p. 13. Zhang Boduan was described as the founder of the so-called Nanzong 南宗 tradition (Southern Lineage) at least since the thirteenth century. See Qing and Tang, *Daojia shi*, pp. 203–4.

The connection between Tiantai and Zhang Boduan is explicitly elaborated in later sources. The *Lidai shenxian tongjian* 歷代神仙通鑑 (also known as *Lidai shenxian yanyi* 歷代神仙演義, seventeenth century) records: “when [Zhang Boduan] obtained the elixir, he returned to Taizhou” 丹成，遂返台州 and “at that time, in Tiantai there was a Buddhist monk called Dengyi, who could fall into trance and let his spirit leave his body and travel for hundreds of *li* instantaneously. He and [Zhang] Ziyang were close friends” 時天台有僧澄一，修戒定慧，能入定出神，數百里間，頃刻即到。紫陽與之雅志契合。⁵² Although it states that Zhang Boduan returned to Tiantai, this text still does not mention the Tongbai Palace. In fact, other major sources of the Ming and Qing dynasties, such as the *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi*, to my knowledge, do not contain any detail about Zhang Boduan’s self-cultivation activities in Tiantai and confirm the general information contained in the *Wuzhen pian*.⁵³ Finally, other sources of the Kangxi era, such as Zhang Boduan’s biographies in the Linhai and Taizhou gazetteers of 1683 and in the *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, mention his transcendence by the Baibu Brook of Taizhou, but yet again fail to connect him to the Tongbai Palace.⁵⁴

In conclusion, before the Yongzheng era there are no sources linking Zhang Boduan to the history of the Tongbai Palace. Instead, many examples from the Ming and early Qing dynasties indicate that the temple was related to Bo Yi and Shu Qi, Sima Chengzhen, and Wangzi Qiao 王子喬.⁵⁵ The fact that the account of Zhang Boduan’s activity at the Tongbai Palace is not supported by early sources has been pointed out also by Fan Guangchun 樊光春, who suggested the alternative theory that the real location where Zhang Boduan practised self-cultivation (later called “Ancestral Hall of the Southern School” 南宗祖庭) within the Taizhou prefecture should in fact be Linhai, but his theory is based on a similarly shaky ground.⁵⁶

⁵² Xu Dao 徐道, ed., *Lidai shenxian tongjian* (in Fu Sinian Library, Academia Sinica), *juan* 19, p. 7a.

⁵³ See *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, *juan* 5, pp. 1a–3a; *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi*, *juan* 4, pp. 17a–18a; *juan* 9, pp. 9a–b.

⁵⁴ *Linhai xianzhi*, *juan* 10, pp. 34a–35a; *juan* 11, p. 4a. Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed 11 August 2017, <http://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=92715>; *Taizhou fuzhi*, *juan* 13, pp. 35b–37a, 77b–78a; *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, *juan* 8, pp. 12b–13b.

⁵⁵ Refer to the travel records in the *Tiantaishan fangwai zhi* and the *Tiantaishan quanzhi*, and to the *Qingshengci zhi* for some examples.

⁵⁶ Fan Guangchun, “Zhang Boduan shengping kaobian,” pp. 12–16. Compare Fan’s argument with Xu Shangshu, “Zhang Boduan jiguan kaobian,” pp. 232–35. On the lack of historical data supporting the narrative of Zhang Boduan’s presence at the Tongbai Palace, see also Wang Ka, “Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (shang),” pp. 28–32.

There is a final piece of evidence that should be mentioned and could explain why the Yongzheng emperor thought that Zhang Boduan practised self-cultivation at the Tongbai Palace. The *Yunji qiqian* contains the biography of Zhou Yishan 周義山 (style name Perfected Ziyang 紫陽真人), which states that after having received teachings from many different masters, he “climbed Mount Tongbai, where he met Wang[zi] Qiao, from whom he received the *Suzou danfu*” 登桐柏山遇王喬，受素奏丹符.⁵⁷ The fact that Zhou Yishan was also called “Perfected Ziyang,” combined with the idea that Zhang Boduan’s hometown was Tiantai, may have caused the conflation of the two Daoists, even in the form of oral tradition and the emperor’s misunderstanding.

It is possible that an influential person inside the court played an important role in nurturing Shizong’s fondness for the Perfected. The emperor did not lack opportunities to meet Daoist priests and ritual specialists at the capital, all people who had a chance and motivation for championing the patronage of an eminent Daoist patriarch or the restoration of a temple in southern China.⁵⁸ One of the most plausible “suspects” is Lou Jinyuan, the most prominent court Daoist of the Yongzheng era, whose rise coincides at least chronologically with the emperor’s patronage of Zhang Boduan in its various forms.⁵⁹ He had been trained on Mount Longhu, the seat of the Heavenly Masters and according to the information included in his *Longhushan zhi* 龍虎山志, he left in YZ 5 (1727) to go to the capital as their representative.⁶⁰ A serious illness that struck the emperor in 1729 provided a basis for the Daoist’s rise. Lou Jinyuan performed rituals to the Big Dipper and for Shizong’s well-being in the Forbidden City in 1730; these must have been successful, because in that same

⁵⁷ *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 106, p. 13b. The *Daoist Canon* contains another, extended, standalone version of this text, titled *Shangqing jinque dijun wudou sanyi tujue* 上清金闕帝君五斗三一圖訣 (DZ 765). See also Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 189–90. The *Suzou danfu* is related to another text, the *Shangqing qionggong lingfei liujia zuoyou shangfu* 上清瓊宮靈飛六甲左右上符 (DZ 84). See Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, p. 174.

⁵⁸ Yonghua Liu, “Daoist Priests and Imperial Sacrifices in Late Imperial China.”

⁵⁹ On Lou Jinyuan, see Vincent Goossaert, “Counting the Monks: The 1736–1739 Census of the Chinese Clergy,” *Late Imperial China* 21, no. 2 (December 2000), p. 55; idem, “Bureaucratic Charisma”; Hosoya Yoshio, “Kenryū chō no Seiikyō” 乾隆朝の正一教, in *Dōkyō to shūkyō bunka* 道教と宗教文化, ed. Akizuki Kan’ei 秋月観暎 (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1987), pp. 571–88; Kong Xiangyu 孔祥毓, “Miaozheng zhenren Lou Jinyuan de shengping zhuzuo ji sixiang” 妙正真人婁近垣的生平著作及思想, *Zhongguo Daojiao*, 2006, no. 3, pp. 53–54; Li Guorong, “Yongzheng yu dandao,” pp. 86–87; Zeng Shaonan 曾召南, “Lou Jinyuan ji qi yu Zhengyi zhipai de guanxi” 婁近垣及其與正一支派的關係, *Zhongguo Daojiao*, 1995, no. 1, pp. 29–31, 36.

⁶⁰ *Longhushan zhi* (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1996), *juan* 6, pp. 42a–b.

year Shizong bestowed on him the title of superintendent (*tidian* 提點) of Mount Longhu and appointed him the abbot of the Qin'an Hall 欽安殿.⁶¹ The following year the emperor sponsored the restoration of temples on Mount Longhu and in 1732 he conferred the official seal of superintendent of the Shangqing Palace to Lou Jinyuan. Finally, in 1733 he conferred the title of abbot of the Daguangming Hall 大光明殿 to Lou Jinyuan and placed him in charge of forty-eight officers of rituals (*faguan* 法官).⁶² In 1731, Shizong had already received Li Wei's secret memorial about the Tongbai Palace.

The link between Lou Jinyuan and Zhang Boduan does not seem to be just accidental. The former was the only Daoist participating in the "Contemporary Dharma Assembly" (*Dangjin fahui* 當今法會), a group founded under imperial initiative for the study of Chan literature, which gathered some of the most influential political and religious figures operating in the capital.⁶³ Even though I could not find a conclusive proof linking the restoration of the Tongbai Palace to Lou Jinyuan's influence at court, it is arguable that Lou Jinyuan was at least a driving force behind Shizong's interest in Zhang Boduan. In addition to the aforementioned chronological coincidence, the fact that Master Lou composed "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語錄) inspired by Zhang Boduan's "Exoteric Collection" (*waiji* 外集) persuaded Vincent Goossaert that "he particularly esteemed Zhang Boduan."⁶⁴ More evidence might be found in the lineage of his master Zhou Dajing 周大經, of the Sanhua Temple 三華院 of Mount Longhu, who was not only the former abbot of the Shangqing Palace 上清宮, but also an expert of *wulei zhengfa* 五雷正法, alternatively known as Thunder

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 42b. On the events caused by Shizong's illness and on Lou Jinyuan's role, refer to Li Guorong, "Yongzheng yu dandao," pp. 85–86.

