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## Immortals and Patriarchs: The Daoist World of a Manchu Official and His Family in Nineteenth-Century China

In the spring of 1832, Wanyan Linqing 完顏麟慶 (z. Boyu 伯餘, h. Jianting 見亭, 1791–1846) left his post in Kaifeng 開封 as provincial surveillance commissioner 按察使 of Henan, and journeyed southward to Guizhou 貴州, where he was to assume office as the newly appointed commissioner of finance 布政使 of the frontier province. In his prime, at the age of forty-two, Linqing was enjoying a stellar career in the Qing officialdom. Though Guizhou was a remote province sometimes disturbed by riots and rebellions among its ethnic minorities, Linqing's new post there was a stepping stone to higher positions.

Now on his southward journey, Linqing made a stop at Nanyang 南陽, where he was born and had spent his childhood, and paid a visit to the Daoist temple known as the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery (Yuanmiao guan 元妙觀).<sup>1</sup> As he wandered around at his childhood haunt, which he alluded to as the Daoist paradise of “the Purple Mansion,” Linqing was overwhelmed by feelings of nostalgia and loss, and included this passage in his illustrated autobiography *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji* 鴻雪因緣圖記 (*An Illustrated Record of the Goose-Tracks on the Snow*):

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<sup>1</sup> The original name of the monastery was “Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀,” but it was changed to “Yuanmiao guan 元妙觀,” sometime early in the Qing out of respect for the Kangxi emperor, whose personal name was “Xuanye 玄燁.”

天開紫府影亭亭	Heaven opens to cast the Purple Mansion in shadow;
小隊南行喜再經	Full of joy, my entourage passes by it on a southward journey.
野鶴不殊當日白	But the wild cranes aren't as white as those of bygone days,
老松仍是舊時青	And the old pines were much more verdant in those old times.
鍊丹人去蕉無主	Gone are the alchemist, and the master of the banana tree;
述德碑高事有銘	But the inscribed stele still stands to tell the lore of ancestral virtue.
欲訪兒童遊釣跡	How have I longed to visit my childhood haunt of fishing and excursions!
雪泥鴻爪問仙靈	As it fades like the goose-tracks in snow, whom but the immortal's spirit do I ask? <sup>2</sup>

Drawing on a metaphor made famous by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), Linqing lamented the evanescence of life by likening his own sense of the predestined yet ever fragile bonds with human beings and places to the “goose-tracks in snow.”<sup>3</sup> As he attempted to renew his own bond with the monastery, he found out to his dismay that the Daoist “alchemist and the master of the banana tree” whom he had hoped to call on had passed, fading like those goose tracks. At the end of the poem, feeling sad and melancholy, Linqing pondered if he should turn to the

<sup>2</sup> See Wanyan Linqing, *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji* (Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1886; hereafter, *HX*) 2, pp. 2a-23a. Since the initial 1847 woodblock prints there have been several edns.: 1879, 1886, and 1896, with varying size, number of volumes (*juan*), and pagination. I have used the 1886 lithographic edn. collected in the College de France library for this study. Several partial translations of the autobiography are available in western languages. One is by T. C. Lai, *Wild Swan's Trail* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Book Center, ca. 1978) in English, and another in French by Jean R. Baylin, *Visite aux temples de Pekin: Extraits du carnet de voyage de Lin K'ing* (Pekin: n.p., 1921). I am informed by Professor John Minford that he is editing a full translation of the autobiography that was made by the late Yang Zonghan 楊宗翰 (z. Yidong 懿凍, 1901-1992). Several chapters of Yang's translation have appeared, with introduction by Liu Ts'un-yan, in *Journal of East Asian History* 6 (1993), pp. 105-42. For additional translations of the autobiography, see Yang, “Tracks in the Snow: Excerpts” in *Renditions* 51 (1999), pp. 29-65.

<sup>3</sup> The phrases “*xue ni* 雪泥” and “*hong zhua* 鴻爪,” meaning “snowy mud” and “goose-tracks,” respectively, are clearly inspired by Su Shi's poem to his brother, “He Ziyou Mianci huai jiu 和子由澗池懷舊.” We read: “人生到處知何似，/ 應似飛鴻踏雪泥。/ 泥上偶然留爪印，/ 鴻飛那復認東西。” Here, Su uses goose-tracks left in the snow as a metaphor for the random and transient nature of life. Like the tracks left by the migrating geese on the snowy mud, humans who hurried through their life were seldom able to recognize the things, events, and relationships which they left behind. In Su's context, “goose-tracks in the snow” are the patterns of one's past life whose fleeting transience defies comprehension and memory. But the memory and understanding of such past things, events, and relationships was the very essence of human experience (*ren sheng* 人生). See Feng Yingliu 馮應榴, comp., *Su Shi shi ji he zhu* 蘇軾詩集合注 (1793; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2001), pp. 90-91.

spirit of an immortal to seek answers to the puzzling bond he felt toward the Daoist alchemist and the monastery from his childhood.

But what exactly was the strong bond that Linqing felt toward to the monastery in Nanyang, which was run by Quanzhen 全真 Daoists and contained Quanzhen devotional temples to an assortment of deities? Who was this unnamed “alchemist?” What was “the inscribed stele” about? What were the circumstances that led to Linqing’s fascination with “goose-tracks in the snow?”

To understand Linqing fully – his sense of attachment and loss – is to enter his world of beliefs, beliefs in the predestined bonds (*yin yuan* 因緣) among humans and deities, and in the power and efficacy of immortals, spirits, Daoist patriarchs, and masters like the “alchemist.” Though bonds such as that between Linqing and the mysterious Daoist “alchemist” may be transient and evanescent, like the “goose tracks,” Linqing’s thoughtful reflection seems to indicate that to grasp them was a vital, personal task. Calling on the old Daoist monastery and its personages from childhood was thus more than just an act of nostalgia. It was his way of living, a way to act on his fundamental beliefs about life.

By any measure, Wanyan Linqing was an extraordinary man of his times. As his family name suggests, he was a purported descendant of the Jurchen imperial household that ruled north China from the eleventh century to the early thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> More importantly, Linqing’s ancestors joined Nurhaci 努爾哈赤 (1559–1626), the founder of the Qing dynasty, in his conquest of China. As the “*booyi* 包衣,” the most trusted bondservants and bodyguards of the Qing imperial household, the Wanyans were considered part of the throne’s personal entourage and often entrusted with special authority and influence unknown to even the highest-ranking officials in the Qing central bureaucracy.<sup>5</sup> Since the conquest, the Wanyans who belonged to the elite Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner under the powerful Imperial Household Department 內務府 settled in their assigned residential quarters in the

<sup>4</sup> See Zong Jichen 宗稷宸, “Qian Jiangnan hedao zongdu Wanyan gong muzhi ming” 前江南河道總督完顏公墓誌銘, in Miao Quansun 繆荃孫, *Xu beizhuan ji* 續碑傳集 (1910; rpt. edn. in Zhou Junfu 周駿富, comp., *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊 [Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985–86; hereafter *QDZJ*]), vol. 116, pp. 772–75. See also Sheng Yu 盛昱 and Yang Zhongxi 楊鐘羲, *Baqi wenjing* 八旗文經 (Wuchang: n.p., 1901) 59, pp. 9a–b.

<sup>5</sup> For recent studies of the Qing imperial court and household institutions, see Wang Shuqing 王樹卿 and Li Pengnian 李鵬年, eds., *Qing gong shi shi* 清宮史事 (Beijing: Zijingcheng chuban she, 1986); Lai Huimin 賴慧敏, *Tian huang gui zhou, Qing huangzu de jiecheng jiegou yu jingji shenghuo* 天潢貴胄清皇族的階層結構與經濟生活 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo, 1997); and Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1998).

northeastern district of the capital. Many quickly adapted to the Han Chinese culture. Like many of their fellow bannermen, the Wanyans had early begun to acquire offices through the regular civil service examination, even while they enjoyed special privileges and treatments at court. During the earliest reigns of the dynasty, the Wanyan clan produced many learned officials, quite a few of whom rose to the ranks of the grand secretaries. Their imperial pedigree and long tradition in learning undoubtedly helped them thrive in Qing officialdom.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Linqing's stellar career would have made his ancestors proud. Having attained the *jinsshi* degree at the age of eighteen, in 1809, Linqing served with distinction at the Hanlin Academy and inner cabinet in Beijing. He was then sent out of the capital as prefect successively in two prefectures in Anhui province before he was promoted to the position of circuit intendant of the Yellow River Works in Kaifeng, Henan. There, he soon rose to the post of the provincial surveillance commissioner. A few years after that, Linqing served in high-ranking posts in Guizhou and Hubei before assuming the office of the director-general of the Southern River Works 南河道總督 in 1834. Ten years later in the spring of 1843, even after he was dismissed from office due to a collapsed dike under his watch, Linqing continued to enjoy the trust of the throne. Just a year before his death, Linqing was granted the title of imperial bodyguard of full second rank, and appointed governor general of Kulun region in eastern Mongolia, a post he was not able to assume due to declining health.

In addition to a career as a high-ranking official, Linqing demonstrated his intellectual prowess as a Confucian scholar, poet, and literary anthologist. He was one of the compilers of the *Veritable Record of Renzong* 仁宗實錄, a prestigious position reserved for fine scholars. He authored two books on Yellow River hydraulics and dike management. A prolific poet, he rendered invaluable help to his mother in the compilation of *Guochao guixiu zhengshi ji* 國朝閩秀正始集, an authoritative anthology of poems by women writers from the Qing era. For several years between 1835 and 1838, Linqing's office was the subject of several imperial audits. While charges of embezzlement, nepotism, and poor bookkeeping were leveled against the office of the director-general, Linqing emerged from the scrutiny unscathed, and continued to

<sup>6</sup> There is strong evidence that the Wanyans' acculturation in the ways of the Han Chinese literati predated the Qing conquest. Linqing mentioned that during a raid into Ming-controlled Shandong, a first-generation ancestor of the Wanyan clan "brought back" some prized Song-era printed books, which were later passed on to him and kept at his residential library in Beijing during the 1840s. See Wanyan Linqing, "Lang huan cang shu" 瑯嬛藏書, in *HX* 3, p. 71a.

enjoy the Daoguang emperor's (道光; r. 1821–1850) trust.<sup>7</sup> Although stories circulated widely during the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries alleging extensive corruption, embezzlement, and other excesses at the Directorate General of the Southern River Works, especially in Daoguang's reign,<sup>8</sup> Linqing managed to impress his friends, protégés, and even colleagues at the court as a consummate Confucian literatus and official: filial and devoted as a son, loving and demanding as a father, learned and imaginative as a poet, stern yet compassionate as a magistrate, and loyal and generous as a friend.<sup>9</sup>

#### WHY WANYAN LINQING?

While most of Linqing's contemporaries were familiar with his public persona as a Confucian official and scholar, and modern historians of the Qing have been as well, few have known about his devotion to and involvement in Quanzhen Daoism, which remains a little-understood aspect of Qing elite religious and cultural life during the nineteenth century.

Recent scholarship by Liu Ts'un-yan, Timothy Brook, Susan Naquin, Lowell Skar, and most recently Vincent Goossaert, has advanced our understanding of the religious and cultural life of the elite during the late imperium. These studies show that the cultural and religious world of the traditional elite was multifaceted and multidimensional, involving beliefs, ideas, practices and institutions drawn from Buddhism, Daoism and various local cults. Professor Liu was among the first who drew our collective attention to the pervasive influence of Daoism on

<sup>7</sup> For Linqing's perspective on these audits, see "Heting na liang" 荷亭納涼, *HX* 2, pp. 84b–85a. See also idem, *Lin fianting zhou gao* 麟見亭奏稿 (rpt. Beijing: Quanguo tushu guan wenxian shuo yin fu zhi zhongxin, 2005), pp. 199–209.

<sup>8</sup> Xu Ke 徐珂 (1869–1928), a chronicler of late-Qing and early-Republican events, provided two accounts of the alleged corruption and excesses at the Southern River Works office under the category of "Lavish Excesses (*haochi lei* 奢侈類)." Both claim that the corruption and embezzlement of government funds for river works at the Directorate reached its apex during Daoguang's reign, with at least 70–90% of the total annual budget of five to six million taels of silver allegedly going to the private purse of the director-general and his subordinate officials. It should be noted that while corroborating evidence of his personal involvement is lacking, Linqing's tenure as the director-general from 1833 to 1842 falls within this alleged period of rampant corruption. One account also provides as evidence of the systemic corruption some blood-curdling details about one director-general's wasteful ways of slaughtering pigs for banquets; Xu Ke, *Qing bai lei chao* 清稗類鈔 (1928; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986) j.7, pp. 3270, 3283–84.

<sup>9</sup> Many fellow officials and scholars known for moral integrity and uprightness, such as Pan Shien 潘世恩 (1769–1854), Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), and Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841) considered Linqing a learned yet modest scholar, and a loyal and diligent official; see their prefaces in *HX* 1, pp. 1a, 3a–3b, and 2, pp. 3a–3b.

the Ming court elite and on neo-Confucianists.<sup>10</sup> Skar's dissertation traces the history of the formation of the Daoist Southern Lineage by focusing on literati's patronage and participation in the Jiangnan and Fujian regions during the Southern Song.<sup>11</sup> Brook's study of the Buddhist revival of late-Ming shows how Confucian gentry patronage of local monastic centers reshaped Buddhism, while empowering the gentry elite in their search for power and prestige in local society.<sup>12</sup> Naquin's masterful work on the city temples, pilgrimages, and devotional societies in Beijing provides a vivid and definitive account of the complex material and symbolic world of ritual and religions that centered on the life of commoners, the court, and the elite over a period of five centuries.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, in his pioneering work on Daoist clergy in the capital, Goossaert produces a richly textured and meticulously documented institutional history of the various Daoist lineages and institutions, and their ritual functions in the social and urban life of the capital during the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

While these works provide excellent accounts of the macro-social and institutional aspects of Buddhist and Daoist religious traditions over time, they have also generated many questions and issues requiring further inquiry. Many aspects of elite religious life remain to be explored. For instance, did the pattern of literati patronage of religious institutions and practices during the Song and Ming continue into the Qing, especially the late-nineteenth century? What, if any, change took place in the pattern of elite patronage of Daoist monasteries and cults by high-ranking Manchu bannermen literati officials like the Wanyans? Furthermore, while macro-histories of Buddhist and Daoist clergy and monasteries sketch out the larger institutional framework for understanding elite religious experience, we still need to study the histories of personal and family practices so as to gain a more intimate understanding of how the Qing elite experienced and lived out their reli-

<sup>10</sup> See Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁, "The Penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist Elite" (orig. pub. 1970) and "Lin Chao-en (1517-1598), the Master of the Three Teachings," in his *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 76-148, and 149-74.

<sup>11</sup> Lowell Skar, "Golden Elixir Alchemy: The Formation of the Southern Lineage and the Transformation of Medieval China," Ph.D. diss. (U. Pennsylvania, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> See Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late Ming China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1993).

<sup>13</sup> See Susan Naquin, "The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng-shan: Religious Organizations and Sacred Sites," in Susan Naquin and Chünfang Yu, eds., *Pilgrimage and Sacred Sites in China* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1992). See also Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: U. California P., 2000).

<sup>14</sup> See Vincent Goossaert, "The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949," ms. submitted for publication.

gious faith, and of what religious beliefs such as Daoism meant to them. Such studies will help us to understand how Daoist religious beliefs, ideas, techniques, and institutions actually functioned in the life of the Qing elite. Further, it will deepen our appreciation of the complexity of Qing religious culture, which encompassed Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, as well as various other local cults and practices.

In this article, I examine Daoist beliefs and practices as an important component of late-Qing literati culture, and how they fit into the lives and careers of members of the late-Qing ruling stratum. Like many of their literati contemporaries, the Wanyans were by no means exclusive followers or practitioners of Daoist faith. Their piety was also inspired by teachings and practices of Buddhism, Confucianism, and local cults. But their extensive connections with Quanzhen Daoist clergy and institutions over a long period of time afford us a unique opportunity for studying the elite practice and patronage of Daoism. As well-educated and well-traveled court officials and writers, the members of the Wyanan clan produced a body of writing that included autobiographies, poems, commemorative inscriptions, and essays, which, collectively, document their religious faith and activities. For instance, while generally categorized in modern libraries as simply a piece of travel writing or personal memoir, Wyanan Linqing's famous illustrated autobiography, *Hongxue yinyuan tu ji*, cited earlier, contains casual yet suggestive references and discussions of his personal pursuit of the Daoist faith over a period of half a century, as he sojourned in the realm. When critically and carefully cross-examined with other source materials such as standard histories, epigraphic inscriptions, local gazetteers, and even unofficial histories, the autobiography reveals the nature and extent of Linqing's patronage of Quanzhen Daoism. So when properly contextualized, this kind of autobiographic writing helps to recover and reconstruct Daoist aspects of Qing religious culture and life in the nineteenth century. For that reason, I base this study on a combination of sources: autobiographical writings, poems, epigraphic materials, monastic records, paintings and colophons, local gazetteers, unofficial as well as standard histories, and notes from my recent fieldwork in China.

In the following, I first contextualize Linqing's patronage of Quanzhen Daoism in relation to the ties to that sect maintained by his purported imperial ancestors and to the extensive bannerman involvement in various Daoist cults and temple festivals at the capital. I show that Linqing's beliefs and patronage were part of a widespread pattern among the Qing elite. Further, by examining Linqing and his

fellow bannermen's devotional practices in connection with their lives and careers, I hope to uncover the motivations behind their faith in Quanzhen Daoism. I show that belief in one's extraordinary personal destiny (*ming* 命), as well of pursuits of healing, and desires for moral capital and spiritual prestige inspired their Daoist pietism. Last, by documenting the deep penetration of Quanzhen Daoist ideas and practices into elite culture and life, I wish to highlight a less-known aspect of the Qing literati religious culture. For me, the Daoist component of that culture, as exemplified in the elite's close ties to Quanzhen, holds the key to understanding Daoist power and influence, both at the capital and elsewhere, in the course of late-Qing state-building and modernization. My future research will examine the relationship between the elite religious culture and the Daoist monastic expansion and empowerment at the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing and other places during the period of late-Qing reforms. But for now, let us turn our attention to the earlier stages of that relationship, which began partly with the Wanyans.

#### SEEDS OF THE BOND: WANYAN ANCESTORS AND EARLY QUANZHEN DAOISM

Arguably, the Wanyans' earliest ties to Quanzhen Daoism were those of their putative ancestors from the Jurchen imperial household that ruled north China in the late-twelfth century. Among them, the sixth emperor, Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–1189), or Wanyan Yong 完顏雍 (1123–1189), and his successor Wanyan Jing 完顏璟 (1168–1208) patronized the emerging Quanzhen sect, which was spreading throughout the North China Plain.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Nan Song chu Hebei xin Daojiao kao* 南宋初河北新道教考 (Beijing: Furen University, 1941). Yao Tao-chung, "Ch'üen-chen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries," Ph.D. diss. (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1980). See also Zhang Guangbao 張廣保, *Jin Yuan Quanzhen dao neidan xin xing xue* 金元全真道內丹心性學 (Beijing: Sanlian chubanshe, 1995). Another important patron of the emerging Daoist sect was Wanyan Yong's grandson Wanyan Shu 完顏壽 (Shousun 壽孫, z. Zhongshi 仲實, Zhiyu 子瑜, h. Chuxuan jushi 樗軒居士, 1172–1232), one of the well-known Confucian scholars of his time. Following the trend among fellow elite literati, Wanyan Shu composed stele inscriptions that commemorated the Daoist monasteries and lineage masters. Two of these are extant; see Wanyan Shu, "Zhongnan shan shenxian Chongyang zi Wang zhenren Quanzhen jiaozu bei" 終南山神仙重陽子王真人全真教祖碑, and "Changzhen zi Tang zhenren xian ji bei ming" 長真子譚真人仙跡碑銘, in Chen Yuan, *Daojia jin shi lue* 道家金石略 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 450–55. I am indebted to Vincent Goossaert for pointing out these two texts. For Wanyan's life and career, see Liu Qian 劉潛, *Gui qian zhi* 歸潛志, in Wang Youli 王有立, comp., *Zhonghua wen shi cong shu, di jiu ji* 中華文史叢書第九輯 (Taipei: Huawen shujun, 1969) vol. 69, pp. 13–16. For his official biog., see Tuotuo 脫脫 et al., *Jin shi* 金史 (rpt. edn. Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, comp., *Ershi wu shi* 二十五史 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986]) vol. 9, p. 200.



