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FRANCISCUS VERELLEN

# A Forgotten T'ang Restoration: The Taoist Dispensation after Huang Ch'ao

In the first days of the year 885, the Taoist priest and scholar Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850–933) presented a memorial titled "The Veneration of the Way by [Sovereigns of] Succeeding Ages" ("Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi" 歷代崇道記) to the T'ang emperor Hsi-tsung 僖宗 (r. 873–888).[1] The scene of the presentation was the court-in-exile at Ch'eng-tu (in present-day Szechwan), on the eve of its return to the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an. Four years had passed almost to the day since Hsi-tsung's precipitous flight from Ch'ang-an, amid the chaos and terror of the sack of the metropolis by Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 on January 8, 881.[2] As Hsi-tsung set out to recover the imperial palace, Tu's memorial marked the recent defeat of the Huang Ch'ao rebellion (878–884) and the occupation of the remains of the capital by apparently loyalist forces. And looking to the future, the "Veneration of the Way" affirmed the T'ang dynasty's (618–907) continuing divine mandate to rule: "The Imperial House continues the

THE AUTHOR is indebted to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the Sinologisches Seminar of the University of Heidelberg, where the following study was completed during his six-month tenure as Humboldt Fellow in 1991–1992.

1 *Cheng-t'ung tao-tsang* 正統道藏 (1445; rpt. Shanghai, 1923–1926; hereafter, *TT*) fasc. 329, no. 593 (below, this numbering of works in *TT* follows that of Kristofer Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang* [Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1972]); and Tung Kao 董誥 et al., comps., [*Ch'in-ting*] *Ch'üan T'ang wen* [欽定]全唐文 (pref.1814; Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987; hereafter, *CTW*), *ch.* 933. The longer title *Li-tai ti-wang* 帝王 *ch'ung-tao chi* is recorded in the Sung catalogue *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 崇文總目 (1042) by Wang Yao-ch'en 王堯臣 et al. See the abridged version of 1144 in *Wen-yüan ko Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (Taipei rpt., vol. 674) 10, p. 9a.

2 On the government-in-exile (881–885), see F. Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933): Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* (Paris: Collège de France, 1989), pp. 63–100 (hereafter, *Du Guangting*). On the background of the Huang Ch'ao rebellion, see Howard S. Levy, trans., *Biography of Huang Ch'ao [HTS 225C]* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1955); *P'ing Ch'ao shih-chi k'ao* 平巢事蹟考 (Sung; TSCC edn.); and Fang Chi-liu 方積六, *Huang Ch'ao ch'i-i k'ao* 黃巢起義考 (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o hsüeh, 1983). On the sack of Ch'ang-an, Edward H. Schafer, "The Last Years of Ch'ang-an," *OE* 10 (1963), pp. 133–79.

progeny of the Divine Immortal (Lao-tzu), having received a supernatural token from the Most High confirming the boundlessness of its ten thousand generations. . . ."[3]

For in addition to suffering the loss of military, political, and fiscal control, the emperor in exile had also faced a serious predicament of a religious order. The premise that China was a dynastic realm ruled by divine dispensation was universally shared. The loss of the sacred capital and cosmologically ordained seat of the Son of Heaven, the abandonment of the imperial tombs and consequent discontinuation of ancestral rites, the failure of credible divine protection – all this inevitably called not only the T'ang's ability, but also their right to rule into question. The very notion of an "imperial exile" was incongruous, for Hsi-tsung was either the Son of Heaven or was subject to such indignities as exile – a treatment reserved for criminals and disgraced officials – but not both. Loyalists referred to the emperor's absence from the capital as a "tour of inspection" 巡守 or the "progress to Shu" 幸蜀, the traditional name for the region of modern Szechwan. These expressions evoked, on the contrary, ritual journeys for staking out and taking possession of the realm.[4] Conveying the image of a deliberate, measured action for extending imperial benevolence and chastisement to the outlying regions, the euphemisms diverted attention from the ineffable loss of the center. This solemn fiction went, so far as we can tell, largely unquestioned.[5] Huang Ch'ao meanwhile, like the classical usurper Wang Mang 王莽 (r. 9–23 AD) and others before him, took full advantage of the ambiguity inherent in a system of legitimation that allowed him to adduce military or political success as evidence of divine approval. Having ascended the imperial throne at Ch'ang-an, Huang Ch'ao furnished himself, as best he could, with the formal trappings of a dynastic founder.[6]

[3] The full text of the postscript appears at the end of this article.

[4] On the ritual use of the tour of inspection in early T'ang times, see Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1985), pp. 161–69.

[5] In a rare exception liturgical experts debated about the continuation of the imperial ancestral rites during the exile: following discussion of ancient performance of such rites during an imperial tour of inspection, the speaker wryly observes that "today there is no question of an imperial tour of inspection; we are dealing with the loss of the ancestral temple!" See Liu Hsü 劉昫 et al., comps., *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (945; Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter, *CTS*) 25, p. 962; Wang P'u 王溥, *T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要, (961; Peking: Chung-hua, 1955; hereafter, *THY*) 16, pp. 347–48; *Du Guangting*, p. 88.

[6] See Du *Guangting*, pp. 103–5 (capital), 87–89 (ancestral rites), 80–84 (Huang Ch'ao); and Levy, *Huang Ch'ao*, pp. 29–30.





In reality, however, Huang Ch'ao's reign of terror in Ch'ang-an was as precarious as it was brutal;[7] and the court of the "hidden dragon" in Shu conducted itself less virtuously than its memorialists would have us believe.[8] Against this background of deceptive appearances and expedient equivocation, the court in Shu offered its own interpretations of the experience of exile, placing it in a more nuanced historical context than the simple criterion of military success. The T'ang-the-Victorious (Ch'eng T'ang 成湯) metaphor for the plight of Hsi-tsung, for example (see item 30, below, under October 16, 883), recalled the tradition that even the successful hero-founder of the Shang dynasty (traditionally 1766 BC) had suffered heaven-inflicted trials. In emulating Ch'eng T'ang and magnanimously assuming the blame for the woes of the world, Hsi-tsung could intimate that in fact others were to blame for the loss of the capital and present his personal misfortune as a heroic self-sacrifice for the redemption of his people.

Beyond the inextricable and ultimately perhaps futile question of moral responsibility, the story of the forgotten restoration of the T'ang in its final throes raises broader questions regarding politics and historiography in China. The "Veneration of the Way" frequently refers to Hsi-tsung's practice of reporting supernatural incidents, especially portents of the restoration, to the Office of Historiography (Shih-kuan 史官). Though this practice accorded with a fundamental, archaic, rationale for Chinese historiography, still widely observed under the T'ang, these records were to leave scarcely a trace in the final versions of the T'ang official histories. Admittedly, much of the original historical record for this period was simply lost.[9] But the silence about late T'ang hopes for a restoration also reflects the tenth-and eleventh-century historians' negative judgment, with the benefit of hindsight, of these particular portents' historicity. We may share their skepticism, especially in the light of the memorialists' own political stakes in the restoration. Yet such rejects of official history, in this case recuperated from the Taoist canon, surely convey more authentic expres-

[7] See Schafer, "Ch'ang-an"; *Du Guangting*, pp. 80–84; and Levy, *Huang Ch'ao*, pp. 27–40.

[8] See, e. g., the panegyric on Ch'en Ching-hsüan 陳敬瑄 in the decree dated October 25, 883 (item 30), below. Immediately after Ch'en's assassination in 893, this paragon was denounced as the scoundrel he was to remain to history; Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, *Tzu-chih t'ung-tien* 資治通鑑 (1085; Peking: Ku-chin ch'u-pan she, 1965; hereafter, *TCTC*) 259, p. 8442; and *Du Guangting*, p. 145.

[9] On the loss of the *shih-lu* 實錄 records, in particular, see Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. 1992), pp. 159 (n. 213) and 191–97.

sions of the mentality of an age than later rationalizations. The perceptions and preoccupations of a society about its own unfolding destiny constitute in themselves historical facts worthy of attention, irrespective of their vindication by subsequent events or ratification by the guardians of the official record. Even if the rigorous procedures of official historiography generally achieved a high level of factual objectivity, the ongoing process of selection and revision led by degrees to the elimination of what we would today regard as valuable source materials. Tu's memorial is a case in point: it is contemporary to the central events it describes and the author, an active participant in those events, had access to other contemporary court memorials that he incorporated into his own text.

An incidental point of interest is the restoration of the ancient Black Sheep Market (Ch'ing-yang ssu 青羊肆) in Ch'eng-tu, the site of the T'ang restoration miracle to which Tu referred and a holy place in the Lao-tzu legend (see item 30 below, under October 3, 883). The sacred ground which had, in the words of emperor Hsi-tsung, fallen into the possession of commoners and been profaned by plantations of onions and garlic, was returned to the temple in perpetuity. The Ch'ing-yang kung 青羊宮 Temple, built in 883 and reconstructed down the centuries, was to play an important role in the history of Taoism in Szechwan to this day.[10]

As the government in exile prepared to repossess the capital, Tu's "Veneration of the Way" proclaimed the continuity of the T'ang ruling house as Lao-tzu's "progeny" 苗裔 and, by the same token, the renewed protection afforded to Hsi-tsung and his successors by their "sage ancestor." Taoist rituals sponsored by the T'ang ruling house were essentially ancestral rites and on that account blessed with potent "responses" on behalf of the T'ang.[11] This raises another long-term historical issue, with special implica-

[10] See Yusa Noboru 遊佐昇, "Seito Seiyōkyū Seijōsan oyobi Shisen ni okeru Dōkyō kenkyū no genjō" 成都青羊宮青城山及び四川における道教研究の現狀, *TS* 68 (1986), pp. 86–98. According to *Pao-p'u tzu* 抱朴子, sect. "Tui-su 對俗," the Ch'ing-yang is a mythical creature of fabulous longevity; see Wang Ming 王明, annot., *Pao-p'u tzu nei-p'ien chiao-shih* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) 3, p. 41. It is not clear whether the word *ch'ing* (black, blue, green) refers in any literal sense to its color: a Ming painting from the Pao-ning ssu Temple in Shansi (ca. 1640) depicts the creature as a white sheep; see Wu Lien-ch'eng 吳連城, *Pao-ning ssu Ming-tai shui-lu hua* 寶寧寺明代水陸畫 (Peking: Wen-wu ch'u-pan she, 1985), pl. 126. On the legend concerning the site, see n. 181, below.

[11] See the manifestations in response to the *chai* 齋 liturgy celebrated on behalf of the realm (item 23), and the central miracle announcing the restoration during the ritual held by Hsi-tsung's clansman Li T'e-li (item 30, under October 3, 883).





tions for the period. The conflation of the T'ang ancestral cult with that of Lord Lao reinforced the alliance of Taoist and Confucian elements underlying China's traditional theory of imperial legitimation.[12] The origins of this ideological amalgam in classical antiquity, especially in the traditions of political prophecy associated with the "apocryphal" *ch'an-wei* 讖緯 literature of the mid-Han period and its development up to T'ang times, constitute a recurring theme in the work of Anna Seidel, culminating in her study entitled "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments."[13] Chinese literati have tended to look askance at this subject. Like the traditional reticence of "enlightened" Europe with respect to its "dark" Middle Ages, the disapproval of Chinese intellectuals seems to have been aroused by the streak of primitive beliefs that was perceived to run through legitimation lore, beliefs best relegated to the sphere of "popular" magic and superstition. Meanwhile, however, the sacrality of divinely anointed monarchs and the supernatural powers attributed to kings and regalia have become a major focus of attention among medieval historians in the West.[14] We are indebted to Anna Seidel for having pointed out corresponding features in China's ancient and medieval conceptions of kingship and their religious context.

The central event that Tu Kuang-t'ing heralds in his "Veneration of the Way" is a miracle reported to have taken place fifteen months earlier. It had involved a member of the imperial family and led to the discovery of Lao-tzu's announcement of the imminent pacification of the Huang Ch'ao insurrection. Following a careful description of the miraculous event, the author transcribes a series of congratulatory memorials presented to emperor Hsi-tsung by leading political and military figures in the

[12] First formally laid out in the treatise "Royal Mandates" ("Wang-ming lun" 王命論) by Pan Piao 班彪 (ca. 3–54 AD); *Han shu* 漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962) 100A, pp. 4207–28.

[13] Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in vol. 2 of Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies: In Honour of R.A. Stein*, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 21 (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1983), pp. 291–371. Earlier studies by Seidel include "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and Li Hung," *History of Religions* 9 (1969/1970), pp. 216–47; "Der Kaiser und sein Ratgeber: Lao-tzu und der Taoismus der Han-Zeit," *Saeculum* 29 (1978), pp. 18–50; and "Kokuhō: Note à propos du terme 'trésor national' en Chine et au Japon," *BEFEO* 69 (1981), pp. 229–61. See also the chapter "Taoism and Political Legitimacy" in John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 253–64.

[14] Classic examples are Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges: Etudes sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale*, rev. edn. (Paris: Gallimard, 1983); J. E. Anderson, trans., *The Royal Touch* (New York: Dorset P., 1989); and Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1957).

government-in-exile. Some of these documents were transmitted in the surviving official record; others appear to be preserved only in Tu's memorial. The faith in the miracle professed by the highest in the land lent credence to the events recorded. Moreover, the report of the miracle itself was embedded in an elaborate web of similar portents revealing the bestowal of the heavenly mandate in times of crisis – in particular dynastic foundation or restoration – while historical precedents for successful foundations and restorations confirmed the effectiveness of the Taoist dispensation. This combination of portents and precedents shored up the plausibility of the T'ang's announced return to power and reaffirmed their legitimacy in spite of the Huang Ch'ao debacle.

The "Veneration of the Way" adduces evidence for the Taoist dispensation to rule from the reigns of thirty sovereigns. Fifteen belong to pre-T'ang dynasties, beginning with the Western Chou, and fifteen to the T'ang. Items 1–29 are given below in synopses; the events covering Hsi-tsung's reign are translated in full. The rulers of the T'ang occupy 85 percent of the memorial's twenty folios, and fully 25 percent of the text is devoted to Hsi-tsung's exile. These proportions support the conclusion, confirmed by Tu Kuang-t'ing's postscript, that his main purpose in compiling and presenting the memorial was to bolster the credibility of a post-Huang Ch'ao restoration. The following list of the chief ritual procedures enacted by the various rulers in veneration of the Way will convey the religious and ideological flavor of the work:[15]

1. benefactions by monarchs, which in turn induced manifestations of Lord Lao through the ages, are exemplified by the ordination of Taoist priests and the construction of temples, both in theory imperial prerogatives,[16] and donations of existing royal mansions to serve as temples;[17]

[15] Earlier records of the imperial patronage of Taoism include the set of documents pertaining to the compilation of the T'ang canon, temple foundations, and ordinations engraved in stone in Ch'eng-tu by Wang Hsüan-ho 王懸河 (fl. 683), author of *San-tung chu-nang* 三洞珠囊 (*TT* 780–82, no. 1139); see Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豐, *Dōkyō to bukkyō* 道教と佛教 (Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu shinkōkai, 1959), pp. 256–58. Cf. the T'ang list of ten great benefactions granted by emperors to Buddhism, including the construction of monasteries, the printing of the canon, and the ordination of monks, reproduced in Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, F. Verellen, trans. (New York: Columbia U.P., 1995), p. 31.

[16] See Kristofer M. Schipper, "Le monachisme taoïste," in L. Lanciotti, ed., *Incontro di Religioni in Asia tra il III e il X Secolo d.C.* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1984), p. 212, and *Yung-hsüan ling-pao san-tung feng-tao k'o-chieh ying-shih* 洞玄靈寶三洞奉道科戒營始 (7th c.?), attrib. Chin-ming ch'i-chen 金明七真 (*TT*, fasc. 760–61, no. 1125) 1, pp. 13a–b. See also Chu Fa-man 朱法滿, *Yao-hsiu k'o-i chieh-lü ch'ao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 (ca. 715; *TT*, fasc. 204–7, no. 463) 12, pp. 2b–3a, 14a–17a.