⁶² *Longhushan zhi*, *juan* 4, pp. 1b–8a; *juan* 5, p. 2a; "Da zhenren fu bei" 大真人府碑 (1740), in *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編, ed. Beijing tushuguan jinshizu 北京圖書館金石組 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989–1991), vol. 69, p. 64. The "Da zhenren fu bei" states that the *faguan* were in charge of rituals, but Goossaert explains: "The term *faguan* has various meanings in Taoist contexts; because *fa* usually refers to minor exorcistic rituals, by contrast to the grand classical liturgy (*keyi* 科儀), *faguan* is often synonymous with *fashi* 法師, a master of exorcistic rituals. However, in the context of the late-imperial Heavenly Master institution and state management of Taoism, *faguan* refers to those Taoists given official positions either directly by the state or through the Heavenly Master" ("Bureaucratic Charisma," p. 127).

⁶³ The Dharma Assembly will be discussed more in detail below.

⁶⁴ These can be found in *Yuxuan yulu*, *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊 ed. (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), *juan* 19, pp. 71a–77b; and *Longhushan zhi*, *juan* 12, pp. 1a–8a. See Goossaert, "Bureaucratic Charisma," p. 142.

Rituals, and of “the talismans and secrets of all schools” 諸家符.⁶⁵ Whether this tradition of Thunder Rituals saw itself as stemming from Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194–1229?) and Zhang Boduan’s “Southern Lineage,” or from the teachings of other practitioners, is open to further investigation.

Regardless of the actual influence behind it, it is clear that the Yongzheng emperor’s knowledge of Zhang Boduan’s activities on Mount Tongbai does not correspond to the historical facts that can be inferred from the textual evidence at our disposal. Once the discrepancy between the history and the traditional knowledge accepted during the Qing dynasty has been clarified, it is necessary to analyse the core reasons why Zhang Boduan was so important to the emperor.

III. The Perfected Zhang Boduan: Chan Master and Daoist Immortal

To understand the foundations of Shizong’s interest in Zhang Boduan, we must focus on the imperial religious initiatives at court. Previous scholarship has often stressed the emperor’s defence of the doctrine of the Three Teachings, variously expressed in Chinese by concepts such as *sanjiao heyi* 三教合一 and *sanjiao tongyuan* 三教同源. In general, Shizong’s patronage of both Buddhism and Daoism has been understood as a particular instance of the *sanjiao heyi* concept, a mere result of the attempt to balance imperial support toward the Three Teachings.⁶⁶ In fact, official documents contemporary with the restoration of the Tongbai Palace show a more complex picture.⁶⁷

One of these sources is the text of a stele in the Taizhou prefecture that Shizong ordered to be produced in triplicate and placed at the three sites that he restored in honour of Zhang Boduan. The full text of the stele erected at the Chongdao Abbey was collected in the *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志 of QL 1 (1736), where it is called “Stele of the Chongdao Abbey” 崇道觀碑. The only complete copy still extant of these three stelae is the one of Taizhou, but I have located fragments of the one erected next to the Tongbai Palace.⁶⁸ The remnant pieces suggest that it was a tall and elaborately adorned monument. According to the dwellers of a nearby village, during

⁶⁵ *Longhushan zhi*, *juan* 7, p. 30a.

⁶⁶ Wang Ka, “Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (shang),” pp. 22–25.

⁶⁷ On the doctrine of the Three Teachings, see Joachim Gentz, “Religious Diversity in Three Teachings Discourse,” in Perry Schmidt-Leukel and Joachim Gentz, eds., *Religious Diversity in Chinese Thought* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), pp. 123–39. On Shizong’s imperial patronage of Daoism during the Qing dynasty, see Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, pp. 231–48; Qing and Tang, *Daojiaoshi*, pp. 333–35.

⁶⁸ Wang Ka, “Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (xia),” p. 8. According to note 14 of page 8, the stele is now housed at the Linhai Museum (臨海博物館東湖石刻碑林) and it is 1 *zhang* 丈, 1 *chi* 尺, and 6 *cun* 寸 high (3.81 m), 2 *chi* and 9 *cun* wide (~1 m).

the Cultural Revolution the stele was broken into pieces and used by their community to build houses.⁶⁹ Some villagers recovered part of the fragments when one of their homes was destroyed and, according to them, more are still waiting to be found, hidden within the walls of the buildings of the village.

By comparing the characters on these fragments to the text preserved in the gazetteer I confirmed that it is the same stele and, according to the transcription, it is dated to the third month of the year YZ 12 (1734). The emperor's agenda is stated at the very beginning: "Inner nature and vitality are not separate paths, [just as] Immortals and Buddhas do not [follow] separate ways" 性命無二途，仙佛無二道. The first part of the stele tries to demonstrate the fundamental correspondence between Buddhist and Daoist teachings by relating quotes from the *Daode jing* 道德經 and the *Qingjing jing* 清靜經 to Buddhist concepts. The text continues by mentioning Zhang Boduan, who is said to have "elucidate[d] the essence of the Golden Elixir." It also refers to him by a very peculiar title: "Most Benevolent and Boundless Chan Immortal Perfected Ziyang, Zhang Pingshu" 大慈圓通禪仙紫陽真人張平叔, whose meaning is explained in the same section:

The *Wuzhen pian* written by the Most Benevolent and Boundless Chan Immortal Perfected Ziyang, Zhang Pingshu, elucidates the essence of the Golden Elixir, which is described in his preface to the text as the technique to nurture life. The Yellow Emperor and Laozi pitied [human beings'] desire [for extending their lifespan], followed what they longed for, gradually directing them to non-action and subtle awakening. The instructions of the Supreme Vehicle of Bodhidharma and of the Sixth Patriarch [Huineng] are too subtle and profound for people to master, therefore [Ziyang] compiled the "Exoteric Collection" as poems to discuss self-awakening.⁷⁰ He waits for those with a good inner nature, so that these words might enlighten them. Oh! Those following the Perfected can [really] be considered to unite both [the teachings of] the Buddha and the immortals! Ziyang was born in Taizhou, in which the Ziyang Mansion is his former residence. Sixty *li* from the prefecture seat one finds the Baibu Brook, which is said to be where the immortal Ziyang transcended. He also cultivated the Way at the Chongdao Abbey of Tongbai, but after many years nobody goes there to worship. I have ordered the despatch of public funds and officials to have them restored.⁷¹

⁶⁹ I was able to talk to these villagers during my fourth field trip to Zhejiang in August 2015. The village is located southeast of the new Tongbai Palace, still under construction on the northeast side of the Tongbai water basin, also known as Xianyou Lake 仙遊湖.

⁷⁰ The ideas expressed in the last two sentences are clearly inspired by *Wuzhen pian* (*Wuzhen pian zhushu*, DZ 141), "Houxu" 後序, p. 1b.

⁷¹ *Zhejiang tongzhi*, front scroll, *juan* 3, pp. 19b–20a. See also *ibid.*, *juan* 232, p. 12a.

大慈圓通禪仙紫陽真人張平叔著《悟真篇》，發明金丹之要。自序以為是乃修身之術，黃老順其所欲，漸次導之，至於無為妙覺。達磨、六祖最上一乘之旨，則至妙至微，卒難了徹，故編為《外集》，形諸歌頌，俟根性猛利之士因言自悟。於戲！若真人者，可謂佛仙一貫者矣。紫陽生於台州，城中有紫陽樓，乃其故居。去郡城六十里有百步溪，傳為紫陽化處。又嘗焚修於桐柏崇道觀，歲久香火岑寂。特命發帑遣官，載加整葺。

In the inscription, Shizong described Zhang Boduan not only as an “immortal” (仙), but also as a “Chan [master]” (禪) and consequently as an expert of both traditions. Therefore, being like the “Perfected” (真人) means being able to grasp the doctrine of Chan Buddhism and Daoism, to transcend the differences between the two traditions, and to embody their unity through practice. Shizong’s point of view should not be attributed merely to his preeminent interest in Buddhism, nor should it be considered a totally original reinterpretation of Zhang Boduan’s teachings.