The neo-Daoist sect was founded by Wang Zhe 王喆 (1112-1170) in central Shaanxi around the 1140s, and it incorporated doctrinal values and ideas from the teachings of Laozi, Confucius, and Shakyamuni. Wang embraced simple living, self-discipline, self-sacrifice, and compliance with social norms and moral conventions; he named his new religious and spiritual teaching “Quanzhen,” or “Complete Perfection 全真.” From 1167 onward, Wang traveled eastward to Shandong and the rest of the North China Plain, and began to spread his teachings there. In war-ravaged Shandong, Wang found a ready audience among both the literati and the commoners. Soon, he converted several key members of the cultural elite, who became a coterie of disciples and clients.<sup>16</sup> After Wang passed away in the fall of 1170, these early disciples continued spreading Quanzhen teaching throughout Jurchen-controlled north China. By the time of Shizong’s reign (1162-1189), Quanzhen teachings were widely accepted and devotional societies and temples were established throughout the Shandong, Hebei, Henan, and Shaanxi regions under Jurchen rule.

Faced with the increasingly formidable influence of the new sect, Shizong and his successor adopted a policy of cautious accommodation and containment, despite their instinctive suspicion about a potential threat from such sectarian organizations. Wary of Quanzhen’s political influence in Shandong, Shizong invited Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142-1217) and Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1147-1227) to his court in Beijing, and on various occasions sought from them the teachings of the Quanzhen masters. Deeply impressed with the moral character and charisma of Qiu Chuji, Shizong presented the Daoist master with fruit placed on a gold platter, during an audience in 1188, and lodged him at the imperial guest house within the imperial city.<sup>17</sup> After the emperor’s death,

<sup>16</sup> Most prominent among Wang’s early disciples were Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123-1183), Liu Chuxuan 劉處玄 (1147-1203), Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (1123-1185), Qiu Chuji 邱處機 (1147-1227), Hao Datong 郝大通 (1140-1212), Wang Chuyi 王處一 (1142-1217), and Ma’s wife, Sun Bu-er 孫不二 (1119-1182), all of whom later became the famous Seven Perfected Masters 七真 of the nascent sect.

<sup>17</sup> Shizong held audience with Wang Chuyi and Qiu Chuji on several occasions at his palace in Beijing between 1187 and 1189, for both personal and political reasons. His first audience with Wang (in 1188) seems to have been in the context of a Buddhist scheme to defame and poison Wang. Having survived the poisoned wine, Wang impressed Shizong so much that he was awarded with lavish gifts and a gold crown. Shizong also ordered a cloister constructed for Wang in Beijing, where he stayed until the late spring of 1189, when Wang was allowed to leave. But he was summoned to court again by Zhangzong. Zhangzong granted Wang the title of Great Master who Embodies Mystery 體玄大師. See Qin Zhi-an 秦志安 (Chuli daoren 樗樸道人), *Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗, j.5, in Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, Shanghai shudian 上海書店, Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社, comp., *Daozang* 道藏 (Beijing and Shanghai: Wenwu Chubanshe, and Shanghai shudian, 1988; hereafter *DZ*), vol. 3, pp. 361-63, and also “Wang Zongshi daoxing bei” 王大宗師道行碑, in Beijing tushu guan jinshi

his successor and grandson, Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1190–1208), also became a patron. Twice he gave audience to Wang Chuyi to seek teachings and advice on state governance and self-cultivation, and bestowed lavish gifts and titles on Wang.<sup>18</sup>

The Wanyans' ties with Quanzhen Daoism continued after the Mongol conquest of north China, a period when the fortune of the Wyan clan steeply declined. A majority of the imperial household were slaughtered by the invading Mongol armies in the spring of 1233 at Qingcheng 青城, a small town south of Kaifeng. Among the minor lineages of the imperial household who survived the catastrophe, some retreated back to their homeland in present-day Manchuria, while others stayed to serve the Yuan court and ultimately some of them became involved in the Quanzhen sect. Wyan Deming 完顏德明 joined the sect and rose through its ranks. During the reign of the last Yuan emperor Huizong's reign (1335–1368), Deming served as the grand lineage master 掌教大宗師 and presided over all the Quanzhen monasteries and clergy in the Yuan empire.<sup>19</sup>

#### FORGING A NEW BOND: THE WANYANS AND QUANZHEN DAOISM UNDER THE QING

Unknown to us are whatever ties the Wanyans had with Quanzhen Daoism during the Ming period. It also remains unclear whether Linqing and his immediate ancestors knew of the family's early Quanzhen patronage and involvement. Regardless, whatever connections the later Wanyans claimed to have had with their Jurchen imperial ancestors

zu 北京圖書館金石組, comp., *Beijing tushu guan cang Zhongguo lidai shi ke taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏歷代中國石刻拓本匯編 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989; hereafter, *BTSK*), vol. 87, p. 157. For Shizong's audience with Qiu, see Qiu Chuji, *Panxi jixu* 潘溪集, j. 2–3, in *DZ*, vol. 25, pp. 818, and 823. See also Qin Zhi-an, “Changchun Qiu zhenren” 長春丘真人, j. 4, in *DZ*, vol. 3, pp. 359–61.

<sup>18</sup> See Yao, “Ch'üen-chen,” and Hachiya Kunio 蜂屋邦夫, *Kindai Dōkyō no kenkyū, Ō jūyō to Ba tan yō* 金代道教的 研究王重陽と馬丹陽 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1992), and idem, *Kin Gen jidai no Dōkyō, shishishin kenkyū* 金元時代の道教七真研究 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1998).

<sup>19</sup> Very little is known of Wyan Deming. Most comes from Chen Yuan, who identified several stele records from which we can get a glimpse. Deming authored a brief stele inscription that recorded the recarving of a Yuan emperor's edict at the Palace of Eternal Joy in Shaanxi, and was mentioned in several other stele inscriptions at Daoist monasteries located in the Shaanxi, Hebei, and Henan regions. See Chen, *Daojia jin shi lue*, pp. 805, 787–88, 795–96, 798–800, 811–12, and 815–16. There is also a passing reference to a Grand Lineage Master Wyan in an epitaph. See Shao Hengzhen 邵亨貞 (1309–1401), “Pan lianshi Songan xu” 潘鍊師松菴序, in Shao, *Ye chu ji* 野處集 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1983) 2, p. 6a. Also see Chen, *Nan Song Hebei*, pp. 54–58. Note the misprint of Shao Hengzhen as Shao Henqing, and the incorrect citation of *juan* number “3,” instead of the correct “2.”

must be viewed as tenuous, if not outright fictitious, because very few of the Jurchen imperial household survived the Qingcheng massacre. For those even fewer Wanyans who perhaps returned to their Jurchen homeland in Manchuria after the Mongol conquest, it is impossible to establish which, if any, ultimately survived and prospered to become the allies of Nurhaci in his conquest of China nearly three centuries later.

Indeed, the imagined ties between Wanyan Linqing's clan and their Jurchen imperial ancestors are very much the function and the product of the early-Qing politics of conquest and legitimacy. In that context, the early exploits of the Jurchen rulers in China came to be perceived by early Qing emperors as an important source of cultural and political capital in legitimizing their conquest and control of China. Such memories were revived in order to consolidate Qing imperial claims as the new rulers of China.<sup>20</sup> This led the Qing court to recognize the Wanyans officially as descendants of the Jurchen imperial household. In 1753, at the Jurchen imperial tombs located in Fangshan 房山 in the southwestern suburbs of the capital, the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (Hongli 宏曆, 1711–1795; r. 1736–1795) rendered homage to Wanyan Arguda 完顏阿骨打 (1068–1123), the Jurchen founder. Further, because the Qianlong emperor was keenly aware of Wanyan Yong's reputation as “junior sage after Yao and Shun 小堯舜,” a flattering comparison by Confucian historians to the ancient sage kings, he ordered one of his most trusted grand secretaries, Akedun 阿克敦 (z. Lixuan 立軒, h. Hengyan 恒巖, 1685–1756), to conduct sacrificial rites to Shizong on his behalf. At that time, the emperor also extended special privileges concerning participation in the sacrificial rites to ninety-six members from the fifty-nine Wanyan sublineages who were serving in the Qing officialdom. Additionally, as part of their efforts to create political and symbolic legitimacy, early Qing emperors issued orders to protect and maintain sacrifices to the Jurchen imperial tombs outside the capital. According to Linqing, the Qianlong emperor even took the unusual political measure of elevating the status of the Wanyan lineage as the first among all clans under the Eight Banner system. Keenly aware of the ancient precedent wherein the sage king Shun who succeeded his predecessor Yao chose to treat the latter's son Danzhu 丹朱 with utmost courtesy and reverence, the Qianlong emperor signaled his desire to emulate such primordial sages and to gain political and moral legitimacy by gestures of honor and respect toward the Wanyans.<sup>21</sup> With

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., the 1663 stele inscription composed by the Kangxi emperor at Wanyan Yong's tomb in Fangshan, “Jin Taizu Shizong ling bei” 金太祖世宗陵碑, in *BTSK*, vol. 62, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup> In the 1753 ceremony, Wanyan Qi Cheng 期成額 (lord Mianzhai 勉齋公), Linqing's

an official status as Jurchen imperial descendants, the Wanyans were more than likely aware of all aspects of their ancestors' legacy, including any patronage and involvement with Quanzhen Daoism. Linqing claimed to be the twenty-fourth generation descendant from a minor line of Shizong's lineage, and made at least two personal trips to pay homage to Jurchen imperial ancestors at their tombs in the southern suburbs of the capital.<sup>22</sup>

Linqing's immediate ancestors did in fact develop specific ties with Quanzhen Daoism within just a few generations after the Manchu conquest of 1644.<sup>23</sup> Beginning with Linqing's grandfather, these connections were fixed chiefly through such activities as patronage of Daoist temples and cultivation of personal associations with Quanzhen priests at these institutions between the late-eighteenth and late-nineteenth centuries. For the Wanyans, all of this was a natural extension of their personal and family belief system, one that provided both spiritual vision and power. For the Quanzhen priests and their monasteries, association with the Wanyans and their kind offered both a short-cut access to power and prestige, and opportunities to influence even more the

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great-grandfather (an imperial scribe at the Qianlong court), was among the 96 Wanyans present at the homage ceremony at Fangshan. After the ceremony, the emperor bestowed on him a bolt of silk and a pair of embroidered bags. Later, according to Linqing, the throne issued a special instruction to the compilers of the imperially commissioned biography of the banner clans and lineages (*Baqi Manzhou shizu tong pu* 八旗滿州氏族通譜, completed 1744) to list the Wyanan clan as the primary clan of the Eight Banners lineages by moving its entry from the original 28th *juan* to the first. Interestingly, Linqing made the analogy between the Qianlong emperor's decision and Shun's reverential treatment of Yao's son to fashion a political ritual since known as "Yu bin 虞賓"; "Fangshan bai ling" 房山拜陵, *HX* 3, pp. 109b-10b. It appears that the order for this change given by the emperor was either never carried out, or never issued, as alleged. After the completion of *Baqi Manzhou*, there did not seem to have been any additional revisions or new compilations after 1753, esp. any imperially commissioned. See E'tertai 鄂爾泰 et al., comp., *Baqi Manzhou shizu tong pu* (1744; rpt. Shenyang: Liaohai chuban she, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> See "Fangshan bai ling," in *HX* 3, pp. 109b-10b. In the fall of 1843, when recalled to the capital, Linqing attempted to pay a visit to the tombs, but instead had to attend to urgent business in the capital and was anxious about reports that tigers were frequenting the tomb grounds. Then, in fall of 1845, he and his sons reached the imperial tomb site with the help of the tomb guards, who were said to have fended off the marauding tigers still frequenting the area.

<sup>23</sup> Among the Wyanan ancestors of early Qing, Liubao 留保 (z. Songyi 松齋, ?-?) actively fraternized with Daoists. A trusted official of the Kangxi emperor and a mentor to the literary genius Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1798), Liubao left several poems about his visit to Daoist sacred sites; see his "Shangqing ji shi" 上清即事, in Tiebao 鐵保, *Qin ding xi chao ya song ji* 欽定熙朝雅頌集 (Hangzhou: n.p., 1804) 26, pp. 8a-9a. For information on their early Qing ancestors, see the biog. of Ashitan 阿什坦 in *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志, rpt. in Qian Yiji 錢儀吉, comp., *Beizhuan jipai* 碑傳集 (1893), in *QDZZ*, vol. 109, pp. 92-98. See Enhua 恩華, *Baqi yiwen bian mu* 八旗藝文編目 (Beijing: n.p., 1941). For recent studies of the Wyanan lineage in Beijing, see Ding Yizhuang 定宜庄, "Neiwufu Wyanan shijia kao" 內務府完顏世家考, *Qing shi lun cong* 清史論叢 (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chuban she, 1996), pp. 133-45, and Jing Ai 景愛, *Huangyi chen fu*, *Beijing de Wyanan shi* 皇裔沉浮北京的完顏氏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002).

world as they knew it, in a time of profound social and political change and upheaval that typified late nineteenth century China.

After the conquest, the first significant ties between Quanzhen Daoism and the Wanyan family were those created by Wanyan Dai 完顏岱 (z. Xiaoyan 曉巖, ?–1801). He was the elder of the two sons of Wanyan Qi Cheng 期成額 (z. Mianzhai 勉齋, ?–1775), who served as Manchu senior vice-minister of war 兵部左侍郎 at the Qianlong court between 1772 and 1775.<sup>24</sup> But unlike his father, Wanyan Dai never rose up into the Qing central bureaucracy in the capital. He held posts primarily in the Qing local and provincial governments in the North China Plain. Lord Xiaoyan 曉巖公, as Wanyan Dai was known to posterity, began his official career as the magistrate of Xian county in the Hejian prefecture of metropolitan Zhili province. Having established a reputation as a frugal and energetic magistrate, lord Xiaoyan was promoted to serve as the prefect of Nanyang in Henan province toward the late 1790s. It was during official tenures at various posts in Henan that he developed a close relationship with Quanzhen Daoism.

Between the early 1790s and his death in 1801, lord Xiaoyan served in several key Henan positions at a time when the court was confronted by a revolt of the White Lotus sect 白蓮教. The millenarian uprising started in Hubei initially around 1796, and quickly spread to the neighboring provinces of Sichuan, Anhui, Henan, Hunan, Shaanxi, and Gansu, challenging Manchu rule in those places.<sup>25</sup>

Both lord Xiaoyan's private and professional lives were affected by the rebellion. Just a few years earlier, in the spring of 1791, while serving as the Nanyang prefect, he became a grandfather, with the birth of Linqing. At the time, Wanyan Tinglu 完顏廷鏞 (?–1821?), his son and Linqing's father, was serving as the prefect of Suzhou, hundreds of miles from Nanyang, which was the Wanyans' home away from their banner residence in Beijing. Tinglu's absence made lord Xiaoyan cherish his grandson even more. He took an enthusiastic part in Linqing's upbringing. When Linqing reached the age of six *sui*, lord Xiaoyan took time from busy work to teach him to read. Linqing recalled years later that

<sup>24</sup> See Qian Shifu 錢實甫, *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* 清代職官年表 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 427–28. For biographic information on Wanyan Dai, see Hashikawa Tokio 橋川時雄, *Manshū bungaku kōhai kō* 滿州文學興廢考 (Beiping: Moji Dōmeisha, ca. 1942), p. 38a.

<sup>25</sup> For the history of White Lotus sectarianism in late imperial China, see B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1992), and Blaine C. Gaustad, "Rebellious Sectarianism and the State in Mid-Qing China: Background to the White Lotus Uprising of 1796–1804," Ph.D. diss. (Berkeley: University of California, 1994). For the Qing court efforts at suppressing the sectarian uprising, see also Le Bao 勒保 (1740–1819), *Ping ding jiao fei ji shi* 平定教匪記事 (rpt. Taipei: Chengwen chuban she, 1971).

he took his first lessons in the Manchu language (*guoyu* 國語) with his grandfather. Later, when the overwhelming workload of official duties rendered it impossible for him to continue giving lessons, lord Xiaoyan arranged to have special tutors to teach Linqing at home school. But he also nearly lost his grandson in 1796, when the White Lotus rebellion reached Nanyang.

Located in the southwestern corner of Henan, Nanyang occupied an important defensive position. To the north and east, the Yellow River and the Huai River connected the vast North China Plain and northwestern regions to the coastal provinces. South of Henan lay the prefecture of Xiangyang, a key strategic stronghold and the center of trade in the Han River valley, which connected the grain-rich and populous Hu-Guang region downstream to the frontier provinces of Shaanxi and Gansu upstream and northwest. Because of its geographically central location, Nanyang was always a strategic region hotly contested by imperial contenders throughout Chinese history. It came as no surprise that when the 1796 uprising broke out in the Han River valley, it first spread northward to Nanyang.

One day that year, the boy Linqing was playing in the courtyard of the Quanzhen Daoist Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery, located in the northwestern quarter of the city. Unknown to him, a roving band of the White Lotus rebels led by Zhou Sanye 周三野 had invaded the Nanyang region by surprise. They looted, pillaged, and burned towns and villages as they made their way toward the city. As the rebels approached the monastery, the young Linqing went on with his play at the monastery grounds, unaware of the imminent threat to his life. Realizing the danger of the situation, a Quanzhen Daoist priest by the name of Wang Laican 汪來燦 quickly grabbed Linqing and hid him in the thicket of a banana tree, covering him with its leaves. After the rebels left, the Daoist then took Linqing back home to his mother and grandparents at the prefect's residence in the city.

Seeing that their grandson had escaped the marauding rebels unscathed, the grateful lord Xiaoyan and his wife, lady Socoro 索綽羅, a devotee to the Daoist patriarch Lü Dongbin, followed an age-long practice by having their grandson adopt the priest as his protector and mentor.

The rescue by the Daoist left a profound impression on Linqing. It was one of the events he interpreted as part of a certain "predestined bond (*yuan* 緣)" that ultimately shaped his life. In 1832, thirty-seven years later, and on his way to Guizhou, Linqing paid a special visit to

the monastery in the hope of reuniting with his Daoist teacher, but he found out to his dismay that the master had passed away. He recorded his forlorn feeling of loss in the poem discussed at the beginning of this article.

By the time lord Xiaoyan was leaving Nanyang to assume the office of grain-tax circuit intendant in Kaifeng in 1797, he had cultivated close ties with the Quanzhen monastery, as evidenced by the the “Stele of Virtuous Governance (‘Dezheng bei 德政碑’), alluded to in Linqing’s poem. The stele glorified lord Xiaoyan’s tenure in Nanyang as one that belonged to the venerated category of “virtuous governance,” elevating him to the status of a sage official of classical antiquity.<sup>26</sup>



*Figure 1. Searching for the Banana Tree at the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery*

“Yuanmiao xun jiao” 元妙尋蕉; HX 2, p. 22a.