[17] The model for this is found in Buddhist apologetic literature and chronicles. Fa-lin's 法琳 (572–640) *Pien-cheng lun* 辨正論, printed in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Tokyo, 1924–1935; hereafter, *T*), vol. 52, no. 2110, illustrates the development of Buddhism with figures of temple constructions; see *ch.* 3, pp. 503c, 507b; also Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, pp. 4–5. Other models include Fei Ch'ang-fang's 費長房 *Li-tai san-pao chi* 歷代三寶記 (completed in 597; *T*, vol. 49, no. 2034), and later chronicles, notably Chih-p'an 志磐, *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 佛祖統紀 (1269; *T*, vol. 49, no. 2035) and Nien-ch'ang 念常, *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* 佛祖歷代通載 (1341; *T*, vol. 49, no. 2036). On the Indian origins of pious donations of buildings and lands to Buddhist communities, see Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, p. 98.

2. honors and rewards accorded to Taoists;
3. rites performed by or on behalf of the imperial family;
4. commemorative inscriptions;[18]
5. changes of place and era names;
6. proclamations of general amnesties;
7. awards of escalating honorary titles for both Lord Lao and his T'ang imperial descendants;
8. the great Eastern sacrifice (*feng* 封);
9. the enfeoffment of mountain gods.[19]

The related problems of dynastic foundation and restoration constitute the main theme of the work. Tu's material concerning the reigns of Kao-tsu 高祖 and Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 is particularly rich because of the parallels between the foundation and earlier restoration periods of the T'ang with the preoccupations of the author's own times – in Hsüan-tsung's case including the experience of exile to Shu – and also because these two reigns were of special importance for the development of Taoist institutions under the T'ang.[20] The relevance of Taoism to the dynastic process was more than circumstantial, for Taoist communal ritual was centered on foundation rites designed to secure and order sacred space.[21]

It is clear then that the "Veneration of the Way" was written in response to specific historical circumstances and in pursuit of a precise

[18] A telling example, involving a miracle, occurred in the reign of Ching-tsung (item 26, below).

[19] See F. Verellen, "Liturgy and Sovereignty: The Role of Taoist Ritual in the Foundation of the Shu Kingdom (907–925)," *AM* 3d ser. 2.1 (1989), pp. 61–64 (enfeoffment), p. 76 (*feng*).

[20] The history of these institutions has been traced by Timothy Barrett for the T'ang as a whole; see his "Taoism under the T'ang," in *Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part 2*, vol. 3 of Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., forthcoming). The reign of Hsüan-tsung forms the subject of a study by Charles Benn, "Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977).

[21] See Kristofer M. Schipper, "Comment on crée un lieu-saint local – A propos de 'Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne,'" *Etudes chinoises* 4.2 (1985), pp. 41–61, and Verellen, "Liturgy and Sovereignty."

objective: to make known the verdict of Lord Lao regarding the final defeat of the Huang Ch'ao usurpation and the restoration of the T'ang dynasty. To read the work *prima facie* as a history of Taoism or a hagiography of Lao-tzu would be to miss its essential point. Such bearing as the work nevertheless has on Taoist history and hagiography deserves some comment at this point.

As mentioned, three quarters of the text is a preamble to the main event, leading the reader through the reigns of thirty rulers, from king Mu of the Chou to emperor Hsi-tsung. These historical precedents not only supply material for authenticating and interpreting supernatural events, they also demonstrate the unbroken transmission of the heavenly mandate through the ages. Hence the title of the work, with its implication of proven, efficacious results in the political sphere flowing from a tradition of official patronage. A work of this nature touches necessarily on the historical relationship between Taoism and the empire, and the perception of this relationship by the religious and political parties involved.

In consonance with the tradition traced by Anna Seidel that cast Lao-tzu in the role of the spiritual counselor of kings and messianic savior in times of crisis (*kuo-shih* 國師), the "Veneration of the Way" establishes the transmission of the heavenly mandate through Lord Lao's interventions in human history in the form of manifestations or "transformations."[22] In another work, Tu advanced the idea that the child emperor Hsi-tsung himself was an incarnation of Lao-tzu come to save the empire.[23] As a result of this particular approach to human and sacred history, the "Veneration of the Way" simultaneously provides a record of the historical development of the Lao-tzu legend. Indeed many of its episodes are identical to those treated in the conventional genres of Lao-tzu hagiography, a literature to which Tu Kuang-t'ing was himself a prolific contributor. His extensive *Hun-yüan t'u* 混元圖 in ten *chüan*, now lost, seems to have been presented at the beginning of the Ch'eng-tu exile in 881.[24] It was probably not only a major source for the "Veneration of the Way" but also the direct ancestor of the influential compilations *Yu-lung chuan* 猶龍傳 (late-eleventh century) and *Hun-yüan sheng-chi* 混元聖記 (late-twelfth century).[25] These in turn can be considered as forerunners of the illustrated Yüan polemic *Lao-tzu pa-shih-i hua t'u-shuo* 老子八十一化圖說 (thirteenth century).[26]

Some episodes, like the resplendent epiphany under the T'ang emperor Su-tsung 肅宗 and the same emperor's dream revealing the color of Lord Lao's unexpectedly black mustaches (item 23 below), or the ascension of the female adept Hsieh Tzu-jan 謝自然 under the reign of Te-tsung 德宗 (item 25), transcend the arena of political propaganda and take their place in contemporary devotional and miracle literature. As elsewhere in the writings of Tu Kuang-t'ing, the reader is struck on these occasions by the vividly narrated iconography of the visions.[27]

The table, below, schematizes the main elements of Lord Lao's iconography as it emerges from the descriptions of his manifestations in the "Veneration of the Way."

[22] For a survey of the hagiographic literature on this subject, see Kusuyama Haruki 楠山春樹, *Rōshi densetsu no kenkyū* 老子傳說の研究 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1979), pp. 349–72.

[23] See the early-10th-c. *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 道教靈驗記 (*TT*, fasc. 325–26, no. 590) 6, pp.10a–11a; cf. *Du Guangting*, pp. 33–34.

[24] Ibid., p. 209. Chapter 2 of Tu's *Tao-te ching* commentary, *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 道德真經廣聖義 (*TT*, fasc. 440–48, no. 725), presented in 901, is also entirely devoted to the hagiography – and theology – of Lao-tzu. See also the T'ang compilation *T'ai-shang hun-yüan chen-lu* 太上混元真錄 (*TT*, fasc. 604, no. 954).

[25] Chia Shan-hsiang 賈善翔, comp., *Yu-lung chuan* (between 1068 and 1101; *TT*, fasc. 555, no. 774); *Hsieh Shou-hao* 謝守灝, *Hun-yüan sheng-chi* (1191; *TT*, fasc. 551–53, no. 770; hereafter *HYSC*). Virtually all of the material in *HYSC*, e. g., concerning the period after the rebellion of Ch'iu Fu 裘甫 (860), is derived either from Tu Kuang-t'ing's *Li-tao ch'ung-tao chi* (abbreviated A, below) or his *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* (B, below):

*HYSC* 9, pp.15b-16a, from B, *ch.* 7, pp.5a–6b
*HYSC* 9, pp.16a–b, from A, p. 15a; B 1, p. 9a
*HYSC* 9, pp.17a–18a, from A, pp. 16a–b, B 1, pp. 9b, 10a
*HYSC* 9, pp.18a–b, from B 7, pp. 1a–2a
*HYSC* 9, pp.18b-19a, from B 7, p. 8b
*HYSC* 9, pp.19a–b, from A, pp. 15a–b
*HYSC* 9, pp.19b-20b, from A, pp. 17a–18a
*HYSC* 9, pp. 21a–23a, from A, pp. 18a–20a.

[26] Attributed to Shih Chih-ching 史志經 (1202–1275) et al. In fact, nos. 75–80 of the 81 transformations of Lao-tzu are based on episodes in *Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi*. See Florian Reiter, "Die Einundachtzig Bildtexte zu den Inkarnationen und Wirkungen Lao-chün's: Dokumente einer tausend-jährigen Polemik in China," *ZDMG* 136 (1986), pp. 486–88.

[27] Cf. F. Verellen, "'Evidential Miracles in Support of Taoism': The Inversion of a Buddhist Apologetic Tradition in Late T'ang China," *TP* 78 (1992), esp. pp. 256–57.

| ITEM (YEAR) | POSTURE MOUNT | PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION | DRESS | ATTRIBUTES ATTENDANTS | PHENOMENA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 (265) | Standing (?) | 30-ft. tall; white hair | White garment; golden crown | | |
| 16 (618) | Mounted on white horse with vermilion mane | | Ditto | | |
| 16 (618) | Ditto; points whip | | Ditto | Whip | |
| 22 (741) | Mounted on white horse | | | 2 boy attendants | Purple glow |
| (756) | Mounted on white donkey | | | | |
| 23 (757) | Standing; lft. hand suspended rt. holding fan | Figure reaches from ground to heaven | White clothing | Wu-ming fan | Radiance |
| (759) | Seated, leaning on arm rest; then travels through air | Black hair and mustaches | Aura robe; 9-phoenix cap | White whisk; crowd of attendants | |
| 26 (826) | Standing/walking (?) | "Extraordinary" appearance | White robe | | |
| (827) | Standing on white lotus; lft. hand suspended, rt. holding fan; points fan and rises to heaven | | Purple robe; golden cap; golden shoes | Wu-ming fan | Whirlwind; golden radiance |
| 27 (837) | Standing (?) Sitting (?) | Fine hair, eyebrows, etc. | Robe, kerchief, shoes, ornaments | Incense brazier; 2 attendants | Glow; purple emanation |
| 29 (869) | Rises into air from Po-chou Temple | | | | Dark clouds; mist |
| 30 (after 877) | Ditto | | | | Ditto & wind; thunder; hail |





A number of constant features can be isolated: the cap (or crown) and fan are typical of Lao-tzu images of the Six Dynasties and T'ang periods.[28] An alternative attribute, the whisk, is iconologically related to, and visually difficult to distinguish from, the fan in early votive sculptures.[29] It stands for the deity's purifying, apotropaic, and exorcistic powers, which may also be implied in the whip element in the second manifestation under item 16. Common physical attributes of Lao-tzu include his white hair and beard: according to the legend of the sage's miraculous birth, he came into the world as an old man with white hair. White, primordial color of the Undifferentiated Beginning (*hun-yüan* 混元), symbol of purity and spirituality, is also the characteristic color of Lord Lao's mount (horse, donkey, deer) and garments. The figure's luminosity can be regarded as an extension of the same symbolic concept; like his colossal, even cosmic, size and the meteorological phenomena accompanying his manifestations, it also expresses the idea that the sage is coterminous with the universe, as related by the cosmogonic myth that equates the cosmos with Lao-tzu's body.[30]

## "THE VENERATION OF THE WAY BY SOVEREIGNS OF SUCCEEDING AGES"

For convenience, each item in the following synopsis of Tu's memorial has been set off and numbered. The passage concerning Hsi-tsung's reign, item 30, is translated in full. The page numbers in square brackets refer to the *Tao-tsang* edition of "Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi."

*Synopsis: Pre-T'ang Rulers*

1. [1a] King Mu 穆王 (Western Chou; r. 947–928 BC)[31]

[28] See Arthur Pontynen, "The Deification of Laozi in Chinese History and Art," *Oriental Art* 26 (1980), pp. 192–95, and idem, "The Dual Nature of Laozi in Chinese History and Art," ibid., p. 308.

[29] Cf. Jean M. James, "Some Iconographic Problems in Early Daoist-Buddhist Sculptures in China," *Archives of Asian Art* 42 (1989), pp. 72–73.

[30] Concerning the above-mentioned symbols, see Kristofer M. Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, Karen C. Duval, trans. (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1993), pp. 114–19 (Lao-tzu's body), pp. 203–4 (white *hun-yüan*); Anna Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao tseu dans le taoïsme des Han* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969), who mentions the sacrifice of a white horse to seal an oath between Heaven and the emperors of the Han (p. 83, n. 2 – a Vedic influence?); and concerning garments visualized in meditation, ibid., p. 97: the first of the Nine Transformations after the birth of Lao-tzu appears in white, the remaining in other colors.

[31] King Mu was the first of a series of rulers to receive the esoteric instructions of Hsi

King Mu dedicated temples to the Queen Mother [of the West] (Wang Mu 王母) on thirteen sacred mountains (K'un-lun 崑崙, Wang-wu 王屋, Sung 嵩, Hua 華, T'ai 泰, Heng 衡, Heng 恆, Chung-nan 終南, Kuei-chi 會稽, Ch'ing-ch'eng 青城, T'ien-t'ai 天台, Lo-fu 羅浮, and K'ung-t'ung 崆峒) and ordained more than 5,000 Taoists.

2. Ch'in Shih huang-ti 秦始皇帝 (r. 246–10 BC)

The unifier of China summoned masters of arcana (*fang-shih* 方士),[32] devoted himself to the techniques for prolonging life, and sent emissaries to P'eng-lai 蓬萊 in search of the drug of immortality.[33] He had more than 100 temples built and ordained more than 1,700 Taoists.

3. Han Wen-ti 漢文帝 (r. 180–157 BC)

Wen-ti and his empress Tou 竇太后 (d. 135 BC) were devoted to the techniques of Huang-Lao. Wen-ti constructed 72 temples and decreed that only those with a proficiency in the Huang-Lao scriptures were eligible for office. He personally sought out Ho-shang kung 河上公 to inquire the essence of the Way (*tao* 道) and its Virtue (*te* 德) and the principles of government. He ordained more than 1,000 Taoists.[34]

4. Hsiao Wu-ti 孝武帝 (r. 141–87 BC)

A faithful follower of the Tao, [1b] Wu-ti came into the presence of Wang Mu when she descended to his palace.[35] The deity bestowed five

wang mu. See *Mu t'ien-tzu chuan* 穆天子傳 (text discovered in 281 AD; *TT*, fasc. 137, no. 291). On epiphanies of the Queen Mother for the benefit of monarchs, see Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1993), pp. 43–58.

[32] On these "lettrés à techniques" and their place in the intellectual culture of the Han, see Ngo Van Xuyet, *Divination, magie et politique dans la Chine ancienne* (Paris: P.U. de France, 1976), esp. pp. 64–66.

[33] See Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, *Shih-chi* 史記 (ca. 91 BC; Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 28, pp. 1368-70. P'eng-lai, one of the mythical isles of the immortals in the eastern sea, is described in *Shih-chou chi* 十洲記, attrib. Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 (154-93 BC) (*TT*, fasc. 330, no. 598), pp. 10a-b.

[34] On Wen-ti's and the empress Tou's interest in Taoism, see Paul Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui," in *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C. – A.D. 220*, vol. 1 of Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1986), pp. 809–10. The Huang-Lao texts discovered at Ma-wang-tui date from this period. On the legend of Wen-ti's instruction by the seemingly reluctant sage and its moral concerning the relations between temporal and spiritual power, see Alan Chan, *Two Visions of the Way: A Study of the Wang Pi and the Ho-shang Kung Commentaries of the Lao-tzu* (Albany, N.Y.: State U. of New York P., 1991), pp. 89–158.

