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From Peach Blossom Spring to Grotto-heavens:

Literati Writing on Daoist Sacred Geography in Song (960–1279) China

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Wanmeng Li

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor David C. Schaberg, Chair

This dissertation explores the sacred landscapes known as grotto-heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in Song dynasty (960–1279) literary representations. Coined in roughly the fourth century by religious Daoism, the concept of grotto-heavens initially referred to a utopia constituted by a nexus of interconnected caves hidden in the divine mountains. During the Song dynasty, this Daoist space developed into a quintessential symbol that prevailed in all walks of secular Song scholar-officials' cultural lives. By probing the understudied literati writings and Daoist textual materials that focus on grotto-heaven landscapes, this study discusses the overlooked spatial understanding and bodily implications of sacred mountains. It argues that the Song literati used their literary devices to reframe the once forbidden and illusory grotto-heavens as accessible places in actual landscapes. The reified grotto-heaven landscape also reshaped the

literati aesthetic of ideal space: it not only became an enchanted vessel for literati to cache Daoism-related memories and explore the knowledge of antiquity, but also catalyzed their intellectual and physical cultivation with nature, the traces of sage kings, and eventually the transcendental order.

The main body of this dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter One provides a general survey of the origin of the grotto-heaven concept in the Daoist tradition and its reception in literature before the Song dynasty. The overview shows that grotto-heavens were perceived as forbidden and illusory spaces in secular literature before the tenth century. Chapter Two concentrates on the case of Grand Cleanse (*Dadi* 大滌) Grotto-heaven and demonstrates its transformation from an inaccessible space into a visitable place in the secular Song literati's literary representations. Chapter Three looks into the incentives that drove Confucian literati to depict the Daoist realm as an accessible place. Although still evoking traditional tropes, the literati visitors absorbed the Daoist teaching of physical cultivation and made their bodies an important factor when writing about their wandering in the sacred mountains. Chapter Four builds on the notion of corporeal landscape and elaborates on how the Song literati represented their self-cultivation of inner alchemy in the grotto-heaven landscape to embody the sage king Yu.

The dissertation of Wanmeng Li is approved.

Richard von Glahn

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David C. Schaberg, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

To my teachers, family, and friends

for their unconditional love and support

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My academic journey began when I made an "accidental visit" (*wuru* 誤入) to the grotto-heaven of UCLA. Since then, I have received extensive personal and professional guidance from my mentors and friends, to whom I will be forever indebted.

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2020 “The Making of Dongxiao Temple in Song and Yuan Poetry” 彙纂、唱和、點景——宋元詩意中的洞霄宮 in *Dongtian xunyin* 洞天尋隱 (Shanghai: *The Paper*).

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Introduction: Another World in Caves

Imagine the condition of men living in a sort of cavernous chamber underground, with an entrance open to the light and a long passage down the cave.
— *The Republic*, VII. 514A-521B

Influenced by Plato's famous cave allegory, many people would conceive of a cave as an enclosed and shadowy space signifying a cognitive trap that prevents them from seeing the world of truth. However, the cave space in the Chinese context embraces an opposite connotation: it represents a blessed space that yields knowledge and resources for true learning and cultivation. This dissertation explores these sacred caves known as grotto-heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in the Song dynasty (960–1279) literary representations. Coined in roughly the fourth century by religious Daoism, the concept of grotto-heavens initially referred to a utopia constituted by a nexus of interconnected caves hidden in the divine mountains and served as soteriological sanctuaries.[1] During the Song dynasty, the term developed into a critical literary trope in secular literary writings of landscapes.

The grotto-heaven system comprises ten superior grotto-heavens, thirty-six lesser grotto-heavens, and seventy-two auspicious places (*fudi* 福地).[2] Franciscus Verellen classifies the

[1] Rolf Alfred Stein provides a concise summary of its key features in his *Le monde en petit: jardins en miniature et habitations dans la pensee religieuse d'Extreme-Orient* (Paris: Flammarion, 1987). See the English version in *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought* (Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 55.

[2] The evolution of the grotto-heaven system underwent a long process. The knowledge was possibly formed in the fourth century, and the texts that carried such knowledge were in esoteric circulation. An example is a lost text entitled *Maojun neizhuan* 茅君內傳 (The Inner Biography of Lord Mao), the title of which was often listed alongside the early mentioning of grotto-heavens. However, there is so far no systematic research of this text. Studies generally take Sima Chengzhen's 司馬承禎 (647–735) *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Illustration of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences) as the first known text that documented the system almost in its final shape. See the latest studies of its basic structure and the prototypes in Lü Zhou, Cui Guanghai et al., *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji* 2019 年第一屆洞天福地研究與保護國際研討會論文集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2021). See Chapter One of this dissertation for the introduction of the term's etymology in the Daoist tradition that is relevant to the discussion.