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A routine gesture of appreciation by the local community toward a departing magistrate, such a stele would typically be erected in front of the magistrate’s office buildings. But this stele was erected in front of the Shrine of the Triple Pures 三清殿, the main temple

<sup>26</sup> The stele was titled “A Stele of Lord Xiaoyan’s Virtuous Governance” 曉巖公德政碑. Linqing made several references to the commemorative stele in his illustrated autobiography; HX 2, p. 22b. On recent field trips to Nanyang in the summers of 2004 and 2005, I found out that this and many other steles were removed from the forecourt of the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery during the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s. Carved out of limestone slabs, some of the removed steles were deemed a good source of ingredients for iron smelters, which were intensively operated at that time. While some were smashed to pieces for that purpose, others were used as construction materials for roads, bridges, and government

of the monastery. Its central location in the monastic compound was indicative of the Nanyang Quanzhen Daoist community's special recognition of lord Xiaoyan as a patron and defender of their monastery, a major hub on the Quanzhen travel and pilgrimage circuit in north China in the late-nineteenth century.

The Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery in Nanyang was purportedly first established in the mid-1350s under the reign of the last Yuan emperor Huizong 惠宗 (r. 1333-1368), toward the end of the Quanzhen boom under Mongol rule. Throughout the Ming, the Nanyang prefectural administration maintained its office of Daoist Registrar 道紀司 at the monastery to oversee the Daoist affairs in the prefecture. During the early-Qing period, the monastery emerged as one of the important Quanzhen centers in central China.<sup>27</sup> It evolved a network of small cloisters and temples in the outlying counties of Nanyang prefecture and beyond. These affiliated cloisters and other Quanzhen temples in neighboring regions formed an important local and regional network of pilgrimage and travel for Daoists and lay followers alike. By the early-nineteenth century, the monastery alone had at least three affiliated large abbeys and cloisters in and around Nanyang. In 1813, the monastery had over one hundred Quanzhen monks and practitioners living there.<sup>28</sup> At its height during the Qing, the monastery owned more than

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buildings in the city. But quite a few were rescued by the staff members of Nanyang Cultural Relics Bureau, such as Mr. Wu Chen. With Wu's help, I tracked some of the extant steles in the city. Some are currently stored at the Nanyang Museum warehouse, while others are scattered in various places in the city. On my 2004 trip I spotted an 1813 temple stele being used by a local resident as the support bench for his flower pots. I also found three other early-Qing temple steles at a local garbage dump piled faced down to protect their inscribed texts. This past summer, I was able to retrieve and tap-print the inscribed texts off the three at the garbage dump. But I have yet to locate the stele in question. I think it is highly likely that it exists somewhere in the city.

<sup>27</sup> I have recently uncovered three Daoist temple steles in Nanyang, all of which attest to active patronage of the Quanzhen monastery by top Qing regional officials. A 1658 stele inscription reveals that there were at least sixty-one resident Daoist priests 道眾 at the monastery at that time; see "Zhang da jiang jun shou yi ku gu bei" 張大將軍收瘞枯骨碑, in my own collection of stele rubbings.

<sup>28</sup> The data on the Quanzhen network for the Nanyang region are hard to come by. Based on the information gathered during my fieldwork, the monastery had two subordinated cloisters: one was the Palace of the Three Primordials 三元宮 at the historic site of Broad View Slope 博望坡, and the other was the Daoist Cloister on Mount of Solitude 獨山道院, located in the eastern suburbs. The monastery had a close affiliation with the Quanzhen clergy housed at the Hall of the Martial Marquis 武侯祠, located northwest of Nanyang. The number of Quanzhen priests living at the monastery then was approximately 102, as recorded on an 1813 stele which I found at the compound of the old monastery during my 2004 visit. See "A Stele of Strict Rectification of Pure Regulations at Xuanmiao Monastery" 元妙觀嚴整清規碑 (1813), photo in my collection. As the monastery courtyard was occupied previously by the KMT county government in the early 1920s, and by the CCP county government since 1949, the stele now serves as a stand for some potted plants in front of a residential building.



350 real estate properties and 70 acres of farmland in and around the Nanyang area. It is said to have supported as many as 347 Quanzhen priests.<sup>29</sup> But more importantly, because of Nanyang's proximity to the Daoist sacred Mount Wudang 武當山 in neighboring Jun county 均縣, Hubei, and with the ascendance of the cults of the Daoist god Zhenwu 真武大帝 and the Daoist patriarch Zhang Sanfeng 張三豐 during the Ming, the Nanyang Daoist monastery and its network also became a major center for pilgrims and itinerant priests who plied the water and land routes linking the Daoist temples on Mount Wudang in Hubei to the major Quanzhen centers located in Shaanxi and elsewhere.<sup>30</sup>

The 1796 uprising immediately affected the life of the ordinary people in the neighboring regions. In Nanyang, the impact of the spreading revolt, as evidenced in Linqing's rescue, must have disrupted the established monastic patterns of life that involved travel and pilgrimage. Lord Xiaoyan proved particularly enthusiastic in suppressing the rebels in the province. Between 1799 and 1801, at the height of the Qing campaigns against the White Lotus uprising in Henan, lord Xiaoyan played a crucial role by first serving as the surveillance commissioner

<sup>29</sup> The compilers of the 1904 county gazetteer recorded that the monastery "was inhabited by several hundred Daoists and was the foremost monastery southwest of the capital 黃冠行住動(輒?)數百人, 爲京師西南道觀之最" The figure given most likely reflected the situation before or around the Taiping rebellion in the 1850s; see Pan Shoulian 潘守謙 and Zhang Jiamou 張嘉謀, *Xin xiu Nanyang xian zhi* 新修南陽縣志 (1904; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxian gongsi, 1976) 12, p. 24a. Yu Yinlin 于蔭霖 (1838–1904), who served briefly as the governor of Henan (1900–1901), sojourned in Nanyang afterwards and spent a lot of time at the Daoist monastery while recuperating from his illness. He provided an account of the lingering grandeur and wealth visible in the gardens and ponds at the Monastery toward the end of the Qing dynasty; Yu, "Xibei yuan ji" 西北園記, in *ibid.*, 12, pp. 22a–24a. See also Nanyang xian defang zhi biancuan weiyuan hui 南陽縣地方誌編纂委員會, *Nanyang xianzhi* 南陽縣誌 (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1990; hereafter, *NYXZ*), pp. 586–87. In my interviews there, elderly people could recall the magnificent garden ponds, winding paths, pavilions, and tree groves, which apparently existed until the late 1950s.

<sup>30</sup> The circuits of monastic travel among Quanzhen centers in Nanyang, Xi'an, temples on Mounts Huashan and Wudang, and farther to the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing can be discerned from several facts. One is the existence of a network of Zhengwu temples (known locally as Zushi miao 祖師廟) located throughout the Nanyang regions. The most well-known temple is the North Summit (Bei ding 北頂) located on Mount Wuduo (Wuduo shan 五朵山) west of Nanyang. Together with the South Summit (Nan ding 南頂) located on Mount Wudang, it was the center of the major annual regional cult and pilgrimage known as "worshipping the North Summit (*chao Bei ding* 朝北頂)," which drew worshippers from the whole Central Plain. The temple celebrates the memory of both the Daoist god Zhenwu, and Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (r. 1399–1402), the second Ming emperor, who is said to have escaped to the mount after being deposed by his uncle Zhu Di. There in the mountain, Zhu Yunwen purportedly engaged in Daoist self-cultivation, in imitation of the god Zhenwu, for more than four decades before attaining immortality and becoming one of the Daoist patriarchs (*zu shi* 祖師) widely worshipped throughout the Nanyang region. See Ai Tinghe 艾廷和 and Qiao Mingxian 喬明憲, "Zhongyuan daojiang sheng di Wuduo shan" 中原道教勝地五朵山, in *Nanzhao xian wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuan hui* 南召縣文史資料委員會, comp., *Nanzhao wenshi ziliao* 南召縣文史資料 9 (1994), pp. 28–32. In my interviews with current Quanzhen priests in Nanyang,

and then as the commissioner of finance for the province. He provided leadership and courage in raising militias and in leading Qing forces. In the ninth month of 1801, he died on his way to supervise the Qing defense against the rebels along the Yangtze River.<sup>31</sup> His commitment and courage earned him the respect and admiration of the Henan gentry, who erected a permanent tablet in his honor at a major commemorative shrine dedicated to the memory of ancient sages and worthy officials in the provincial capital of Kaifeng.<sup>32</sup>

DREAMS, DESTINY, AND ENCOUNTERS:  
THE SPIRITUAL MILIEU OF LINQING'S FAMILY

As did numerous contemporaries, the Wanyans attached great significance to dreams, which they viewed as playing a vital role in uncovering and defining individual's situations. As such, dreams figured prominently in the lives of three generations of the family. In those dreams, Daoist deities, immortals, and patriarchs appeared. It is no wonder that, growing up in such a family, Linqing was influenced by Daoist-inspired dreams as a guiding that could shape his life.<sup>33</sup>

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many spoke proudly of bygone days, when priors and abbots at Mount Wudan temples were all from the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery in Nanyang. The four abbots at the Nanyang Quanzhen monastery before the 1910s hailed from Shandong, Shaanxi, and Henan, and they had sojourned and held monastic posts at other major Quanzhen centers in Xi'an and Beijing, before Nanyang. See biogs. on abbots Lü Hezheng 呂合震 (?-1866) and Zhang Xuanyuan of Shandong, in Chen Minglin 陳明霖, *Taishang lue mai Longmen zhengzong chuan jie pu xi* 太上律脈龍門正宗傳戒譜系, long-hand scroll (photo in my collection). Yao Aiyun (?-1912), the prior at White Cloud Monastery in the early 1880s, came from Shaanxi before Nanyang, where he joined the monastery in 1885. See Yu, "Xibei yuan ji," in Pan and Zhang, *Xin xiu Nanyang* 12, pp. 22b-24a. Another influential abbot, Li Zhiran 李至然 (?-1939), abbot of the Nanyang monastery after the Republican revolution, also sojourned at the White Cloud Monastery and at the Eight Immortals' Cloister 八仙庵 in Xi'an, where he was abbot until the early 1910s. See Cao Tianduo 曹天鐸 1941, "Hansan zi Li Zongyang dao xing bei 涵三子李宗陽道行碑," (transcribed stele text and photo in my collection). Another indicator of these circuits is the diverse birthplaces of the monastic clergy at Nanyang. For the most recent and thorough study of the Quanzhen geography and distribution between 1700 and 1950, see Vincent Goossaert, "The Quanzhen 全真 Clergy, 1700-1900," in John Lagerwey, ed., *Religion and Chinese Society, Volume II: Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U. of Hong Kong P., 2004), pp. 699-771. For the seasonal pilgrimage routes and participating communities in the cults centered at Wudang Mount during late-Qing and early-Republican times, see Wang Guangde 王光德 and Yang Lizhi 楊立志, *Wudang dao jiao shi lue* 武當道教史略 (Beijing: Huawen chuban she, 1993), pp. 266-268.

<sup>31</sup> See "Huan cui cheng shi" 環翠呈詩, in *HX* 1, pp. 3a-3b.

<sup>32</sup> Lord Xiaoyan's tablet was worshipped at the Shrine of Lords Xiao and Cao 蕭曹祠 in Kaifeng, dedicated to the memory of Xiao He 蕭何 (?-193 BC) and Cao Can 曹參 (?-190 BC), who helped found and secure the Han empire, 2d c. BC; see *HX* 2, pp. 6b-7b.

<sup>33</sup> Dreams and dream divination and interpretation in traditional China have been the focus of studies by sinologists and historians of China in the past few decades; Carolyn T. Brown, ed., *Psycho-Sinology: The Universe of Dreams in Chinese Culture* (Washington, D.C.:

Lord Xiaoyan's daughter-in-law and Linqing's mother, Yun Zhu 惲珠 (z. Zhenpu 珍浦 and Xinglian 星聯, 1771–1833) provides a clear example. Her given name means “Pearl,” and it invoked a potent dream her grandmother had at the time of her birth. She came from a long line of literati who exemplified both the highest Confucian virtues and the spirit of Daoist freedom and escapism. One of her early ancestors was councilor to the provincial commissioner of finance in Fujian under the Ming dynasty. But the grandson of that ancestor, a great scholar, refused to serve the Qing court out of a sense of Confucian loyalty. He lived out his life as a recluse commoner, giving lessons in the classics. With such virtuous ancestors, expectations for Yun Zhu were high almost from the time of her birth. Following a well-established cultural practice among some traditional elite, Yun Zhu claimed that her birth was attended by her grandmother's propitious dream. In her dream, lady Tang allegedly saw an old woman coming to visit. The woman handed her a large pearl, whose brilliance filled up the bedchamber. Interpreting such a dream as a propitious sign of the newborn granddaughter's extraordinary character and talent, lady Tang subsequently named her Zhu, or “Pearl.”

Yun Zhu continued to report dreams well into adulthood. She believed that they presaged and affirmed her persona and career as a literary and artistic virtuoso who in prior existence had been a celestial scribe in a Daoist empyrean. One of her dreams evoked the Daoist lore of encounters with immortals on remote islands. In it, Yun Zhu envisioned herself as a traveler to an island in the sea, where she found lotus flowers as large as cart wheels.<sup>34</sup> Later, she would tell people that she used to serve as a scribe in charge of esoteric scriptures on Scarlet Fragrance Isle 紅香島, a Daoist celestial paradise of immortals, and that she was simply banished to the world of mortals. She called her library the Studio of the Scarlet Fragrance 紅香館 and adopted a Daoist-sounding studio name for herself – Daoist from Lotus Lake 蓮湖道人.

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Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars 1988); also Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-Tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), and idem, “Divination in Ch'ing Dynasty China,” in Richard J. Smith and D.W.Y. Kwok, eds., *Cosmology, Ontology, and Human Efficacy* (Honolulu: U. of Hawai'i P., 1993), pp. 141–78.

<sup>34</sup> Elements of Yun Zhu's dream are highly reminiscent of early Daoist hagiographic accounts of fantastical encounters. The chapter on imperial investitures (Fengchan shu 封禪書) in the *Records of the Historian* describes how the Han emperor Liu Che 劉徹 was fascinated with possible encounters with immortals on remote isles of the Eastern Seas, where magical fauna of extraordinary size and longevity flourished. According to Sima Qian, the Daoist magician Li Shaojun 李少君 told the Han emperor that he had visited the immortal An Qi Sheng 安期生 who gave him the melon-sized giant dates of longevity. See Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記 28, in *Ershi wu shi*, vol. 1, p. 175.

Yun Zhu matured as a woman of great expertise. She was a consummate poet, acute literary critic and compiler, a refined painter, an inspiring instructress in the classics and poetry, an understanding wife, a loving mother, and a revered matron and household manager.<sup>35</sup> To some of her contemporaries, her self-identity as a banished celestial immortal living out a life according to her dream was more than a literary conceit. Rather, it was seen as proof of the Daoist lore come true.<sup>36</sup> While Yun Zhu's sense of the self and her outlook on life reflected a common cultural practice about among some of the traditional elite, the latter also had deep connections with Daoist notions of preexistence and Daoist lore about keenly talented humans as banished immortals.<sup>37</sup>

Yun Zhu was a major influence upon her children's education and training as future elite literati, and in this regard her religious and spiritual beliefs and practices also inspired and influenced their outlook on life. Like his mother, Linqing recorded crucial events and dreams that were imbued with Daoist notions of cosmic forces and predetermined bonds of human relationships. The title of his illustrated autobiography, "An Illustrated Record of the Goose-Tracks on the Snow," evokes the metaphors of Su Shi's poetry, as mentioned, above.<sup>38</sup> For Linqing, recording and piecing together unfolding events were like the weaving of a fabric of one's life. Understanding the intricate connections held the key to a fulfilled life. In a preface to the illustrated autobiography, one of Linqing's protégés explained the idea of a "predestined or causal bond" whereby destiny was revealed through one's recognition of the links between past, present and future, and between self and others:

Everything has without exception its causal bond. But as time passes, it all becomes goose-tracks in the snow. Certainly one

<sup>35</sup> For additional biographical information about Yun Zhu, see Pan Shi-en, "Yun taifuren zhuan" 惲太夫人傳, in *QDZJ*, vol. 114, pp. 347-49, and Ying He 英和, "Yun taifuren zhuan" 惲太夫人傳, *ibid.*, pp. 349-50. On Yun's role in women's literary and religious activism, see Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford U. P., 1997).

<sup>36</sup> Cai Zhiding 蔡之定, who composed her epitaph at Linqing's behest, noted that Yun Zhu's life was a verification of legends about immortals who lived their lives among mortals; see "Wanyan mu Yu tai furen mubiao ming" 完顏母惲太夫人墓表銘, in Qian, *Bei zhuan ji* (*QDZJ*, vol. 114), pp. 344-47.

<sup>37</sup> Yun Zhu's self-perception as an exiled immortal from the Daoist empyrean is a common trope in traditional elite writings about the self and talent, which stress otherworldliness and unconventionality or an individual's knack. The Tang poet Li Bai 李白 (701-762) is often described as a banished immortal (*zhe xian* 謫仙).

<sup>38</sup> Actually, the phrase "hongxue" has two meanings. One refers to a large snowfall, while the other means the goose-tracks on snow. By extension, the latter is invoked to mean the traces of things old or past. In this context, Linqing's naming of his book was most likely inspired by Su Shi's poem to his brother; see n. 2, above.

cannot generalize about this. When people engender these causal bonds, they may bestow them through delicate acts upon others. But the recipients through their own nonchalance or casualness may regard these bonds as simply goose-tracks in the snow. By not expressing them prominently in speech and words, they insubstantiate these bonds until they become empty, so that [eventually] they do not know that the bond of humanity begins first with one's parents and continues with the grace of the sovereign. After that, it goes on with one's officials or subjects, one's in-laws, friends and associates, with mountains and valleys, with days of rain as well as those of sunshine, and with animals and plants. They all must have their presence in speech and words.<sup>39</sup>

It is with the purpose of sorting out and confirming such causal bonds that Linqing committed to words the events, persons, and encounters that had left an indelible and lasting impact.

#### A DAOIST-BOUND DESTINY: PLAYING WITH THE ELIXIR AT THE HALL OF LENGTHENING LIFE

One such event took place at the compound of the Grains and Salt Tax Circuit Administration in Kaifeng in 1797, when the boy Linqing was living there. A pavilion in the rear courtyard, not far from the family school, was set up for Linqing and his brothers. With the two words, "Lengthening Life 延年" written on its front-piece plaque, the pavilion was said to have been inhabited by a Daoist immortal. All its windows and doors remained tightly shut throughout the year, except on days of ritual worship and sacrifice. Linqing reported that on a moonlit night in 1798, while walking back from the family school, he suddenly spotted an elixir (*dan* 丹) pill, as round as a pearl and as bright as fire. It soared into the clouds and shone as bright as the moon. As it floated in and out of sight, the ball suddenly split into two. One flew up in to the clouds while the other fell downward. Then all of sudden, the one from the sky started to descend, to merge with the one rising, both emanating a propitious five-colored radiance. As the two pill-balls of elixir merged, they exploded into a brilliant cascade of sparks. As Linqing stared at the spectacle, one of the cascading sparks fell on his shoulder. He let out a scream, and the pill disappeared in a blink.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See Ruan Yuan 阮元, "Hongxue yinyuan tuji xu" 鴻雪因緣圖記序, in *HX* 1, pp. 3a-b.

<sup>40</sup> See *HX* 1, pp. 2a-b.