Even though the *Wuzhen pian* is a work on *neidan* 內丹 self-cultivation, it, nonetheless, shows the influence from a wide array of different traditions and its preface certainly embraces ideas and texts from all three Chinese teachings. Yet, Chan practice and doctrine occupies a special position in this text, as discussed by Zhang himself in the preface:

Once I finished compiling [the *Wuzhen pian*] I realized that it only dealt with techniques for nurturing vitality and reinforcing the body, but did not thoroughly investigate the original nature of the true awakening. Thereafter, I delved into Buddhist texts and the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, until I reached enlightenment as when the patriarch [Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑 (ninth century) heard a rock] hitting a bamboo [stick].⁷² Then, I articulated [my enlightenment] in thirty-two songs, hymns, poems, and verses of different lengths, which I attached at the end [of this text].⁷³

篇集既成之後，又覺其中惟談養命固形之術，而於本源真覺之性有所未究，遂翫佛書及《傳燈錄》，至於祖師有擊竹而悟者，乃形於歌頌詩曲雜言三十二首，今附之卷末。

⁷² On the episode of Xiangyan Zhixian’s awakening while sweeping the floor, refer to *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, in *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, ed. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭 (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1934), *juan* 51, p. 284a. See also Joshua Capitanio, “Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 43, no. 2 (November 2015), p. 129, n. 28.

⁷³ *Wuzhen pian* (*Wuzhen pian zhushu*, DZ 141), “Xu” 序, p. 16b. Note that the version of the preface to the *Wuzhen pian* from the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (DZ 263.26) does not include this line. See also the translation of this excerpt in Capitanio, “Portrayals of Chan Buddhism,” p. 129.

Shizong's representation of Zhang Boduan was already contained *in nuce* in the *Wuzhen pian*, so much so that Buddhists exploited the Perfected's praise of Chan in their polemics against Daoism.⁷⁴ In this regard, Joshua Capitanio points out two important aspects. First, he argues that the critical position toward Chan practice, characteristic of later commentators of the *Wuzhen pian*, was not present in the original text.⁷⁵ As seen above, Zhang Boduan clearly states that nurturing vitality and extending one's own lifespan are not enough and advocates the combined cultivation of vitality (*ming* 命) and nature (*xing* 性). Zhang Boduan stated: "People today think that Daoists pay much attention to the cultivation of vitality, but they do not know that there are two [kinds of] methods for doing it: those easy to obtain and difficult to practise successfully, and those difficult to obtain but easy to practise successfully. . . . The reverted elixir of the golden liquor is [a technique] difficult to obtain, but easy to practise successfully."⁷⁶ This, together with the excerpt quoted previously, produces a picture of Zhang Boduan as a self-cultivation practitioner appreciative of Chan Buddhism. The combination of the cultivation of vitality and nature is again explained in the postface to the *Wuzhen pian*: "The Yellow Emperor and Laozi pitied [human beings'] desire [for extending their lifespan], following what they longed for, gradually leading them [to awakening] by means of the techniques for cultivating life. The key of cultivating life is the Golden Elixir and the keys of the Golden Elixir are the miraculous water and the flowery pond. In this way, the teachings of the *Daode jing* and the *Yinfu jing* can spread around the world."⁷⁷

Moreover, the Chan poems included in the *Wuzhen pian* are preceded by a short introduction, where Zhang Boduan again presents the teachings of Daoism and Chan Buddhism as part of a sequence, not as a straightforward integration:

Those who study the Way do not understand the principle of nature and only concentrate on the production of the Golden Elixir. So the way of nature and vitality is incomplete, the heart is not used extensively, and it cannot equate the self and the outside world. How can they realize complete understanding and surpass the Three Realms? . . . Therefore, the *Wuzhen pian* first [gives] the techniques [for nurturing] vitality of the divine immortals, to induce [the reader] to practising self-cultivation. Then, it broadens one's spiritual

⁷⁴ Capitanio, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism," p. 131.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 128–34.

⁷⁶ *Wuzhen pian* (*Xiuzhen shishu* ed.), "Xu," pp. 2a–b: 今人以道門尚於修命，而不知修命之法，理出兩端：有易遇而難成者，有難遇而易成者。……夫金液還丹者，則難遇而易成。

⁷⁷ *Wuzhen pian* (*Wuzhen pian zhushu*, DZ 141), "Houxu," pp. 1b–2a: 黃老悲其貪着，乃以修生之術，順其所欲，漸次導之。夫修生之要在乎金丹，金丹之要在乎神水、華池，故《道德》、《陰符》之教，得以盛行於世者。

penetration by means of the Buddhist subtle functions. Finally, it [pushes] one to get rid of one's own illusions, thanks to the awakened nature of true suchness, so that one can return to the original source of complete emptiness and quiescence.⁷⁸

夫學道之人，不通性理，獨修金丹，如此既性命之道未備，則運心不普，物我難齊。又焉能究竟圓通，迴超三界？……故此《悟真篇》中，先以神仙命術，誘其修鍊。次以諸佛妙用，廣其神通。終以真如覺性，遣其幻妄，而歸於究竟空寂之本源矣。

In addition, Capitanio notices that the Buddhist section of the *Wuzhen pian* contains a poem titled “On Reading Chan Master Xuedou’s *Zuying ji*” 讀雪竇禪師《祖英集》. Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1053) was a Chan master active in the area around Ningbo exactly in Zhang Boduan’s times: the Daoist’s praise of this Buddhist monk suggests that the two might have known each other and that Zhang could even have been Xuedou’s disciple.⁷⁹ With these pieces of information on the table, certainly known by the emperor, it is easy to understand why Shizong was convinced of Zhang Boduan’s expertise in Chan Buddhism.

A second element of the “Stele of the Chongdao Abbey” that deserves more attention is the peculiar title by which Zhang Boduan is addressed in it. This was previously bestowed on him by the Yongzheng emperor himself with the undated “Edict on the Bestowal of the Title of Most Benevolent and Boundless Chan Immortal Perfected Ziyang, Zhang Pingshu and on the Inclusion of His ‘Exoteric Collection’ in the Buddhist Canon” 諭著加封紫陽真人大慈圓通禪仙封號并將其所著《外集》編入佛藏.⁸⁰ From its title it is clear that this document not only consecrated Zhang Boduan as a Buddho-Daoist authority, but also decreed that part of his *Wuzhen pian* had to be added to the Buddhist Canon.

Although this edict is undated, it is possible to infer the period in which it was composed. Surely, it had to precede the engraving of the “Stele of the Chongdao Abbey,” dated to the second month of YZ 12 (1734), and it must be later than the secret memorial of YZ 9 (1731), where Zhang Boduan’s new title still did not appear. Moreover, the text of the edict contains sentences that are used in another document, the “Yuzhi jianmo bianyi lu” 御製揀魔辨異錄, which can be found in the *Shinsan dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經 (vol. 65, no. 1281-A) and the *Yuxuan*

⁷⁸ *Wuzhen pian* (Xiuzhen shishu ed.), *juan* 30, pp. 1a–b. See also Capitanio’s translation in his “Portrayals of Chan Buddhism,” p. 132.

⁷⁹ Capitanio, “Portrayals of Chan Buddhism,” pp. 129–31.

⁸⁰ *Yongzheng chao Hanwen yuzhi huibian*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1999), vol. 3, no. 464.

yulu, both dated to the fourth month of YZ 11 (1733).⁸¹ Consequently, we can infer that the canonization of Zhang Boduan's text happened either in YZ 10 or in YZ 11 (1732–1733) and it was possibly more or less contemporary with the edict included in the *Zokuzōkyō*.⁸² It should also be noted that the compilation of the new *Buddhist Canon*, sponsored by the Yongzheng emperor (known as *Longzang* 龍藏 or *Qianlong Dazangjing* 乾隆大藏經), started in YZ 11 (1733) in Beijing: it would make sense that the canonization of Zhang Boduan's text was decided before or slightly after the compilation started.⁸³

The edict begins by rejecting the idea that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism are three separate and irreconcilable religions, which is a concept often expressed in Shizong's texts on religious themes: "Even though the function of the Three Teachings is different, their substance is one" 三教之用雖殊，而其體則一。⁸⁴ Having praised Zhang Boduan's sharp understanding of the Chan doctrine, Shizong shifts the focus of the edict to an analysis of the significance of the Chan poems in Zhang Boduan's *Wuzhen pian*. Then, Shizong evaluates why the Daoist would have included the "Exoteric Collection" in his work:

If the School of Mysteries [i.e., Daoism] was superior to the Chan tradition, then certainly the Perfected should have dealt only with it. Was it necessary to combine it with the Chan School? If the Perfected thinks that the principle of Chan tradition is more wondrous than [that of] the School of Mysteries and wants to take one side over the other, then he should have no problem just pilfering the others' ideas to supplement his own. Yet, it is not the kind of behaviour tolerated by the benevolent or upright. If the mysterious teachings [of Daoism] were indeed inferior to those of the Chan tradition, how difficult would it have been for him to abandon Daoism and follow the Chan School? Why would he straddle two separate teachings? As I see in [Zhang Boduan's] *Wuzhen pian*, it does not intermingle with a single word of the Chan School.