mythological themes evolving around the grotto-heavens into three groups: a tomb as a temporary lodge for the dead; a womb for reincarnation after cleansing worldly sins; and a paradise inhabited by transcendent beings.[3] A common concern of these three themes is the attribution of grotto-heavens as spaces with different functions. If judged by the form of space, the grotto-heavens also make a dialectical realm for confinement and deliverance: as a concealed space, it is the residence for Daoist deities and an enigmatic repository of sacred scriptures; as a passable space, it transports those who attain the Way from the port in an earthly mountain to other mountain ports and, eventually, the celestial realms. The paradox is grounded in the belief that the grotto-heavens "constituted a form of interiorized 'counter-universe,'" reflecting a macro-microcosmic system visualized in the Daoist meditative practices.[4] It is similar to a Klein bottle, a metaphor offered by Miura Kunio that enables a grotto visitor to transcend the demarcation line between the interiority and externality of the cosmos.[5]

Although it has emerged as a religious notion, the system of grotto-heavens developed into a quintessential symbol that prevailed in all walks of secular Song scholar-officials' cultural lives.[6] Unlike the previous belletrists, the Song writers refused to fantasize merely

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[3] Verellen, Franciscus. "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology." Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie (1995): 265-290.

[4] *Ibid.*, 276.

[5] See Miura Kunio 三浦国雄, *Chūgoku jin no toposu* 中国人のトポス: 洞窟、風水、壺中天 (Tokyo, 1988), pp. 71-112. The Chinese version with an expanded conclusion is available, see in Miura Kunio, *Bulao busi de yuqiu: Miura Kunio Daojiao lunji* 不老不死的欲求：三浦国雄道教論集 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2017), pp. 332-359.

[6] The notion of "secular people" in this discussion refers to those who were not officially ordained as Daoist practitioners. Rolf Alfred Stein shows in *Le monde en petit* that the concept of sacred caves, or grotto-heavens widely prevailed in the designs and illustrations of scholar studio (*zhai* 齋) and gardens in the Ming dynasty. See Chapter One in *Le monde en petit*, pp. 17-56; *The World in Miniature*, pp. 5-48. Although such discussions in the Song context is still limited, Zhang Yunshuang in her dissertation on Song literati studios shows that the Southern Song literatus Zhao Xihu 趙希鵠 (ca. 1231) considered the space of literati studio as a grotto-heaven. See Zhang's discussion of *Dongtian qinglu ji* 洞天清祿集

about grotto-heavens as an inaccessible "other" space. They launched expeditions to find enchanted grottos in actual mountains and chanted about wanderings and cultivations in grotto-heavens. Their literary writings broach a series of riveting questions: What was the Song literati's understanding of the space of grotto-heavens? What was their incentive to approach the grotto-heavens? Why did they begin to seek grotto-heavens in actual landscapes? How did they negotiate their identity as secular people when entering the traditional immortal realm?

This study takes a literary approach to address such questions, conducting a close reading of the literati's writings, including essentially poetry, travel accounts, and epitaphs, and analyzes their literary making of the self, the space, and the place in sacred grotto-heaven landscapes. Because the writings of grotto-heavens are deeply interwoven with the Daoist language and ideas, this study also delves into essential Daoist textual sources from the Daoist Canon (*Daozang* 道藏) and scrutinizes their intertextuality with the works of literati. In other words, it concerns the Daoist literature incorporated by literati to represent their experiences in the divine Daoist space.[7] Exploring the interaction between literati writings

(Records of the Pure Blissfulness in the Cavern Heaven) in Zhang, Yunshuang, "Porous Privacy: The Literati Studio and Spatiality in Song China" (University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. diss., 2017), pp. 176-181.

[7] In other words, this research deals with a type of Daoist literature with a defined scope: the texts written by literati on the topic of Daoist sacred geography. To deepen the analysis, it also consults Daoist scriptures and commentaries composed by both Daoist professionals and scholars.
"Daoist literature," as a research topic, was formed in the 1980s. Zhan Shichuang proposes that Daoist literature can be categorized as six types: the divine subjects of literature (the Daoist body and deities), the composers (Daoist professionals and aficionados), writings concerning Daoist place and space, works about Daoist practices, text of Daoist principles, and narratives about the influence of Daoist practices. See Zhan Shichuang 詹石窗, *Daojiao wenxue shi* 道教文學史 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1992), pp. 4-9. For other related discussions on this topic, see Zhan Shichuang, *Nan Song Jin Yuan Daojiao wenxue yanjiu* 南宋金元道教文學研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2001); Zhang Zhenqian 張振謙, *Daojiao wenhua yu Songdai shige* 道教文化與宋代詩歌 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2015); Sun Changwu 孫昌武, *Daojiao wenxue shijiang* 道教文學十講 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014); and Wu Zhen 吳真. "Tangdai Daojiao wenxue shi chuyi" 唐代道教文學史刍議 (Notes on the Taoist Literature of the Tang Dynasty). *Journal of HIT (Social Science Edition)* 14 (2012): 86-89.

and Daoist texts offers better insight into how the literati's engagement in Daoist literary and liturgical traditions contributed to the evolving understanding of sacred spaces on a broader cultural spectrum.