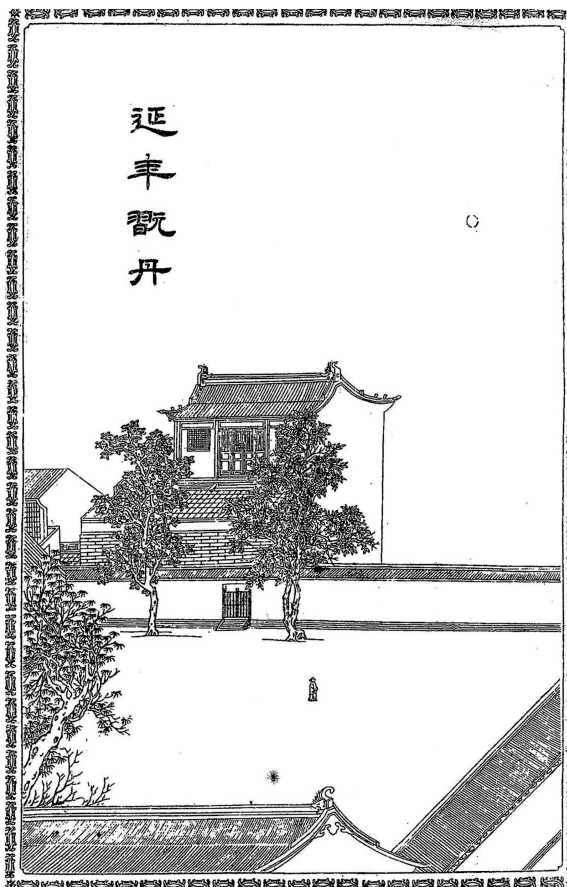


Figure 2. *Playing with the Elixir at the Hall of Lengthening Life*  
 “Yan nian wan dan” 延年翫丹; HX 1, p. 1a.

Linqing did not elaborate on the significance of this encounter in his autobiography. But contemporary readers would have understood it as an omen. By describing the encounter with an immortal’s spirit (in the form of the elixir ball) in such vivid detail, and by placing it on the first page of his life story, Linqing created an identity inextricably linked to the cosmic and divine. Together with his rescue by a Daoist, it marked him as someone who had been “touched” by an immortal’s spirit, thus affirming a successful path in life.<sup>41</sup>

Twenty-seven years later, in the second month of 1825, Linqing would receive promotion as the new circuit intendant for the Yellow River Works for Kaifeng and Guide 歸德 prefectures. Upon his arrival in Kaifeng, Linqing did something extraordinary. Instead of first checking in at his office, he went straight to his childhood haunt: the Pavilion of Lengthening Life at the compound where his grandfather once held court, and where he had been showered with the sparks from the

<sup>41</sup> Linqing’s assiduous self-promotion as a “blessed” and therefore “lucky” person was supported by colleagues, friends, and protégés, some of whom portrayed him as the reincarnation of “a blessed star (*fu xing* 福星)” whose success in life and career was predestined due to both his imperial pedigree and his inborn literary talents and administrative skills. See Zhong Shiyao 鐘世耀, “Hongxue yinyuan tu ji xu” 鴻雪姻緣圖記序, in HX 1, pp. 6a–7a.

elixir. There, Linqing paid homage by kowtowing to the immortal's spirit in the old pavilion. In a poem he composed for the occasion, Linqing described the thrill and excitement of being reunited with the sacred site:

少小曾遊處 而今作宦遊 未參新政府 先問舊書樓 祖德期無忝 君恩那得酬  觀民原乏術 況復奠黃流	As a lad, I once roamed the grounds; Now I return as an official for a visit. Before checking in at my new office, I first call upon thee, old Pavilion. How can I live up to my ancestors' virtues? How can I repay my Sovereign's magnanimity?  Hardly skilled in governing the people, Now I have the added duty to worship the Yellow River. <sup>42</sup>
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His joy was doubled by his return as a high official. Facing his duties in managing the ever threatening floods of the Yellow River, Linqing mused over the challenge of having to live up to the expectations of the throne and of his ancestors, such as lord Xiaoyan. While ending his poem on a cautious and modest tone, Linqing's initial exuberance at the beginning of the poem is simply too infectious and strong to fade away. He was also affirming his childhood fantasy – a prophecy come true, an unfolding of a special destiny promised and manifested to him through that encounter with the divine immortal's spirit residing at the old pavilion.

Linqing's account of the flying elixir is significant for another reason. It demonstrates his familiarity with the Daoist discourse on self-cultivation and transformation through inner alchemy. It recalls legendary encounters between Daoist immortals and their mortal counterparts. During such encounters, the latter were often bestowed with longevity, enlightenment, wealth, health, high office and other benefits. That the elixir rose out of the pavilion inhabited by an immortal reveals that the grown-up Linqing was conversant with Daoist inner alchemy. In such practice, the Daoist practitioner was believed to refine and renew himself by engendering a potent elixir within his own body. Such refined elixir, in effect the spirit, of a perfected adept was said to have been capable of intelligence and movement outside the adept's body. It could roam and fly. But the familiarity with these Daoist techniques that Linqing demonstrated was by no means unique or even uncom-

<sup>42</sup> See *HX* I, pp. 2a–b.

mon. Rather it was part and parcel of an elite religious culture during the late-Qing era.

Linqing's autobiographical account of his encounters with the spirit and his patronage of Daoists and their monasteries can be viewed in another sense. They were efforts at validating and rehabilitating a career that had begun to decline in the early 1840s.

#### ASSOCIATING WITH DAOISTS

Since antiquity, Daoists were seen as religious specialists with powers of prognostication and skills associated with cosmic forces that could shape human destinies. As such, Daoist adepts were sought for friendship and company by those seeking these insights.

In his more than four decades of court service, from the early 1800s to the 1840s, Linqing befriended many Daoists.

In the fall of 1816, while visiting his parents and making arrangements for his third marriage in Jinan, Linqing encountered a Daoist master. On a tour of the scenic Daming Lake 大名湖 in Jinan, Linqing was deeply impressed by the interior decorations of a pavilion by the lake where he and his mother had dined. He was particularly intrigued by the refined couplet on the front of the chamber, with the signature of a certain "Master Drunken Zither 醉琴."

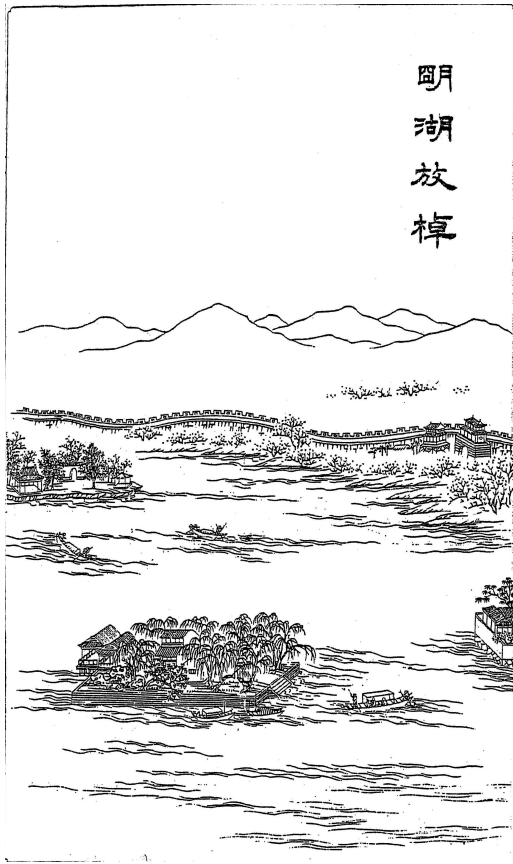


Figure 3. Boating on Lake Ming

"Ming hu fang zhao" 明湖放棹; HX 1, p. 45b.



Having found out that the master was a Daoist at the Pavilion of the Pole 北極閣 located on an island in the lake, Linqing sought him out. The following day, wearing proper attire, he hired a boat to call on the Daoist. The two hit it off right away; they spent hours exploring metaphysics and alchemy over tea inside the Daoist cloister, and then over wine in a boat adrift on the lake. The following evening, master Drunken Zither was so taken up with his young visitor that he invited three other like-minded friends to join them on a moonlit cruise on the lake. With the Daoist playing the flute, the revelers sang tunes from the Wu regions of Jiangnan. Listening to the music and songs, Linqing recalled years later that he felt transported to the Daoist celestial realm:

久事元君泰嶽巔	Having long served the Primordial Sovereign on Mount Tai's peak,
漫來此地奉金仙	I now ramble here to worship the golden immortal.
曲中山水參琴趣	While the subtlety of the zither intersperses with the mounts and moors around,
壺裏乾坤得醉禪	I derive drunken epiphanies from the cosmos within the wine jug.
十里明湖澄欄外	Ten miles of the clear lake are but a reflection outside the boat window,
萬峰秋色落尊前	While a thousand peaks of autumn colors fall in front of my cup.
道心寂歷塵心定	When the Heart of the Way is quiet, the heart of the dust settles down.
話到長生一嘔醉	As we turn our discourse to longevity, I fall drunk smiling. <sup>43</sup>

As the melodious notes from the Daoist's zither interspersed with the scenes of the lake and mounts, and as the wine poured into his belly, Linqing felt his "Heart of Dust" settling down. The pleasure Linqing derived from the moonlit cruise and the wine was more than physical. As the last two lines suggest, the activities quieted the heart of dust and induced a drunken state of oneness with the universe. The Daoist Drunken Zither was aptly named, and, as the poem suggests, Linqing's association with the Daoists like him satisfied a desire for inner peace and tranquility, away from the decorum and propriety of the premarital rituals of gift-giving and social interaction. A moonlit cruise on the lake with the fall foliage on the distant mountains and the company of Daoists symbolize a classic literati desire to escape from obligations.

<sup>43</sup> See "Ming hu fang zhao" 明湖放棹, in *HX* 1, pp. 45b-46b.

Such desires would accompany Linqing as he went to his various posts in the Qing realm, and he continued to seek the friendship and company of Daoist priests and adepts.<sup>44</sup>

#### PATRONAGE OF THE WHITE CLOUD MONASTERY (1819–1845)

Linqing's patronage of Daoism was centered on the Quanzhen White Cloud Monastery in the capital. It began with his career at court, first as an imperial academician and compiler, and then a secretary in the Board of War. In 1814, after five years of service at the Imperial Academy of History (Guoshi guan 國史館), Linqing was promoted with strong recommendations to secretary of the Board of War. In the first month of that year, his father Tinglu had been reassigned from his post in Suzhou to serve as the prefect of Tai'an, Shandong. All the Wanyans except Linqing went with him to Tai'an. But in the fall of that year lady Guaerjia 瓜爾加, whom Linqing had married barely four years earlier, passed away. Alone in the capital, he devoted himself to court duties.

In his spare time, Linqing would visit the White Cloud Monastery located just outside the southwestern gate of the capital. The origin of the monastery can be traced to the Daoist Temple of Eternal Heaven 天長觀, which was first built in 737, during the Tang-dynasty reign of Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 713–741). By the late-ninth century, the temple had fallen into disrepair. Early in the Yuan the old temple began to thrive again, with the ascendance of the Quanzhen sect under the leadership of patriarch Qiu Chuji (discussed above). Qiu undertook a successful meeting with Gengjis Khan in 1224, and subsequently was bestowed the title of “Divine Immortal 神仙” and given the charge of supervising all Daoist affairs in Mongol-ruled north China. With imperial sanction from the Mongol sovereign, Qiu and his followers took up residence at the defunct Temple of Eternal Heaven. They soon renovated it and renamed it “Palace of Eternal Spring 長春宮,” in honor of Qiu, whose sobriquet was “Master of Eternal Spring 長春子.” After Qiu's death in 1227, Yin Zhiping 尹志平 (z. Dahe 大和, h. Qinghe 清和, 1169–1251), his disciple and successor, built a cloister east of the old temple and named it “White Cloud Monastery 白雲觀,” where he preserved Qiu's remains in one of the new temples. The monastery saw further expansions and continued to receive court patronage during the Ming and Qing periods.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Linqing continued visiting Daoists as he traveled. For his visits to Daoist temples while serving in Anhui, see “Yin xian ting qin” 隱仙聽琴, and “Bai yue qi nian” 白嶽祈年, in *HX* 1, pp. 62a–b, and 67a–b.

<sup>45</sup> See Hu Ying 胡澐, “Baiyun guan chongxiu ji” 白雲觀重修記 (1444), and Wang Changyue

While the monastery celebrated the memory of a host of Daoist deities and patriarchs, patriarch Qiu Chuji was at the center of its legacy and appeal. Ever since the Jurchen Jin dynasty, Qiu and other early Quanzhen masters had remained the object of imperial patronage, particularly that offered by court officials and eunuchs. A thriving cult of the Quanzhen patriarch had evolved since at least the early Ming, centering on the annual festival celebrating the patriarch's birthday on the nineteenth of the first lunar month. The festival, which was held at the White Cloud Monastery around this time each spring, became known as "Yanjiu 燕九."<sup>46</sup>

During the Qianlong reign, the court patronized the monastery and the cult of patriarch Qiu. In the spring of 1786, the Qianlong emperor took notice of the decrepit condition of the monastery when he passed by it. He ordered the Imperial Household Department to contribute 8,600 taels of silver for its renovation. Upon the completion of the renovation in the spring of 1788, he went on an inspection tour of the monastery located in the western quarter of the capital. During his visit, he composed a poem and a memorial essay to commemorate the occasion in his characteristically self-aggrandizing way. Yet his writings reveal an admiring fascination with the Quanzhen patriarch's spiritual and moral legacy and his long-lasting appeal, since the Yuan.

The emperor's fascination was due in part to the fact that he shared the same *hao*, or style name, as the Quanzhen patriarch. His personal name was Hongli, and he adopted the style "Changchun jushi 長春居士," from the name given by his father, the Yongzheng emperor, to his studio during his youth. He later named all the studios he used after this first style-name.<sup>47</sup> That fact aside, Hongli's particular spiritual affinity to his Daoist namesake may have stemmed from an anxiety about his political legacy as a ruler. By 1786, when he composed the commemorative essay about the Daoist patriarch, he had been on the throne for half a century. Now already in his mid-seventies, he would have good

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王常月, "Chongxiu Baiyun guan bei ji" 重修白雲觀碑記 (1706), in *BTSK*, vol. 51, pp. 121-22, and vol. 66, p. 87. The stele inscription that bears Wang's name and the date of 1706 also referred to that year as the date of the completion of the construction. Yet as Koyanagi noted, Wang had died in 1680. The stele appears to have been composed and inscribed by someone else after Wang's death. For a brief summary of imperial patronage under the Yuan, Ming, and Qing courts, see Koyanagi Shigeta 小柳氣司太, *Hakuunkan shi* 白雲觀志 (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin Tōkyō kenkyūjo, 1934), pp. 1-29.

<sup>46</sup> For a recent discussion of the Yanjiu festivities, see Xun Liu, "Visualizing Perfection: Daoist Paintings of Our Lady, Court Patronage, and Elite Female Piety in the Late Qing," *HJAS* 64 (June, 2004), pp. 57-115.

<sup>47</sup> See Hongli 弘歷, "Chongxiu Baiyun guan bei ji" 重修白雲觀碑記, in *BTSK*, vol. 75, p. 93.

reason to reflect on how and whether his legacy would measure up to that of his father, and especially his grandfather the Kangxi emperor 康熙 (Xuanye 玄燁; r. 1662–1722). Dwelling on the meaning of “Eternal Spring,” the proud Hongli reasoned:

The conduct and words of Master Eternal Spring can be seen in the Daoist books and miscellaneous biographies. I, however, prefer his two remarks from historical sources.

Heaven has four seasons. The spring flourishes, the summer grows, the autumn gathers in, and the winter stores. While each season administers its own manifestations, they all center on the spring. The growth in the summer further unfolds the spring. The fruition of the autumn is the respite of the spring. The storage of the winter is the container of the spring. The spring is the Qian trigram in the cosmos, the humanity in man, and the primary of the seasons in time. It is a unitary *qi* 氣 that connects all and generates life ceaselessly.

I have also examined its meaning in “Treatise on the Minor Spring” 小春說, which states: “The great application of Heaven and Earth is called the spring. When humans attain it, it completes their body.”

It also states: “When the old are cared for, the young thrive. When the annual harvest is bumper, people are at peace. This is the spring in the world. When animals begin to wiggle from hibernation and plants start to shoot, following their respective natures through vigorous growth, this is the spring of multiple beings. When emperors and kings extend from their selves to benefit the people and multitude under heaven, this is their spring.

I was fortunately bestowed by my emperor-father with a special tablet entitled, “Eternal Spring.” Ever since then, I have named all my studios, bedchambers, and living-rooms likewise. This way, I could supinely integrate and embody the Way of Heaven, and extend it from myself to all that is under heaven, without a single day of lapse. This year, I have reached the age of seventy-eight *sui*. I have diligently applied myself. Viewing the whole realm, peace and joy reign, and people are happy and healthy. But not a singly day, I dare to regard this as my own merit.

Master Chuji is a man from outside this world. His eternal spring relies on his perfection of his self and mind. His sayings “Revere the Heaven and love the people,” and “Purify your heart and diminish your desires,” are the eternal spring for emperors

and kings. They are true and veritable. I thus think that they accord with me... ”<sup>48</sup>

The Qianlong emperor’s charismatic patronage of patriarch Qiu’s cult is symbolic of a larger Qing elite participation in the cultic worship of Daoist patriarchs. Such participation was institutionally backed by the powerful Imperial Household Department, which made annual donations from its coffers to support the staging of the annual festival for Patriarch Qiu’s birthday. This fact Linqing duly noted on one of his tours of the White Cloud Monastery.<sup>49</sup>

It was against such a background that Linqing first developed admiration for patriarch Qiu, especially for what the Quanzhen patriarch had achieved in the interest of the people. In a eulogy composed in 1828, Linqing praised the patriarch and his disciples:

Examining the Song era from afar, people were then suffering from alienation and chaos. Taizu 太祖 of the Yuan had just vanquished forty states. His armies were just being unleashed southward. While a cosmic catastro-

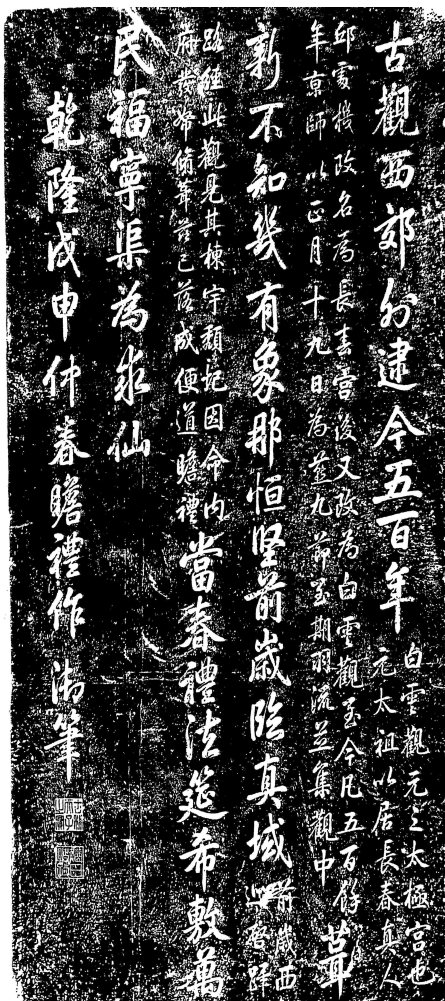


Figure 4. 1788 Stele of the Qianlong Poem on the White Cloud Monastery

BTSK 75, p. 90.

<sup>48</sup> See Hongli, “Chongxiu Baiyun guan bei ji,” and “Baiyun guan zhanli shi” 白雲觀瞻禮詩, *BTSK*, vol. 75, pp. 93 and 90.

<sup>49</sup> See Wanyan Linqing, “Chongxiu Baiyun guan Zongshi wu ji” 重修白雲觀宗師廡記, in Koyonagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, pp. 148–49.

phe was pending, and lives were hanging on a thread, Heaven chose to favor the Realized One (that is, Qiu Chuji). Having journeyed west and halted the killing, he, together with Yin and the Eighteen Lineage Masters, returned to comfort the drifting refugees. Every gentleman who studies history cannot but admire them. The (Daoist) lineage tradition of compassion and simplicity thus began to thrive with them!”