⁸¹ The "Yuzhi jianmo bianyi lu" was aimed at banning the works of the Buddhist monk Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 and his disciples. On the *Yuxuan yulu* see below.

⁸² On the dispute between Hanyue Fazang and Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 and on Shizong's contribution, including his "Yuzhi jianmo bianyi lu," see Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸³ Darui Long, "Collation, Carving, Printing, and Distribution of the Canon in Late Imperial China," in *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia: The Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon*, ed. Jiang Wu and Lucille Chia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), p. 223; Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 165.

⁸⁴ *Yongzheng chao Hanwen yuzhi huibian*, vol. 3, no. 464.

His “Exoteric Collection” does not intermingle with a single word of the School of Mysteries. One can see that the root of the Way has one origin and a single principle. This is what is called “to do things together without contradiction.” Some say that the Chan School deals with nature but not with vitality, and that the School of Mysteries cultivates vitality but not nature. These are all disorderly, erroneous arguments that cannot thoroughly penetrate the supreme principle. The *Wuzhen pian* written by Zhang Boduan is not just specifically about the true knowledge of Daoism and the “Exoteric Collection” contains the quintessential tenets of the supreme vehicle of the Chan School.⁸⁵ 假使玄⁸⁶門之理果超於釋宗，則真人止應專事玄門，又何必旁及於宗門耶？如謂禪宗之理妙於玄門，真人若懷人我之見，竊其說以附合其教，何難之有？但非仁人君子之所忍為。蓋玄教若果遜於禪宗，則真人又何難舍道而從釋？豈肯為此兩岐之學耶？今觀其所著《悟真篇》，則不雜宗門一語，而所著〈外集〉則不雜玄門一語，可知道本一原，理無二致。所謂並行而不悖者，此也。或謂宗門言性不言命，玄門修命不修性，是皆於至理未能貫通，支離謬說耳。紫陽真人所著《悟真篇》，不特為道教真詮，即此〈外集〉，亦釋門中最上一乘宗旨。

The edict ends with the Buddhist canonization of the “Exoteric Collection” and with the bestowal of the new title to Zhang Boduan. Even though the emperor considered Zhang Boduan an expert practitioner of both Daoism and Buddhism, he was clearly more interested in the “Exoteric Collection” and therefore in Zhang Boduan’s discussion of Chan doctrine. It also seems that Shizong did not regard the two sections of the *Wuzhen pian* as a mere juxtaposition of different traditions, but recognized a more profound level of union between the two, a radical unity based on the same origin and principle.

In all this, the initial discourse on the Three Teachings is abandoned and only returns at the end of the edict, where Shizong states: “[I] added his ‘Exoteric Collection’ to the *Buddhist Canon* in order to clarify the secret essentials of the unified Ultimate Way and of the unique perfect cultivation. These go along with my Confucian [doctrine] and are not in contradiction.”⁸⁷ Therefore, Confucianism frames the whole religious discourse of the edict, but it does not actively play a role in the religious discourse regarding the content of the *Wuzhen pian*, even though Zhang Boduan’s preface itself quotes the *Yijing*, Confucius’s *Lunyu*, and the *Mencius*.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ In the original text, this and the following occurrences of *xuan* 玄 are rendered with *yuan* 元.

⁸⁷ *Yongzheng chao Hanwen yuzhi huibian*, vol. 3, no. 464: 其所著〈外集〉著編入佛藏，以明至道同歸、真修不二之秘要。其與吾儒並行不悖之處，亦即此可見。

Shizong's patronage of the cult of Zhang Boduan clearly transcended Daoism and points at the emperor's interest in Chan Buddhism, which contextualizes the sources discussed at the beginning of this article and helps us understand the emperor's interest in both Buddhist and Daoist institutions of Tiantai. This induces me to consider the restoration of the Tongbai Palace as a consequence of Shizong's personal religious interest. I will now analyse the position of the restoration of the Tongbai Palace and of the "Exoteric Collection" in the emperor's broader religious paradigm.

IV. Shizong the Buddhist

It is a known fact that Shizong had been attracted by Buddhism since his youth. Not only did he perform Buddhist rituals and write poetry on Buddhist themes, he also organized Dharma assemblies at his palace and frequented important Buddhist masters, such as the third Lcang-skya lama 章嘉呼土克圖喇嘛 Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje 若比多吉 (1717–1786), Jialing Xingyin 迦陵性音 (1671–1726), and Hong Su 弘素.⁸⁸ In addition, on the occasion of an auspicious sign that occurred between the end of YZ 4 (1726) and the beginning of YZ 5 (1727), Shizong, conscious of the political value of his sentence, affirmed: "I am the leader of Buddhism" 朕亦即是釋主.⁸⁹

Shizong's involvement in religious activities at court increased in the second half of his thirteen-year-long reign and reached its peak in 1733. We have already mentioned that his interest in Zhang Boduan had practical consequences since the year YZ 9 (1731) and that the canonization of this Daoist master can be dated to around the year YZ 11 (1733). A crucial event is represented by the establishment, again in 1733, of the "Contemporary Dharma Assembly," which included fourteen members of the political and religious elite: Yinlu 胤祿 / Yunlu 允祿 (Kangxi's sixteenth son; 1695–1767), Yinli 胤禮 / Yunli 允禮 (Kangxi's seventeenth son; 1697–1738), Hongli 弘曆 (Shizong's fourth son and future Emperor Qianlong; 1711–1799), Hongzhou 弘晝 (Shizong's fifth son; 1712–1770), Fupeng 福彭 (Manchu aristocrat and general; ?–1748), E'ertai 鄂爾泰 (Manchu bannerman, governor of Yunnan, Guizhou, and Guangxi; 1680–1745), Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (son of a grand secretariat who held high-ranking political positions under Shizong's rule, such as minister of rites and revenue and chancellor of the Hanlin Academy; 1672–1755), Zhang Zhao 張照 (sub-chancellor of the grand secretariat; *jinshi* in 1709), Yuanxin Xuehong 圓

⁸⁸ Feng, *Yongzheng zhuan*, pp. 452–53; Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 164–68.

⁸⁹ *Shaanxi tongzhi* 陝西通志 (1735), *Wenyuan ge Siku quanshu* ed., *juan* 47, p. 84a; *Yongzheng chao qiju zhuice* 雍正朝起居注冊, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), pp. 938–39. See also Chen Jiexian, *Yongzheng xiezhen*, p. 182; Feng, *Yongzheng zhuan*, p. 454.

信雪鴻 (Chan master; 1664–1750), Minghui Chuyun 明慧楚雲 (Chan master; 1664–1735), Lou Jinyuan, Chaoshan Ruoshui 超善若水 (abbot of the Nianhua Temple 拈花寺), Chaoding Yuxuan 超鼎玉鉉 (abbot of the Wanshou Temple 萬壽寺), and Chaosheng Ruchuan 超盛如川 (abbot of the Haihui Temple 海會寺).⁹⁰ Apart from the only Daoist, Lou Jinyuan, who had just risen to high honours at court, the other participants were either members of the royal family, high-ranking politicians, or Buddhist masters.⁹¹ In that very year the emperor compiled the *Yuxuan yulu*, an anthology of Buddhist teachings, a result of the work of the assembly. The main corpus of this text is made of the “recorded sayings” of twelve Chan masters, plus those of Zhang Boduan, the Yongzheng emperor himself, and Great Master Lianchi 蓮池大師 (1533–1615), representative of Pure Land Buddhism (see excerpt below).⁹² The anthology opens with a long “General Preface” 御制總序, dated the fourth month of YZ 11 (1733), and each *juan* is introduced by a short preface authored by the emperor. Toward the end of the “General Preface,” Shizong discusses the reasons why he compiled this text:

I have received a responsibility from my royal parents, so I am not a person who can dedicate himself to spiritual life. If I want the people to lead a peaceful life, I can only follow the path of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. Therefore, after I ascended to the throne, I have not dealt with Chan teachings for ten years. But I think of the wisdom-life of humans and Heaven and the special transmission of the teachings of the Buddha: in order to awaken all living creatures he left [us] the Supreme Golden Elixir that it can be used to get rid of what is rotten and withered. How could one permit heterodoxy to blind one’s own orthodox vision, promote muddled and poisonous [words], and extinguish the subtle mind? I really have words that I cannot bear to keep for myself, so I must say them. Recently, during my leisure time, I have tried to taste the mixed waters of the rivers Zi and Mian [i.e., to deal with very intricate analyses]. I have read from ancient recorded sayings and chosen some to promote the true orthodoxy. I have picked their superb words, choosing and compiling them with [my] hands.