Due to limited capacity, this study does not intend to survey all grotto-heaven landscapes. Instead, it will adopt the typical grotto visitor's perspective by accessing the system of grotto-heaven landscapes through one portal—Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven (*Dadi Dongtian* 大滌洞天).[8] Albeit undistinguished on the Tang secular cultural map, the place became prominent in the Song, hosting emperors and literati. Its growing cultural significance transformed it into an incubator of poetry and other literati compositions. This dissertation will analyze the literary works created in or for Grand Cleanse as well as the meta-knowledge looming in the background.

During the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), the local Daoist priest Meng Zongbao 孟宗寶 (ca. 13th–14th century) collaborated with the literatus and Song loyalist adherent Deng Mu 鄧牧 (1246–1306) and compiled the *Dongxiao shiji* 洞霄詩集 (*Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*), which is the first independent poetry anthology concerning a grotto-heaven landscape.[9] Considering that the compilation work attaches importance to poems composed by the Song

[8] The landscape is located in today's Zhejiang Province. The notion of "cleanse" indicates ritual purification.

[9] This dissertation attaches special attention to the Zhida manuscript version of *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*. According to this study's examination of its textual history, the Zhida manuscript is one of the two earliest extant versions, and its collection of the Song poems is more well preserved compared to other versions. A photocopy of the Zhida manuscript version of *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology* is preserved in Meng Zongbao's *Dongxiao tu zhi: Zhejiang sheng* 洞霄圖誌：浙江省. (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1983), pp. 227-302. Although titled as *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖誌 (Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer), this reference includes two parts: the first half of the book is the temple gazetteer *Dongxiao tuzhi*, and the latter half is *Dongxiao shiji*. Hereafter, the gazetteer will be referred to as *DXTZ*, and the poetry anthology will be referred to as *DXSJ*. For the bibliographical study of the source texts, see the appendix of this dissertation.
Richard Strassberg offers a brief introduction to Deng Mu and translates one of his travel writings. See Richard E. Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 257-262.

literati and represents the collective efforts of literati and Daoist priests, the anthology provides a specialized lens to observe the grotto-heaven landscape's emergence into a significant cultural hub, during the process of which the Song lettered men's literary activities played a crucial role.

In short, this study has three focal points: it concerns the secular literature's engagement with Daoist texts and learnings, the literati's self-fashioning in the Daoist landscape, and the literary construction of sacred space and place, especially on the local level. The discussion below will review the current studies on relevant topics to create a common ground for contextualizing the analyses in the following chapters.

I Background to the Study

The time during which secular elites had an increasing interest in searching for grotto-heaven landscapes overlapped with the Tang-Song transition period that started from the An Lushan Rebellion (755–763).[10] In the sociohistorical context, this critical era featured the rise of a social class—the literati (*shi* 士)—and the collapse of the aristocratic order that had been dominant for centuries. Serving as the new pillar of the imperial state, the literati class shattered the old aristocratic cultural and intellectual monopoly and established its discourse, which had a far-reaching impact on the cultural atmosphere in the following centuries. Along with the burgeoning literati culture, Daoism underwent a profound transformation and

[10] The Japanese historian Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (Naitō Torajirō, 1866–1934) proposed an influential hypothesis known as the Tang-Song transition. Although breeding contention among later scholars, his theory greatly shaped the framework of the Song studies in the United States. Edward A. Kracke was the first US scholar to introduce Naitō's theory to the field of Sinology in the States. Generally speaking, American scholars of cultural and historical studies since the 1950s has taken inspiration from Naitō's theory.

flourished due to imperial patronage and scholarly interest. The Daoist treatises—especially those concerning the teaching of philosophical Daoism and the cultivation of inner alchemy—became the direct source of knowledge for Daoist aficionados and explorers of the Way (*dao* 道). Lastly, landscape travel developed into an essential literati activity and inspired the literati to contemplate the relationship between the cosmos and the self. The thriving travel culture also led to the boom of travel writings, in which the grotto-heaven landscapes constituted a vital subject.