The occasion of this eulogy was a visit to the monastery. In 1819, most likely during the annual festival, Linqing joined the crowds that filled the White Cloud Monastery. As he recalled, while touring the Corridors of the Lineage Masters 宗師廡, which were two side shrines flanking the main temple in honor of patriarch Qiu, Linqing discovered to his dismay that the portraits of Quanzhen lineage masters on the walls of the Corridors were in a severe state of disrepair. So much so that the identities were barely recognizable. Linqing queried several Daoist priests at the monastery in order to determine those identities, but to no avail. As part of the entourage who had accompanied patriarch Qiu on his arduous journey to meet with Genghis Khan, the eighteen Quanzhen masters were credited with assisting the patriarch in dissuading the khan from committing massive slaughter in north China during the Mongol conquest. Yet the presiding abbot informed him that the original eighteen portraits had long since been lost, and what remained on the wall were the best available resemblances.

After this visit, Linqing met with Cai Mengyin 蔡夢因, a friend and colleague who shared his passion for the Quanzhen legacy. The two began to scour library collections at the court in an effort to retrieve and sort out the identities of the portrayed masters. Cai informed him that what remained at the monastery were the only extant portraits of the eighteen masters. Pained at the thought of losing this heritage, the two made a pact that they would first draw sketches of the remaining portraits in order to preserve them, and then they would have the eroded portraits repaired. A decade later in 1828, when Linqing was serving in the provincial capital of Kaifeng as the surveillance commissioner of Henan, he and several other friends joined with abbot Zhang Hezhi 張合智 (z. Jiaozhi 教智, fl. 1820s) to pay for the renovation of the side shrines at the White Cloud Monastery. The renovation was completed in three months, with new roofs and freshly repainted portraits of the eighteen masters.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Linqing's patronage of the White Cloud Monastery mirrored a pattern of Qing bureaucratic elite involvement in Quanzhen Daoism. The Imperial Household Department's support of the Yanjiu festivities reflected the general interest in the monastery and the cult by two of its major constituents: the elite banner officials, who managed and supervised the operations of the Department, and the Han Chinese eunuchs, who provided services and care to the members of the imperial household. By the late-nineteenth century, many prominent banner families were involved in a voluntary association organized to fund and sustain the Yanjiu festival and the Hall of Patriarch Qiu at the White Cloud Monastery. In 1882, Liu Chengyin 劉誠印 (1840–1895) and Zhang Chengwu 張誠五, two powerful eunuch officials from the Department collaborated with a bannerman in establishing this association of devotees to patriarch Qiu. Named "The Permanent Sacred Society in Honor of [Master] Eternal Spring 長春永久供會," the association consisted of 178 donors. Significantly, a majority, 111 donors, were bannermen and banner officials at the court. Five institutional donors appear to have been business establishments, such as restaurants or general supplies stores either patronized or financed by bannermen and eunuchs. The remaining sixty-two were a group of eunuch officials and eunuchs from the Department. The mission of the society was to raise funds to purchase lands and properties whose rents would ensure daily supplies needed for the continuous operation of the Hall of Patriarch Qiu, and provide for the annual festival.<sup>51</sup> Among the donors, several were prominent officials, such as Changshun 長順 (z. Heting 鶴汀, ?–1904) and Lishan 立山 (z. Yufu 豫甫, ?–1900).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See "Changchun yongjiu shenghui huishou" 長春永久盛會會首 (1882), and Li Qijun 李其嵩, "Baiyun guan Changchun yongjiu gonghui beiji" 白雲觀長春永久供會碑記 (1886), in *BTSK*, vol. 85, p. 88, and vol. 86, pp. 6–7. For Liu and other eunuch officials and their conversion to Quanzhen Daoism, see Goossaert, "Taoists of Peking," pp. 183–86. For Liu's biogs., see Gao Mingtong 高明桐 (also known as Rentong 仁桐), "Suyun zhenren daoxing bei ming" 素雲真人道行碑銘, and Liu Zhirong 劉至融, "Suyun Liu xianshi beiji" 素雲劉先師碑記, in *BTSK*, vol. 87, pp. 128–29.

<sup>52</sup> Changshun was of the Dahulilebeier 達呼里勒貝爾 clan affiliated with the Manchu Plain White Banner. He served with distinction under Wenxiang (1818–1876) in suppressing bandits in Manchuria, and later under Shengbao 勝保 in campaigns against the Nian rebels. In 1877 he was promoted to commandant of the Hanjun Plain Banner 漢軍正白旗都統 and commander of the Imperial Bodyguards 內大臣. A skilled field commander, he was particularly noted for martial talents and bravery in a series of campaigns on the Qing frontiers in Manchuria and the northwest. He served as military governor at Uliastuai 烏里雅蘇臺 in 1871 and later at Jilin in 1888. He died in 1904. See Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽, *Qing shi gao* 清史稿 (*liezhuan* 列傳, j. 248), in *Ershi wu shi*, vol. 12, p. 1449; also Gu Yun 顧雲, "Taizi shaobao Jilin jiangjun En te he en Batulu yi Zhongjing Guoboluo gong shendao bei ming" 太子少保吉林將軍恩特赫恩巴圖魯諡忠靖郭博羅公神道碑銘, in *QDZZ*, vol. 118, pp. 65–72.

Lishan came from the Tumote 土默特 clan of the Mongol Plain Yellow Banner. A trusted veteran official at the Inner Court, he served such high posts as superintendent of the Suzhou

## LINQING AND THE CULT OF LÜ DONGBIN

Aside from patriarch Qiu Chuji and the eighteen earlier masters of the Quanzhen school, the cult of Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (fl. late Tang) constituted an important element of the Wanyans' religious world. Their participation in this cult reflected a long-established pattern of similar elite participation.

While historians still disagree on the historicity and identity of the figure of Lü Dongbin, it is generally accepted that by Northern Song times, Lü Dongbin's persona as a powerful healing and spiritual deity had become associated with emerging practices of Daoist inner alchemy.<sup>53</sup> In the twelfth century, Lü was incorporated as one of the five grand patriarchs (*wu zu* 五祖) into the Quanzhen pantheon.<sup>54</sup> By the time of the Yuan dynasty, Lü, together with other Quanzhen patriarchs and early masters, had become the recipient of regular court patronage and investitures of awe-invoking titles, such as Imperial Sovereign (*di jun* 帝君). With the proliferation of his cults throughout China, Lü became one of the most celebrated Daoist immortals and deities among both the elite and the common folk. As Quanzhen Daoism spread from the north and northwest to the rest of China during the Yuan, Lü Dongbin found his way into Quanzhen temples and cloisters, which frequently were centers of worship and pilgrimage for lay devotees among commoners and the elite alike.<sup>55</sup>

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Silk Manufactory 監蘇州織造 (1879), minister of the Imperial Household Department 內務府大臣 and deputy commandant of the Hanjun Plain White Banner (1883); later he became president of the Board of Revenues (1900). At the height of the Boxer riots, Lishan was embroiled in a clash at court with the powerful, conservative, prince Zaiyi 載漪. Lishan was thought to be sceptical of the touted strength of the Boxers, and he opposed the prince's policy of using the Boxers against foreigners. Because Lishan resided next to a foreign church, Zaiyi accused Lishan of colluding with the foreigners and maneuvered to have him sentenced to death in the summer of 1900. See Zhao, *Qing shi gao* (*Ershi wu shi*, vol. 12), p. 1454, and the entry in *Qing shi lie zhuan* 清史列傳 reprinted in *QDZJ*, vol. 103, pp. 480-83.

<sup>53</sup> See Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Yueh-yang and Lü Tung-pin's Ch'in-yuan ch'un: A Sung Alchemical Poem," in G. Naundorf et al., eds., *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien: Festschrift für Hans Steininger zum 65 Geburtstag* (Wurzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1985), pp. 19-31; also idem, "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Song Literature," *CEA* 2 (1986), pp. 133-69.

<sup>54</sup> Zhang Guangbao 張廣保, "Meng Yuan shiqi de Quanzhen puxi kao" 蒙元時期全真譜系考, in Lu Guolong 盧國龍, ed., *Hongdao yu chuangcheng, Quanzhen jiao yanjiu luwen ji* 宏道與傳承全真教研究論文集 (Hong Kong: Qingsong chuban she, 2004), pp. 134-62.

<sup>55</sup> The prominent Lü Dongbin center during the Yuan, the Palace of Eternal Joy, has been studied by Jing Anning, "Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Taoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368)," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton U., 1993), and Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 1999). For a study of the cult in the Southern Song period, see Isabelle Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin sous les Song du Sud," *JA* 285.2 (1997), pp. 473-507. For the proliferation of Lü Dongbin hagiographies as dramatic tropes in the Yuan era, see Richard Fu-sen Yang, "Lü Tung-pin in the Yuan Drama," Ph.D. diss. (Seattle: U. of Washington, 1955).



Since the Song era, Lü Dongbin had been portrayed as a magical healer and peddler of medicine who revived the sick and dying with his alchemic elixir pills.<sup>56</sup> Popular hagiographical accounts since the Jin period had portrayed him as a witty, powerful yet compassionate deity who responded efficaciously to his followers' calls for help with spiritual enlightenment or life-saving medical recipes, or both.<sup>57</sup> This image had rendered him one of the most sought-after Daoist deities, one that frequently descended to séance sessions.<sup>58</sup> By Qing times, the cult of Lü Dongbin had become widespread and integrated into the daily life of both the elite and commoners.<sup>59</sup>

In Beijing, along with the cults of Guandi, Our Lady of Mount Tai, and Guanyin, the Lü Dongbin cult was the fourth most popular in terms of numbers of followers and dedicated temples. The cult was favored by many officials, literati, sojourning merchants, as well as local residents in the capital. Many followers formed their own devotional groups or private shrines where they engaged in divination and spirit-writing practices.<sup>60</sup> The patriarch's birthday on the fourteenth of the

<sup>56</sup> See Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature," pp. 139-40. On the association of Lü with herbal drug preparations during the late-imperial era, see Ho Peng Yoke, Beda Lim, and Francis Morsingh, "Elixir Plants: The Ch'un-yang Lü Chen-jen yao shih chih 純陽呂真人藥石制 (Pharmaceutical Manual of the Adept Lü Ch'un-yang)," in Nathan Sivin and Shigeru Nakayama, eds., *Chinese Science: Explorations of an Ancient Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T.P., 1973), pp. 153-202.

<sup>57</sup> The image of Lü Dongbin as both enlightener and healer appeared in the Daoist hagiographies and mural paintings at the Palace of Eternal Joy during the Yuan era and such aspects of his power remained part of his divinity later on (anonymous, *Lüzu zhi* 呂祖志, in *DZ*, vol. 36, pp. 446-89); see Miao Shishan 苗時善, "Chunyang dijun shenhua miao tong ji" 純陽帝君神化妙通記, in *DZ*, vol. 5, pp. 703-33 (see also Jing, "Yongle Palace," and Katz, *Images of the Immortal*). By mid-18th c., his exploits as healer had become widely disseminated via hagiographies; see Liu Tishu 劉體恕, comp., *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (1744; rpt. Xiangtang: Chongshan tang, 1868).

<sup>58</sup> By the late-imperial period, Lü Dongbin had become widely popular among the literati class, a fact noted by many early sinologists; see Henry Doré (1920), *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, Part 2, Book VI, trans. by M. Kennelly, S. J. (rpt. Taipei: Cheng-wen Publishing Company, 1966), p. 70.

<sup>59</sup> For most recent studies of the spirit-writing cult, see Mori Yuria, "Identity and Lineage: The 'Taiyi jinhua zhongzhi' and the Spirit-Writing Cult to Patriarch Lü in Qing China," and Shiga Ichiko, "Manifestations of Lüzu in Modern Guangdong and Hong Kong: The Rise and Growth of Spirit-Writing Cults," in Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, eds., *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (Honolulu: U. of Hawai'i P., 2002), pp. 165-84, and 185-209. For spirit-writing and the western lineage 西派 of the Daoist inner-alchemy of late-Qing Sichuan, see Huang Zhaohan 黃兆漢, *Daojiao yanjiu lunwen ji* 道教研究論文集 (Hong Kong: Chinese U. of Hong Kong P., 1988).

<sup>60</sup> From the late-18th to late-19th cc., at least five temples in Beijing were named after the patriarch; these celebrate him as the primary deity; see Xu Daoling 許道齡, *Beiping miao yu tong jian* 北平廟宇通檢 (Beiping: Guoli Beiping yanjiu yuan shixue yanjiu hui, 1936) *j.1*, pp. 6, 65, 120, and 171; and *j.2*, p. 44. Xu's list does not include special shrines attached to Daoist and Buddhist monasteries in the capital. Nor does it include any of the numerous smaller

fourth month was celebrated at temples and shrines in and around the capital that honored him either as the sole god, or as one of several deities.<sup>61</sup> Many devotees came to such temples to seek intercession for such vital matters as healing and success in the state examinations.<sup>62</sup>

As part of the Quanzhen pantheon, the patriarch's memory was also celebrated in one of the well-attended temples at White Cloud Monastery. The first shrine exclusively in his honor was completed in 1796. At least two high-ranking Qing court officials were involved as donors. Peng Yunhui 彭蘊輝 (z. Qusheng 蘊生, h. Puyan 璞巖, Yuanfeng 遠峰, 1779–1809), a Hanlin academician from Changzhou, Jiangsu, and Miao Yuanyi 繆元益 (z. Chengxiang 澄香, h. Dongsheng 東生, ?–1835), the president of the Board of Revenue from Wuhu, Anhui, collaborated with the abbot and other monastic leaders in raising a total of 4,800 taels of silver for building the shrine exclusively honoring the patriarch.<sup>63</sup>

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the most prominent and well-attended temple in honor of the patriarch was arguably the Shrine of Patriarch Lü 呂祖祠, which was located in the bustling Liulichang market 琉璃廠 district outside the Gate of Promoting the Martial 宣武門 in the southwestern quarter. The history of the shrine dated back to the Ming dynasty. Between 1850 and 1867, it underwent two major renovations and expansions. The first expansion was a joint effort between Zhang Jiaoliang 張教亮, the resident Quanzhen priest at the shrine, and a group of sojourners mostly from Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang, a region most

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shrines and cloisters that worshipped the patriarch either as one among other chief deities, or as an ancillary god.

<sup>61</sup> From the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, there were at least five temples named after the patriarch in the capital which celebrate him as their primary deity. See Xu Daoling 許道齡, *Beiping miao yu tong jian* 北平廟宇通檢 (Beiping: Guoli Beiping yanjiu yuan shixue yanjiu hui, 1936) j.1, pp. 6, 65, 120, and 171, and j.2, p. 44. Xu's list does not include special shrines attached to Daoist and Buddhist monasteries in the capital. Nor did it include any of the numerous smaller shrines and cloisters which worshipped the patriarch either as one among other chief deities, or as ancillary gods.

<sup>62</sup> Since the Ming, examination candidates sojourning in the capital were known to offer prayers for better exam results at such temples there. Some reportedly achieved amazingly efficacious result from the patriarch; see Naquin, *Peking*, pp. 193–94.

<sup>63</sup> See Cai Yongqing 蔡永清 “Baiyun guan juanchan bei ji” 白雲觀捐產碑記, in Koyonagi, *Hakuinkan shi*, pp. 145–47. For Peng Yunhui's biog., see Peng Yunzhang 彭繼章, “Cong xiong bian xiu gong xingzhuang 從兄編修公行狀,” in idem, *Gui pu kan cong gao* 歸樸齋叢稿, j. 9 (printed in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, *ji bu* 集部, *bieji lei* 別集類 [Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995–99], vol. 1518, pp. 640–42), and Ruan Yuan, “Hanlin yuan bianxiu Peng Yuanfeng mu zhi ming” 翰林院編修彭遠峰墓誌銘, in idem, *Yan jing shi er ji* 聖經室二集, j. 6 (*Xuxiu Siku quanshu* edn., vol. 1479), p. 144. For a biography of Miao, see Qian Yiji, “Chaoyi dafu qian Jiangsu Xuzhou fu zhifu Miao jun mu zhi ming” 朝議大夫前江蘇徐州府知府繆君墓誌銘, in idem, *Kan shi zhai jishi xu gao* 衍石齋記事續稿, j. 9 (*Xuxiu Siku* edn., vol. 1509), pp. 234–35.

well-known for providing *muyo* 幕友, those quasibureaucratic legal and financial specialists who served on the staff of high-ranking court and provincial officials during the Qing era. So while the stele commemorating the expansion did not give any details on the social background of the major donors, the fact that they were from Shaoxing suggests that they were either merchants, students, or most likely the staff councilors, deputies, or protégés of high-ranking officials stationed in the capital. Of the total contribution of about 1,101 strings of cash (*diao* 吊), the three leading donors from Zhejiang gave about 420 strings. The balance was made up of donations from other individual and family donors, local philanthropic groups, and business establishments that appear to have specialized in medicinal herbs, books, and paper. The funds added a front gate, and a roofed veranda in nine sections.<sup>64</sup>

Sixteen years later, in the fall of 1867, the shrine underwent an even larger expansion. By this time, it had grown in popularity, with patronage from both empress-dowagers of the Qing court. Empresses-dowager Ci'an 慈安 and Cixi 慈禧 had dispatched eunuch superintendents to offer silk draperies (*pan* 幡) to the statue of patriarch Lü Dongbin at the shrine.<sup>65</sup> Among other imperial devotees, the households of prince Yi of the First Blood 怡親王 and prince Zhong of the Second Blood 鐘郡王 contributed to the expansion project. Indeed, the donor list for the 1867 expansion contained a total of more than 440, of which, 239 were individuals, 146 were institutions like small business (*hao* 號), voluntary and philanthropic associations (*tang* 堂) or their representatives, and 55 were families and households (*fu zhai* 府宅). Among the individual donors, many were prominent high-ranking court officials. The governor of Shanxi, Qiao Songnian 喬松年 (z. Jianhou 健侯, h. Hechai 鶴儕, 1815–1875), for example, gave twenty taels of silver.<sup>66</sup> Significantly, thirty-three, or nearly fourteen percent of the individual donors were women who gave money under their natal family names. Since women

<sup>64</sup> Epigraphic materials attest to the existence of centers of worship in the western and southwestern quarters of the city, and in the western and northeastern suburbs of the capital. The most prominent of Lü temples was the Shrine to Patriarch Lü (Lüzü ci 呂祖祠); it originated during Ming, and was located in the Liulichang area in the southwestern section of the capital; see Wu Bin 吳彬, "Lüzü ci" 呂祖祠 (1850), and Meng Zhicai 孟至才, "Chongxiu Lüzü ci ji" 重修呂祖祠記 (1867), in *BTSK*, vols. 81, p. 199, and vol. 83, p. 120. For other devotional centers, see Zhang Jinbang 張金榜, "Lüzü ge bei" 呂祖閣碑 (1828), *BTSK*, vol. 79, p. 130; Ci Yun 慈雲, "Lüzü sheng hui bei" 呂祖聖會碑 (1889), *BTSK*, vol. 86, p. 132; anon., "Lü Chunyang ji bi ke shi" 呂純陽亂筆刻石 (1889), *BTSK*, vol. 86, p. 115; and anon., "Chongxiu San Sheng Guan bei ji" 重修三聖觀碑記 (1889), *BTSK*, vol. 86, p. 123.

<sup>65</sup> See Meng, "Chongxiu Lüzü ci ji," in *BTSK*, vol. 83, p. 120. See also Naquin, *Peking*, p. 348.

<sup>66</sup> For Qiao's life and career, see the entry in *Qing shi gao* (*Ershi wu shi* edn., vol. 12), p. 1389.

were often the main source of family donations to temples, the actual percentage of female contributions for the 1867 expansion of the Shrine of Patriarch Lü would have to be greater. While it is impossible to know exactly how many of the 1867 donors were actually Manchu and Hanjun bannermen, their involvement in the cult of the Daoist patriarch was suggestively reflected by several prominent family donors. The construction of a scriptorium at the shrine in 1867 was inspired by a gift of the Daoist Canon from the descendants of the principedom of Yi 怡親王府. Additionally, the household of prince Zhong 鐘郡王府 gave ten taels of silver. So did the Manchu households of princes Yi 怡宅 and Bao 寶宅.<sup>67</sup>

Like many of their fellow banner people, the Wanyans, especially Linqing and his parents, were devotees of the Lü Dongbin cult. Their belief in the patriarch and involvement in the cult's activities were an integral part of the Wanyans family life. At various junctures, the Wanyans would turn to the Daoist patriarch for counsel and help in making important decisions.