[35] See *Han Wu-ti nei-chuan* 漢武帝內傳 (4th-6th c.; Shou-shan ko ts'ung-shu edn.), and the





silver images on the emperor saying: "These are true likenesses of the Most High Lord Lao (T'ai-shang Lao-chün 太上老君)."Hsiao Wu-ti ordained several princesses and some 5,000 Taoists and constructed more than 300 temples. The Wan-sui kuan 萬歲觀 had its origin in the emperor's temporary residence on Mount Sung: When he heard the "mountain cry" *wan-sui* – Long Live the Emperor! – while on an imperial progress, he converted the residence into a Taoist temple.[36]

5. Hsiao Hsüan-ti 孝宣帝 (74–49 BC)

In his reign, forty scrolls of Celestial Writings were discovered in a cave in Mount Pao-tu 抱犢 (Shansi) [2a], together with a jade casket and staff. These objects had been buried in the tomb of Wu-ti at the time of his death, yet Wu-ti's tumulus Mao-ling 茂陵 had remained intact.[37] Emperor Hsüan-ti then built two temples for the worship of his predecessor, inside Ch'ang-an and beneath Mao-ling, and ordained 20 Taoist priests to maintain offerings of incense there. Later, in the course of the Red Eyebrows (Ch'ih-mei 赤眉) uprising (18–27 AD),[38] the Mao-ling tumulus was opened by thieves. Inside the tomb they found only a single sword. [2b] When they were about to seize it, this sword suddenly roared and rose into the air.[39]

6. Kuang-wu 光武 (r. 25–57 AD)

After emperor Kuang-wu, the founding ancestor [of the Eastern Han], had subdued [the usurper] Wang Mang (r. 9–23 AD), the empire was secure. Having carried out the *feng* sacrifice in the East, he held requiem offerings (*chui-chien* 追薦) for the Eleven Emperors of the [Han] dynasty.[40] Some

study and translation by Kristofer M. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1965). On the development of the Wu-ti and Hsi-wang-mu legend in Six Dynasties and T'ang literature, see also Li Feng-mao 李豐楙, *Liu-ch'ao Sui T'ang hsien-tao lei hsiao-shuo yen-chiu* 六朝隋唐仙道類小說研究 (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1986), pp. 86–99.

[36] See *Han shu* 6, p. 190, and Schipper, *L'empereur Wou*, p. 129.

[37] Cf. Schipper, *L'empereur Wou*, pp. 129–32. See also Tu Kuang-t'ing's account in *Lu-i chi* 錄異記 (between 921 and 925; *TT*, fasc. 327, no. 591) 1, p. 5a.

[38] See Hans Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty, with Prolegomena on the Historiography of the *Hou Han Shu*," part 2, *BMFEA* 31 (1959), pp. 113–20.

[39] Taoist ritual swords, associated with dragons, roared and flew; see Kristofer Schipper, "Purifier l'autel, tracer les limites, à travers les rituels taoïstes," in Marcel Detienne ed., *Tracés de fondation* (Louvain and Paris: Peeters, 1990), p. 39. The implication is that Wu-ti had undergone "liberation by the sword" (*chien-chieh* 劍解), or resurrected leaving behind the magic sword in the place of his mortal remains. See Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism," *History of Religions* 19 (1979), pp. 60–61.

[40] *Feng* were announcements of the accomplishment of the Mandate of Heaven by the

120 temples were constructed and 1800 Taoists ordained.

7. Ming-ti 明帝 of the Wei (kingdom of the San-kuo period; r. 227–239)

Emperor Ming-ti constructed 13 temples for emperor Wu (that is, Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操; 155–220) and the late empress[41] and ordained 109 Taoists. Again, he decreed that [specialists in] Taoist writings held the same rank as censors (*yü-shih* 御史).

8. Sun Ch'üan 孫權, ruler of Wu (r. 222–252)

Sun built the T'ung-po kuan 桐柏觀 on Mount T'ien-t'ai 天台山 (in Chekiang) and other famous temples. In all, 39 temples were constructed under his reign and 800 priests ordained.

9. Wu-ti 武帝 of the Chin (r. 265–290)

Wu-ti built four great temples in Lo-yang [3a] and more than 200 in the prefectures. At the end of the preceding Wei dynasty (265 AD), a divine being (*shen-jen* 神人) had appeared in Lin-t'ao commandery 臨洮郡, Lung-yu 隴右 (Kansu). He was thirty feet tall and clad in a white garment (*po-i* 白衣). On his open white hair he wore a golden crown (*chin-kuan* 金冠).[42] He announced to a local inhabitant of Hsiang-wu county 襄武縣, where he made his appearance: "Before long, Great Peace (*t'ai-p'ing* 太平) shall manifest itself." Wu-ti then received the succession (*shou-ch'an* 受禪), and the empire was indeed reunited. The emperor ordered the establishment of a Proclamation of Peace Monastery (Kao-p'ing kuan 告平觀) on the site of the apparition: this is the old residence of the Li lineage.[43] Seven Taoist priests were separately ordained [to serve in this temple]. The total number of Taoists ordained amounted to 172. At that time, a stone in the form of a drum (*shih-ku* 石鼓) was retrieved from a collapsed embankment of Lake Lin-p'ing 臨平湖 (in Chekiang). It was presented to the emperor who enquired of Chang Hua 張華 (232–300) the use of the object. Chang replied "Only when struck with a piece of paulownia wood (*t'ung-mu* 桐木) carved into the shape of a whale will [the drum] produce a sound, which will carry a distance of several *li*."[44]

10. Hui-ti 惠帝 (290–307)

At the time of emperor Hui-ti, the stone drum began to sound incessantly at night in the palace.[45] The emperor loathed it and had it sent to the Wan-sui temple on Mount Sung (see no. 4 above). [3b] There it was struck to assemble the [monastic] community. [The practice] originated thus.

11. Tao-wu 道武 of the Later (Northern) Wei (r. 386–409)

Emperor Tao-wu built 50 temples in the area north of the Yellow River; over 600 priests were ordained.

12. T'ai-wu 太武 (Northern Wei, r. 423–452)

T'ai-wu decreed that a total of 275 temples named T'ai-p'ing kuan 太平觀 be established in the realm; 1,300 Taoists were ordained. When the emperor [himself] received an ordination,[46] he changed the era to first year of the True Lord of Great Peace (T'ai-p'ing chen-chün 太平真君, 440). He further ordered that documents submitted from all parts of the empire refer to His Majesty, the August Emperor and True Lord of Great Peace. From then on every emperor received an ordination upon accession.[47]

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emperor; see Edouard Chavannes, *Le T'ai chan: Essai de monographie d'un culte chinois* (Paris: Leroux, 1910), pp. 18–20; and Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司, "Hōzen setsu no keisei" 封禪説の形成, *TS* 6 (1954), pp. 28–57, and 7 (1955), pp. 45–63; see also item 18, below. The rites for the Eleven Ancestors demonstrated continuity with the Former Han. Hsi-tsung in exile took pains to make the equivalent statement with respect to the Huang Ch'ao usurpation. See *Du Guangting*, p. 88 (on the number eleven, cf. ibid., p. 87, n. 7).

[41] Wu-ti was the posthumous title of Ts'ao Ts'ao, father of Wen-ti (Ts'ao P'i 曹丕; r. 220–226), the first emperor of the Wei and in turn father of Ming-ti. "Late empress" (*hsien t'ai-hou* 先太后) refers presumably to the mother of Ming-ti.

[42] These attributes identify the apparition as Lord Lao. Cf. item 16, below, where the identification is made explicit and "authenticated." On the golden cap or crown *chin-kuan*, see also Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," pp. 239–40.

[43] On the genealogy of the house of the T'ang (Li), see Howard J. Wechsler, "The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty," in Twitchett ed., *Cambridge History of China* 3.1, pp. 150–51.

[44] According to the version in Tu, *Lu-i chi* 7, pp. 8a–b, the paulownia had to be from Shu. On Chang, the reputed author of *Po-wu chih* 博物志 and connoisseur of mirabilia, see Anna Straughair, *Chang Hua: A Statesman-poet of the Western Chin Dynasty* (Canberra: Australian National U., 1973).

[45] The significance of the stone drum episode seems to lie in the belief that deserving rulers were marked by the "natural" appearance of extraordinary phenomena or objects (see the stone tortoise in item 16, below): to chronicle such occurrences was the task of the ancient astrologer-historian as well as the medieval "recorder of the abnormal" (*chih-kuai* 志怪), such as Chang Hua. The author here also reveals his professional interest in the history of religious institutions.

[46] See Seidel, "Imperial Treasures," pp. 352–55.

[47] On state Taoism under the T'o-pa Wei, see Richard B. Mather, "K'ou Ch'ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy at the Northern Wei Court, 425–451," in H. Welch and A. Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1979), pp. 103–22; on the institution of reciprocal investiture, see Anna Seidel, "Le Fils du Ciel et le Maître céleste: Note à propos des 'Registres' taoïques," *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 24 (1979),

13. Wu-ti 武帝 of the Later (Northern) Chou (r. 560–578)

Emperor Wu-ti established the T'ung-hsüan (that is, *tao* 道) kuan 通玄觀 in Ch'ang-an for the reception of "feathered guests" (Taoist immortals).[48]

14. Wen huang-ti 文皇帝 (r. 581–604)

The founding ancestor of the Sui dynasty moved the capital to the Lung-shou plain 龍首原 and named it Ta-hsing ch'eng 大興城.[49] He proceeded to build 36 temples in the environs of the capital, calling them Altars of Mystery (*hsüan-t'an* 玄壇); 2,000 priests were ordained.

15. Yang-ti 煬帝 (Sui; r. 604–617)

Emperor Yang-ti moved the capital to Lo-yang. In the capital city and its environs he erected 24 temples; [4a] 1,100 Taoists were ordained.

*Synopsis: T'ang Rulers before Hsi-tsung*

16. Kao-tsu 高祖 (r. 618–626)

At the end of the Sui, in the year Ta-yeh 13 (617), the founding ancestor of the reigning dynasty Kao-tsu encountered the Spirit of Huo-shan 霍山神,[50] who declared that on behalf of the Most High Lord Lao he was to announce to the duke of T'ang 唐公 (that is, Li Yüan's 李淵 title before his accession as the first emperor of the T'ang): "You shall win the empire without fail."

In the first year of Wu-te (618), [an apparition] at Yang-chiao shan 羊角山 (Chin-chou, Shansi) mounted on a white horse with a vermilion mane and wearing a white garment (*su-i* 素衣) and golden crown (*chin-kuan*)

pp. 119–27. Though there is no evidence that every new emperor in fact underwent this ritual, it was carried out by Tu Kuang-t'ing for the ruler of Shu. See *Du Guangting*, pp. 178–80.

[48] This temple served especially in Wu-ti's ambitious politico-religious cum encyclopedic project, see John Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao: Somme taoiste du VIe siècle* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981), pp. 4–21.

[49] See *Sui shu* 隋書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1973) 68, p. 1588, and Arthur F. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty: The Unification of China, A.D. 581–617* (New York: A. Knopf, 1979), pp. 87–88.

[50] See Wen Ta-ya 溫大雅, *Ta T'ang ch'uang-yeh ch'i-chü chu* 大唐創業起居注 (ca. 627; Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1983) 2, pp. 23–24, where the spirit offers assistance to the T'ang forces in the Huo-i 霍邑 campaign (in the Fen river valley, the gateway to Shensi and the capital). See also *CTS* 1, p. 3 and David A. Graff, "The Battle of Huo-i," *AM* 3d ser. 5.1 (1992), pp. 35–55. The episode was later incorporated into *Yu-lung chuan* 5, p. 11a, and *HYSC* 8, p. 3a.





ordered [a local commoner named] Chi Shan-hsing 吉善行 to announce to Kao-tsu: "Today you attain sagehood. The realm will endure and the empire shall be secure."[51] Shan-hsing excused himself: "If I were received in audience by the Son of Heaven, on what evidence could I base myself?" The Most High said: "Go forth, and a stone tortoise will be presented that shall lend you credence!"Shan-hsing reported the matter to the prefect of Chin-chou who led him before the prince of Ch'in 秦王 (that is, Li Shih-min, 李世民, the son of Kao-tsu and the future emperor T'ai-tsung). After Chi Shan-hsing had fully recounted the incident, [Li Shih-min] dispatched the guard commander Tu Ang 杜昂 [4b] together with Shan-hsing to offer a sacrifice on the site of the apparition. The Most High appeared again, just as Shan-hsing had described him. Pointing his whip 鞭 at Ang, he said: "Who are you?" Ang replied: "I am the prince of Ch'in's envoy." The Most High said: "I do not eat nor drink. What is the use of offering a sacrifice?"[52] Tu Ang returned and reported the spirit's renewed apparition. The prince of Ch'in was greatly pleased and ordered Ang to take Shan-hsing to the capital and memorialize the emperor. When they reached the capital, the establishment [of the T'ang] had not yet been consolidated. At that time a stone in the shape of a tortoise 石龜 really was offered up by Shao-chou 邵州 prefecture (in Shansi, not far from the scene of the apparition),[53] which bore the following inscription on its back: "The empire is at peace and your descendants shall prosper. Ten million years! Ten million generations!"[54] Then they went before the emperor and presented their report. Kao-tsu was greatly pleased, conferred on Chi Shan-hsing the (sinecure) rank of *ch'ao-san ta-fu* 朝散大夫, and rewarded him with a hundred bolts of cloth. The emperor further ordered the construction of an ancestral shrine 廟 at Yang-chiao shan.

The Most High appeared again to Shan-hsing and said: "Is the Son of

[51] The emperor was referred to as "sage" 聖. On this episode, see also *THY* 50, p. 865.

[52] One of the terms of the Covenant promulgated by the Newly Appeared Lord Lao in 142 AD. See *San-t'ien nei-chieh ching* 三天內解經 (5th c.; *TT*, fasc. 876, no. 1205) A, pp. 5b–6a. The relevant passage is translated in Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, p. 61.

[53] This follows the reading of Tu, *Lu-i chi* 5, pp. 5b–6a. Yin-chou 印州 in the present text and *CTW* 933, p. 4a, appears to be a graphic error.

[54] This stone in the shape of a tortoise, a curiosity associated with divination, was probably presented to the court as a local tribute offering; see Sarah Allan, *The Shape of the Turtle: Myth, Art, and Cosmos in Early China* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 1991), pp. 103–11; also Edward H. Schafer and Benjamin E. Wallacker, "Local Tribute Offerings of the T'ang Dynasty," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (1957/58), pp. 223–39.

Heaven [5a] pleased?" Shan-hsing answered: "He is well pleased" – "Does he have any doubts?" – "Only that he doesn't know the sage's name and given name." The Most High said: "I am the Divine Immortal Without Superior (Wu-shang shen-hsien 無上神仙). My surname is Li 李, and I am called Lord Lao. That is who I am. I am thus the emperor's ancestor. The *Record of the Historian* contains my biography.[55] In my ancestral temple at Ku-yang county 谷陽縣 in Po-chou 亳州 (in modern Anhwei province)[56] there is a withered juniper tree (*kuei* 檜), which will return to life as a miraculous proof 驗.[57] I have already ordered Tan the duke of Chou 周公旦[58] to lead spirit-troops in aid of the dynasty to defeat Liu Hei-t'a 劉黑闥 (d. 623)."[59] Hei-t'a was indeed suppressed, and the juniper tree returned to life. The ancestral shrine [on Mount Yang-chiao] was transformed into the Felicitous T'ang Temple (Ch'ing T'ang kuan 慶唐觀). To this day a stele with the imperial inscription by the Brilliant Emperor (Ming-huang 明皇, that is, Hsüan-tsung; r. 712–756) and an array of portraits of the sage survive within the temple.[60]

In Wu-te 3 (620) the Taoist master Wang Yüan-chih 王遠知 (d. 635)[61] of Chin-yang 晉陽(Shansi) [5b] was granted the (sinecure) title *ch'ao-san ta-fu*. At the same time he received a gold-threaded cap and an auroral cloud collar 霞帔[62] worked in purple silk for having prophesied that Kao-tsu would receive the mandate.

17. T'ai-tsung 太宗 (r. 626–649)

T'ai-tsung further promoted Wang Yüan-chih conferee of the silver [seal] and blue [ribbon] (*yin-ch'ing kuang-lu ta-fu* 銀青光祿大夫). The practice of bestowing purple vestments on Taoist worthies originated here.[63]

[55] *Shih-chi* 63, pp. 2139–43.