(1) Song Literati and Their Pursuit of Nature and Culture

Before the Song dynasty, *shi* 士 denoted an aristocratic elite that dominated office-holding but derived their status from hereditary descent.[11] The destruction of the aristocracy during the last phase of the Tang dynasty (618–907) and the nationwide implementation of civil service examination in the Song dynasty caused profound sociopolitical changes.[12] A critical one was the transformation of *shi*, which began to define a new status of "literati" whose political and moral authority was grounded in their Confucian education and literary talents rather than family heritage. Concerning the cultural aspect, Peter Bol argues that pedigree, learning, and office-holding were the building blocks of literati identity.[13] As the

[11] Yu Ying-shih's 余英時 study researches the provenance and transformation of the concept of *shi* throughout Chinese history and is one of the most reliable references for this discussion. See his *Shi yu Zhongguo wenhua* 士與中國文化 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003). About an introduction of the literati concept during the late Tang and Northern Song, Peter Bol offers the most precise introduction. See *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 3-6.

[12] The latest study that utilized digital humanities methodology to trace this process is Nicolas Tackett's *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Asian Center, 2014).
For the study on the civil service examination system during the Song dynasty, the representative work is John W. Chaffee's *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations* (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[13] See Bol's discussion in Chapter Two of *"This Culture of Ours"*, pp. 32-75.

influence of pedigree slackened, the Song literati emerged as a combination of scholars and officials.[14] Uchiyama Seiya described the model of an ideal literati as an all-around official, scholar, and poet.[15] In defining literati as a major component of the Song elite, it is also feasible to identify them as those with privileged access to "wealth, power, and prestige," per Robert P. Hymes's opinion.[16] In sum, the Song literati's political, intellectual, and cultural identities granted them determining power in forming the culture of the Song dynasty.

A multifaceted identity became the foundation for the Song literati to explore new ways to address the cultural crises and the disarray of values that had been haunting Confucian devotees since the 755 rebellion. Under the influence of the *guwen* (古文, texts from the antiquity) movement initiated by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), the Northern Song literati sought to revive Confucianist teachings through cultural reform. They engaged in heated debates over whether literature (*wen* 文, or patterned written language), especially poetry, could act as an effective agency to represent the ideal cultural form and whether it had the potency to signify the Way, which could guide righteous ruling that reinforces a unified order.[17]

[14] Chen Zhi'e pointed out that the Song literati the literati played a decisive role in governing the state; see Chen Zhi'e 陳植鍔, *Beisong wenhua shi shulun* 北宋文化史述論 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019), p. 12.

[15] Uchiyama Seiya 内山精也, *Miaotang yu jianghu: Songdai shixue de kongjian* 廟堂與江湖：宋代詩學的空間 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2017), pp. 6-8.

[16] Hymes's definition is more encompassing and more applicable to the condition of the Southern Song literati, many of whom did not hinge their identity on office holding but rather focused on personal education and local influence. See Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 7.

[17] For the study of Han Yu and his promotion of studying the pattern from antiquity as a way to seek unification, see Charles Hartman's *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton University Press, 1986).

The Song literati also formed a consensus that texts and objects from antiquity were sources of the true teachings.[18] With a scholarly attitude, they surveyed broadly the texts that might yield knowledge of antiquity, even beyond the treatises traditionally affiliated with Confucianism. They also boasted increased cultural confidence and felt competent to argue for a direct comprehension of the ancient texts.[19] Thanks to the flourishing publishing industry and book collecting culture, the variety of texts that the Song literati could access was unprecedented.[20] Many with extensive exposure to the Daoist legacies, like Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), also integrated the Daoist sources, including those that were exclusive to the Daoist professionals before the eighth century during their search for ancient teachings.[21] They integrated such readings to supplement their learning and direct their self-cultivation, especially in fostering Qi vitality (*qi* 氣);[22] many also represented their quest for, and the content of, such learnings in literature.

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[18] Besides Peter Bol's *"This Culture of Ours"*, studies of Song people's fascination of the antiquity are numerous. A good reference is Yunchiahn C. Sena's *Bronze and Stone: The Cult of Antiquity in Song Dynasty China* (University of Washington Press, 2019). On the discussion of literature and aesthetic, Ronald Egan's chapter on Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and his *Jigu lu* 集古錄 (Collected Records of the Past) is a must read. See *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 7-59.

[19] This was different from the previous exegeses that rigidly relied on the interpretations from previous generations without emphasizing the original sources. The Song scholars liberated themselves from the fetters and strived to develop new hermeneutics on metaphysical topics based on their examination of antiquity. See discussions in Peter Bol's *"This Culture of Ours"*.

[20] Although manuscripts were still the mainstream form of textual media, the emerging printed texts accelerated the textual circulation, especially during the Southern Song. For related studies on this topic, see Ronald Egan, "To Count Grains of Sand on the Ocean Floor: Changing Perceptions of Books and Learning in Song Dynasty China," in Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerdt, eds., *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Uchiyama Seiya 内山精也, *Chuanmei yu zhenxiang: Su Shi jiqi zhouwei shidafu de wenxue* 傳媒與真相：蘇軾及其周圍士大夫的文學 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2013); and Wang Yugen's *Ten Thousand Scrolls: Reading and Writing in the Poetics of Huang Tingjian and the Late Northern Song* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Asian Center, 2011).