The summer of 1816, when Linqing befriended Drunken Zither in Jinan, was an eventful time in his life. His visit to his parents in Shandong came at a time of great prospects in his official career, on one hand, and tragic personal losses, on the other. As mentioned, he had already served in the prestigious Inner Cabinet as a Hanlin scholar and the Academy of History. Five years later in 1814, he was promoted to serve as a secretary in the Board of War. Linqing was on a good roll. But these successes were darkened by two tragic losses. First, his bride, lady Guaerjia, whom he married in 1809, died in the fall of 1814. Then two years later, his second wife, lady Shushu Jueluo 書書覺羅, died merely two months into their marriage, in summer of 1816. Linqing was devastated. He attributed both of the losses to an incompatibility in destiny and physiognomy 命相不符 between himself and his deceased wives. During Linqing's stay in Tai'an, many eligible families came to call and sought marriage. Still in grief, Linqing was hesitant. His parents Tinglu and Yun Zhu also found it difficult to make up their mind for their son. As a last resort, they sent Linqing to a Daoist cloister at the famous Botu Spring 趵突泉 outside the western gate of Jinan to offer prayers to patriarch Lü for guidance in the matter.

Linqing recorded in his autobiography decades later that his prayers were answered by the patriarch. The lot that he drew at the cloister carried a lucky prognostication about a match between himself

<sup>67</sup> See Meng, "Chongxiu Lüzu ci ji," in *BTSK*, vol. 83, p. 120.

and lady Cheng Mengmei 程孟梅 (1791?-1876), a bride proposed by Yun Zhu. In the early fall of that year, Linqing accompanied his mother to the Chengs' residence in Jinan and presented them with geese and other nuptial gifts. Linqing claimed years afterwards that the marriage was a match made in heaven. According to Linqing, lady Cheng was not only a loving mother to the two sons she bore, but she also turned out to be a dutiful daughter-in-law and an acute literary editor and assistant to Yun Zhu.<sup>68</sup>

The Wanyans would visit temples in honor of patriarch Lü as they sojourned in various parts of the country. On these occasions, like many of literati and officials, they composed poems to reflect on the meanings and morals surrounding the lore of the Daoist patriarch. These poems afforded a glimpse into the inner thoughts of the Wanyans as they participated in the cult in honor of the Daoist patriarch.

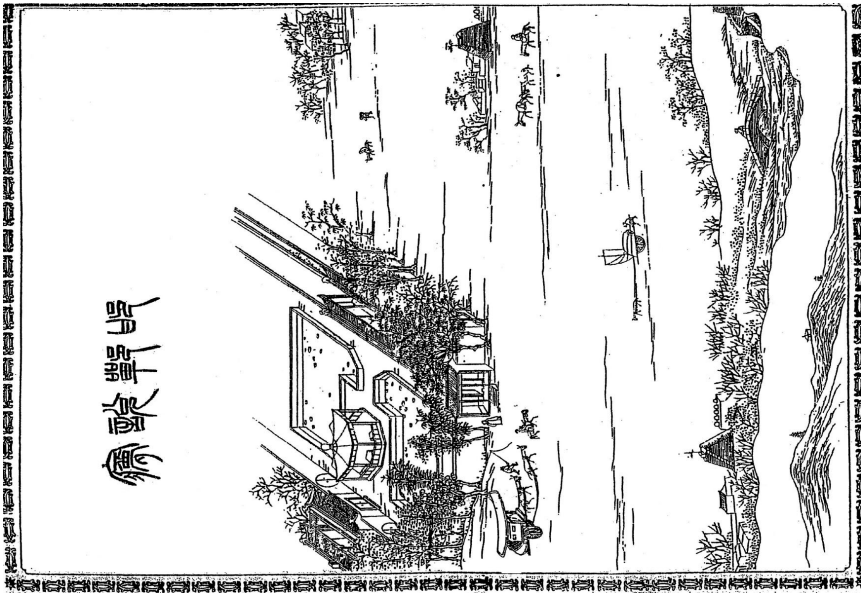
In the summer of 1833, while accompanying Yun Zhu's remains from Kaifeng back to Beijing for burial, Linqing and his eldest son Chongshi 崇實 (z. Zihua, h. Pushan 樸山, and Ti-an 惕龔, 1820-1876) made a stop at the famed Shrine of the Scholar Lu 盧生祠 in Handan 邯鄲, Zhili. The shrine there commemorated the legendary encounter between patriarch Lü and an aspiring office candidate named scholar Lu that was supposed to have taken place late in Tang times. Much popularized in romances, Yuan drama, and later in the Qing-era Peking opera, the legend tells of a Daoist immortal, who brought epiphany to scholar Lu concerning the vanity of office and the transience of life, while the latter was dozing away in a dream, with his pot of yellow millet simmering over the stove in a roadside inn at Handan. The temple at Handan was first built during the Northern Song period and underwent at least two major renovations and expansions in 1668 and 1789. Composed of several major halls and shrines honoring the two Daoist patriarchs Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, as well as the legendary scholar Lu and other deities, the Handan Shrine attracted literati visitors, merchants, and commoners from the Song down to the Qing. Many visitors left poems at the temple, reflecting on the legendary encounter and the lesson of enlightenment taught by the patriarch.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See Wanyan Linqing, "Ci yun xun meng" 慈雲尋夢, in *HX* 1, p. 5b.

<sup>69</sup> The temple ground at Handan, as I noticed in the summer of 2005, still has many steles inscribed with poems and epigrams composed by Ming and Qing literati. A total of 215 poems have been collected into a modern compendium, of which a majority (156) are of Ming and Qing dates. Two short verses composed by Linqing on a visit in 1842, around the time when he was removed from office (as discussed, above), are included; see Liang Chen 梁辰 and Zhang Zhidong 張志東, *Huangliang meng shi ci jing xuan* 黃梁夢詩詞精選 (Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe, 1999), p. 92.



Figure 6. Carved Statue of Scholar Lu in Dream  
 Digital photo taken at Huanliang meng 黄梁梦  
 in Handan, China, summer 2005.



← Figure 5. Interpreting the  
 Dream at Handan  
 “Handan shuo meng” 邯郸说  
 梦; HX 3, p. 78a.

During their visit to the temple, Linqing encouraged Chongshi to compose a poem. The fourteen-sui Chongshi penned a poem on the wall, showing his understanding of the moral of the tale:

功名富貴總煙雲	Feats, fame and fortune are but passing clouds;
一枕能教萬事全	A dream on a pillow completes the epiphany.
畢竟痴人有痴福	Even a dreaming fool can have a fool's luck:
夢爲將相醒爲仙	A minister or general in dream becomes an immortal when awake.

At the time of the visit to the shrine, Linqing had learned about his appointment as the director-general in charge of the Southern River Works, one of the highest positions in the realm. The prospect of high office, and the accompanying fame and fortune must have been exhilarating. Yet the excitement of the occasion was tempered by the loss of his mother, who exerted a dominant influence in his upbringing and his official career. Stopping at Handan, a town that straddled the major thoroughfare into and out of the capital, was not routine for Linqing and his son. Years earlier, Yun Zhu left a poem as she traveled through Handan, a poem that Linqing would have read and remembered.<sup>70</sup> Now, the homage Linqing and Chongshi rendered there was as much a tribute to a good mother as it was to an exemplary follower of the Daoist immortal.

A decade later, Linqing would experience a career setback and end up thinking about the philosophical lesson that his son had drawn concerning the legend of the Yellow Millet dream. In 1842, a section of the Yellow River dike under Linqing's watch breached, causing loss of life and destruction in the adjacent regions. Soon after, Linqing received the imperial rescript stripping him of his post as the director-general of the Southern River Works. Considering his good service record and past achievements, the Daoguang emperor spared him the humiliation of being arrested and hauled to the capital in shackles. At the nadir of his career, Linqing turned over the official seal to his successor at the end of that year and moved out of the director-general's luxurious mansion to a small private studio, with a garden named "The Boat of Bamboo Rain 竹雨舫." There, while waiting for further instructions from the court, Linqing divided his time between recuperating from a

<sup>70</sup> Yun Zhu's poem was undated, but probably before 1814; see the date of the preface by Gao E 高鶚 (1738-1815) to her *Hongxiang guan shi cao* 紅香館詩草 (Wujing: Sheyuan, 1868), pp. 3a-b. She must have composed it on a journey to or from the Wanyans' registered homeplace in the capital. Entitled "On my way to Handan 邯鄲道中, she wrote: "淡月疏星欲曉天, 邯鄲道上促歸鞭 / 黃梁仙蹟今何在, 賸得千秋一夢傳."

chronic pain in his side, and reflecting on the ups and downs of his official career. In a poem written at this time, Linqing invoked the Yellow Millet dream to console himself and to regain a sense of detachment and optimism. He was a commoner, freed at last of all the concerns and anxieties of a court official. He mused about this in a poem titled “Farewell to the Garden of Tranquil Peace 別清晏園”:

爲辭傳舍拜花神	Before leaving the mansion, I pay homage to the goddess of flowers,
又向西園步一巡	And take yet another stroll around the West Garden.
清晏有圖仍屬我	The tranquil Peace is still mine, though in a painting;
韶華隨運自成春	With cycles of transformation, the good times return with spring.
詩吟紅豆今多暇	Now with leisure at hand I sound out rhymes about the Red Bean;
夢醒黃粱莫當真	Awake from the Yellow Millet dream, surely I will not treat it all as real.
聖主恩深容置散	The profound grace of my sagely lord has put me free and at large;
還鄉好作太平民	Homeward bound, I long to be a commoner at ease. <sup>71</sup>

In the summer of 1843, after a respite at home in the capital, Linqing was ordered back to Henan to assist Yellow River dike consolidation work. On his journey to Kaifeng, Linqing stopped in Handan, as he had a decade earlier. There he revisited the temple in honor of patriarch Lü and composed two poems that mused over the meanings of the dream, before resuming his travel south. At the temple, Linqing may have felt something similar to scholar Lu’s dream. Like the scholar, Linqing had attained one of the highest offices in the realm only to be dismissed in disgrace. But now he was given another special assignment by the throne. The rollercoaster ride of ups and downs prompted him to compose these thoughtful lines:

十年不走邯鄲道	For ten years I have not traveled Handan’s highways,
今日重來問古祠	But today I return to the old shrine in haste.
欲喚盧生談夢境	How have I longed to wake up Scholar Lu to talk about the dream!
個中滋味我曾知	For I have gained an insight into its taste.

<sup>71</sup> See “Zhu fang xi ying” 竹舫息影, in *HX* 3, pp. 25b–26b.



盧生倚枕笑相答 子又何緣入夢來 隻爲君恩酬不得 故教壯志未全灰	Reclining on his pillow, Scholar Lu smiled and said to me, “Why are you reentering the dream?” “Because I have not repaid my sovereign’s grace, I dare not lay all my ambitions to waste.” <sup>72</sup>
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These lines vividly capture a moment of intense conflict in Linqing, torn between his yearning to be carefree and at large, and his sense of obligations as a *booyi* to his lord. He was, it seems, anxious to share what he had gained from his experiences with scholar Lu, because only the latter would understand him. But on the other hand, as a loyal *booyi* with a history of privilege and trust bestowed by the emperor, and as a high-ranking official at the court, Linqing felt obligated to his duties and to the Daoguang emperor, who had just salvaged his career with this new task of assisting the Yellow River repairs.

In the end, bound by his sense of gratitude and duty toward the emperor, Linqing decided to “reenter” the dream world of officialdom by journeying on to Henan, the place of his new assignment. There, early in 1844, upon completion of the dike reinforcement, Linqing received a positive evaluation. He then took up residence at the Yellow Temple 黃寺 in Kaifeng in order to rest and to recuperate from his chronic condition. In the summer, Linqing suffered another onset of numbness in his limbs and a severe case of constipation. While a prescription prepared by a medical officer relieved him of constipation, the numbness persisted. Doctors were called in, and as part of their therapies, he was told to abstain from certain foods. A gourmet, Linqing found it difficult to follow the doctors’ diets. More importantly, Linqing based his resistance to doctors’ advice on a well-known medical opinion that dismissed food abstention as irrelevant to the treatment of diseases. Colleagues and friends who were versed in medicine also came with diagnoses and prescriptions. They disagreed and even contradicted one another. After carefully comparing recipes, Linqing chose one. However, he was uncertain about its two primary herbs, the medicinal properties of which would have conflicted with the season 時令不宜. To resolve this, Linqing turned again to patriarch Lü for help. He offered prayers and drew lots. After a colleague deciphered the prognostication on the stick he drew as affirming the two herbs, Linqing felt relieved, and while still at the Yellow Temple in Kaifeng

<sup>72</sup> Linqing mused over the meanings of the Yellow Millet dream in these poems; see “Handan shuo meng” 邯鄲說夢, in *HX* 3, pp. 78a–78b.

he began to take the recipe in combination with a regimen of massage and acupuncture.<sup>73</sup>

In the first lunar month of 1845, with the new dike completed, Linqing received a promotion as ministerial deputy with fourth rank and was granted leave to travel from Henan back to his home in the capital. In the second month, he received another rescript from the throne promoting him to Grand Minister of Administration for the Kulun 庫倫 region, in eastern Mongolia. The Daoguang emperor also bestowed upon him the title of second-rank imperial bodyguard. The rescript urged him back to Beijing for an audience with the throne before assuming his duties in Kulun.

As he began his journey to the capital in early March of 1845, Linqing did not forget to visit a temple in honor of patriarch Lü located outside the seat of Weihui 衛輝 prefecture, seventy *li* north of the provincial capital. Nearly ten years earlier, when he was a new commissioner of surveillance in Kaifeng, a senior colleague and friend, Tao Shu 陶澍 (z. Ziilin 子霖, h. Yunting 雲汀, 1779–1839), had renovated the Shrine of Patriarch Lü 呂祖祠.<sup>74</sup> At the time of his visit to the temple, Linqing had only recently recovered from his condition thanks in part to help from the Daoist patriarch. By the time he arrived back in Beijing for the interview with the throne, his spirits had improved greatly. Yet upon seeing that Linqing was still having difficulty with movement in his legs, the Daoguang emperor relieved him of the appointment to Kulun, and granted him leave to rest and recover in the capital. To cope with his illness, Linqing now added quiet-sitting to his daily regimen.

#### THE LAST DAYS: LINQING AND QUIET-SITTING PRACTICE AMONG THE LATE-QING ELITE

The practice of quiet-sitting (習靜 *xijing*) had been part of the Chinese elite life since antiquity. But it was during the Ming that the pursuit of this self-cultivation practice became an integral part of literati's intellectual and spiritual life. Borrowing meditative techniques from both the Daoist and the Buddhist traditions, the practice was part of various movements that amalgamated teachings and practices from

<sup>73</sup> The herbs were *gui* 桂, or *guizhi* 桂枝, and *fu* 附, or *fuzi* 附子. Both are commonly added to recipes for exterminating cold and wind from the body, both regarded as root-causes of numbness and paralysis (*bu ren* 不仁, *fen bi* 風痺). See *HX* 3, pp. 84a–85a.

<sup>74</sup> For details of Linqing's homage to the Hall, see "Weihui guan jie" 衛輝觀碣, *HX* 3, pp. 91b–92a. The hall was first built in 1684 and housed a rare, massive reclining statue of the patriarch in its main shrine. See Fan Chengdian 范城滇, "Wo de daoshi sheng ya" 我的道士生涯, in *Henan wenshi ziliao* 河南文史資料 79 (2001), pp. 211–24.

among Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. During the late-Ming, quiet-sitting was wide-spread among literati and commoners. The literati, from Lin Zhao-en 林兆恩 (1517–1598) and Gao Lian 高濂 (fl. 16th century), to Yuan Huang 袁黃 (1533–1606), each wrote extensively on the subject and embraced the practice as part of their own individual regimens of health, cultivation, and self-transformation.<sup>75</sup>

During the Qing, quiet-sitting meditation continued as part of self-cultivation regimens among the literati elite. Fu Shan 傅山 (1604–1684), a great polymath in his time, hand-copied and disseminated a text on the subject of Daoist inner alchemic meditation techniques and may have even practiced Daoist inner alchemy himself.<sup>76</sup> By mid-Qing, Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (1651–1741), the great scholar and medical compiler, followed the late-Ming precedent in viewing Daoist inner alchemy and other forms of quiet-sitting practice as part of medical healing techniques, appropriate to a variety of illnesses. He incorporated meditative techniques developed by the late-Ming Daoist and medical writer Cao Heng 曹珩 (z. Yuanbai 元白, fl. 1620s) into the Qing medical canon *Yibu quanlu* 醫部全錄 section of his enormous compendium *Gu jin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成, which was completed in 1756. Quiet-sitting regimens were also adopted by members of the Taizhou school of Qing neo-Confucianism during late in the Qing.<sup>77</sup>

As a regimen of training for health and transcendence, quiet-sitting also found its way into the life of the Qing banner elite, as they became acculturated to Han ways after the conquest. Later on, the practice became widespread among the Qing court elite. Many adopted it as part of their personal strategies to cope with maladies, as well as regimens

<sup>75</sup> The evolution and transmission of Lin Zhaoen's meditative method is seen in his *Linzi quanji* 林子全書 (rpt. Jinan: Qilu chuban she, 1997). For recent studies of Lin, see Judith A. Berling, *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1980), and Kenneth Dean, *The Lord of Three in One: The Spread of a Cult in Southeast China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1998). The self-cultivation methods that Gao Lian advocated can be found in his famous 1591 *Zun sheng ba jian* 遵生八箋 (rpt. Chengdu: Bashu chuban she, 1999). For an annotated study of Gao Lian, see Yao Weijun 姚偉鈞 1999, *Tiaoshe jie du* 調攝解讀 (Liuzhou: Guangxi minzhu chuban she, 1999). Yuan Huang was well known among Ming and Qing literati mostly for his quiet-sitting method; see Yuan Huang, *She sheng san yao* 攝生三要 (1591), in Ding Fubao 丁福保, ed., *Dao zang jing hua lu* 道藏精華錄 (rpt. Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chuban she, 1989). For an analysis of Yuan Huang's self-cultivation methods, see Charlotte Furth, *A Flowering Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665* (Berkeley: U. of California P., 1999), pp. 196–200.

<sup>76</sup> See Fu Shan 傅山, *Danting zhenren chuandao miji* 丹亭真人傳道密集, in Xiao Tianshi 蕭天石 (1917–1983?), comp., *Daozang jinghua* 道藏精華, ser. 13, vol. 5 (rpt. Taipei: Ziyou chuban she, 1976). Xiao Tianshi, the editor and publisher of the text, ascertained that Fu Shan had carefully studied and hand-copied this text.

<sup>77</sup> Liu Houzhi 劉厚滋, "Zhang Shiqin yu Taigu xuepai" 張石琴與太谷學派, *Furen xuezhi* 輔仁學誌 9 (1940), pp. 81–124.

for pursuing spirituality. Beginning in his youth, the great scholar and court potentate Wenxiang 文祥 (1818–1876) performed quiet-sitting to control respiratory symptoms.<sup>78</sup>

In the early 1840s, almost concurrent with Linqing's first uses of quiet-sitting for healing, meditative and yogic practices had already become fairly widespread among the banner elite. Practice manuals circulated among bannermen, promoting a variety of yogic regimens known as "*tiao qi dao yin* 調氣導引," which means "regulating and channeling the flow of *qi*." It was said to be not only good for maintaining health and vigor, but also a sound measure against a perceived moral decay among the banner elite, which increasingly indulged in the unhealthy pursuits of gambling, drinking, opium smoking, and sexual pleasures.