[56] The traditional birthplace of Lao-tzu. The name of Ku-yang hsien was shortly to be changed to Chen-yüan hsien (see item 18, below).

[57] On this concept see Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," pp. 227–28.

[58] Tan was the younger brother of king Wu 武王 (r. 1027–1025 BC) and regent under his successor king Ch'eng 成王 (r. 1025–1005).

[59] Liu was the leader of a rebellion (621–623) against the newly founded T'ang.

[60] See Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, comp., Ch'en Chih-ch'ao 陳智超 and Tseng Ch'ing-ying 曾慶瑛, eds., *Tao-chia chin-shih lüeh* 道家金石略 (Peking: Wen-wu, 1988), pp. 111–14.

[61] See Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, "Ô Enchi den" 王遠知傳, *THGH* (Kyoto) 62 (1990), esp. pp. 87–91.

[62] Embroidered and pearl-studded ceremonial collar; see Li Fang 李昉 et al., comps., *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 (983; Peking: Chung-hua, 1960) 675, p. 5b.

[63] See *Du Guangting*, p. 36, and n. 3.





18. Kao-tsung 高宗 (r. 649–683)

In Lung-shuo 2 (662), Kao-tsung ordered the construction of the Shang-ch'ing kung 上清宮 Temple on Mount Mang 邙山 (the ancient funerary site north of Lo-yang) in order to subdue the demons [there]. In the Cavern of the Immortal (Hsien-tung 仙洞) an ancient stone table was excavated.[64] This was the site of the immortal Po Chung-li 帛仲理.[65] The emperor ordered a *chiao* 醮 offering to be held, and the Most High appeared again. The officers of the court submitted congratulatory memorials and the emperor was most gratified.

At the beginning of the Chien-feng era (666) the emperor held the *feng* sacrifice in the east.[66] After the ceremony he personally called upon the Most High at Po-chou and respectfully offered him the honorary title Emperor of Undifferentiated Beginning (*hun-yüan huang-ti* 混元皇帝).[67] The Holy Mother [of Lao-tzu] was made Primordial Empress (*hsien-t'ien t'ai-hou* 先天太后). Ku-yang county (see item 16, above) was renamed Chen-yüan county 真源縣. For T'ai-tsung and[68] empress Wen-te 文德 (d. 636)[69] he constructed the [6a] Tung-ming Temple 東明觀[70] at the capital. He further decreed that Taoist masters should come under the jurisdiction of the Court of Imperial Clan Affairs (Tsung-cheng ssu 宗正寺) and determined their rank as next to the imperial princes.

19. T'ien-hou 天后 (Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天; r. 684–705)

In the first year of Wen-ming (684), the empress T'ien-hou wanted to install the Wu clan in power.[71] The Most High then appeared to Wu Hsüan-ch'ung 鄔玄崇[72] in Wen-hsiang county 閿鄉縣, Kuo-chou 虢州 (Honan)

[64] This follows *CTW* 933, p. 5a (*an* 案), rather than *TT*'s 按.

[65] I.e., Po Ho 帛和. See Ch'en Kuo-fu 陳國符, *Tao-tsang yüan-liu k'ao* 道藏源流考 (1949; rev. edn., Peking: Chung-hua, 1963), pp. 75–76, 276–77.

[66] See *CTS* 5, p. 90 and *TCTC* 201, p. 6347. Cf. item 6, above.

[67] *CTS* 5, p. 90 gives the title *t'ai-shang hsüan-yüan huang ti* 太上玄元皇帝.

[68] *CTW* 933, p. 5a, gives the variant *chi* 及 for *TT*'s *chiao* 交.

[69] She was the sister of the statesman Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌 (d. 659), consort of T'ai-tsung, and mother of Kao-tsung.

[70] Cf. *THY* 50, p. 869.

[71] Lit. "wished to install the Wu as princes" 欲王諸武. See the account of the enfeoffment controversy in *CTS* 183, pp. 4731–33.

[72] Cf. Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 et al., comps., *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 (1013; Hong Kong: Chung-hua 1960; hereafter, *TFK*) 53, pp. 18b–19a; and *CTW* 218, pp. 7a–8a.

with orders to convey these words to T'ien-hou: "The dynastic family is blessed eternally and enjoys Great Peace. There must not be a usurpation." The empress then desisted. Later, Mount Ch'ing 慶山 surged up to a height of 300 feet in Hsin-feng county 新豐縣 (Shensi). Above it were emanations in the form of five-colored clouds; below a Divine Lake (*shen-ch'ih* 神池) extended over several *ch'ing* 頃.[73] In its midst, white cranes and phoenixes appeared, and, all around, unicorns and lions. These auspicious omens were entered into the *Veritable Records of T'ien-hou* (*T'ien-hou shih-lu* 天后實錄),[74] in order to display their revelation of the restoration of the [T'ang] Dynasty's Earth Virtue (*t'u-te* 土德).[75] She also donated the Feng-t'ien Palace 奉天宮 on the Central Peak (Sung-shan) for requiem offerings (*chui-chien*) to Kao-tsung.

20. Chung-tsung 中宗 (r. 705–710)

[6b] Finally, [Wu Tse-t'ien] transmitted the succession to Chung-tsung. The latter decreed the establishment of temples in all prefectures and commanderies in the empire. His ordination practice was in complete accord with the precedent instituted by earlier dynasties.

21. Jui-tsung 睿宗 (r. 710–712)

Emperor Jui-tsung donated his residences in Lo-yang and T'ai-yüan as temples to offer sacrifices to the Celestial Emperor (T'ien-huang 天皇) and Empress (T'ien-hou 天后).[76]

22. Ming-huang 明皇 (Hsüan-tsung 玄宗; r. 712–756)[77]

[73] One *ch'ing* equaled approximately 14 acres.

[74] This title is not attested. Perhaps the author is referring to *Tse-t'ien Huang-hou shih-lu* 則天皇后實錄; see Twitchett, *Writing of Official History*, pp. 132–34.

[75] This refers to the restoration of Chung-tsung and the Li family in 705, after the interregnum of Wu Tse-t'ien. For the controversy whether her reign constituted a usurpation or a regency, see R. W. L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China* (Bellingham, Wash.: Western Washington, 1978), and Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976). On Tu Kuang-t'ing's inconsistent references to the affair, *Du Guangting*, p. 87, n. 1. David McMullen, "The Real Judge Dee: Ti Jen-chieh and the T'ang Restoration of 705," *AM* 3d ser. 6.1 (1993), pp. 1–81, demonstrates that the reputation of the statesman Ti as a T'ang loyalist also stands in contradiction with his writings and conduct at the time.

[76] Titles adopted by Kao-tsung and the empress Wu in 674; see *TCTC* 202, p. 6372.

[77] For a study of many of the items listed under this reign, see Charles D. Benn, "Religious Aspects of Emperor Hsüan-tsung's Taoist Ideology," in David W. Chappell, ed., *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society* (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii P., 1987), pp. 127–45.





The Brilliant Emperor decreed in the K'ai-yüan period (713–741) that each province was to oversee the construction of a K'ai-yüan temple 開元觀. He also composed a "Eulogy to Undifferentiated Beginning" ("Hun-yüan tsan" 混元讚)[78] and had it carved in stone in his own calligraphy. He further decreed the establishment of True Lord ancestral temples (Chen-chün *miao* 真君廟) on each of the Five Peaks, the foundation of the Great Clarity Temple (T'ai-ch'ing kung 太清宮) in the Superior Capital (Ch'ang-an),[79] the T'ai-wei kung 太微宮 in the Eastern Capital (Lo-yang), and converted various imperial residences into Taoist temples. Each of these was provided with ceremonial vestments, crimson gauze curtains, entwined dragon [banners], and gate halberds, corresponding exactly with the arrangements for imperial palaces.

The emperor further [7a] made a commentary on the *Tao-te ching* 道德經. He personally composed the preface and decreed that every gentry and commoner household in the realm should keep a copy.[80] The Taoist clergy from both districts of Ch'ang-an welcomed the arrival [of the commentary] from the imperial city at the T'ai-ch'ing kung with pennants and streamers and professional musicians: the abundance of incense and flowers offered was unparalleled in ancient or modern times.

The emperor further decreed that Taoist examinations (*tao-chü* 道舉) be instituted, in exact accordance with the Board of Rites (Li-pu 禮部) system.[81] The emperor personally presided over the examination; large numbers attained [the degree].

[78] That is, to Lord Lao. Cf. Ch'en, *Tao-chia chin-shih lüeh*, p. 109, and the "Eulogy to Lord Lao" ("Lao-chün tsan" 老君讚) by Tu Kuang-t'ing, in *CTW* 914, p. 9a.

[79] This became the main Lao-tzu temple and *ipso facto* imperial ancestral shrine in Ch'ang-an. See Ting Huang 丁煌, "T'ang-tai tao-chiao T'ai-ch'ing kung chih-tu k'ao" 唐代道教太清宮制度考 (parts 1, 2), *Li-shih hsüeh-pao* 歷史學報 (Ch'eng-kung ta-hsüeh 成功大學) 6 (1979), pp. 275–314; 7 (1980), pp. 177–220. Some 135 years later it was the main seat of Tu Kuang-t'ing's liturgical activities in the capital. Cf. the postscript to the present memorial and *Du Guangting*, pp. 46–49. For the expression Superior Capital (*shang-ching* 上京) for Ch'ang-an, see *HTS* 37, p. 961.

[80] See the imperial commentary *T'ang Hsüan-tsung yü-chih Tao-te chen-ching shu* 唐玄宗御製道德真經疏 (*TT*, fasc. 356–57, no. 678), and annotations *T'ang Hsüan-tsung yü-chu Tao-te chen-ching* 唐玄宗御注道德真經 (*TT*, fasc. 355, no. 677), promulgated between 735 and 755. In 901 Tu Kuang-t'ing presented a massive subcommentary on these titled *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i*; see *Du Guangting*, pp. 137–38). For the decree of 733, see Ch'en, *Tao-chia chin-shih lüeh*, pp. 116–17.

[81] I.e., on a par with the official civil service examination system. See *TPYK* 53, p. 18a, and Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善真澄, "Kanri tōyō ni okeru Dōkyō to sono igi" 官吏登用における道舉とその意義, *SR* 51 (1968), pp. 795–829.

Excavations in the course of temple constructions and restorations yielded (1) a jade stone (in Shansi) in the shape of a crescent, featuring the image of an immortal pounding drugs. When struck, a clear sound rang out that carried far. The emperor had it suspended in the Hsüan-yüan miao 玄元廟[82] at T'ai-yüan and named it Crescent Chime (*yen-yüeh ch'ing* 偃月磬); (2) a stone with a jade-like lustre (Honan). The sound from striking it carried several *li*. The emperor had it suspended in the courtyard of the Sheng-tsu miao 聖祖廟 ancestral shrine of the T'ai-ch'ing kung; (3) a fish, three feet long [7b], of an iron-like quality with a bluish-purple tint and the lustre of granite (Chekiang). Its engravings had a supernatural air. It was very resonant. No one was able to explain or name it. The emperor called it Auspicious Fish Chime (*jui yü ch'ing* 瑞魚磬) and had it suspended in the T'ai-wei kung (in Lo-yang, see above), to be struck only when reciting scriptures or performing the *chai* 齋 retreat. From then on, all the monasteries vied with each other to copy [the resounding fish] in wood or stone as a means for assembling their communities.

A decree was promulgated to all officials that the chief ministers and provincial military governors, respectively, would supervise [the official temples in the capitals and provinces].[83]

The emperor composed the "Air for Rainbow Skirts and Feather Garments" ("Ni-shang yü-i ch'ü" 霓裳羽衣曲) and the "Eight Trigrams Dance of the Purple Tenuity [Heaven]" ("Tzu-wei pa-kua wu" 紫微八卦舞), to be performed at the T'ai-ch'ing kung.[84]

The emperor carried out the feng sacrifice in the east and obtained the [auspicious] three-sided Mao stalk (*san-chi mao* 三脊茅) from the region between the Chiang (Yangtze) and the Huai rivers.[85] He ordered the construction of a Ling-mao Temple 靈茅觀[86] on the site where the plant

[82] One of a network of Ancestral Temples of the Emperor of Mysterious Origin, Hsüan-yüan huang-ti miao 玄元皇帝廟, dedicated to Lord Lao as ancestor of the T'ang ruling house and instituted by decree in 741. See *TFYK* 53, p.18a.

[83] See *Du Guangting*, p. 48. The example of a T'ai-ch'ing kung commissioner is mentioned below, item 29.

[84] See Ch'en, *Tao-tsang*, p. 298; on Hsüan-tsung's musical and liturgical productions, see also Hsü Tao-hsün 許道勳 and Chao K'o-yao 趙克堯, *T'ang Hsüan-tsung chuan* 唐玄宗傳 (Taipei: T'ai-wan shang-wu, 1992), pp. 490–508, and F. Verellen, "Luo Gongyuan: Culte et légende d'un saint taoïste," *JA* 275 (1987), pp. 295–96 and 327–28.

[85] See *Shih-chi* 28, p.1398, trans. Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris: Leroux, 1895–1905) 3, p. 426: "ils avaient l'herbe dont chaque tige a trois côtes et qui pousse entre le Kiang et le Hoai... ."

[86] See *Shih-chi* 28, p.1361, commentary: "[*san-chi mao*] is also known as *ling-mao*."





had been found. On his return after the ceremonies he called upon the Sage Ancestor (*sheng-tsu* 聖祖) at his principal temple in Po-chou (see items 16 and 18, above). The emperor personally inscribed [8a] the *Tao-te ching* on stone for the carving of a large *ch'uang* 幢 pillar and had an octagonal storied building constructed to cover it. In response to the entreaties of the people, another stone inscription of the scripture was prepared at Wen-hsiang [county, Kuo-chou].[87] The emperor then decreed the appointment of Wu Hsüan-ch'ung (item 19, above) as prefect of Kuo-chou.

On the fifth day of the fourth month of K'ai-yüan (May 7, 729),[88] the governor-general of I-chou 益州 (modern Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan), Chang Ching-chung 張敬忠[89] memorialized that the Great Sage Ancestor and Emperor of Undifferentiated Beginning had made a supernatural appearance in his jurisdiction: an image of the Most High Lord Lao had appeared in a relief carving in the wood of a pillar in the Buddha Hall of the Chin-hsing Nunnery 津興尼寺 in Hsin-chin county 新津縣, Shu-chou 蜀州.[90] Only after painstaking verification of the witnesses' testimonials [8b] did the governor-general venture to submit his report to the throne. On the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month an inner palace official was dispatched to retrieve the sculptured pillar for adoration in the Ta-t'ung Hall 大同殿 (of the Hsing-ch'ing Palace 興慶宮 precinct at Ch'ang-an). All temples and monasteries in Ch'ang-an were ordered to make offerings during seven days. Afterwards the image was brought into the imperial palace. It survives to this day. The miracles [that occurred in that period] were so numerous that it would be difficult to relate them all.

On the seventh of the first month [of K'ai-yüan] (January 28, 741), an administrator in the residence of prince Ch'en 陳王 (the twenty-fifth son of

[87] Both the pillar and the pagoda-type building suggest a Buddhist inspiration for this arrangement. For one of several stone engravings of the scripture around this time, see *TFYK* 53, p. 10b.

[88] All following references of this type refer to lunar months, as used in the traditional Chinese calendar. In this system, an intercalary month refers to the periodic addition of a lunar month to compensate for a 360-day year.

[89] See Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉, *T'ang-shih yü-shen* 唐史餘瀋 (1944; Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1979), pp. 97–98. On Chang's role in the present incident, see Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," p. 252.