...

Although the Dharma of the Pure Land does not seem related to that of Chan Buddhism, how can chanting the name of the Buddha [a technique typical of Pure Land Buddhism] hinder the practice of Chan meditation? Persisting in its depths one becomes an absorbed meditator of the unlimited

⁹⁰ *Yuxuan yulu*, *juan* 19, pp. 1a–94b; Chen Jiexian, *Yongzheng xiezhen*, pp. 241–42; Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 171–72.

⁹¹ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 170–73; Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, pp. 235–37.

⁹² “Yuxuan yulu zongxu,” in *Yuxuan yulu*, pp. 8a–b.

“true suchness,” the complete realization of Bodhi. The Great Master Lianchi of the Yunqi Monastery [eighth patriarch of Pure Land Buddhism] delved in Brahmacharya and quietude and participated in the awakening. Reading his *Collection on the Dharma of Yunqi*, [I saw that] he had a proper knowledge and perspective, although his understanding was not as clear as that of other religious mentors [kalyāṇamitra]. . . . I added another scroll at the end [of this work] to include also the doctrine of Pure Land. This causes those who do not understand to build altars to the Bodhi and for those who understand, it is an aid on the path to it. I wrote this general preface and an introduction to each section and I published [this book] to be read in days to come for the benefit of future students. I hope that they will see the moon that I am pointing at and forget the means by which the end is attained, defeating the confused supporters of heterodoxy who take cover in the petty vehicles. I have great expectations about this.⁹³

朕膺元后父母之任，並非開堂秉拂之人，欲期民物之安，惟循周孔之轍。所以御極以來，十年未談禪宗。但念人天慧命，佛祖別傳。拚雙眉拖地，以悟眾生；留無上金丹，以起枯朽。豈得任彼邪魔，瞎其正眼，鼓諸塗毒，滅盡妙心？朕實有不得不言、不忍不言者。近於幾暇，辨味淄澠，隨意所如，閱從上古錘語錄中，擇提持向上，直指真宗者，並擷其至言，手為刪輯。

……

至於淨土法門，雖與禪宗似無交涉，但念佛何礙參禪？果其深達性海之禪人，淨業正可以兼修，於焉隨喜真如，圓證妙果。雲棲蓮池大師，梵行清淨，乃曾參悟有得者。閱其《雲棲法彙》一書，見論雖未乃數善知識之洞徹，然非不具正知正見。……別為一卷，以附於後。兼此淨土一門，使未了證者，建菩提道場；已了證者，為妙覺果海途路之助。爰為總序，弁於篇端，刊示來今，嘉惠後學。庶幾因指見月，得魚忘筌；破外道之昏蒙，奪小乘之淺弁。朕有厚望焉。

It should not come as a surprise, then, that the majority of Shizong's religious initiatives I have been discussing here took place after 1732, even though it seems not entirely true that he did not deal with Buddhism at all for the first ten years of his reign.⁹⁴ What Shizong might refer to was that he did not indulge in his personal

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 7a–10b.

⁹⁴ Feng, *Yongzheng zhuan*, p. 454; Barend J. ter Haar, “Yongzheng and His Buddhist Abbots,” in *The People and the Dao: New Studies in Chinese Religions in Honour of Daniel L. Overmyer*, ed. Philip Clart and Paul Crowe (Sankt Augustin, Germany: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2009), pp. 458–70; Xiangyun Wang, “The Qing Court's Tibet Connection: Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (June 2000), pp. 125–63.

interest toward Chan and that whenever he had to deal with Buddhism he did so as the emperor of the Qing dynasty.

This preface again shows the separation, in Shizong's paradigm, between Confucianism, linked to his role as emperor, and the other two religions. The important position that Zhang Boduan has in this religious paradigm is repeatedly stated in the *Yuxuan yulu*. The poems attributed to the Perfected Ziyang form the content of *juan 8* of the *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊 edition. The imperial preface to this part starts by addressing the double nature of Zhang Boduan's teachings:

The Perfected Ziyang wrote the *Wuzhen pian* to clarify the essentials of the Mysterious Doctrine [i.e., Daoism]. Thereafter he wrote thirty-two eulogies, each one expressing from the mind the subtle instructions of the Superior Vehicle that came from the West [i.e., Buddhism]. He wrote: "These represent the Ultimate Way of non-action and subtle awakening" and titled them "Exoteric Collection."⁹⁵ Having called [them] "exoteric," did the Perfected regard the Mysterious Doctrine as esoteric and the Ancestral Doctrine [i.e., Buddhism] as exoteric? If so, the Perfected should have focused exclusively on the Mysterious Doctrine; why would he have needed to further discuss the Ancestral Doctrine? Moreover, why would he call the latter the "Supreme [Vehicle]"? Isn't it because [he] considered [the Ancestral Doctrine] as transcending the Three Realms, where perfection cannot have its place, that he then treated it as external to the *Wuzhen pian*?⁹⁶

紫陽真人作《悟真篇》，以明玄門祕要，復作頌偈等三十二篇，一一從性地演出西來最上一乘之妙旨。自敘云：「此無為妙覺之至道也。」標為〈外集〉。夫外之云者，真人豈以玄門為內，而以宗門為外哉？審如是，真人止應專事玄教，又何必旁及於宗說？且又何謂此為最上？豈非以其超乎三界，真亦不立，故為《悟真》之外也歟？

This argument is very similar to the one expressed in the edict for the canonization of the "Exoteric Collection": in both documents, Shizong strove to demonstrate that the "Collection" is a legitimate part of the *Wuzhen pian* and fundamental for the author's doctrine by relying on logical arguments, based on what Zhang Boduan himself wrote. The emperor in fact appears to suggest that the "Exoteric Collection"

⁹⁵ This quote is inspired by *Wuzhen pian* (*Wuzhen pian zhushu*, DZ 141), "Houxu," p. 3a, where it is rendered slightly differently: "the songs and eulogies at the end of the *Wuzhen pian* discusses the methods for seeing the [Buddha] nature. These are called the Way of non-action and subtle awakening" 篇末歌頌談見性之法，即上之所謂無為妙覺之道。

⁹⁶ *Yuxuan yulu*, *juan 8*, pp. 1a–b.

was the most important part of the Daoist's teachings, without which he would not have been able to achieve enlightenment and "overcome the Three Realms." In this way, the "subtle teachings of the superior vehicle coming from the West," by virtue of their loftier aim, were elevated by Shizong to the highest level. It follows that the "Exoteric Collection," the section of the *Wuzhen pian* that could have been interpreted as secondary to Zhang Boduan's instructions on longevity, became the most important one in the emperor's paradigm. This is again remarked in the following lines of the preface, which discuss the difference in purpose between Daoist and Buddhist methods of self-cultivation by quoting Zhang Boduan's postface to the *Wuzhen pian*, with the result of relegating the Daoist practice of lifespan extension to a secondary category. The emperor argued:

After having reunited the Three Realms in one body, he understood that he could use the Golden Elixir as words beyond rational comprehension. Suddenly he cast away his body and traversed the Great Void. Relieved of the body, independent, and at ease anywhere, what a magnificent immortal he is! A truly supreme man!⁹⁷

會三界於一身之後，能以金丹作無義味語用。忽地翻身一擲，抹過太虛，脫體無依，隨處自在。仙俊哉！大丈夫也。

Therefore, Shizong cherished the liberation from one's own body over the realization of bodily immortality, picturing Buddhism as the summit of Zhang Boduan's practice and did not concede that it was Buddhism to be assimilated within a Daoist framework. This perspective is again stressed in the conclusion of the preface:

I published [these teachings] to show to future students of the Mysterious Gate that there is a real doctrine. Those who study Chan teachings know that only this is true and that the others are not real.⁹⁸

刊示來今，使學元門者知有真宗，學宗門者知「惟此一事實，餘二即非真」焉。

Finally, another text from the *Yuxuan yulu* can complete the description of the doctrinal tenets supporting Shizong's patronage of Buddhism and justifying his sponsorship of the Tongbai Palace. The appendix to the *Yuxuan yulu* is dedicated to