[21] The most helpful reference is Piet Van der Loon's *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index* (Ithaca Press, 1984), which shows that private literati book collectors and academies became entities to collect cardinal Daoist scriptures and treatises. Scholars who conducted professional research on Daoist alchemical practices and texts, like Zeng Zao 曾慥 (d. 1155 or 1164), also started to emerge.

[22] The Chinese cultural context, Qi vitality is an "energy matter" that is "neither material nor spirit." It is deemed as the foundation of the world and the basic component of the myriad of things under Heaven, including human beings. There are different translations of this concept. Some scholars translate it as "pneuma," while some choose to render the character as *qi* ("ch'i" in Wade–Giles romanization) because the concept is overloaded. I consider the concept's connotation of an essential

The rise of localism, coupled with the inward turn of the intellectual climate, caused another shift in literati identity and practice during the Southern Song (1127–1279).[23] On the local level, literati focused more on reinforcing their cultural identity through personal cultivation rather than through achieving political advancement.[24] Peter Bol suggests that literati cultivation in this period centered less on producing literature for the cultural formation but more on cultivating "ethical behaviors."[25]

However, recent studies show that literary activities in the twelfth to the thirteenth century were no less vibrant. From a literary-historical perspective, Michael Fuller's study of Southern Song poetry reveals that literati were still committed to achieving aesthetic experience through literature (*wen* 文).[26] He addresses that the literati continuously took literature as an intermediate device for fostering aesthetic experience and building connections between the cosmos and the self. To explain theoretically the cosmic-self connection built on literature, Fuller resorts to cognitive studies and defines "the literary" as

life force to be critical, so I choose to translate it as "Qi vitality." The scholarly discussions about this concept are countless. This study refers to the definition offered by Isabelle Robinet. See Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion* (Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 7-8.

[23] James Liu argued that the intellectual dynamic of the Southern Song became more conservative not only from a moral perspective but also on the political aspects, stressing a more extraordinary power concentration. See James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Harvard Univ Asia Center, 1988). The change has led to debates on the rise of localism during the Southern Song and onward among scholars since the 90s. For representative topics, see Smith, Paul Jakov, and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Asian Center, 2003). Specifically, the Daoist movement during the Song dynasty also witnessed a local turn, see Robert Hymes's discussion in *Way and Byway: Taoism, Local Religion, and Models of Divinity in Sung and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[24] For example, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), who was later revered as the master who synthesized early Neo-Confucianist thoughts, emphasized that "cultivating the body is the root" (xiushen weiben 修身為本). He elaborates on the teaching of "cultivating the body, regulating the family, ruling the state, and then pacifying everything under Heaven" 修身、齊家、治國、平天下 by prioritizing the self-cultivation. See Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 4.

[25] *"This Culture of Ours"*, p. 3.

[26] See Michael Fuller's *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes: Southern Song Dynasty Poetry and the Problem of Literary History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asian Center, 2003).

"the aesthetic organizing of language." He suggests the "mediation of corporeality" as a powerful approach to address the self, as the meaning is "in the brain's mappings of corporeal experience that stand at the end of the signifying chain articulated through language."[27] Still, corporeal mediation has limitations, because it cannot help pin down the referent that belongs to the realm beyond the self. Fuller then advances the discussion by elaborating on debates of aesthetics as a reflective judgment of the particular's projection of the universal order in the Kantian context. Fine art is thus considered the ideal medium for signifying the transcendental order as it is coherent with nature, albeit being an artifice crafted by the self. Moreover, Fuller taps into Theodor Adorno's aesthetic argument to discuss the historicity embedded in the material particularity of art and argues that aesthetic experience is historical.[28] Hence, as fine art that evokes aesthetic experience, literature is also innately historical, and literary history, including that of the Song dynasty, is a form of "internal history of strategies to formalize aesthetic experience in language."[29]

This dissertation resonates with Fuller's interpretation of literature and its aesthetic and historical significance, especially in studying the Song literati writings. Nevertheless, considering that the emphasis of this study is the Song intellectuals' literary representation of grotto-heavens rather than the history of grotto-heaven literature, this study reorients the discussion by examining how the aesthetic experience evoked by the understanding of

[27] Here, Fuller refers to Horst Ruthrof's concept of "corporeal semantics." See *Ibid*., p. 16-18. The discussion of bodily technique can trace all the way back to Marcel Mauss's "Les techniques du corps." See the English translation of the article in Mauss, Marcel. "Techniques of the Body." *Economy and society* 2.1 (1973): 70-88.