Around 1851, a coterie of the Imperial Household Department officials and imperial medical doctors began to promote a regimen of yogic stretching and breathing. Significantly, the regimen advocated in 1851 was based on a much earlier one attributed to a bannerman by the pen name of Zixin Tanfu 自新坦夫 and already widely popular. Based on this earlier regimen, a group of Qing banner officials and doctors published their own new and revamped practice manual with the title "Illustrations of Regulating the Breath and Refining the Outer Elixir" 調氣煉外丹圖. The 1851 text included a set of twenty-two professionally drawn illustrations and calligraphic pieces composed by the sponsors themselves.

The leader of the group was Wang Shoumin 王壽名 (z. Yingshan 映山, fl. 1851), who was a clerk probably of Hanjun extraction and affiliated with the Imperial Household Department. According to his own account, Wang lost his parents in childhood and did not receive the regular classical education that would prepare him for the civil service examination. Yet Wang was able to become a warehouse clerk 庫藏 at sixteen, probably because of his special status as a *booyi* in the Department. After five years there, he resigned and intended to live out the rest of his life on the savings he earned from the post. Advised by his friends that he would soon run out of his savings, Wang used the money to procure a lucrative position with the Directorate General of Grain Transport 漕運總督. Wang served as the controller in charge of the Southern Grain Transport Office in Suzhou 宿州, Anhui, for over a decade before retiring again.

<sup>78</sup> Wen Xiang revealed that he had practiced quiet-sitting to cope with a respiratory condition; Wen Xiang 文祥, *Wen Wenzhong gong zi ding nianpu* 王文忠公自訂年譜 (1882), in *Nianpu congshu* 年譜叢書 (rpt. Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), vol. 41.

While Wang remarked that his retirement was partly motivated by the constant stress he experienced from work, it was perhaps in no small measure hastened by either the actual or feared deleterious effects of the corrupting debauchery that Wang saw among his fellow banner-men. Indeed, the first illustration of the 1851 set that Wang commissioned paints a vivid picture of what Wang and his fellow bannermen were concerned about.

The illustration shows an emaciated old bannerman reclining among the trappings of carnal pleasure. A small table was heaped with a plate of fine foods, a wine jug and cups, a candle, and most notably an opium pipe. On the couch and half-hidden by the man was a stringed instrument, probably a *pipa* 琵琶. With one of his shoes on and the other dropped to a small step bench in front of the couch, the sickly man hunched forward, propped by a pillow. Over his tucked-in lap, he has just unfurled a handscroll painting of pornographic scenes. Now, half-slouched and his neck straining, he stared blankly ahead, transfixed and lost in his lingering lustful thought over the lurid scenes in the hand-scroll.

The presence of the opium pipe pointed strongly to widespread opium



*Figure 7. A Debauched Bannerman*

*“Illustrations for Regulating Breath to Refine the Elixir”*  
(*Tiaqi lian waidan tu shi* 調氣煉外丹圖式), in *Li, Zhong-  
guo gudai yishi tulu* (cited at n. 79, below), p. 111.

consumption among the banner elite. A symbol of moral corruption and bodily ruin, opium had entered the consciousness of the Qing bannermen like Wang and his cohorts, who had come to regard opium smoking as a debauchery that enervated the banner people, as had sexual indulgence, drinking, and carousing in the entertainment quarters. There already were repeated opium bans issued by the Qing court before 1839, and in this light, Wang's yogic and meditative regimen, and the manual published in 1851, reflected awareness of both its physical and moral toll on the banner people. The meditative and yogic regimen was thus an individual effort by Wang and his associates at reasserting the banner values and traditions that were oriented toward such strenuous pursuits as archery, riding, and other bodily cultivation practices.<sup>79</sup>

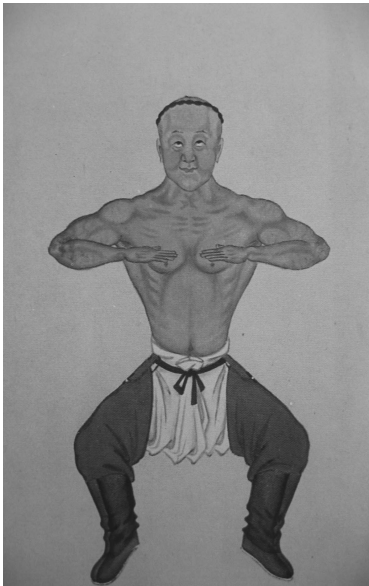


Figure 8. *A Bannerman at Breathing Practice*

“Illustrations for Regulating Breath to Refine the Elixir” (*Tiaqi lian waidan tu* 調氣煉外丹圖) in Li, *Zhongguo gudai yishi tulu* (cited at n. 79, below), p. 123.

When Linqing began experimenting with quiet-sitting practice to cope with his condition in the early 1840s, he was responding to and participating in a larger and long-established elite culture. Indeed, many of Linqing's relatives, associates, and colleagues were practicing various forms of yoga and meditation, and it was from among his practicing relatives and colleagues that he would find his own instructor.

Linqing recorded that he first began to learn quiet-sitting and meditation in 1843 during his numbness attack. Then, early in 1845, when

<sup>79</sup> Further circumstantial evidence of the wide practice of quiet sitting among the Qing banner elite is a color painting or illustration of the meditative body, “An Illustration of the Inner Scape” 內景圖 (not yet precisely dated), produced by the imperial Ruyi Art Studio 如意館, which was affiliated with the Imperial Household Department. See Li Jingwei 李經緯, comp., *Zhongguo gudai yishi tulu* 中國古代醫史圖錄 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1992), p. 85. For a history of the dissemination of the illustration in the late-imperial era, see Catherine Despeux, *Taoïsme et corps humain: Le Xiuzhen tu* (Paris: Guy Tredaniel Editeur, 1994). For a recent study of the distribution of the illustration during the late-19th c., see Goossaert, “Taoists of Peking,” pp. 186, and 242–43, and Liu, “Visualizing Perfection,” pp. 92–95.

he was granted leave to return home to his beloved Half-Acre Garden 半畝園 in the capital, he pursued these as part of recuperation, which involved herbal recipes, physical activities, and, breathing exercises.<sup>80</sup> Throughout the summer and fall of 1845, accompanied by Chongshi and Chonghou, Linqing would journey into mountains north of the capital by either horse-drawn cart or shoulder-borne carriage sedan. While taking in the scenic beauty of the suburban mountains and enjoying the serenity of the Buddhist and Daoist temples, Linqing also hoped to find monks and recluses living in the mountains who would teach him self-healing meditative and yogic techniques, or even offer a cure.<sup>81</sup>

One such trip took him to the Coiled Mount (Pan shan 盤山), east of the capital, a place known for scenic beauty and a long tradition of recluses. From the base to the peak, the mountain was distinguished by three zones. The foothills were dotted with springs and brooks. The midsection was dominated by rocks and crags; while the mountain top was completely covered by pine forests. Besides its unusual topography, the mountain was known for its ancient hermits and monasteries. During the Three Kingdoms era, the recluse Tian Chou 田疇 took up residence in the mountain.

There was a special personal connection for Linqing. A kin of his grandmother, Socoro Yongning 索綽絡永寧, had constructed his own hermitage in the Village of Suspended Moon located just at the foothills. Behind the village and halfway up the mountain was the Buddhist Temple of Heavenly Perfection, which was patronized by the Jiaqing emperor 嘉慶 (r. 1796–1820) and prince Shen 慎親王 (Yun Xi 允禧, 1711–1758). Prince Shen, the twenty-first son of the Kangxi emperor, associated himself widely with artists, Buddhist monks, and Daoist priests, and he pursued meditation practice in earnest. He also adopted a Daoist-sounding style name – Daoist of the Purple Jade (Zhiqiong daoren 紫瓊道人). It was the prince who gave the temple its present name. The temple had already evolved into a major sanctuary of hermetic cultivation outside the capital, and attracted many Daoists and Buddhist monks, who took up residence and engaged in self-cultivation there. Lord Meiling, Yongning's grandson and Lady Socoro's brother, followed in his grandfather's footsteps in becoming a recluse. He built a meditation chamber for himself at a small peak near the

<sup>80</sup> Half-acre Garden was home for the Wanyans in the capital at this time. For its history, see Wanyan Linqing, "Ban mu ying yuan" 半畝營園, in *HX* 3, pp. 25b–26b, and Manshu Zhenjun 曼殊震鈞, *Tianzi ou wen* 天咫偶聞 (n.p.: Gan tang zhuan she, 1907), j. 3, pp. 26a–27b.

<sup>81</sup> See "Tiancheng fan yi" 天成訪醫, in *HX*, j. 3, pp. 99a–100a.

temple compound. From here, he sent repeated invitations for Lingqing to visit him. Finally, sometime in the spring of 1845, Lingqing journeyed to the Coiled Mount, and stayed there for five days, meditating, reading scriptures, and enjoying the scenery. During this stay, Lingqing called on several Buddhist temples and visited the stone shrine in honor of the famous Jin-era Quanzhen master Wang Zhijin 王志謹 (*h. Qiyun 棲雲*, 1178–1263), who hailed from the region. Wang became widely known in the early-thirteenth century for his syncretist brand of Quanzhen teaching and was given honorary title by the Yuan court.<sup>82</sup>

Inspired by his mountain retreat, Lingqing renewed his dedication to meditation. Upon his return from Coiled Mount, he declined visits by friends and guests, and devoted himself to practicing quiet-sitting and breathing exercise. Aside from occasionally spending time with a few close friends in cataloguing his books and authenticating his collected paintings at the library, Lingqing held daily sessions to refine the regimen. His teacher at this time in these therapies was Li Yunqu 李雲衢, who was a junior colleague and a friend. When Lingqing befriended him, Li was serving as a battalion commander (*shou bei* 守備) in the Qing forces stationed at the capital. Impressed with Li's skills in meditation and yogic exercises 導引術, Lingqing would spend hours at home, working with Li and trying to hone his own practice. Concurrently, he would consult with medical doctors and friends, until his death in the summer of 1846, at his home in Beijing.<sup>83</sup>

#### CONTINUING THE BOND: LINQING'S SONS AND THEIR PATRONAGE OF DAOISM

To the last days of his life, even on his death bed, Lingqing remained a steadfast believer in the Quanzhen faith. According to Chongshi, who attended to his care in their home in the capital, Lingqing continued to remind his sons of his unfinished project – the compilation of a lineage

<sup>82</sup> See *HX* 3, pp. 99b–100a. For Wang's life and career, see Lun Zhihuan 論志煥, *Panshan Qiyun Wang Zhenren yu lu* 盤山棲雲王真人語錄, in *DZ*, vol. 23, pp. 718–32.

<sup>83</sup> See *HX*, j.3, pp. 108a–9a. It is interesting to note that Chongshi seemed dubious about the efficacy of Lingqing's pursuit of breathing and meditative regimens. He reported that Lingqing died of a complication resulting from a carbuncle in the side and that its treatment severely depleted the *qi* and blood vital energies 氣血兩虧, leading to death. He also identified two factors in his father's therapeutic strategy as ultimately fatal: one was excessive *jinsheng*, a *qi*-nourishing, yet warming ingredient which could result in the excessive heat buildup in the body often leading to carbuncles and open sores in the body, and the other was his "failure to properly conform to the method or practice of circulating the *qi* 運氣之工未甚合法," which aggravated the outbreak of the carbuncle, resulting to the loss of the precious vital energies. See also Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu" 惕齋年譜, in *Nianpu congshu*, pp. 38–39.



history of the early Quanzhen masters at the White Cloud Monastery: “In the fall of 1845 when he was recuperating from illness at home, he talked to us with great passion and sincerity about the project, and regarded its incompleteness as his regret... .”<sup>84</sup>

After his death, Linqing’s Quanzhen piety continued to inspire his two sons, whose lives and careers followed his own. Moreover, they would carry out the completion of the Quanzhen compilation. Like Linqing, both Chongshi and his brother became patrons to the White Cloud Monastery in the capital. They participated in the Daoist-influenced elite culture that had been so much part of their father’s life, while pursuing their respective careers in the Qing officialdom.

According to his own autobiography, Chongshi, the elder son, saw his life as containing the same sort of divine intervention and extraordinary encounter that informed Linqing’s and his grandmother Yun Zhu’s. Like his grandmother, Chongshi’s birth was also said to have been associated with a propitious dream. Chongshi wrote that his grandmother dreamed of being visited by the Monk of the Eastern Marchmont 東嶽頭陀 in the company of her deceased husband, Tinglu. Upon waking, she was informed by her servants that her grandson was just born.

Just as patriarch Lü figured prominently in Linqing’s life, Chongshi saw Hua Tuo 華陀, a healing god, as a central deity in his life, addressing the latter as “patriarch-teacher 祖師,” a salutation suggestive of Chongshi’s devotion to the deity. As early as the late-Han period, Hua Tuo had been linked to the popular health and gymnastic regimen known as “Wu qin xi 五禽戲.”<sup>85</sup> Many healing recipes also were associated with Hua.<sup>86</sup> By the late-Qing, this legendary medical healer had achieved the status of popular deity and was revered by both Daoists and lay people. By 1844, a temple in honor of Hua Tuo, now patriarch

<sup>84</sup> See the preface by Chongshi in Chongshi and Meng Zhicai, “Baiyun xian biao” 白雲仙表 (1847), rpt. in Hu Daojing 胡道靜 et al., *Zang wai dao shu* 藏外道書 (Chengdu: Bashu chubanshe, 1992-94), vol. 31, pp. 373-74.

<sup>85</sup> The regimen was supposedly transmitted by Hua Tuo to Wu Pu 吳普 in about the third century; see *Taishang Laojun yang sheng jue* 太上老君養生訣, in *DZ*, vol. 18, pp. 411-13. For its integration into the Daoist self-cultivation repertoire of Song times, see Zhang Junfang 張君房, *Yun ji qi qian* 雲笈七籤, j. 32, in *DZ*, vol. 22, pp. 234-36. For the regimen during Ming and Qing, see Cao Wuji 曹無極, *Wan shou xian shu* 萬壽仙書 (rpt. Changsha: Yuelu shu she, 1994), and Xi Yukang 席裕康, *Hua Tuo wu qin wu gong fa tu shuo* 華陀五禽舞功法圖說, in idem, *Nei wai gong tu shuo ji yao* 內外功圖說輯要 (rpt. Taipei: Ziyou chubanshe, 1957), pp. 183-95.

<sup>86</sup> Many medicinal recipes and therapies have been attributed to Hua Tuo since the Tang period. See anon., *Hua Tuo shen yi mi zhuan* 華陀神醫秘傳 with annotations purportedly by Sun Simiao 孫思邈 and Xu Dachun 徐大椿 (rpt. Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1982), which lists hundreds of recipes attributed to Hua; and Bo Heting 柏鶴亭, *Shenxian jishi liangfang* 神仙濟世良方 (1797; rpt. Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1988), who listed a total of 27 recipes attributed to the deity.

Hua, was completed in the White Cloud Monastery, where he could be revered as a special healer, along with another Daoist deity.<sup>87</sup>

Chongshi's devotion to the Daoist healing deity sprang from his early childhood experience of illness. Once, on a visit to his maternal grandmother, Chongshi developed life-threatening smallpox, with blisters on the neck. At the time only three year old, he was cared for by his wet nurse. Exhausted, the wet nurse felt asleep. In a dream, she reported that she was visited by a Daoist master with a white beard dressed in a plumed red cape. Wielding his sword, the Daoist sliced at the two scabbed blisters on both sides of Chongshi's throat. Startled, the wet nurse woke to discover to her relief that the pus had seeped out, a sign of recovery. The wet nurse gratefully reported to Yunzhu that the visiting Daoist immortal in her dream had announced that he resided at a temple in the neighborhood. Curious, Yunzhu went to the neighborhood temple called the Shrine of the Duo-Lords Guan (Shuang Guan miao 雙關廟) to check.<sup>88</sup> Sure enough, according to Chongshi, the statuette of patriarch Hua was worshipped in the east wing of the shrine. Decades later, Chongshi also said that ever since the incident, his mother lady Cheng became a dutiful devotee of the Daoist patriarch.<sup>89</sup>

By the time he was ten, Chongshi experienced another serious bout with illness. He came down with a persistent fever, later recalling that as the doctors could not find ways to lower his heat, he went into fever shock. With barely a breath left, Chongshi mouthed to his wet

<sup>87</sup> The temple did not seem to exist before 1844. It was constructed in the 7th lun. mo. of that year with donations from Wang Hongli 王洪禮, a long-time devotee of the patriarch. As suggested by its name in 1797, Huazu zhenjun Taiyi dijun dian 華祖真君太乙帝君殿, it was constructed to honor two deities: Patriarch Hua and Taiyi dijun 太乙帝君, another major healing deity. But by the early-20th c., patriarch Hua's power and appeal seemed to have eclipsed that of the lord Taiyi, since the temple came to be known exclusively as "Huazu dian 華祖殿." This was partly reflected in the way Koyanagi recorded the name of the temple in his 1934 survey of the monastery. See both the inserted map of the monastery, "Baiyun guan pingmian tu" 白雲觀平面圖, and anon., "Zhenjun xiang huo jie" 真君香火碣, in Koyanagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, p. 153. See also Pierre Marsone, "Le Baiyun Guan de Pekin: Epigraphie et histoire," *San-jiao wenxian*, 3 (1999), p. 101.

<sup>88</sup> Being of the elite Manchu Bordered Yellow Banner, the Wanyans resided in the north-east quarter. But the exact location of the shrine remains a mystery to me: "Shuang Guan miao" seems to have been an abbreviated referent for "Shuang Guandi miao 雙關帝廟." A concordance based on Ming and Qing sources identifies at least two shrines with such names, but neither was in the northeastern quarter where the Wanyans resided for centuries; see Xu, *Beiping miao*, j. 1, p. 55, and j. 2, p. 103. It seems that such shrines typically contained two images of the martial sage Guan Yu 關羽 for joint worship. See Wu Chenyuan 吳宸元, *Chen yuan shi lue* 宸垣識略, j. 8 (rpt. Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1983), p. 142; also Yu Minzhong 于敏中 et al., *Ri xia jiu wen kao* 日下舊聞考, j. 52 (rpt. Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1981), p. 831.

<sup>89</sup> See Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu," pp. 2-3.

nurse that he smelled the fragrance of hawthorn fruit 紅果 and desired a bite. At this, his grandmother Yun Zhu immediately sent servants out to buy it. But none of them could find any in the market because it was simply not the season, and the new crop was still yet to ripen. The next morning, as Chongshi's wet nurse prayed desperately for magic, she suddenly spotted a big red shiny hawthorn fruit on the table. Convinced that it was a god-sent elixir, Yun Zhu offered it to Chongshi, against the doctors' advice:

The doctors say that with your illness, you must stay away from raw and cold food. So you really should not eat this fruit. But since you have smelt its fragrance in advance, maybe it can save your life.

Chongshi felt an immediate healing effect of the fruit after eating it. He claimed that the heat from the fruit reached down to the lower cinnabar field 丹田 in his abdomen. Afterwards he fell into a deep slumber. At midnight when he woke up, he felt some slight perspiration and a sharp appetite for food, which had eluded him for half a year. In days, he was able to stand and walk around. At the time, Linqing had to rush back to his official duties due to the seasonal flood warnings along the Yellow River. But upon learning of his son's speedy recovery, Linqing quickly consulted with a few of his staff who were adept at séance, wanting to know the identity of the deity.<sup>90</sup> They concluded that the red hawthorn fruit was an immortal's pill 仙丹, bestowed by none other than patriarch Hua Tuo.<sup>91</sup>

In adult life, Chongshi excelled in his official career. Having achieved the *jinshi* degree and being gifted in literature, Chongshi was selected as a Hanlin Academy academician in 1850. In the following years, he quickly rose through the ranks of officialdom and served in a host of high important positions: the military commandant for the Mongol Bordered White Banner 蒙古鑲白旗都統, the president of the Board of Punishment 刑部尚書 in 1873, the deputy proctor of the Met-

<sup>90</sup> Séance, or spirit-writing, was widespread among the Qing elite, who often held sessions for prognostication, divination, and simply fun. For the practice and culture of séance in traditional China, see Xu Dishan 許地山, *Fuji mixun di yanjiu* 扶乩迷信底研究 (Changsha: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1941). See also David Jordan and Daniel Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1986). For more recent studies of spirit-writing practices, especially in Taiwan, see Philip Clart, "Confucius and the Mediums: Is There a 'Popular Confucianism'?" *TP* 89.1-3 (2003), pp. 1-38, Wang Zhiyu 王志宇, *Taiwan de Enzhu gong xinyang, Ruzong shejiao yu fei luan quan hua* 臺灣的恩主公信仰儒教神宗與飛鸞勸化 (Taipei: Wenjin chuban she, 1997), and Wang Jianchuan 王見川 and Li Shiwei 李世偉, *Taiwan de simiao yu zhaitang* 臺灣的寺廟與齋堂 (Taipei: Boyang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2004).