[90] For a fuller account of this episode see Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 4, pp. 4a–5b, where the date is given, plausibly in the polemical context of the story, as the 8th of the 4th lunar mo. (the Buddha's birthday). For a discussion of this incident and the Buddho-Taoist controversy surrounding it, see Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," pp. 251–55.

Hsüan-tsung), named T'ien T'ung-hsiu 田同秀,[91] suddenly beheld a purple cloud outside the Tan-feng Gate 丹鳳門 (the main southern gate of the Ta-ming Palace 大明宮, in northeastern Ch'ang-an). Its glow, coming from a northwesterly direction, reflected against the gate tower. Then he saw Hun-yüan riding on a white horse and accompanied by two boy attendants. The boy attendants said (sic) to T'ung-hsiu: "Long ago, when I (i.e., Lao-tzu) was about to enter the desert, I met Yin Hsi 尹喜 and buried a divine talisman (*ling-fu* 靈符) in a chest at his old dwelling by the pass at T'ao-lin 桃林. You should request the emperor to retrieve it." T'ung-hsiu submitted a full memorial [9a] and an inner palace commissioner was dispatched with him to T'ao-lin county in Shan-chou 陝州 (modern Ling-pao 靈寶, Honan; see below). They were looking for the vestiges of the old Han-ku pass 函谷關 when suddenly purple clouds appeared and a white rabbit manifested itself beneath it a withered mulberry tree.[92] There they excavated and found a jade tablet, with delicate seal characters inscribed in vermilion, in a metal chest within a stone casket. The emperor ordered the entry of the writ into the capital through the T'ung-hua Gate 通化門 (the northeastern city gate, situated nearest to the Ta-ming Palace and Tan-feng Gate) in a precious carriage, to the accompaniment of hymns and dances, with drums and flutes, arranged by all categories of professional musicians in the capital. A five-colored radiance illuminated heaven and earth. The emperor stood on the Tan-feng tower in his dragon robes, holding a golden incense brazier in his hands. The ladies from the empress' palace, on top of the tower, vied with one another in burning incense, scattering flowers, and doing reverence [to the writ] from a distance. The emperor had gold coins scattered from the tower, for gentlemen and commoners to partake in the rejoicing. At that moment the sound of the "mountain cry" (see item 4, above) reverberated through the capital. [9b] On the first day of the first month of K'ai-yüan 30 (February 10, 742) the era name was changed to Celestial Treasure (T'ien-pao 天寶)[93] and T'ao-lin county was renamed Ling-pao (that is, Divine Treasure). In the third year (744), because the divine talisman (*ling-fu*) bore the inscription "Celestial Treasure [in pledge

[91] See *CTS* 9, p. 214; *THY* 50, p. 865.

[92] Marking an old sacred site; cf. Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* (1926; Paris: P.U. de France, 1959), p. 448. The purple cloud and white rabbit were auspicious omens; see *CTS* 8, pp.165–66, and Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 et al., comps., *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (1060; Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter, *HTS*) 195, p. 5590, respectively.

[93] Cf. *TFYK* 54, pp. 1a–b.





of] one thousand years (*ch'ien-tsai* 千載)," the word *tsai* was substituted for *nien* 年, "year." A *ling-fu ming* 靈符銘 inscription, composed at the imperial behest, was erected in the place of the discovery. A regular rank of the fifth grade was bestowed on T'ung-hsiu. The chief ministers requested that to the emperor's honorary appellation be added the words *k'ai-yüan t'ien-pao shen-wu* 開元天寶神武.[94] The emperor consented and a general amnesty was proclaimed.

In the intercalary fourth month of that year [741], the emperor dreamt that Hun-yüan said to him:[95] "I have long dwelled to the southwest of the city walls. Now it is time to meet with you at the Hsing-ch'ing [palace]. You should welcome me." The emperor recounted his dream to the chief ministers Li Lin-fu 李林甫 (d. 752) and Niu Hsien-k'o 牛仙客 (d. 742) [10a] and dispatched an inner palace commissioner together with a commissioner for Taoist ritual to conduct a search. After several days, near Lou Temple 樓觀,[96] a purple cloud appeared which emanated a white radiance reaching up to heaven. Digging beneath it, they found a jade statue of Lord Lao which measured more than three feet in height. The emperor reverently welcomed it at Ta-t'ung Hall in the Hsing-ch'ing Palace. He ordered the appropriate officers to draw true likenesses [of the image] and to distribute and send these off to all the Taoist temples and monasteries in the realm. A general amnesty was proclaimed in the empire.[97]

In [T'ien-pao] 5 (746) the emperor dreamt that Hun-yüan announced a supernatural sign to him. Subsequently, a divine talisman in the form of a jade tablet 玉冊 was discovered at T'ai-po shan 太白山 (in Shensi, thirty miles south of Ch'ang-an). The emperor did reverence [10b] to the tablet

[94] At the beginning of K'ai-yüan (713), Hsüan-tsung had adopted the title Shen-wu huang-ti 神武皇帝 (see *CTS* 8, p. 171). According to *CTS* 9, p. 215, it had been expanded to K'ai-yüan t'ien-pao sheng-wen 聖文 shen-wu huang-ti 皇帝 at the beginning of T'ien-pao (742).

[95] This section of the text is misplaced: there was no intercalary 4th mo. in 744, and Niu Hsien-k'o, mentioned below, died in 742. The nearest year with such a leap month, 741, accords with other sources for the incident; see *TFYK* 53, pp. 19a–20b; Wang Ching 王溉, *Ta T'ang chiao-ssu lu* 大唐郊祀錄 (793; Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu edn.) 9, p. 1a; and references cited in Benn, "Religious Aspects," pp. 127–28. Concerning both this and the following incident, see J. J. L. Duyvendak, "The Dreams of Emperor Hsüan-tsung," in *India Antiqua* (Leiden: Brill, 1947), pp. 102–8.

[96] This was an ancient temple and major cult site dedicated to Lao-tzu at Chou-chih 盩厔 (southwest of Ch'ang-an), where the transmission of the *Tao-te ching* to Yin Hsi is said to have taken place.

[97] This is where the sculptured pillar from Chin-hsing Nunnery had been exposed. See above, K'ai-yüan 17, 4th mo., 5th day. Concerning the episode, see also *TCTC* 214, pp. 6843–44; Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 6, pp. 2b–3b; and Duyvendak, "Dreams," p. 105.

and installed it in the palace. The god of T'ai-po shan was enfeoffed as duke Ling-ying 靈應公, and the cavern where the talisman had been obtained was named Chia-hsiang tung 嘉祥洞. An account was entered into the History.[98]

In the twelfth month of that year (746/747), the emperor traveled to the Hua-ch'ing Palace 華清宮.[99] On the fourth day of that month (January 19, 747) before sunrise clouds were seen to gather strangely above Mount Li 驪山. After a moment the clouds scattered and the Holy Ancestor Hun-yüan appeared above the [Taoist temple] Ch'ao-yüan Pavilion 朝元閣.[100] The emperor and his ladies gazed upward in wonder. After a good while [Hun-yüan] disappeared from view. The local mountain god was enfeoffed, and various place names changed to mark the event. The palace issued an illustration [of the apparition] and promulgated it throughout the realm. An announcement was conveyed to the Office of Historiography.[101]

In [T'ien-pao] 8 (749) the emperor obtained the jade statues of the twenty-seven immortals in Lo-ch'uan county 羅川, Ning-chou (Kansu).[102] He ordered their reception into the capital in accordance with the precedent set by the ceremonies held for the Ling-pao treasure [11a] at the beginning of the T'ien-pao reign.[103] The emperor personally composed a eulogy, ordered the construction of the T'ung-sheng Temple 通聖觀 on the site of the discovery, and commissioned the inscription of a stele to be erected there. Both (temple and stele) exist to this day.

In the sixth month of that year [749], Ta-t'ung Hall[104] produced a stem of jade fungus 玉芝. The two temples Chin-hsien 金仙 and Yü-chih

[98] See *CTS* 24, p. 927. The temple's original name had been Chin-hsing tung 金星洞, Chin-hsing (Venus) being another name for Mt. T'ai-po. See Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 6, p. 3a; Tu, *Lu-i chi* 7, pp. 5a–b; and *Du Guangting*, pp. 46–49. On the enfeoffment of mountain gods, see Verellen, "Liturgy and Sovereignty," pp. 61–64; on caves as places of revelation, Verellen, "The Beyond Within: Grotto-heavens (*dongtian*) in Taoist Ritual and Mythology," forthcoming in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8.

[99] Located at Li-shan (modern Lin-t'ung, Shensi). See Chao K'ang-min 趙康民, "T'ang Hua-ch'ing kung tiao-ch'a chi 唐華清宮調查記," *K'ao-ku yü wen-wu* 考古與文物 (1983.1), pp. 32–38, and Edward H. Schafer, "The Development of Bathing Customs in Ancient and Medieval China and the History of the Floriate Clear Palace," *JAOS* 76 (1956), pp. 72–82.

[100] Ibid., p. 75, n. 216. According to the sources cited there, the event took place in 748.

[101] On this institution, see Twitchett, *Writing of Official History*, pp. 13–20.

[102] On these immortals, associated with the 28 lunar mansions, and the dating of the event, see *Du Guangting*, p. 52, and n. 1.

[103] See the T'ien T'ung-hsiu affair of 741/742, above.

[104] See above, K'ai-yüan 17, 4th mo., 5th day; and 744 [read 741], intercalary 4th.





玉芝 were constructed, and the two princesses [of the same names] were ordained as Taoists.[105]

Again, a man from Mount T'ai-po named Li Hun 李渾 reported to the throne an apparition of Hun-yüan who had said that at the Chin-hsing Cavern 金星洞 there was a talisman conferring blessings and longevity upon the emperor in the form of a stone inscription on a jade slab (玉版石記; see the "jade tablet" episode of 746, above). Deputy censor Wang Hung 王紘[106] was ordered to enter the valley and having traveled over 400 *li* found and secured these. The event was proclaimed everywhere as an extraordinary portent.

On the *ping-yin* day of the sixth, intercalary month (July 22, 749), the emperor visited the T'ai-ch'ing Palace (see above). He upgraded the honorary appellations of the Five Sages and had statues made of Chung-ni 仲尼 (Confucius) and the four disciples and placed in attendance in front of Hun-yüan.[107] Furthermore, the ten provinces and major commanderies were ordered to establish [11b] Yü-chih temples (see above). A general amnesty was proclaimed throughout the empire.

In the year [T'ien-pao] 9 (750), a man of Mount T'ai-po named Wang Hsüan-i 王玄翼 reported having seen an apparition of Hun-yüan descended who had said that in the Pao-hsien Cave 寶仙洞 was a "wonderful treasure" 妙寶 true talisman that the emperor should retrieve. The president of the Board of Justice Chang Chün 張均 [筠][108] and the president of the Board of Works Wang Ch'ui 王倕 were ordered to go forth and secure it. Subsequently, the Chen-ling kuan 真靈觀 was erected.

In the first month of [T'ien-pao] 13 (January/February, 754) the emperor visited the T'ai-ch'ing Temple and again upgraded the honorary appellation of Hun-yüan.[109] The Five Sages received additional posthum-

[105] The author here conflates two separate episodes: the princesses were ordained, and their temples built, in 711 under the reign of their father, emperor Jui-tsung. See Charles D. Benn, *The Cavern-Mystery Transmission: A Taoist Ordination Rite of A.D. 711* (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii P., 1991).

[106] See his biography in *CTS* 105, pp. 3228–32.

[107] I.e., Chuang-tzu, Lieh-tzu, Wen-tzu, and Keng-sang tzu: together with Confucius comprising the Five Sages just mentioned. On their placement see Benn, "Religious Aspects," p. 138.

[108] See *CTS* 97, pp. 3057–59.

[109] The title given here is Ta sheng-tsu kao-shang ta-tao chin-ch'üeh hun-yüan t'ien-huang ta-ti 大聖祖高上大道金闕混元天皇大帝. *TFYK* 54, p. 17b, gives a slight variant: Ta sheng-tsu kao-shang ta-tao chin-ch'üeh hsüan玄 -yüan t'ien-huang ta-ti, and the date T'ien-pao 13, 12th mo. Cf. his earlier title under May 7, 729, above.

ous titles, and the emperor expanded his own title (to become K'ai-yüan t'ien-ti ta-pao sheng-wen shen-wu cheng-tao hsiao-te huang-ti 開元天地大寶聖文神武證道孝德皇帝; see his earlier titles under 742–744, above). A general amnesty was proclaimed.

In the year [T'ien-pao] 15 (756), while the emperor proceeded on a tour of inspection in Shu,[110] Hun-yüan appeared by the bank of the Hei River 黑水 in San-ch'üan county 三泉縣, Han-chung commandery 漢中郡 (near the modern city of Han-chung, Szechwan). The emperor reverently paid his respect in person and ordered a true likeness [of the god] carved in stone at the place of the apparition.[111] And again, in I-ch'ang county 益昌縣, Li-chou 利州 (modern Kuang-yüan county), above the mountain range, Hun-yüan [12a] was seen riding past on a white donkey 白衛, a sign that [An] Lu-shan 祿山 would be brought under control.[112] By imperial order, the mountain was enfeoffed as Po-wei Range 白衛嶺.[113] A T'ang Restoration Temple (Hsing T'ang kuan 興唐觀) was established on Mount Sung and a Blessings of T'ang Temple (Fu T'ang kuan 福唐觀) in Ch'eng-tu.

23. Su-tsung 肅宗 (r. 756–762)

On the eighteenth day, third month of Chih-te 2 (April 11, 757), Hun-yüan appeared above Cloud Dragon Cliff (Yun-lung yen 雲龍巖) in T'ung-hua commandery 通化郡 (Mao-chou 茂州, Szechwan).[114] Previously, the inhabitants of the commandery had organized a great *chai* retreat to pray for blessings for the nation.[115] On that day a strange fragrance and vapors suddenly enveloped the scene and would not disperse. At the *ch'en* hour (7–9 a.m.) they gradually lifted. A supernatural radiance illumined the sky. Then the true form of Hun-yüan was seen standing in front of the mountain and reaching from the ground up to heaven. His figure was

[110] A euphemism for Hsüan-tsung's flight from Ch'ang-an to Ch'eng-tu during the An Lu-shan 安祿山 Rebellion (755–757).

[111] For a sequel to this incident during Hsi-tsung's passage through San-ch'üan on his return to the capital in 885, see *Du Guangting*, pp. 99–100.

[112] *Wei* here means "donkey" (*lü* 驢), which, with "mountain" (*shan* 山), resembles the name Lu-shan.

[113] See Chi Yu-kung 計有功, *T'ang shih chi-shih* 唐詩紀事 (1124; Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi, 1987) 10, p. 146.

[114] So named from 742 to 758; see *CTS* 41, pp. 1688–89.

[115] See the liturgies for this kind of ceremony preserved in Tu Kuang-t'ing's *T'ai-shang huang-lu chai i* 太上黃籙齋儀 (prefaces dated 880–901; *TT*, fasc. 270–77, no. 507), *ch.* 19–21.





completely clothed in white. His left hand hung down, his right was holding the fan of Wu-ming 五明之扇.[116] The crowd reverently gazed up at his radiant appearance. Though the mountain was high, it did not reach up to his elbow. After some time [the spectacle] disappeared. A detailed memorial was presented to the throne, whereupon the palace issued an illustration. The emperor had a eulogy and preface composed. As the text is profuse, I don't record it. A detailed compilation was prepared for the historical record that still [12b] proclaims [the affair] to the world.