[28] *Ibid*., p. 24-27.

[29] *Ibid*., p. 28.

corporeality in the Song cultural context inspired new ways to signify the grotto-heaven landscape in literature.

Previous discussions of Song literati writings tend to focus on the authors' mental faculties, including affective responses (*qing* 情) and human nature (*xing* 性), as the key *priori* that evoke their intention (*zhi* 志) to inspire great writings, while not assigning much importance to their physical faculties. However, the Song literati became increasingly interested in writing about their empirical travels in sacred landscapes like grotto-heavens for mediating not only mental practices but also corporeal cultivation. Whether chanting their physical wandering in the Daoist grottos or implying Qi vitality's wandering in their bodies, their bodily practices, which helped strengthen their association with the cosmos, constituted a unique aesthetic experience that crystalized in literature. In other words, their grotto-heaven literature represented the interplay between literati's corporeality, as the physical form of the self, and the grotto-heaven landscapes, as sacred places that literati deemed to encapsulate the heavenly order. Additionally, the study of literati's fashioning of their bodies in Daoist landscapes will also offer a unique angle for complicating the analyses of Song literati's understanding of the self and identity.

(2) Inner Alchemical Daoism vis-à-vis Song Literati

A critical factor that enhanced Song literati's awareness of corporeality was their rising interest in the practice of inner alchemy (*neidan* 内丹), a kind of Daoist cultivation for

enlightenment that had attracted literati since the eleventh century.[30] According to Kristofer Schipper and Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein's studies, virtually all Song texts on the subject of life cultivation (*yangsheng* 養生) encompass inner alchemy.[31] Based on the theories in *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes), the practitioner attains the culmination of inner alchemy through imagining his body as a corporeal cauldron for compounding his Qi vitality to make the inner elixir, which can keep him perpetually alive.[32]

However, scholars of Chinese literature are generally reluctant to engage in the discussion of Daoist cultural influence for complex reasons, including but not limited to the biased impression fostered by the negative comments made by Confucian scholars, the decline of Daoism since the late Ming (fifteenth to early seventeenth century), and the contemporary cultural suppression of Daoism.[33] Modern studies also divided the research on

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[30] Inner alchemy is an essential practice of Daoism, the most influential indigenous Chinese religion. The latest work that provides a comprehensive introduction to Daoism is the anthology edited by James Robson. See *The Norton Anthology of World Religions: Daoism* (New York : W. W. Norton & Company, 2015).

[31] See the section on inner alchemy in the book edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen: *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 779-849.

[32] For studies of internal alchemy, see Joseph Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 5, Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Physiological Alchemy* (Cambridge University Press, 1983); Farzeen Baldrian Hussein's "Inner Alchemy: Notes on the Origin and Use of the Term neidan." *Cahiers d'extreme-asie* 5.1 (1989): 163-190; and Isabelle Robinet's Chapter Eight in *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, pp. 212-256. Recently, Lowell Dean Skar's study provides a close look on the "golden elixir" in the Southern Song. See "Golden Elixir alchemy: The formation of the southern lineage of Taoism and the transformation of medieval China" (University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D. Diss., 2003).

[33] For example, in an article, Xie Yifeng reviews the Song literati attitude towards religious Daoism. He concluded that the criticism towards Daoism became overt in the Southern Song due to the influence of Zhu Xi's works. Literati were generally dissatisfied with the fact that Daoism was polluted by Buddhism. See Xie Yifeng 謝一峰. "From Private Discussion to Public Comment: the Scholars' Attitude and Thinking on Taoism in the Southern Song Dynasty" 從私議到公評：南宋士人對於道教的態度與思考. *Journal of Hui Studies* 2 (2018). However, based on Xie's study, it seems that the competition between Confucianism and Daoism was the key incentive that led to the attack. What the Song literati disapproved of was essentially the Daoist elaboration of the Buddhist concept of *void*, which posed a direct threat to the Confucian value system based on the prerequisite that the world is substantial, and some low-level Daoists' incorporation of apocryphal scriptures and rituals similar to cult practices. Other Daoist learnings and practices, especially the inner alchemy, were not targets of their criticism. Additionally, the Neo-Confucians' anxiety can also serve as a soundproof of the strong influence of Daoist teachings at the time.
About Daoism's failure to sustain imperial support and its decline since the late Ming, and the prevalence of Buddhism that enjoyed both imperial favor and the commoner's worship, see Volume Four of Qing Xitai 卿希泰, *Zhongguo daojiao shi* 中國道教史 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1996).