<sup>91</sup> See Chongshi, "Ti An nianpu," pp. 9-10.

ropolitan Examination 會試副主考 in 1874, and concurrently the general commandant of Shengjing 盛京將軍 in 1875. When he died in 1876, Chongshi was bestowed the posthumous title of “Diligent Scholar (*wen qin* 文勤)” by emperor Guangxu 光緒 (1875–1909), extraordinary recognition of dedicated service and loyalty to the court.<sup>92</sup>

The younger brother, Chonghou 崇厚 (1826–1893) (z. Dishan 地山, 1826–1886), had an equally successful career in the Qing court. He obtained his *jurem* degree in 1849. From then until 1862, Chonghou held a host of posts from county magistrate, salt transport intendant in 1860, minister of commerce for the Three Ports in 1861, left justice of the Central Appellate Court 大理寺卿, and then deputy president of the Board of War 兵部侍郎 in 1862. In 1876, with Chongshi’s death, Chonghou succeeded to become the general commandant of Shengjing and concurrently the governor of Fengtian 奉天 in charge of the political and military affairs of the Manchu homeland. He later led a disastrous mission to Russia, which ended his career. He was sentenced for decapitation after assizes in the aftermath. But the Wanyans’ special ties to the throne and their wealth saved his life. After contributing 300,000 taels of silver as military stipend to the state coffer, Chonghou was released from prison in 1884, on the occasion of empress-dowager Cixi’s fiftieth birthday. That same year an imperial decree restored Chonghou’s titles with a mere demotion in rank. Nine years later, in 1893, he died at the age of sixty-seven.<sup>93</sup>

Like their father, both Chongshi and Chonghou were patrons of Quanzhen Daoism, especially the White Cloud Monastery, and they had close personal ties with the monastery’s presiding abbots. Chongshi admired Wang Changyue 王常月 (?–1680), a charismatic lineage master, and Immortal Luo 羅真人 (?–1727), an adept not affiliated with the monastery. Both were held in great esteem by White Cloud Quanzhen priests. Chongshi composed two commemorative essays honoring

<sup>92</sup> For Chongshi’s life and career, see Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 211–12. See also the Guangxu emperor’s eulogy and epitaph for Chongshi, “Zeng taizi shaobao yuanren Xingbu shangshu shu Shangjing jiangjun Chongshi ji wen” 贈太子少保原任刑部尚書署盛京將軍崇實祭文, and “Zeng taizi shaobao yuanren Xingbu shangshu shu Shengjing jiangjun Chongshi bei wen” 贈太子少保原任刑部尚書署盛京將軍崇實碑文, in *BTSK*, vol. 84, pp. 141 and 143. For more on Chongshi’s official career, see Qian, *Qingdai zhiguan*, vol. 1, pp. 302–3; 3, pp. 2393–96.

<sup>93</sup> According to Enhua, Chonghou wrote and published an autobiography entitled *Hecha zishu nianpu* 鶴槎自述年譜, but I have not been able to locate it. He also authored *Lidai mingchen zhuan jie lu* 歷代名臣傳節錄 and *Shengjing dianzhi bei kao* 盛京典制備考, the latter being extant; see Enhua, *Baqi yiwen*, p. 26a. For Chonghou’s biography, see *Qing shi gao* (*Ershi wu shi* edn., vol. 12), p. 1419; also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 209–11. See his epitaph in *BTSK*, vol. 89, p. 48.

those masters. Chongshi shared with his father an intense devotion to the Quanzhen patriarch Qiu. Both were particularly fascinated with the lore surrounding patriarch Qiu's famous trek across thousands of miles of desert and mountains to meet the great Genghis Khan. Thus, in the summer of 1850, when he learned that the abbot of White Cloud was trying to have the lore painted, Chongshi enlisted the help of Chen Jian 陳鑑 (z. Langzhai, 朗齋, fl. 1840s), a former councilor on Linqing's staff and the illustrator of Linqing's autobiography. The painting commissioned by Chongshi was unusually large and contained many personages and scenes. The patriarch Qiu, riding in a horse-drawn cart, and his accompanying disciples and guards are placed conspicuously in the center, surrounded by towering snowy mountains peaks and barren deserts. The painting vividly conveys the ardor and hardship of the patriarch's journey across treacherous landscape. It also reflects the depth of Chongshi's admiration for the Quanzhen patriarch.<sup>94</sup>

Like his father, Chongshi fraternized with Daoists. He was a friend of abbot Zhang Yuanxuan 張圓燿 (z. Zongxuan 宗璿 and Gengyun 耕雲, h. Yunqiao 雲樵, 1812–1887), who presided over the White Cloud Monastery from the 1860s to 1870s.<sup>95</sup> Through abbot Zhang, Chongshi befriended Meng Zhicai (z. 豁一, ?–1881) at the Monastery in the fall of 1847. At the time, Meng had just arrived from Shandong to serve as the prior. He brought Daoist texts and scriptures that contained relevant biographical and scriptural material on the early Quanzhen masters. Having learned of Meng's arrival in Beijing, Chongshi was determined to carry out Linqing's dying wish concerning the biographical history of the early Quanzhen masters who had accompanied patriarch Qiu on his journey. Soon Chongshi befriended prior Meng, and they began to work together on the project. By the end of that fall, having consulted

<sup>94</sup> See "Xueshan ying pin tu" 雪山應聘圖, a long scroll painting in the collection at the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing, and digital photos in my collection. Painted on rice paper in ink and color, the painting is approximately 140 cm in height and 500 cm in length, and currently mounted in a large and dusty frame in the former exhibition room located in the east wing flanking the Hall of the Three Purities at the White Cloud Monastery. See a description in Li Yangzheng 李養正, *Xinbian Beijing Baiyun guan zhi* 新編北京白雲觀志 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2003), pp. 568–69. But Li errs in identifying the year of the commission as 1833, since Chongshi was only thirteen. In 2005, I was able to examine the painting and now, based on Chongshi's inscription and seals, can ascertain that the actual date of the commission is the fall of 1850, approximately five years after Linqing's death.

<sup>95</sup> For abbot Zhang's close ties with the Qing court and his defense of Nanyang during the Qing suppression of the Niens and Taipings, see transcription of "Libu bei" 禮部碑 (1867), text in my collection. The stele was originally commissioned by an abbot of the Xuanmiao monastery and is currently held at the depository of Nanyang Museum. See also Fu Shoutong 傅壽彤, "Yuanmiao guan cangjing ge ji" 元妙觀藏經閣記, in *NYXZ* 12, pp. 21b–22b, and Pu Wenxian 濮文暹, "Zhang Zongxuan daoren ta ming" 張宗璿道人塔銘, in his *Jianzai kanji* 見在龕集 (n.p.: 1917) 19, pp. 21b–22a.

the relevant scriptures in *Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要, which the prior had brought to the Monastery, they completed their compendium. It was titled “A Genealogical Chart of Immortals at the White Cloud Monastery” 白雲仙表 and was presented to the Monastery, which has since regarded it as part of its formal lineage history.<sup>96</sup> Three years later in 1850, Chongshi collaborated with Meng again to produce the painting of the patriarch Qiu’s trek to see the khan.

Chongshi also developed a friendship with Liu Chengyin, an ordained Quanzhen Daoist and eunuch official of the Imperial Household Department (mentioned above). In the spring of 1886, a decade after Chongshi’s death, Liu Chengyin honored his friend’s memory and his devotion to Quanzhen Daoism by having two of Chongshi’s essays inscribed on steles and erecting them at the Monastery compound.<sup>97</sup> Finally, according to an early-twentieth-century source, Chongshi sought out Quanzhen Daoists in order to consult about political actions. Chongshi’s interest in Quanzhen Daoism seemed to have gone beyond the limits of personal piety to influence his political actions as a Qing governor in present-day Manchuria. According to one late-Qing and early-Republican source, when he first took on the assignment as military governor of Fengtian, Chongshi purportedly consulted an elusive Daoist recluse at the Palace of Supreme Purity 太清宮 in Shengjiang 盛京 on the political situation and the art of governance for the region, which had been ravaged by both banditry and the bloated Manchu banner bureaucracy.<sup>98</sup>

Like his elder brother and father, Chonghou became a patron of the White Cloud Monastery through the channels of writing and art.

<sup>96</sup> See Chongshi and Meng, *Baiyun xian biao* (1847), ms. (Beijing: Baiyun guan). It is recently reprinted in Hu, *Zang wai dao shu*, vol. 31, pp. 373–405.

<sup>97</sup> In 1886, Liu Chengyin paid for the erection of two steles bearing the commemorative essays authored by Chongshi before his death. See Chongshi, “Luo zhenren daoqing bei” 羅真人道行碑, and “Kunyang zhenren daoqing bei” 崑陽真人道行碑, in Koyanagi, *Hakuunkan shi*, pp. 161–63.

<sup>98</sup> The account of Chongshi seeking advice from the Daoist and carrying out rigorous administrative reforms is offered in two sources with similar wording. One is “Shangqing gong daoshi” 上清宮道士, in Fei Xinjian 費行簡, *Jindai mingren xiaozhuan* 近代名人小傳, printed in Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍, ed., *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* 近代中國史料叢刊 (Taipei: Wenhai chuban she, 1967) vol. 78, p. 63. The other is Wang Shu-nan 王樹楠 (1851–1934), *Fengtian tongzhi* 奉天通志 (n.p.: 1934), j. 222, pp. 10a–b. Chongshi’s own account of his administrative reforms in Fengtian from 1875 to the winter of 1876 when he fell gravely ill, shows himself to be rather cautious, well-informed, and adroit in facing problems of governance in Manchuria. For instance, before he accepted his assignment as the governor and general commandant for the Fengtian regions, Chongshi was keenly aware of the nepotism, inefficiency, and corruption among the banner officials there. In his interview with the throne and the two empresses-dowager, he secured additional power and authority as imperial commissioner, his own team of civil administrators and military officers, and personal guard troops before marching into Manchuria to carry out his reforms. See Chongshi, “Ti An nianpu,” pp. 161–89.

He shared his father's admiration for patriarch Qiu Chuji, and such faith sustained him during the dark days of his official career. In the summer of 1882, just a few years after his dismissal from office due to the disastrous Russian mission, Chonghuo became active in the cult of patriarch Qiu. Chonghou befriended abbot Gao Rentong 高仁峒 (also, Mingtong 明峒, *z.* Yunxi 雲溪, *h.* Shoushan zi 壽山子, 1841–1907), who succeeded abbot Meng in 1881, prior Yao Aiyun 姚靄雲 (?–1912), and other Daoists at the Monastery.<sup>99</sup> At that time, Chonghou composed a biography of Qiu Chuji with the help from Gao, Yao, and an adept from the Leizu Temple 雷祖閣. They were conversant with the exploits of the patriarch during the early part of the Yuan dynasty. Upon completion, Chonghou presented the biography to the Monastery and requested that it be hung in the hall that contained the patriarch's relics. He later discussed plans with Gao and Yao to have the biography carved on a stele.<sup>100</sup>

The completion of Chonghou's biographical compilation mobilized fellow banneremen to support the patriarch's cult in the capital. Between the summer and the fall of 1882, with the help and leadership of Liu Chengyin, several hundred ranking banneremen, court officials, and eunuchs organized the Permanent Donors Society for the Master of Eternal Spring, which raised funds to provide for the White Cloud Monastery's annual supplies of incense, oil, candles, and other materials, as well as festivals honoring the patriarch.<sup>101</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This account of the Wanyans' religious life and activities over a period of a hundred years may shed light on the vital role that Daoism played among the Qing elite and in the culture and daily life of nineteenth-century China.

<sup>99</sup> For more on Gao Rentong's career, see Liu, "Visualizing Perfection," pp. 57–115. Abbot Yao was originally from Shaanxi and soon created legend, first as an officer under the command of Duolonge 多隆阿 (*z.* 禮堂, 1818–1864) in the Qing army, and later as an ordained Quanzhen adept at both the White Cloud Monastery in Beijing until 1895 and at the Monastery of the Ultimate Mystery in Nanyang until his death in 1912; see Pan and Zhang, *Xin xiu Nanyang* 12, pp. 23b–24a. He was executed by Republican revolutionaries in Nanyang for his previous close ties with the Qing military and political establishments in Henan; see also *MYXZ*, p. 587.

<sup>100</sup> See Chongshi, "Qiu Changchun zhenren shishi" 邱長春真人事實 (1882), in *BTSK*, vol. 85, p. 87.

<sup>101</sup> Membership of the donor society was made up of 111 banneremen and officials, 62 eunuchs and Imperial Household Department officials, and 5 business establishments that seemed to be patronized by these banneremen. See "Changchun yongjiu shenghui huishou fangming" 長春永久聖會首芳名 and "Changchun yongjiu shenghui neiting huishou ge fangming" 長春永久聖會內庭會首各芳名, in *BTSK*, vol. 85, p. 88; 86, p. 7. (Authorship of the latter works is hard to determine.)

First, although not the exclusive religion among the Wanyans, Daoism played a vital and consistent role. For nearly a century, Wanyans like lord Xiaoyan, and on to Yun Zhu and Tinglu, finally to Linqing and his sons, consistently patronized Daoist institutions and pursued various Daoist cults, techniques, and practices. Daoist-inspired notions of selfhood and destiny, and Daoist healing and self-cultivation techniques, affected their outlook and life decisions. This was true for Yun Zhu's perception of herself as a former celestial scribe and for Linqing's choice of wife. Further, the large Daoist impact reminds us of its ubiquitous presence among the Qing elite and the society at large. For that reason, Linqing could write casually in his autobiography about his friendship with adepts, his séance sessions with staff councilors to seek divine guidance, and his personal selection of a Daoist yoga and meditation instructor among his own friends and associates. Like him, or together with him, many of his peers pursued similar Daoist practices and acts of patronage.

Second, despite their high social and cultural status as the *booyi* to the Qing imperial household and high-ranking officials at the court, the Wanyans' practice and patronage of Daoism both reflected and contributed to a larger Daoist-infused religious culture, which was also supported and sanctioned by the Qing court late in the dynasty. It is no accident that some of Linqing's associates and colleagues in office, and later those of his office in Kaifeng, shared his Quanzhen Daoist piety and collaborated with him in restoring the portraits of the Quanzhen masters housed at White Cloud Monastery in Beijing. As we have seen, these court elites, from the Qianlong emperor, empresses-dowager, princes, court officials, down to clerical and eunuch staff, all supported the Daoist-influenced religious culture by participating in the Daoist temple festivals, patriarch cults, by patronizing temples, and by pursuing Daoist-inspired self-cultivation and healing practices. Many components of this religious culture, such as the patriarch Qiu's cult at White Cloud Monastery received annual funding from the Qing court. This informal yet official support by the throne and the court in turn inspired and sanctioned pursuits of Daoist faith and practices by Qing court officials like Linqing. Linqing, for instance, specifically pointed to the Qianlong emperor's patronage of patriarch Qiu at the Monastery as the model for his own efforts in renovating the shrines that housed the images of Quanzhen masters. Indeed, the Daoist-influenced elite religious culture spread and became part of everyday elite life in the capital, affecting royal personages, high-ranking bannermen, and low officials in the late-Qing period.



Third, in the case of the Wanyans, familial influences also played an important role in propagating and sustaining Daoist beliefs and practices. Like their predecessors in the Song and Ming periods, the Wanyans were motivated by a variety of factors, ranging from a personal sense of extraordinary destiny through problems with illness or disturbing, divine encounters, to cult beliefs in the healing powers of Daoist deities. But what distinguished them from their earlier counterparts is the way that the family passed along styles and foci of their Daoist faith and practices. What inspired Chongshi and Chonghou to become patrons and followers of the Qiu Chuji cult in great part was also a sense of filial piety, honoring their late father's wishes. This family-borne brand of Daoism sets the Wanyans apart. Unlike some of the late-Song literati patrons of the Daoist Southern Lineage in Fujian, as investigated by Skar, and the elite Buddhist followers in late-Ming Jiangnan that Brook studied, the Wanyans did not form devotional groups or associations among themselves or with other fellow elites. While they did collaborate with their peers in renovating monasteries or participating in seasonal temple festivities in honor of patriarchic deities, their patronage and involvement seemed primarily based on personal faith and familial tradition. It did not rise to the level of formal association with fellow elites.

Fourth, the Wanyans' familial and personal Daoism bears clear imprints of their social status and cultural tastes. While the Wanyans, like their commoner counterparts, participated in popular forms of patronage for temple festivals, divination, ritual healing, and donor societies, they also differed from commoners. As ranking court officials and highly educated elites, the Wanyans expressed and embodied their acts of piety and patronage in poems, essays, paintings, calligraphy, autobiographies, and other aesthetic avenues.

Last, in terms of the extent of the Daoist influence on the whole Qing court elite and especially its political ramifications, we are still in need of a full length study. Based on the findings presented here, the Daoist penetration of the Qing court culture was certainly ubiquitous, but it does not seem to have achieved the same level of systemic intensity and pervasiveness at the Ming court as described by Liu Ts'un-yan in his work.<sup>102</sup> In the area of pursuit of Daoist techniques, such as "nourishment of life" and of Daoist permeation into the outlook of the

<sup>102</sup> Liu Ts'un-yan has described in great detail the wide-spread interest among the Ming elite in "nourishment of life and the control of breath (養生調息)," in addition to the Daoist influence on the state and court rituals, the proliferation of the "Blue Prayers 青詞," and the Daoist sorcery and witchcraft practices at the Ming court; Liu, *Selected Papers*, pp. 76-148.

elite, there are some clear continuities between the Ming and the Qing eras. Indeed, the interest in Daoist meditative practice among Linqing and his fellow elites was a direct legacy of the widespread practice of “nourishing life” among the Ming elite. Just as the pervasive Daoist influence on the Ming elite produced a tangible effect on Ming court politics and society, so would the Quanzhen Daoist permeation of the Qing elite culture generate its own influence at a time of great social and political change in nineteenth-century China. A better idea of the scope and nature of this influence awaits the results of our further investigations.

In the end, the Wanyans’ patronage of Daoism represents a two-way traffic that was mutually beneficial. As they befriended a Daoist priest, or called on a monastery, or pondered over Daoist cosmology in a poem; as they compiled a biography of Quanzhen lineage masters, or impressed a personal seal onto a Daoist painting, they invariably engaged intellectually and spiritually with Daoist subjectivity. In doing so, they lent their prestige, status and influence to Quanzhen Daoism, and in return they garnered the practical benefits of healing, and most of all, spiritual capital.

### *LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS*

<i>BTSK</i>	<i>Beijing tushu guan cang Zhongguo lidai shi ke taben huibian</i> 北京圖書館藏歷代中國石刻拓本匯編
<i>DZ</i>	1988 edn. of <i>Daozang</i> 道藏
<i>HX</i>	Wanyan Linqing, <i>Hongxue yinyuan tu ji</i> 鴻雪因緣圖記
<i>NYXZ</i>	<i>Nanyang xianzhi</i> 南陽縣誌
<i>QDZJ</i>	<i>Qingdai zhuanji congan</i> 清代傳記叢刊