In Ch'ien-yüan 2 (759), the emperor dreamt one night that two Green Lads (*ch'ing-t'ung* 青童)[117] led him to a great palace to an audience with Hun-yüan. Hun-yüan was robed in an aurora cloud robe and capped with a nine phoenix cap. Seated on a square mat and covered by a jewelled canopy, he leaned on an arm rest[118] and held a white whisk 白拂 in his hand. Crowds of guards, attendants, Perfected, Jade Women, immortals, celestial youths and warriors had formed up around him. Wearing his crimson robe and holding his jade tablet of investiture 圭, the emperor stood in attendance behind Hun-yüan. Traveling by mountain and sea, they covered a great distance. The emperor surreptitiously noted everything. He also saw that Hun-yüan's hair and mustaches were black.[119] Next morning, the emperor issued an order to examine all the holy images throughout the city.[120] And indeed, at the Sage Ancestor Oratory (Sheng-tsu yüan 聖祖院) of the Kuang-t'ien Temple 光天觀 in the Wu-pen Ward 務本坊 (bordering on the southeastern corner of the Imperial City in Ch'ang-an) an image of Lord Lao with black mustaches was discovered. An illustration was presented to the emperor who found it exactly like the vision in his dream.

[116] Attribute of Lao-tzu and the theologically and iconographically assimilated deity Yüan-shih t'ien-tsun 元始天尊; see *Yüan-shih shuo kung-te fa-shih wang-sheng ching* 元始說功德法食往生經 (*TT*, fasc. 32, no. 76), p. 1b. Ts'ui Pao 崔豹 (trad. attrib.; fl. 290–306), *Ku-chin chu* 古今注 (SPTK edn.) A, p. 8b, explains that a Wu-ming fan had been created by the mythical emperor Shun 舜; after Shun succeeded Yao 堯, he used it to identify sages who would assist him in government. Under the Han, the Wu-ming fan served as an emblem of rank.

[117] See Paul W. Kroll, "In the Halls of the Azure Lad," *JAOS* 105 (1985), pp. 75–94. Ch'ing-t'ung are frequently associated with visions and revelations.

[118] This Buddhist iconography suggests representations of Vimalakīrti. The arm rest 几, however, was also a regular feature of Lao-chün representations since the Six Dynasties. See Pontynen, "Deification of Laozi," pp. 193, 195, and idem, "Dual Nature of Laozi," ibid., p. 308.

[119] This discovery contravened the usual depiction of Lao-tzu with snow-white hair and whiskers, based on the legend that, after a gestation of eighty-one years, the sage was born with white hair.

[120] The term *jui-hsiang* 瑞像, "icon," is a loan from Buddhism.

He then issued a portrait of himself to be set it up behind [the image of] Hun-yüan. The matter was proclaimed throughout the empire and all were enjoined to worship.[121]

24. Tai-tsung 代宗 (r. 762–779)

After Tai-tsung had obtained the Eight Treasures (*pa-pao* 八寶)[122] in An-i county 安宜縣, Ch'u-chou 楚州 (Kiangsu), [13a] he changed An-i to Pao-ying 寶應縣 county and ordered the construction of a Pao-ying temple on the site of the discovery. Then he changed the reign designation to first year of Pao-ying (762) and proclaimed a general amnesty.[123]

25. Te-tsung 德宗 (r. 779–805)

In the year Chen-yüan 10 (794), Hun-yüan sent the Metal Mother (Chin Mu 金母, the Queen Mother of the West; see items 1 and 4, above), who secretly descended several times to Mount Chin-ch'üan 金泉山 in Kuo-chou 果州 (Szechwan) where she instructed the female Perfected Hsieh Tzu-jan 謝自然 in the techniques for refining the vital breath (*lien-ch'i* 鍊氣).[124] When she had practiced it to perfection, she ascended in broad daylight on the sixteenth of the tenth month of that year (November 13, 794). After three months she returned and said to the prefect Li Chien 李堅:[125] "In heaven above there is a Jade Hall (Yü-t'ang 玉堂).[126] Lord Lao resides there. On its walls are listed all the names of the immortals.[127] Sometimes a footnote beneath indicates whether [the subject] was active in the mortal world as a ruler or a statesman. The immortals who enter to pay their respect to Lord Lao all make a four-fold obeisance." When Tzu-jan had spoken, she ascended into heaven.

[121] For a more elaborate version of the episode see Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 6, pp. 1b–2b.

[122] I.e., the eight seals of the emperor, regalia and symbols of legitimacy. See *CTS* 43, pp. 1846–47.

[123] According to *CTS* 41, p. 1573, it was Su-tsung who in that year of his succession by Tai-tsung obtained "thirteen dynastic treasures 國寶" at An-i.

[124] See Tu Kuang-t'ing's *Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu* 墉城集仙錄 (between 913 and 933; *TT* fasc. 560–61, no. 783) 1, p. 20b; Yusa Noboru 遊佐昇, "Sha Shizen to Dōkyō Tōdai Dōkyō no ichi kōsatsu" 謝自然と道教唐代道教の一考察, in *Makio Ryōkai Hakase shōju kinen ronshū Chūgoku no shūkyō shisō to kagaku* 牧尾良海博士頌壽記念論集中國の宗教思想と科學 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1984), pp. 539–56. On vital breath, see the chap. "Methods of 'Nourishing the Vital Principle' in the Ancient Taoist Religion," in Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, Frank A. Kierman, trans. (1971; Amherst, Mass.: U. of Massachusetts P., 1981), pp. 474–76.

[125] Cf. the more complete citation of the episode from Tu's, *Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu*, in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記 (987; Peking: Chung-hua, 1961, 1981) 66, pp. 408–13; p. 413 gives Li as the author of the inscription "Chin-ch'üan tao-ch'ang pei" 金泉道場碑, which recorded these events.

[126] Ibid. has "White Jade Hall 白玉堂."

[127] See ibid.: "like the wall inscriptions (*pi-chi* 壁記) in the world of men." On *pi-chi* records, see David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1988), p. 185.

26. Ching-tsung 敬宗 (r. 824–827)

In the first month of Pao-li 2 (February/March 826), the emperor held a sacrifice in the southern suburb.[128] Having made an offering at the T'ai-ch'ing Temple (the main Lao-tzu temple cum imperial ancestral shrine in Ch'ang-an; see item 22, above), the imperial procession was about to [13b] reach Ch'ang-an county (the western half of Ch'ang-an city; the T'ai-ch'ing kung was in Wan-nien county, the eastern half) when the assistant magistrate Cheng Chien 鄭翦 suddenly had a vision of Lord Lao, robed in a white robe. His appearance was out of the ordinary. He said to Chien: "In this road there is a well. You should quickly fill it in, or an unfathomable disaster will occur." Chien looked around in alarm: the ground was already beginning to cave in. With combined strength it was filled up. Meanwhile, Lord Lao had disappeared from sight. When the imperial procession arrived on the scene, a full report was made to the emperor. The assembled officials congratulated him. It was decreed that the vice-president of the Board of War Wei Ch'u-hou 韋處厚 should prepare a stele, and that the court diary recorder Liu Kung-ch'üan 柳公權 should compose the inscription. It was erected beside the filled-in cavity. A notice was communicated to the Office of Historiography.[129]

On the eighteenth day of the twelfth month of that year (January 19, 827), while Liu Kung-ch'üan was inscribing the stele, a gust of wind suddenly rose and whirled around continuously until Hun-yüan appeared [in its midst]. He was wearing a purple robe, a golden crown, and golden shoes. Standing upon a white lotus flower, he was holding a Wu-ming fan (see item 23, above) in his right hand, while his left hand was hanging down. The space around him was filled with a radiant brightness of a golden hue. Kung-ch'üan and the engraver of the inscription gazed upwards. After a

[128] On the relation of this sacrifice in T'ang times to imperial legitimation and ancestral worship, see Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, pp. 107–22.

[129] For this stele, see Ting, "T'ai-ch'ing kung," p. 210.

good while, they fixed the image [14a] by drawing it on the ground with an object. When they had finished, Hun-yüan suddenly pointed into space with his fan, scattering radiance in all directions. Then he rose into heaven and departed. The crowd leaned back and gazed upwards as with increasing distance [the figure] grew smaller and disappeared into the clouds. Subsequently, the incident was reported to the emperor who decreed that an account commemorating it be entered into the stele inscription. He further ordered that in both capitals a Prolongation of T'ang Temple (Yen T'ang kuan 延唐觀) be established.

27. Wen-tsung 文宗 (r. 827–840)

In the fifth month of K'ai-ch'eng 2 (June/July 837), the chief secretary of the Imperial Secretariat Kao Yüan-yü 高元裕 (777–852) was appointed prefect of Lang-chou 閬州 (Szechwan). Eight or nine *li* north of the prefectural government seat, among the precipitous cliffs of a hillside above the Chia-ling River 嘉陵江, he suddenly beheld a supernaturally glowing pattern. As he approached to look more closely, a design representing an image of Lord Lao formed spontaneously on the surface of a rock. His hair and eyebrows, robes, kerchief, shoes, and ornaments, were all depicted in detail. At his side stood a person in a wide robe with large sleeves holding a brazier to offer incense. Behind him stood an attendant, with a pair of hair coils fastened high, in a respectful attitude as though listening to instructions. The drawing and engraving were beyond the reach of human skill. Whenever Yüan-yü prayed [14b] or made an invocation [there], a purple emanation floated upward. Moreover, a supernatural spring gushed forth spontaneously. Prayers, whether offered by lords or commoners, were unfailingly and instantly efficacious. A stone was engraved and a roof built in honor of the auspicious site. Finally, a sketch was made and submitted to the emperor with a request to record [the event] in the History. This was granted by decree.[130]

28. Wu-tsung 武宗 (r. 840–846)

In the first year of Hui-ch'ang (841), the fifteenth of the second

[130] For a fuller version of this incident, see Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 6, pp. 4a–b, which mentions that the region was in drought: the miraculous spring (or pond) provided sweet water in perpetuity. In 885, during the return of the imperial retinue from Ch'eng-tu to Ch'ang-an, Tu Kuang-t'ing was to petition the emperor to construct a temple on the site of the miracle. This too was granted; see *Du Guangting*, p. 99.





month, the birthday of the Great Sagely Ancestor (Lord Lao) was declared the Descent of the Sage Festival (*chiang-sheng chieh* 降聖節) by decree. It was ordered that the two capitals and all prefectures and superior prefectures in the empire conduct *chai* retreats and celebrate rituals, and provide music and offer banquets for a duration of three days. [Even] military schedules and urgent business would be suspended during this period. That became the abiding rule.

29. I-tsung 懿宗 (r. 859–873)

On the tenth of the ninth month of Hsien-t'ung 10 (October 18, 869), the mutinous rebel P'ang Hsün 龐勛 (d. 869) of Hsü-chou led more than 3,000 followers to the T'ai-ch'ing Temple at Po-chou (items 16, 18, and 22, above).[131] On that day more than 300 local people north of the temple saw Lord Lao rise into the air from within the temple and [head] south. Presently, a black mist rose from the river to the south. The rebels lost their bearings and slaughtered each other. P'ang Hsün drowned in the river [15a] and perished. The rebellion was then stamped out. The military governor of Pien-chou 汴州 (K'ai-feng)[132] and T'ai-ch'ing kung commissioner (item 22) Li Yü 李蔚 (d. 879) submitted a full report of the incident to the throne. The decree [in response] stated:

> Our Dynasty has constantly upheld Hun-yüan and exemplified and abided by Pure Quiescence (*ch'ing-ching* 清淨). The old village of Hu-hsien 苦縣 is the ancient home of the Sage Ancestor. Its temple buildings are magnificent, and the ancestral shrine well appointed. Recently, remnants of the rebellion charged forward to set it on fire. As they were about to burn it down, dark clouds covered the clear sky, and the crazed bandits ran in confusion along roads and pathways. Then, lost in the open country, they met their death. In response to [Our] hidden merit, this supernatural sign was extended.[133]

[131] See Robert des Rotours, "La révolte de P'ang Hiun (868–869)," *TP* 56 (1970), pp. 229–40. An attack on the T'ang "ancestral" temple of Lord Lao was a potent gesture of insurrection.

[132] This was the government seat, and hence the headquarters of the military governor, of Honan province the jurisdiction of which included Po-chou.

[133] The episode, including the text of this decree, is reproduced in *HYSC* 9, pp. 16a–b.

The palace issued a Green Supplication (*ch'ing-tz'u* 青詞),[134] charging Li Yü with the task of reverently announcing a declaration of gratitude, published the matter within and without, and communicated a report to the Office of Historiography.[135]

In the third month of [Hsien-t'ung] 13 (April/May 872), the prefect of T'ai-chou 台州 (Chekiang) Yao Hu 姚鵠[136] memorialized that when excavating the ground in the course of restoring the Lord Lao Hall on Mount T'ien-t'ai 天台山, a stone casket with writings had been obtained. He submitted it with a request to communicate the event to the Office of Historiography and proclaim it throughout the realm. The emperor decreed his consent.

*Full Translation: The Reign of Hsi-tsung*

30. Hsi-tsung 僖宗 (r. 873–888)

In the third month of Kuang-ming 2 (881), the military governor of Ho-chung province (modern Shansi) Wang Ch'ung-jung 王重榮 (d. 887)[137] [15b] memorialized that, according to a report submitted by Chin-chou 晉州 prefecture (modern Lin-fen), an auspicious vine 瑞葛, [growing] on a cypress by the side of the Lord Lao Hall (Lao-chün tien 老君殿) in the Felicitous T'ang Temple (Ch'ing T'ang kuan 慶唐觀) on Mount Lung-chiao 龍角山,[138] had withered and died and then come back to life again.

Earlier, after the epiphany of Hun-yüan in the Wu-te reign period (618–620; a reference to the Chi Shan-hsing episode, item 16, above), the hall had been erected in the space between two trees. A year later, a vine creeper 葛蔓 spontaneously appeared on the cypress tree and grew to a length of more than ten *chang* (108 feet). Its growth was abnormally luxurious. Later, when the prince of Ch'i 齊王 (Li Yu 李祐) attempted to usurp the throne [from his father T'ai-tsung in 643],[139] this vine dried up

[134] This was the official prayer (see Verellen, "Liturgy and Sovereignty," pp. 69–73) to be offered in the Retreat of Thanksgiving for the Po-chou miracle. See Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 1, pp. 8b–10a.

[135] Other versions of this episode by Tu Kuang-t'ing are found in *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 1, p. 9a, and *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 2, pp. 15a–b.

[136] See *Du Guangting*, pp. 28–29.

[137] He was military governor of Ho-chung 880–887; see Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History* 3.1, pp. 764–65. Wang appointed himself viceroy in 881, 1st mo., see *CTS* 198, p. 710.

[138] I.e., Yang-chiao shan, see [4a] above (cf. *Du Guangting*, p. 78 n. 6).

[139] See *CTS* 3, p. 55, *HTS* 2, p. 42. See also Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History* 3.1, pp. 237–38.





and withered. Ten months later, a green sprout grew again from its end, and then the prince of Ch'i was defeated. Before the restoration of Chung-tsung (that is, the "regency" of Wu Tse-t'ien, 684–705; see item 19, above), during the An [Lu-shan] (d. 757) and Shih 史 [Ssu-ming 思明] (d. 761) rebellion, and when Chu Tz'u 朱泚 (742–784) plotted insurrection (against Te-tsung, in 783/784), [the vine] each time abruptly withered away and only after a long time came back to life again.

Now in the year Kuang-ming 1 (880) Huang Ch'ao rose in revolt against the palace,[140] and in the autumn of that year the vine creeper withered and died. In the spring[141] of the year [Kuang-ming] 2 (881), its stems and leaves flourished again. Moreover, on the neighboring tree grew a separate shoot which within ten days reached a length of more than fifty feet. Facing one another, they unfolded profusely. There was a supernatural quality about them.

Memorial and edict praised [the event], and an account was communicated to the Office of Historiography. Subsequently, all of these auspicious and extraordinary occurrences occasioned an imperial [16a] decree:

> Wonderful! The vine creeper 葛藟 promises felicity to Our aspirations for descendants 孫謀;[142] the melon creeper 瓜瓞[143] manifests Our long-lasting blessings. Thus Hun-yüan has granted us a succession of generations 奕葉[144] without end.