Daoism into two categories: philosophical Daoism (*daojia* 道家) and Religious Daoism (*daojiao* 道教). Literary studies tended to consider philosophical Daoist texts proper and orthodox references while being hesitant to investigate religious Daoist treatises for fear that such discussions would be labeled as non-scientific or even superstitious.[34] Nevertheless, it is important to note that the concept of "the teaching of Daoism" (*daojiao* 道教) in the medieval context could encompass philosophical and religious terms.[35] The Song literati's reception of Daoism also falls across a wide spectrum; the research on Daoism calls for careful evaluation.

The Song dynasty witnessed a profound transformation of religious culture as Buddhism, Daoism, and popular cults ubiquitously existed in ordinary people's daily lives, and religious rituals and knowledge became vernacularized.[36] Daoism enjoyed great popularity in all tiers of society for multifold reasons.[37] First, Emperor Zhenzong (r. 997–1022) and Emperor

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After the establishment of PRC, the study of Daoism also bore the brunt of such crises such as the Cultural Revolution. See *Daojiao wenxue shi*, p. 3.

[34] In the study of Su Shi and his bodily practice, Yang Zhiyi also addressed this obvious avoidance of Daoism-related discussion when researching through past studies on Su Shi's poetry and biography. See Chapter Five "The Spontaneous Body" in Yang Zhiyi. *Dialectics of Spontaneity: The Aesthetics and Ethics of Su Shi (1037–1101) in Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), p. 164-165. Comparatively, Ronald Egan's survey of Su Shi is more eclectic; see Ronald Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 237–50.

[35] Anna Seidel reviews Daoist history from early Daoism to later Daoism that adopted a messianic religious form. See Seidel, Anna. "Taoism: The Unofficial High Religion of China." *Taoist Resources* 7.2 (1997): 39-72. For a more comprehensive introduction to religious Daoism in China, see Isabelle Robinet's *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*. Zhan Shichuang also explained the intricate relationship between philosophical and religious Daoism, see *Daojiao wenxue shi*, pp. 7-9.

[36] For relevant historical context, see Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1993); and Chapter Five "The Song Transformation of Chinese Religious Culture" in Richard von Glahn's monograph *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chine Religious Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angele University of California Press, 2004). Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光 also wrote about literati worship of Daoism from the mid-Tang to the Northern Song dynasty. See Ge Zhaoguang, *Daojiao yu Zhongguo wenhua* 道教與中國文化 (Daoism and Chinese Culture) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987), pp. 215-238.

[37] Xie Yifeng conducts a thorough literature review on the existing scholarship of Daoism in the Southern Song, which serves as an excellent reference for extensive readings. See Xie, Yifeng. "Nansong Daojiao yanjiu shuping" 南宋道教研究述評. *Daoism: Religion, History & Society* 6 (2014): 335–363.

Huizong (r. 1100–1126) were known as fervent worshippers of Daoism;[38] Huizong even promoted Daoist rulership and fashioned himself as a Daoist deity. Consequently, Daoism received a strong imperial promotion and was integrated as part of the high style culture. Secondly, the development of the printing culture also led to the proliferation of Daoist scriptures, many of which entered book collections of secular literati.[39]

Fundamentally, the literati's interest in the Daoist literature and practices was crucial in promoting the cultural status of Daoism. Inner alchemy in particular became a vogue among the Song literati. Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein's study reveals the literati's devotion to inner alchemy and its relation to their life and moral cultivations.[40] Yang Zhiyi surveys Su Shi's bodily practice during exile and argues that Daoist belief was essential in helping him fathom his fate.[41] Zhang Zhenqian's survey on poetic reception of Daoist culture in the Song dynasty shows that the two representative scriptures favored by literati were *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 and *Zhouyi cantongqi* 周易參同契, both of which were the key texts of inner alchemy.[42]

A pivotal practice that intrigued Song literati was the cultivation of Qi vitality. Scholars of Chinese literature tend to engage this notion when discussing the aesthetic concept of

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[38] Otani Teruhiro 大谷照裕. "Shinnsou to taoizumu" 真宗とタオイズム. *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 41 (1992): 223-227; Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志. "Rin Reiso to Sōno Kisō" 林靈素と宋の徽宗. *Tokai daigaku kiyo* 24 (1975): 1–8. The latest English scholarship on Huizong's Daoist ruling and its historical context is by Patricia Ebrey. See Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. "Emperor Huizong." *Emperor Huizon*g (Harvard University Press, 2014); Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, and Maggie Bickford ed., *Emperor Huizong and late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Harvard University Asia Center Publications Program, 2006).

[39] *Daojiao wenhua yu Songdai shige*, pp. 106-138. As for the printings and circulation of Daoist texts, Piet Van der Loon's *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index* is the best reference.

[40] Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Alchemy and Self-Cultivation in Literary Circles of the Northern Song Dynasty: Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) and His Techniques of Survival," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996–7): 15–53.