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 2b. Compare to *Wuzhen pian* (Xiuzhen shishu ed.), *juan* 30, p. 14b: 其如篇末歌頌談見性之法，即上之所謂無上至真妙覺之道也。

⁹⁸ *Yuxuan yulu*, *juan* 8, p. 3b. See also *Zhonghua Dazangjing* (*Hanwen bufen*) 中華大藏經 (漢文部分) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984–1996), *juan* 81, pp. 551a–b. In the version included in the *Zhonghua Dazangjing*, the part dedicated to Zhang Boduan is in *juan* 10; the two versions of the *Yuxuan yulu* contain some differences that deserve a thorough analysis.

the writings of the Buddhist Assembly. Shizong wrote a preface also to this section, dated the ninth month of YZ 11 (1733), explaining the development of this initiative from his perspective:

Since the last *la* ritual, I have been reading texts of the [Chan] tradition and collecting recorded sayings [written] by ancient Buddhist masters.⁹⁹ At the same time, I have discussed them with the high officials at court during the spare time [left by] my daily duties. In less than half a year, from springtime to summertime, eight among them [proved to have] a thorough understanding [of these texts]. The Chan practitioners from the ancient times until today rest leisurely among clouds and forests, stop by springs and cliffs and wander everywhere participating in rituals. Those who discussed emptiness and conversed about subtleness are as many as the grains of sesame and millet in the fields, but those who achieved the awakening of their heart-mind are as rare and precious as a phoenix's feather or a unicorn horn. In only half a year, these great officials have listened to my advice and many at the same time reached a thorough understanding: how could this not be a great success of the Dharma Assembly? After the recorded sayings [in the main part of this book] had been selected and engraved, I have read the works submitted by the officials and chosen the most appropriate, compiling them into a collection that was added as a supplement, called "Contemporary Dharma Assembly." . . . Every day I have numerous affairs of the state [to take care of] and all the officials unrelentingly [bear the responsibilities of] their position day and night, [because] all we do is to achieve the peace of the world. . . . I occupy the seat of the emperor and act as an emperor; what use would it be to me to have the reputation of thoroughly understanding the doctrine of Chan? These officials, instead, all have a profound knowledge, and they are just, devoted, and upright: they act according to their words and have never deceived [me]. How could [they] want to appease me by flattering like petty men? Could I silently transmit [Chan] to smear the doctrine of the life of wisdom? Honestly, if someone can directly understand the root of the nature of the mind, then he can benefit himself and the others greatly and comprehensively. I am sincere [in saying] this and surely [these are not] meaningless [words and indeed] true. The words in these scrolls are like "a lion even as young as three can roar loudly," and can enlighten people, expand their belief, and spread the light of orthodoxy. The [teachings] chosen [to be] transmitted could somewhat restore the Chan teachings. There are also [the works] of six [other] men that have

⁹⁹ The *la* rituals were sacrifices performed thrice a year.

been included [in this collection]; these men are Buddhist monks and a Daoist who have been initiated.¹⁰⁰

朕自去臘閱宗乘之書，因選輯從上古德語錄，聽政餘閒，嘗與在內廷之王大臣等言之。自春入夏，未及半載，而王大臣之能徹底洞明者，遂得八人。夫古今禪侶，或息影雲林，棲遲泉石；或諸方行腳，到處參堂。乃談空說妙者，似粟如麻，而了悟自心者，鳳毛麟角。今王大臣於半載之間，略經朕之提示，遂得如許人一時大徹，豈非法會盛事？選刻語錄既竣，因取王大臣所著述，曾進呈朕覽者，擇其合作，編為一集，錫名〈當今法會〉，附刊於後。……朕一日二日萬幾，諸臣朝夕不懈於位，莫非平治天下之為。……朕居帝王之位，行帝王之事，於通曉宗乘之虛名何有？況此數大臣皆學問淵溥公忠方正之君子，一言一行，從無欺妄，又豈肯假此迎合，為諂諛小人之事？朕又豈肯默傳口授，作塗污慧命之端？誠以人果於心性之地，直透根源，則其為利益自他，至大而至普。朕之惓惓於此，固非無謂而然也。卷中言句，所為「師子祇三歲，便能大哮吼」，可以啟人弘信，廣布正燈。是選之傳，或於宗風不無小補。至在內焚修之沙門羽士，亦有同時證入者六人。

Even though the *Yuxuan yulu* might be a product of Shizong's personal commitment to Chan Buddhism, it should not come as a surprise that it was also a tool for the preservation and the spread of orthodoxy. In the Chinese imperial setting, religious and political authority did not belong to two distinct systems. Moreover, as it has always been clear to the ruling dynasties (and parties) throughout Chinese history, religion could represent a danger for the status quo if left unbridled. Consequently, the emperor's religious activities were bound to have a public and political significance. The *Yuxuan yulu* aptly summarizes Shizong's efforts to patronize the Chan tradition. In so doing, he involved the top political and religious representatives linked to the court and created a religious paradigm in which Chan and Pure Land schools were integrated and Daoism entered the discourse through the Buddhist part of Zhang Boduan's teachings.

This series of religious endeavours had all a single origin, but they differentiated into two parallel enterprises: on the one side, the emperor promoted Buddhist activities at court; on the other, he sponsored the edification of temples far away from the capital but closely linked to his idea of doctrinal orthodoxy as established and promoted by his courtly religious initiatives. One of the direct consequences was the sponsorship of the restoration of the Tongbai Palace and the Guoqing Temple in Tiantai. In this way, we have come full circle in establishing the mutual relations between Tongbai Palace–Zhang Boduan–Chan Buddhism as part of a unique project.

¹⁰⁰ *Yuxuan yulu*, juan 19, pp. 1a–3b.

V. Assessment of the Interpretative Framework

I would like to finally assess the significance of employing the doctrine of the Three Teachings in the study of the patronage of the Tongbai Palace. What stated above demonstrates that the Yongzheng emperor's interest in the temples of Taizhou was closely linked to his personal religious discourse, whose core doctrine was founded on Chan. The coexistence of Buddhism and Daoism in this paradigm and the emperor's frequent support of the radical unity of the Three Teachings, together with his overall centralizing political tendencies, has led some scholars to employ the doctrine of the Three Teachings as an interpretative key to explaining the emperor's interest in Zhang Boduan and the restoration of the Tongbai Palace. For example, Wang Ka wrote: "The Yongzheng emperor's interest toward Zhang Boduan originated from his sincere love for Buddhism and study of Chan, as well as his belief in the common origin of the Three Teachings and the unification of Chan and Daoism."¹⁰¹ I agree that the emperor opposed the idea of the irreconcilable separation of the three religions, which might have been justified both by the coeval cultural trends and by political convenience; his discourse was, on the whole, marked by mature semantics, characteristic of the doctrinal crossover of the three religious institutions during the late Chinese empire. Yet, I think that in the case under study, as in the analysis of any specific case, relying on the doctrine of the Three Teachings without a proper assessment risks reifying the dialectic strategies and the religious paradigm expressed by the emperor into a rigid discourse not fully representative of the nuanced reality as seen from the facts. In this way, an interpretative key risks becoming a handy passepartout with little analytical significance.

Shizong clearly used and promoted a discourse of unity among religions in his edicts and in other texts, including his Buddhist works and private initiatives. Nonetheless, based on the analysis above, it is arguable that each one of the Three Teachings did not and could not occupy the same position in this system. In his study of the discourse on the Three Teachings, Joachim Gentz concluded: "in all cases that I reviewed, the structure of the diversity was sequential and hierarchic. Even in the cases where two teachings appear to be elucidating or complementing each other, one is regarded as superior in some important aspect."¹⁰² This, along with the dominant position of Confucianism as the legitimation of the state, which is evident also in Shizong's texts quoted in the article, was nothing new. Already in the *Yuan-dao bian* 元道辯 by Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) it is written: "Govern

¹⁰¹ Wang Ka, "Yongzheng huangdi yu Ziyang zhenren (shang)," p. 22: 雍正帝對張伯端的興趣，源於其對佛教禪學的篤好，以及他所持三教同源、禪道一體的主張。

¹⁰² Gentz, "Religious Diversity in Three Teachings Discourse," p. 133.

the heart with Buddhism, govern the body with Daoism, and govern the world with Confucianism” 以佛治心，以道治身，以儒治世。¹⁰³

In the preface to the section of the *Yuxuan yulu* dedicated to the Dharma Assembly the high-ranking officials are introduced at the beginning as “high officials of the emperor” 王大臣, while religious specialists of Buddhism and Daoism are grouped together at the end. The clear textual and visual separation between Confucianism on the one side and Buddhism and Daoism on the other is a peculiarity of many of the emperor’s documents, such as the “Stele of the Chongdao Abbey,” which, I think, cannot be disregarded as merely unintended or stylistic. It precisely indicates that in Shizong’s discourse Confucianism, as the foundation of the imperial legitimation, was de facto separated from the other two teachings. Again, the “General Preface” to the *Yuxuan yulu* contains a similar concept: “If I want the people to lead a peaceful life, I can only follow the path of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius.” The same hierarchical system is evident in the sequence of the participants to the Dharma Assembly presented above and based on the order by which their respective contributions are arranged in the appendix to the *Yuxuan yulu*.¹⁰⁴ It follows a clear order, starting from the members of the imperial family and moving through groups of officials, “Chan masters,” the Daoist specialist, and ending with other eminent Buddhist abbots.