The August Emperor was sojourning in Western Shu when the memorial was presented on the ninth of the eighth month of Chung-ho 2 (September 24, 882).[145] The emperor ordered it proclaimed at court and at large.[146]

[140] After sacking Fu-chou 福州 in 878, 12th mo., and Kuang-chou 廣州 in 879, 5th mo., Huang Ch'ao attacked the eastern capital Lo-yang in 880, 11th mo.

[141] *CTW* 933, p. 13b, reads "winter" 冬, in the strict sense referring to 881, mos. 10–12, apparently an editorial attempt to improve the sensational quality of the miracle. Note, however, that the report of Wang Ch'ung-jung is dated 881, 3d mo. (see above).

[142] See *Mao-shih* 毛詩 (*Book of Odes*), no. 239 and 244. The variant 神謀 in *CTW* 933, p. 14a, misses this allusion, which is consistent with that of the following phrase.

[143] Conveys, like *ko*, the image of a proliferation of descendants in the *Odes*, invoking an unbroken line of succession, with each member clinging to the next. On the symbolism of these plants in the *Odes* pertaining to fertility and posterity, see Chou Ts'e-tsung 周策縱, "Chung-kuo ku-tai ti wu-i yü chi-ssu li-shih yüeh-wu chi shih ti kuan-hsi" 中國古代的巫醫與祭祀歷史樂舞及詩的關係, *CHHP* NS 12 (1979), pp. 1–12.

[144] Pun on *yeh*, "generations" and "leaves."

[145] If this refers to Wang Ch'ung-jung's memorial, it is 17 mos. after the event.

[146] The expression is *nei wai* 內外 "within and without," *urbi et orbi*.

On the eleventh of the third month [of Chung-ho] 3 (April 21, 883)[147] the prefect of Po-chou, P'an Ch'ou 潘稠, dispatched the Taoist masters Ma Han-chang 馬含章, Sun Ch'i-wu 孫棲梧, and others with a memorial to the throne reporting that since the year Ch'ien-[fu] 4 (877),[148] Chen-yüan (site of the Lao-tzu temple T'ai-ch'ing kung in Po-chou) had repeatedly come under attack by the rebel bandits. Their numbers had ranged from over a thousand to as many as ten thousand. They would lie in wait and spy out the temple with the intention of burning and plundering it. Every time they came to attack the walled city or drew near to assail the county seat, Lord Lao miraculously granted a divine transformation. Suddenly he would raise dense clouds, driving them with evil winds,[149] or strike with thunder and hail.[150] Their leaders drifting about aimlessly, [the rebels] presently arrived at their destruction. Splendid manifestation of supernatural aid, unfathomable workings of the divine!

Forthwith, Chen-yüan was awarded the status of a metropolitan county 畿縣.[151] Subsequently, the palace issued Green Supplications (see item 29, above) for worship and [16b] thanksgiving. The emperor then kowtowed and did obeisance in the direction of the East (that is, Po-chou).[152]

On the twelfth of the eighth month of [Chung-ho 3] (September 16, 883) it was decreed:

> The T'ai-ch'ing kung at Po-chou marks the site where Hun-yüan came into the world, the illustrious ancestor of the Tao, whose conferral of hereditary privileges constitutes the foundation of Our dynasty.
>
> The auspicious Nine Palaces (*chiu-kung* 九宮) wells overflow;[153] the lone deer's immortal traces remain among the trees.[154]
>
> If the propitious portents that have occurred under succeeding ages [in the past] were worthy of recording, the supernatural responses of recent years are even more conspicuous.
>
> Majestic splendor befits the sacred site [of the T'ai-ch'ing kung]. How could desolation be allowed in this place of worship? P'an Ch'ou, an able manager and expert administrator, long steeped in the habit of righteousness,[155] liberally gave of his emoluments for the restoration of the temple. Outer and inner walls, ridge poles and rafters, everything was exquisitely renovated. With new statuary and paint its radiant beauty was enhanced.
>
> Having examined the plans and considered the matter, [We find this] highly comforting. The temple's abbot, [commissioner for] ritual (*wei-i* 威儀) and Taoist master Wu Ch'ung-hsüan吳重玄, is to be awarded the purple [robe] (see item 17, above) and granted the religious name Master Ning-hsüan 凝玄先生. The Taoist masters Ma Han-chang and Sun Ch'i-wei are each awarded the purple. P'an Ch'ou is promoted conferee of the Golden [Seal] and Purple [Ribbon] (*chin-tzu kuang-lu ta-fu* 金紫光祿大夫), examiner (*chien-chiao* 檢校),[156] and president of the Board of Works (Kung-pu shang-shu 工部尚書). The others remain as before."[157]

That year, [17a] during the night of the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month [of Chung-ho 3] (October 3, 883), the emperor decreed that the imperial clansman Li T'e-li 李特立,[158] together with the Taoist master Li

[147] The version of this episode in *HYSC* 9, pp. 17a–18a, places the date in 880, 3d mo.; that in Tu, *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 3, pp. 2b–3a, also has 883.

[148] For the reconstruction of this date, see *Du Guangting*, p. 91, n. 5. The present episode is also included in *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 3, pp. 2b–3a.

[149] *HYSC* reads "clouds and wind."

[150] *HYSC* reads "thunder and lightning."

[151] Status of the counties belonging to capital territories, i.e. placed under the direct administration of one of the capitals. See Robert des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), pp. 730–31.

[152] The imperial edict issued in reply is quoted in *HYSC* 9, p. 17b.

[153] According to Lao-tzu's birth legend, the sage took nine steps when he came into the world; from each footstep a dragon sprang up, spewing water to bathe the infant, thus creating nine wells. See Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao tseu*, pp. 36–37, n. 4, and the references there. The association of these wells with the Nine Palaces, a spatial arrangement of the Eight Trigrams, suggests that Lao-tzu's first steps traced a cosmic pattern like the ritual Steps of Yü 禹步. In the T'ang, a cult of the *chiu-kung* was institutionalized under Hsüan-tsung; see *THY* 10B, pp. 256–60, and Robert des Rotours, "Le culte des cinq dragons sous la dynastie des T'ang (618–907)," in *Mélanges de sinologie offerts à Paul Demiéville* (Paris: P.U. de France, 1966) 1, pp. 274–77. The Nine Palaces deities controlled in particular flood and drought. The account in *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 1, pp. 8b–10a states that from these wells the "black ether" 黑氣 emerged that defeated the rebel P'ang Hsün in 868/869 (note the variant 九井 for 井 in *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 (ca. 1028; *TT*, fasc. 677–702, no. 1032) 117, pp. 6b–8a), while the "black clouds" that were the undoing of the temple's attackers during the Huang Ch'ao rebellion rose from within the "palace" (*kung*, i.e. the temple) itself.

[154] According to the version of Lao-tzu's departure to the west in *The Book of the Transformations of Lao-tzu* (*Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* 老子變化經; S. 2295), the sage rode off on a white deer; see Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao tseu*, p. 62. *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 3, p. 3b, speaks of a tree with the "deer tracks of the ascent into heaven" 昇天鹿蹟.

[155] The variant 樂 for 染 in *CTW* 933, p. 14b, seems to be a graphic error.

[156] This was a high-ranking nominal office; see Denis Twitchett, "The Seamy Side of Late T'ang Political Life: Yü Ti and His Family," *AM* 3d ser. 1.2 (1988), p. 43.

[157] The text of this edict is also preserved in *CTW* 88, pp. 11b–12a.

[158] Earlier that year (883), Li T'e-li had addressed a memorial to the emperor recounting the history of the sacred site of Mt. Niu-hsin 牛心山 in Lung-chou 龍州 prefecture (northern

Wu-wei 李無為, hold an Offering (*chiao*) and pray to the Perfected at the ancient site of Hun-yüan's incarnation at the Hsüan-chung Ṭemple 玄中觀 in the Black Sheep Market (Ch'ing-yang ssu 青羊肆),[159] in the superior prefecture of Ch'eng-tu.

Suddenly they beheld a red glow [160] that, like a small projectile 彈丸, emerged from the foundation of the hall in the bamboo grove to the southeast and then, gradually increasing in brightness, wavered towards the southwest and sank beneath a plum tree 梅樹.[161] Excavating the earth at the place where [the glow] had descended, they discovered a "treasure brick" 寶塼 three feet below the ground (see the Celestial Treasure, *t'ien-pao*, item 22, above). Its length measured 1 *ch'ih*, 1 *ts'un*, and 1 *fen* (11 inches), its width 7 *ts'un*, 1 *fen* (7.1 inches). One edge measured 1 *ts'un*, 3 *fen* (1.2 inches) in thickness and was covered with a floral pattern. The other edge was 1 *ts'un*, 8 *fen* (1.77 inches) thick. Its weight was 12 *chin* (5.5 pounds). It bore six characters in ancient seal-script which measured 2 *ts'un* square and were 3 *fen* deep. The engraving was of a lustre and clarity 瑩潔 beyond the work of man. The text read "The Most High Pacifies the Disturbances of Chung-ho 太上平中和災."[162]

On the first day of the ninth month [of Chung-ho 3] (October 5, 883), the military governor of Hsi-ch'uan and president of the Imperial

Szechwan). He claimed that the prefecture derived its name from an ancestor of the house of T'ang, Li Lung 李龍, of the Lung-hsi 隴西 lineage. During the Wu-te reign period at the beginning of the T'ang (618–626), the local sanctuary had been made into a Taoist temple. Emperor Hsüan-tsung, having restored this temple during his exile in Ch'eng-tu (756–757), had been rewarded with a prophecy of the impending defeat of the An Lu-shan Rebellion that had driven him from the capital. Li T'e-li now proposed to Hsi-tsung to do likewise. An identical prophecy was obtained. See Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi*, in *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 122, pp. 4b–6a.

[159] It was here that Lao-tzu met with Yin Hsi before their departure to the west: having transmitted the *Tao-te ching* to Yin at the Han-ku Pass, Lao-tzu enjoined his disciple to complete his initiation and await the second arrival of the sage one thousand days later at the Ch'ing-yang Market in Ch'eng-tu. For the legends associated with this site, see below and also Kusuyama Haruki, "Seiyōshi densetsu kō" 青羊肆傳説考, *TS* 52 (1978), pp. 1–14, and idem, *Rōshi densetsu*, pp. 423–35.

[160] Lit. "rainbow radiance" 虹光. Here we follow the variants in the accounts in *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 2, pp. 5b–6a (赤光), and *HYSC* 9, pp. 19b ff. (紅光).

[161] This evokes the plum tree 李 beside which Lao-tzu was born and after which he was named. See Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, pp. 120–22; and Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, p. 359.

[162] Cf. *Hsi-ch'uan Ch'ing-yang kung pei-ming* 西川青羊宮碑銘 (884; *TT*, fasc. 609, no. 964), p. 12b. The wedge shape of the brick and the decorative design on its narrow edge suggest that it may have come from a vault, possibly of a tomb. I am indebted to Lothar von Falkenhausen for this observation.





Chancellery (Shih-chung 侍中),[163] Ch'en Ching-hsüan 陳敬瑄, memorialized the throne:

> His Imperial Majesty emulates antiquity and conforms [17b] with Heaven, inherits the charts 圖[164] and abides by destiny. He single-mindedly cherishes the Supreme Way and concentrates his thoughts upon Great Unity (*ta-t'ung* 大同). Therefore, on tour of inspection, he takes all blame upon himself (that is, like T'ang-the-Victorious; see below). His deep humanity draws near and attains the earth below. His supreme virtue ascends and is known in heaven above. The symbols and writings of divine investiture (*fu-ch'an* 符讖) have deservedly[165] been obtained, after auspicious portents appeared in the interim. The mandate of the Most High to rule and rectify[166] has been bestowed. The calamities of banditry and insurrection of the Chung-ho period were pacified. Therefore was this clear text revealed. Hence appeared the ancient seal-script. It fully testifies that the atmosphere of evil has now been dispelled, that the Sage's blessings are boundless. It informs us of the date of the recovery [of the capital][167] and determines the day for the pacification.

On the twelfth day [October 16, 883] the emperor ordered an announcement to all the officials.

The vice president of the Imperial Secretariat and chief minister Wei Chao-tu 韋昭度 (d. 894),[168] the vice-president of the Board of Finance and chief minister Hsiao Kou 蕭遘 (d. 887),[169] the vice-president of the Imperial Chancellery and chief minister Cheng T'ien 鄭畋 (825–883),[170] the deputy

[163] See des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, pp. 4, 131. On Ch'en, see n. 7, above, and *Du Guangting*.

[164] Cf. the phrase "When Kao-tsu inherited the register 籙 and received the chart, he conformed with Heaven..." in Chang Heng's 張衡 (78–139) "Eastern Metropolis Rhapsody" ("Tung-ching fu" 東京賦), in Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501–531), comp., *Wen-hsüan* 文選 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1981) 3, p. 3b.

[165] *Yün* 允. The variant in *HYSC* ("eternally" 永) matches the term "in the interim" in the second half of the phrase.

[166] *K'uang-ch'ih* 匡持. *HYSC* and *CTW* both emend this reading.

[167] Ch'ang-an had already been recaptured by the Sha-t'o leader Li K'o-yung 李克用 (856–908) in 883-884. See *CTS* 19B, p. 714, and *HTS* 9, p. 271.

[168] Cf. *HTS* 9, p. 272, and *TCTC* 254, p. 8253.

[169] Cf. *TCTC* 254, p. 8245.

[170] See *Du Guangting*, esp. pp. 51–53. The prominent statesman was now serving under Ch'en Ching-hsüan, president of the Imperial Chancellery.

censor Chang Tu 張瀆,[171] and the president of the Court of Imperial Clan affairs Wang Kuei-nien 王龜年 submitted a congratulatory memorial:

> We humbly consider: The rustics banded together (that is, Huang Ch'ao rebelled), and the imperial retinue proceeded on a tour of inspection. "When heaven-inflicted calamities prevail, royal houses suffer them in turn."[172] Your Majesty has bestowed a T'ang-the-Victorious decree, taking the blame upon yourself [18a],[173] and has levied the troops for the true prince's campaign. The evil is about to be extirpated. The [impending] pacification has already become evident through the auspicious omen. Divine assistance 幽贊[174] was thus perceived in the mysterious writing. The bestowal of the red bird holding a letter in its beak – how can that match [the present manifestation of] the Most High?[175] The good fortune of the appearance of the dark tortoise bearing the *kua* 卦 symbols (the Eight Trigrams) on its back – it can scarcely compare with the present pacification of turmoil![176] Furthermore, the supernatural occurrence of the portent of the auspicious glow that hovered in the air on the occasion of the imperial family's celebration of a Retreat [and Offering] ought to be considered as further exhortation.

The commissioner of privy affairs Li Shun-jung 李順融,[177] and the commissioner in command of the military groups [comprising the] Ten Armies and Twelve Guards [of the militia], T'ien Ling-tzu 田令孜 (d. 893),[178] [also] submitted a memorial of congratulation:

> Today your kinsman 維城[179] has come to the temple of the immortal (the Hsüan-chung kuan). Thanks to his perfect sincerity 至誠 he attained [his ritual goal], an auspicious omen suddenly revealed itself. The red glow on this occasion was [like] the purple emanation [that announced] His former crossing of the Pass. Now when the piled-up earth was excavated, an ancient script was indeed obtained. It gave evidence that power has been unleashed on the side of the "hidden dragon" 龍蛇 (referring to Hsi-tsung's period of "low profile" in exile) made known the pacification of the *hsiao* 梟 and *ching* 獍 monsters (referring to the monstrosities of parricide and matricide in mythology: the emperor was the father and mother of the people), and greatly illuminated the mysterious workings [of heaven]. Already now the Most High has granted pacification of the turmoils and announces that the Chung-ho era will forever prosper. That this blessing [18b] came to light is entirely thanks to the sage ancestor [Lao-tzu]. The retrieval by excavation proceeded from an offering presented by an imperial clansman. This supernatural relic (蹤; lit. "trace") is fit to explain the intention of heaven. As for the Sage Ancestor Hun-yüan, whenever great hardship is encountered, he unfailingly let extraordinary portents appear. Clear evidence to that effect is reported in detail in the standard histories. Formerly, above the Tan-feng Gate, the empire's

[171] An official of this name is listed in *HTS* 72C, p. 2701.

[172] A quotation from *Tso-chuan* 左傳 (Hsi 13); see Yang Po-chün 楊伯峻, ed., *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan chu* 春秋左傳注 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1981), p. 345.

[173] T'ang-the-Victorious: after the founder's victory (1766 BC) and replacement of the old altar to the soil god of the vanquished Hsia, the land suffered a great drought. T'ang prayed in the Mulberry Grove 桑林, holy place of the Shang: "If I am to blame, let not the people suffer the punishment; if they are at fault, let me take their punishment upon myself. May my lack of ability not cause the Most High and the gods to afflict the people!" Then he cut his hair and the nails of his fingers and offered himself as a sacrificial victim. Thus he prayed for the blessings of the Most High (i.e. the Heavenly Mandate) – the people rejoiced and rain fell in abundance. See Granet, *Danses et légendes*, pp. 450–56, and Sarah Allan, "Drought, Human Sacrifice, and the Mandate of Heaven in a Lost Text from the Shang Shu," *BSOAS* 47 (1984), pp. 523–39.

[174] An expression from *Chou-i* 周易 (sect. "Shuo-kua 說卦" 1; see *Shih-san ching chu-shu* 十三經注疏 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980; rpt. of the Sung edn. published by Juan Yüan 阮元 in 1816), pp. 93a–b.

[175] *Mo-tzu* 墨子: "A red bird flew down to the altar to the Soil God of the Chou at Ch'i, bearing in its beak a jade tablet with the inscription: 'Heaven commands 天命 King Wen of Chou to attack Yin and to possess the land;'" see Sun I-jang 孫詒讓, annot., *Mo-tzu chien-ku* 墨子閒詁 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1986) 5, p. 139; see also Seidel, "Imperial Treasures," pp. 298–99.

[176] A combination or variant of the Han legends according to which 1) the River Chart (*ho-t'u* 河圖), revealed by a dragon-horse that came from the Yellow River inspired Fu Hsi to create the Eight Trigrams, and 2) the Lo Writing (*lo-shu* 洛書) was revealed to Ta Yü on the back of a tortoise emerging from the River Lo and inspired him to write the Great Undertaking ("Hung-fan 洪範") treatise on the Five Phases in the *Book of Documents*. Both were heaven-bestowed "dynastic treasures" or manifests of legitimacy; see Seidel, "Imperial Treasures," p. 302.

[177] See *CTW* 998, p. 14b.

[178] The most influential eunuch during the reign of Hsi-tsung; biogs. in *CTS* 184, pp. 4771–72, and *HTS* 208, pp. 5884–89. See also *Du Guangting*, pp. 66–71, on his role in the choice of Ch'eng-tu as place of exile; on T'ien's title here and military organization during the exile, see *HTS* 50, p. 1335 (trans. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, pp. 869–70).

[179] Literally, "linked fortification," an image from the *Book of Odes*; see also *Tso-chuan* (Chao 6); *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan chu*, p. 1278. The connecting, fortified city walls symbolize protection of the prince by his ascendants and descendants down to Lao-tzu.

restoration was announced to T'ien T'ung-hsiu by the gift of the Celestial Treasure (*t'ien-pao*; see item 22, above). Now the good news of Your Majesty's return to the palace (in Ch'ang-an) has been revealed to Li T'e-li at Ch'ing-yang Market. There can only be rejoicing throughout the empire.[180] I urgently request a communication to the Office of Historiography.

The emperor consented to all of this.

On the fifteenth day [of the ninth month of Chung-ho 3] (October 19, 883), Li T'e-li was appointed collator to the heir-apparent. Li Wu-wei was bestowed the purple [robe]. In addition, each was granted 300 bolts of fine silk.

On the twenty-first day (October 25, 883) it was further decreed:[181]

The Most High Emperor Hsüan-yüan (T'ai-shang hsüan-yüan ta-ti) expounded the True Scripture (*chen-ching* 真經; the *Tao-te chen-ching*) upon the platform of Lou-kuan Temple (item 22, above) to his disciple Wen-shih hsien-sheng (文始先生; Yin Hsi) and appointed a later meeting at the Ch'ing-yang Market. Then, mounting a cloud carriage, they both entered the desert.

Hagiography 仙記 hands down the tradition, and maps 地圖 illustrate the record. Since [the reign of king] Chao of the Chou (966–948 BC) to this [19a] day, some 2,000 years have elapsed. Forsaken is the appearance of the scene; desolate the ruins of the [temple's] foundations.

Now on the occasion of Our tour of inspection, a supernatural token has manifested itself. An extraordinary glow leaped up in front of the temple. A supernatural seal-script declared itself beneath the tree. A brick bearing ancient characters gave evidence of good fortune: the disastrous harm of Chung-ho is about to be pacified; a blessed symbol was thus brought forth from the kind soil. This shows that Heaven above grants us protection, that the Sage ancestor bestows good fortune upon us. The bandits' weapons shall be destroyed short-

[180] In fact, T'ien Ling-tzu and Ch'en Ching-hsüan had a vested interest to remain close to their power base in Szechwan; see *Du Guangting*, p. 70.

[181] The following decree is also transmitted in *CTW* 87, pp. 10a–b (for Yüan-chung kuan 元中觀, read Hsüan-chung kuan 玄中觀).





ly; the cause of the restoration will shine forever. Let bamboo slips [recording the event] be transmitted [to posterity], and let it also be proclaimed throughout the realm. [An account] has already been conveyed to the Office of Historiography. [Its officials] are under order to prepare the record. Now the text shall be copied and proclaimed in all the provinces and before the army.

The temple is renamed Ch'ing-yang kung (originally named Hsüan-chung kuan; see above, October 3, 883). New structures and halls shall be erected. It is ruled that two *ch'ing* (32.6 acres) of neighboring land shall belong to the temple. In recent times [its land] has been dispersed and come into the possession of commoners 黎甿 who have planted quantities of onions and garlic.[182] In a place of purity and spirituality one can hardly tolerate pervading cooking odors.[183] Two hundred strings of cash 貫 have already been granted, and it has been ordered to redeem the land against an indemnity 收贖.[184] It is further provided that a public title-deed 公驗 [19b] be restituted to the Calm Hermitage (*ching-lu* 靖廬, that is, "sacred site") in perpetuity.

The imperial clansman T'e-li has already been appointed to office, and the Taoist master Li Wu-wei has been bestowed the purple. Those worthy of promotion or reward have been shown our gratitude on the occasion of this felicitous miracle.

As for [Ch'en] Ching-hsüan, his position ranks above the *kung*-

[182] These pungent, hence impure, vegetables were offensive to the gods (cf. Tu, *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 10, pp. 6b-8a) and fell under ritual and dietary interdictions. See precept no.10 in *Lao-chün shuo i-pai pa-shih chieh* 老君說一百八十戒 (3d c.?), in *T'ai-shang Lao-chün ching lü* 太上老君經律 (*TT*, fasc. 562, no. 786), pp. 2a–12b.

[183] *Hsün-cheng* 薰蒸, lit., to steam food, etc., using fragrant smoke. Here it seems to mean "evaporation" 蒸發 and the spreading of cooking odors. On the profanation of monasteries by impure surroundings (living quarters, markets, butchers, wine shops, etc.) as a Buddhist topos, see Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, p. 256; see also the Japanese monk Ennin's 圓仁 (793–864) observation concerning leeks on temple grounds, Edwin Reischauer, trans., *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 259–60.

[184] A legal term for redeeming a person from punishment or exile on the grounds of age, illness, etc. See Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌 et al., comps., *T'ang lü shu-i* 唐律疏議 (653; Peking, Chung-hua: 1983) 2, esp. pp. 34–38. Here the misappropriated land is received back from alienation against a compensation.

*t'ai* 公台 [constellation],[185] and his [moral] influence 風行[186] extends throughout our commanderies and principalities. He exerts moral integrity on behalf of the dynasty of largess. He cultivates his mind in the land of the Way and its Power. Hence it is ordered that the laying down of weapons within the realm and the materialization of a Treasure within the soil be regarded as happy events doubly worthy of praise."[187]

On the seventh of the tenth month [of Chung-ho 3] (November 10, 883) it was decreed that His Eminence Kuo Tsun-t'ai 郭尊泰 supervise the construction of the Ch'ing-yang Palace.[188] The entire outlay for the construction work was provided by the Palace Treasury.

Between the date of the discovery of the divine portent [October 3, 883] and the *kuei-ch'ou* day of this month [November 23, 883], the recent rebellions in Shu were put down and crushed one by one.[189] Within a period of ten months,[190] pacification had been achieved. The imperial entourage visited the Ch'ing-yang Palace and rewards were issued and commissions awarded. Li T'e-li was bestowed the crimson [robe] and appointed clerk-administrator (*lu-shih ts'an-chün* 錄事參軍) of Lung-chou prefecture (modern P'ing-wu, Szechwan). It was further decreed:

The Most High has bestowed an auspicious portent. Ch'ing-yang has responded with an apparition. It is fit for [places of] ritual to be reverently adorned. Thus We reciprocate this extraordinary good fortune: The Tzu-chi kung 紫極宮 temple in each province, prefecture, and superior prefecture[191] shall [20a] appoint a senior officer to carry out the restorations according to regulations and, furthermore, select Taoist masters qualified to conduct rituals 有科儀之道士 to prepare a *chiao* Offering.

[185] Referring to "the Three Dukes" (*san-kung* 三公). See Twitchett, "Late T'ang Political Life," p. 46: "in normal times reserved for unusually eminent statesmen at the end of their careers... entailed no actual duties, and its incumbent had no executive power."

[186] An allusion to Analects XII/19: "Where the wind passes, the grass bends," referring to the moral influence of the Confucian gentleman that holds sway over others by virtue of its inherent authority. See Yang Po-chün, ed., *Lun-yü i-chu* 論語譯注 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1980), p. 129.

[187] Compare text of decree in *CTW* 87, pp. 10a–b. For the verdict on Ch'en Ching-hsüan after his assassination in 893, see *Du Guangting*, p. 145.

[188] See Chang Yüan-ho 張元和, "Ch'ing-yang kung chien-chih yüan-liu" 青羊宮建置源流, *Tao-hsieh hui-k'an* 道協會刊 19 (1986), p. 75.

[189] Following the variant *ch'ün* 群 for *chün* 郡 in *HYSC*. The author is referring to the widespread banditry in Hsi-ch'uan during this period (see Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History* 3-1, pp. 749–50). The large-scale uprising of Ch'ien Neng 能奸 in 882 (see *TCTC* 254, p. 8269, to 255, p. 8282) had been put down the previous year. Insecurity in the region between Ch'eng-tu and Ch'ang-an had been the main impediment to the court's early return to the capital; see *Du Guangting*, pp. 96–97.

[190] *HYSC* has the variant "days."





On the *i-mao* day of that month (November 25, 883) it was memorialized that the recapture of the capital afforded an opportunity to proclaim that the great Tao had granted good fortune, that the Sage ancestor had manifested his support, and that the Great Undertaking 洪圖 (a reference to Ta Yü's treatise on the Five Phases in the *Book of Documents*) would last forever.

It was further decreed that the Han-lin chief academician, vice president of the Board of War, Department of State Affairs, and officer in charge of decrees and proclamations Yüeh P'eng-kuei 樂朋龜 should compose a stele inscription and have it erected.[192]

*Tu Kuang-t'ing's Postscript*

We humbly request that this be proclaimed throughout the realm to testify that the Imperial House continues the progeny of the Divine Immortal (神仙; that is, Lord Lao; see item 16, above) having received a supernatural token from the Most High confirming the boundlessness of its ten thousand generations.

Your servant has now ascertained that since the beginning of the empire temple constructions [at the imperial behest] amounted to somewhat over 1,900; ordinations of Taoist masters to over 15,000.[193] Those cases where princes and princesses, courtiers, and scholars and commoners ded residences and manors to make them into temples are not included in

[191] These temples were imperial foundations from the reign of Hsüan-tsung; see *Du Guangting*, p. 47. For the present decree ordering their restoration, see *CTW* 87, p. 11a.

[192] This "Stele Inscription for the Ch'ing-yang kung Temple in Hsi-ch'uan [province; i.e., Western Chien-nan]" has been preserved: titled "Hsi-ch'uan Ch'ing-yang kung pei-ming" 西川青羊宮碑銘 (884; *TT*, fasc. 609, no. 964). The text of the inscription is accompanied by a memorial by Yüeh (23b–14a) and a dispatch by the military governor Ch'en Ching-hsüan (see above), concerning the emplacement of the stele in the temple precinct *CTS* (24a–b). On the recruitment of Yüeh en route to Ch'eng-tu and his rapid rise in the makeshift bureaucracy-in-exile, see *Du Guangting*, p. 72.

[193] My count, based on the present text, yields some 1,250 temples and 21,000 priests.

this number. Thus it is impossible to narrate the fullness of merit acquired by the rulers from antiquity down to our own dynasty [20b].

Your servant Tu Kuang-t'ing, redactor at the imperial behest 文章應制, Grand Master Disseminator of the Doctrine (*hung-chiao ta-shih* 弘教大師), conferee of the Purple and Taoist priest at the Great Clarity Temple (T'ai-ch'ing kung) in the Superior Capital (Ch'ang-an), presents his respectful record on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the year Chung-ho 4 (January 4, 885).

## EPILOGUE

Here ends Tu Kuang-t'ing's memorial. A few weeks later, on February 11, 885, the court-in-exile took to the road for Ch'ang-an, reaching the Superior Capital on March 31, 885.[194] Four years of pillaging under successive occupations had meanwhile reduced the great metropolis and symbol of T'ang power and civilization to ruins. Despite Hsi-tsung's efforts to rebuild the city, its demise proved as irreversible as that of the dynasty itself. On February 2, 886, following a failed attempt to impose the court's fiscal authority on the military governor of nearby Ho-chung, Wang Ch'ung-jung (see item 30, above), the emperor abandoned the capital once again. This time the court fled before the approaching army of Li K'o-yung 李克用 (856–908), the leader of the Sha-t'o 沙陀 Turks and temporary ally of Wang. After nearly two more years of exile at Hsing-yüan (Han-chung) and Feng-hsiang (Shensi), Hsi-tsung briefly regained Ch'ang-an on April 6, 888. There he died, aged twenty-seven, on April 20 of the same year.[195]

[194] See *TCTC* 256, p. 8319 (departure); *TCTC* 256, p. 8320, *CTS* 19B, p. 720; and *HTS* 9, p. 276 (arrival).

[195] On the court's return to Ch'ang-an and second exile, see *Du Guangting*, pp. 103–12.





## *LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

| | |
|---|---|
| *CTS* | *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 |
| *CTW* | *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 |
| *Du Guangting* | Verellen, *Du Guangting (850–933): Taoïste de cour à la fin de la Chine médiévale* |
| *HTS* | *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 |
| *HYSC* | Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守灝, *Hun-yüan sheng-chi* 混元聖記 |
| *T* | *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 |
| *TCTC* | *Tzu-chih t'ung-tien* 資治通鑑 |
| *TFYK* | *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 |
| *THY* | *T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要 |
| *TT* | *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang* 正統道藏 |