Other imperial texts not only support the discourse on the Three Teachings and in doing so implicitly set the qualitative difference between them, but also suggest the predominance of Shizong’s Buddhist background over Daoism. An undated edict titled “Instructions [to Exhort] Local Officials to Pay Special Care for the Sustenance of the Self-Cultivation Practitioners and Monks [According to the Doctrine of] the Common Origin of the Three Teachings: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism” (“Instructions to Exhort Officials”) 諭儒佛道三教同源地方大臣當加意護持出家修行之人 begins as follows:

I think that the principle of each one of the Three Teachings that enlighten the people of the realm comes from the same origin: their ways run parallel and are not in contradiction. Human beings cannot understand the whole clearly, so each one has a different heart and each heart has a different perspective. Those who worship the Way say that the Buddha is not as worthy [of praise] as the Dao, while those who favour the Buddha say that the Way is not as great as the Buddha. Confucians censor both [teachings] as heterodox. They hold selfish motives, dispute to gain victory, but are almost the same.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ *Sanjiao pingxin lun* 三教平心論, in *Zhonghua Dazangjing*, juan 1, p. 1b.

¹⁰⁴ See pp. 93–94.

¹⁰⁵ *Yongzheng chao Hanwen yuzhi huibian*, vol. 3, no. 461.

朕惟三教之覺民於海內也，理同出於一原，道並行而不悖。人惟不能豁然貫通，於是人各異心，心各異見。慕道者謂佛不如道之尊，向佛者謂道不如佛之大，而儒者又兼關二氏，以為異端。懷挾私心，紛爭角勝而不相下。

Both the title and the incipit of the edict seem to support the idea of the fundamental unity of the Three Teachings, abiding to the principle of mutual non-contradiction, but the document itself demonstrates the complexity of their mutual relationship. The purpose of the edict was to defend Buddhism and Daoism from the attacks of local officials who “in the last years asked [me] to prohibit the practice of private tonsure, [of] those who asked [me] to turn the Buddhist and Daoist temples into [Confucian] academies,” and of those “who, without reason, drove Buddhist monks out of their temples and destroyed [them],” or even “who asked [me] to [forcefully] marry Buddhist monks and nuns, in order to increase the population.” Shizong concluded: “these [officials] are contrary to reason, talk nonsense, and mislead the country.”¹⁰⁶

The incipit presents the same binary structure discussed above (“Confucians censor both [teachings] as heterodox”). Apart from the previously mentioned quotation from the *Yuandao bian*,¹⁰⁷ the core of the text contains eight quotations by “men from the past” 古人 that the emperor used to support his argument in favour of the equal dignity of the Three Teachings. These were taken from the *Bianzheng lun* by Falin 法琳 (572–640), the *Xinjin wenji* 鐔津文集 by Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072), the *Hufa lun* 護法論 by Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121), and the *Sanjiao pingxin lun* 三教平心論 by Liu Mi 劉謐 (twelfth/thirteenth century), many of whom have a Buddhist background.

Falin was a Buddhist monk who also wrote the *Poxie lun* 破邪論 (Tractate on destroying heresy), accusing Daoism of heresy and of being an “illegitimate offshoot of Buddhism.”¹⁰⁸ Similarly, the *Hufa lun* was written to defend Buddhism against its critics. Zhang Shangying was a high court official under Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125) and an interesting character, because he also authored some texts included

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.: 數年來，有請嚴禁私自剃度者，有請將寺觀改為書院者，有縣令無故毀廟逐僧者，甚至有請僧尼悉行配合夫婦、可廣增人丁者。悖理妄言，惑亂國是。

¹⁰⁷ See pp. 100–101.

¹⁰⁸ Shi Zhiru, “Contextualizing Buddhist Approaches to Religious Diversity,” in Schmidt-Leukel and Gentz, eds., *Religious Diversity in Chinese Thought*, pp. 87–88. Falin composed these two essays as part of the debates between Daoists and Buddhists during Tang Emperor Gaozong’s reign, in 620. For a study on the debates between the fourth and the seventh centuries, see Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Dao: Debates among Buddhists and Daoists in Medieval China* (Magdalena, NM: Three Pines Press, 2008), pp. 3–45.

in the *Daoist Canon*.¹⁰⁹ In this text, Zhang Shangying, according to Miriam Levering, “made no attempt to conciliatory toward Confucian opponents” and supported the idea that the Three Teachings were all necessary for the benefit of the state, but was convinced “that one could only attain Confucian virtues needed for good government through Buddhist precepts and meditative practice.”¹¹⁰

Finally, the *Sanjiao pingxin lun* seems to have been a major source of inspiration for Shizong, who drew four of the eight quotations from it. The last two, in particular, mention Buddhism to defend it from criticism: “The Buddha established his teachings to cause the people to reject appearance and approach truth, refuse deviousness and return to goodness, leave forceful action and achieve peaceful action, leave self-interest and begin to benefit others. This is what common people rely on and return to and nothing else can compare to it [i.e., the teachings of the Buddha]. . . . [Some] people say that Śākyamuni was only interested in reaching what is above without studying what is below,¹¹¹ but they do not consider the six perfections of Śākyamuni, starting from meditation and ending with Nirvana. Is this not the teaching of studying what is below to reach what is above?”¹¹²

The emperor also used a metaphor from the very same *Sanjiao pingxin lun* in an edict of 1733, now included in the *Yuxuan yulu* and at the beginning of the *Jianmo bianyi lu*. The main objective of the *Jianmo bianyi lu* was to settle a century-old dispute between two Chan masters, Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1566–1642) and his dharma heir Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573–1635).¹¹³ The metaphor in the edict deals with the doctrine of the Three Teachings:

¹⁰⁹ These are: *Sancai dingwei tu* 三才定位圖 (DZ 155), *Jinlu zhai toujian yi* 金籙齋投簡儀 (DZ 498), and *Jinlu zhai sandong zanyong yi* 金籙齋三洞讚詠儀 (DZ 310), probably compiled under imperial order. See also Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 875–76, 995, and 1039.

¹¹⁰ Miriam Levering, “Dahui Zonggao and Zhang Shangying: The Importance of a Scholar in the Education of a Song Chan Master,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 30 (2000), pp. 128–29.

¹¹¹ This sentence contains the answer to a critique that was clearly proposed by Confucians. In the *Lunyu*, in fact, Confucius stated: “I do not complain against Heaven, nor do I blame Man. In my studies, I start from below and get through to what is up above” 不怨天，不尤人，下學而上達。See Lau, *Confucius: The Analects*, pp. 142–43.

¹¹² *Yongzheng chao Hanwen yuzhi huibian*, vol. 3, no. 461: 佛教之設，使人棄華而就實，背偏而歸善。由力行而造於安行，由自利而至於利彼。其為生民之所依歸者，無以加矣。……人謂釋氏惟務上達而無下學，不思釋氏之六波羅蜜，由禪定而到彼，豈非下學上達之旨乎？ These sentences are very similar to those found respectively in *Sanjiao pingxin lun*, *juan 1*, p. 2a and *juan 2*, pp. 17b–18a.

¹¹³ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 163–83.

[In the past] the metaphors of Sun, Moon, and the stars have been used to represent the Three Teachings, saying that one is the Sun, another the Moon, the third one the stars, but I think that there is no need to use such a limited perspective. Just as the three celestial bodies come from the same light source, the Three Teachings have different functions, but the same substance. Reading the Perfected Ziyang's "Exoteric Collection," one would not doubt the unity of the instructions of the immortals and of the Buddha. Since their Way is one, then one can even more surely speak in favour of the harmonious progress of the Three Teachings. Therefore, I have added [the "Exoteric Collection" to the *Canon*] so that later generations of men who truly seek to investigate the nature and principle can rid themselves of biases and widen their perspectives. I have really great expectations [for this].¹¹⁴

後世或以日月星比三教，謂某為日，謂某為月，謂某為星。朕意不必如此作拘礙之見，但於日月星之本同一光處，喻三教之異用而同體可也。觀紫陽真人之〈外集〉，自可無疑於仙佛一貫之旨。道既一貫，愈可以無疑於三教並行不悖之說。爰附及於此，使天下後世真實究竟性理之人，屏去畛域，廣大識見。朕實有厚望焉。

The "Instructions to Exhort Officials" and this edict have two features in common: they both develop the theme of the Three Teachings and both are strongly influenced by the emperor's involvement in Buddhism. Even though the Yongzheng emperor referred to the discourse of the Three Teachings in the majority of the documents discussed above, this does not necessarily mean that all his religious initiatives aimed at patronizing it. Especially in the case of the restoration of the Tongbai Palace, it would be problematic to state that it originated from or was aimed at supporting the doctrine of the Three Teachings.

In fact, the texts discussed in the preceding paragraphs mainly dealt with Buddhism and Zhang Boduan and used the Three Teachings discourse as a legitimating framework underpinning Shizong's actions. Whether this was justified by the emperor's self-portrayal as representative of the inseparable three-pronged religious system or by his fear of alienating Confucianism through his patronage of Chan Buddhism is a matter for further study.

Wu Jiang has argued that Shizong strove to construct a new Buddhist orthodoxy by sponsoring religious reforms.¹¹⁵ I can add that in the case of the restoration

¹¹⁴ "Shangyu fulu" 上諭附錄, in *Yuxuan yulu*, *juan* 12, pp. 72b–73a. Quoted also in Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, p. 238. On this document, see also Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 173–75. For a translation of the character 星 as "Pole Star," see Esposito, *Creative Daoism*, p. 238. Wu Jiang in his *Enlightenment in Dispute* simply translates it as "star" (p. 175).

¹¹⁵ Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 173, 181–82.

of the Tongbai Palace, the emperor's starting point and system of reference was neither Daoism nor a bifocal, integrated arrangement that placed the same emphasis on Buddhism and Daoism. On the contrary, the relevant doctrinal framework was remarkably based on Chan Buddhism. According to what has been stated above, the presence of Confucianism in Shizong's discourse is not mirrored by corresponding actions in relation to the Tongbai Palace. In this case study, the Yongzheng emperor's sponsorship did not depend on the realization of an ultimate integration of the Three Teachings, but on the doctrinal affinity between the "Exoteric Collection" and Chan Buddhism.

This clearly does not exhaust the entirety of the emperor's religious policies, whose complexity mirrors that of the Chinese imperial and religious systems themselves; yet it hopefully provides a fresh, comprehensive, and convincing contextualization of Shizong's patronage of the Tongbai Palace as part of a much broader series of initiatives whose driving force was the emperor's commitment to Chan Buddhism.

VI. Conclusion

I have discussed how Shizong's commitment toward Buddhism resulted in two seemingly unrelated series of initiatives that were in reality tightly linked together. On the one hand, he sponsored Buddhist activities at court and the publication of Buddhist texts, ultimately leading to the completion of a new Buddhist Canon. On the other, he patronized the restoration of Daoist temples in Taizhou prefecture, including the Tongbai Palace. Zhang Boduan functioned as the *trait d'union* between these two sets of initiatives, by virtue of his imperially recognized double identity as a Daoist and as a Chan master. Such a reputation was surely justified by the content of the *Wuzhen pian*, but it was the Yongzheng emperor who, relying on his position of highest political and religious leadership of the empire, endorsed the "Perfected Ziyang" as the embodiment of a combined Buddho-Daoist practice and in so doing also elevated the first religion over the other. This did not necessarily and aprioristically have to be part of his "discourse on the Three Teachings" and can easily be explained otherwise, as I tried to do.

In conclusion, considering the imperially sponsored restoration of the Tongbai Palace as merely an act of patronage of Daoism would be a misunderstanding, while defining it as patronage of the doctrine of the Three Teachings would not account for the unique religious paradigm supporting it. This case study also highlights the fact that the emperor's discourse accepted the equivalence (and competition) between Buddhism and Daoism, without necessarily involving Confucianism as a third pole in this system. Even though this study focuses on a very circumscribed chronological setting, which cannot be aprioristically extended to describe Shizong's

imperial religious policies in general, it nonetheless discusses elements that promote the academic understanding of the development of Daoism and its relationship with the Qing government. I must also highlight that the restoration of the Tongbai Palace, along with Shizong's religious discourse supporting it, had a strong impact on the development of Daoism for the rest of the Qing dynasty and until the Republican era, making both of these elements fundamental for the study of later Daoist history.

The Chan Immortal and the Tongbai Palace: How Imperial Patronage and Chan Buddhism Shaped the History of a Daoist Temple at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century

(Abstract)

Jacopo Scarin

Recent scholarship often mentions the lack of imperial patronage in favour of Daoism during the Qing dynasty compared to previous eras. In this context, Shizong's patronage of the Tongbai Palace, the most famous Daoist temple of Tiantai county (Zhejiang), during the second half of his reign is very significant. Since the late Ming dynasty, this temple was in disrepair also due to the local elite families taking possession of its land. Therefore, at the end of the Kangxi era, what remained of the Tongbai Palace was a dilapidated temple known as the Qingfeng Shrine, guarded by a lonely Daoist called Fan Qingyun. Given these premises, Shizong's patronage of the Tongbai Palace is even more remarkable and deserves investigation.

In recent years, scholars have made important contributions to the study of the history of the Tongbai Palace and of Daoism in general during the Qing dynasty. This article analyses Shizong's patronage of the restoration of the Tongbai Palace in relation to the initiatives in favour of Chan Buddhism that he himself organized at court. I have focused on four main issues: (1) Shizong's patronage of the Tongbai Palace and other Daoist temples in the Taizhou prefecture was related to the cult of Zhang Boduan; (2) the emperor's interest in Zhang Boduan was related to his commitment to Chan; (3) the Buddhist activities and editorial enterprises organized at court since 1733, including the new edition of the *Buddhist Canon*, all developed from Shizong's peculiar religious perspective; and (4) the restoration of the Tongbai Palace was not in itself an act of imperial patronage of Daoism, or of the "doctrine of the Three Teachings." Instead, it is rooted in the specific religious and historical setting characterized by Shizong's support of Chan Buddhism and of the "Exoteric Collection" from Zhang Boduan's *Wuzhen pian*.

Keywords: Daoism Tongbai Palace Emperor Yongzheng Zhang Boduan
Buddhism

禪仙紫陽真人與桐柏宮 —— 談十八世紀初的皇室贊助和禪宗對道觀發展的影響力

(提要)

甘雪松

現代道教學者多認為清代皇帝對道教的支持不如前代。然而，雍正十一年帝敕重建浙江省天台縣桐柏宮是具有特殊意義的。從明末到雍正初的這一座宮觀是廢宮，天啟間觀田被當地仕紳佔領。至康熙朝末，桐柏宮只留存一座清聖祠，由道士范青雲看管。故雍正帝對桐柏宮的支持政策是值得研究的課題。

最近幾年，學者為研究桐柏宮的清代歷史及清朝道教的發展提供了珍貴的學術貢獻。本文研究雍正重建桐柏宮的原因，並此跟皇帝同時在朝廷進行有關禪宗活動的關係。本文論點有四：(一) 雍正帝敕建桐柏宮(賜名崇道觀)及另外兩座在台州府的道觀是為了崇拜張伯端；(二) 皇帝崇拜張伯端出於他對佛教的支持；(三) 朝廷組織的佛教活動及佛教經典編輯，包括佛藏的新版本，都基礎於雍正特殊的宗教政策；(四) 重修桐柏宮並不代表皇帝對道教的支持，也不代表他對所謂三教合一的認可，而是有其個人特殊的原因。雍正帝敕建桐柏宮不是為了支持道教，而是反映了他支持佛教尤其是禪宗及張伯端著的《悟真篇·外集》。

當代對清代道教的學術研究將受益於徹底地研究有特殊歷史性意義的道觀，包括清中葉復興的桐柏宮。

關鍵詞： 道教 桐柏宮 雍正帝 張伯端 佛教