[41] *Dialectics of Spontaneity*, pp. 164-201. Additionally, the most representative Chinese scholarship on Su Shi's relationship with Daoism is Zhong Laiyin 鐘來茵's *Su Shi yu Daojia Daojiao* 蘇軾與道家道教 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1990).

[42] See Zhang Zhenqian's survey on the Daoist scriptures' influence on Song poetry in *Daojiao wenhua yu Songdai shige*, pp. 106-138.

"literary Qi" (*wenqi* 文氣), which was first proposed by Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226) in his literary criticism "Lunwen" 論文 (A Discourse on Literature) and later elaborated on by Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 460 or 480–522 or 538) in *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons).[43] Scholarship often interprets this concept in the context of affective responses or intentions while overlooking Liu Xie's physical concern noted by the following comparison in the chapter "Organization" (*fuhui* 附會):[44]

> When a child starts to learn the art of writing, he must be taught correct organization: it consists of feeling and ideas as the soul, of facts and meaning as the bone and marrow, of linguistic patterns as the musculature and integument, and of *gong* and *shang*, that is, the resonance of the language, as its voice and breath.
> 夫才量學文，宜正體製，必以情志為神明，事義為骨髓，辭采為肌膚，宮商為聲氣。

In his discussion of the relation between "literary Qi" and "primal Qi" (*yuanqi* 元氣), Ming Dong Gu notices that the "literary Qi" is based on the Chinese medical theory that emphasizes breathing techniques and perceives the human body as an "organic whole."[45] This interpretation resonates with the rationale of observing the "interior landscape" (*neijing* 內景) to guide the circulation of Qi vitality in the body in the Daoist meditative practice of *cunsi* 存思 (making [something in mind] present through imagination).[46] The key scripture that offers instructions on *cunsi* is the aforementioned *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* 太

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[43] Cheng, Yu-yu 鄭毓瑜. "Wenxin diaolong de ciqi lun: jianlun ciqi pinjian yu renwu pinjian de guanxi" 文心雕龍的辭氣論——兼論辭氣品鑒與人物品鑒的關係. *Bulletin of the Department of Chinese Literature* 1 (1985): 409-426.

[44] Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 ed., *Wenxin diaolong jinyi* 文心雕龍今譯 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), p. 373. See translation by Shih, Vincent Yu-chung trans., *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons by Liu Hsieh, a Study of Thought and Patern in Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 321.

[45] Gu, Ming Dong. "From Yuanqi (Primal Energy) to Wenqi (Literary Pneuma): A Philosophical Study of a Chinese Aesthetic." *Philosophy East and West* (2009): 22-46.

[46] The practice had become dominant thanks to the promotion of Upper Clarity Daoism since the fourth century. See Susan Huang's *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp. 25-27.

上黃庭內景玉經 (Precious Book of the Interior Landscape of the Yellow Court, DZ 331), which was popular among the Song literati.[47]

When scrutinizing Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) breathing practice, Miura Kunio points out that although previous studies elevate the status of "mind" over "body," he noticed that Qi vitality mainly resides inside the practitioner's body. Hence, he argues for a corporeal reorientation in the discussion of Qi vitality.[48] The emphasis of body resonated with the worship of life (*ming* 命), which had been crucial in inner alchemical practices since the Song dynasty.[49] In other words, Song literati were no longer ocular-centric and mind-centric.[50] Instead, they considered their bodies and organs as equally important in their self-cultivation. Miura's new framework offers guidance in reviewing the conversation of literature, landscape, and literati cultivation in the Song dynasty.

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[47] The text can be found in *Zhengtong Daozang* (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong [r. 1436 –1449]) was completed in 1445. It is the most reliable reference for the study of Daoist texts inherited from before the fifteenth century. The most professional study on the genealogy of *Daozang* is Chen Guofu's *Daozang yuanliu kao*. See Chen Guofu 陳國符, *Daozang yuanliu kao* 道藏源流攷 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014). The numeral reference of Daozang entries (hereafter, DZ) is cited from Schipper, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*.

[48] See Miura Kunio's study in Chinese translation in *Bulao busi de yuqiu*, pp. 107-127.

[49] The cultivation of both human nature and life (*xingming shuangxiu* 性命雙修) became dominant in the Song, and a key Daoist text that promoted this balanced cultivation is Zhang Boduan's 張伯端 (987–1082) *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (DZ 263.26, j. 26-30 and DZ 1017, j. 18, "Essay on the [Immediate] Awakening to Truth." Also translated as "Chapters on Awakening to Perfection." Its preface is dated to 1075, and its postface is dated to 1078). The Yuan dynasty Daoist text *Lishi zhenxian daoti tongjian* 曆世真仙體道通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror of Immortals Who Embodied the Tao through the Ages, DZ 296) preserves a comment by Zhang Boduan, who stated that: "The school of Daoism is based in the principle of life, that is the reason why it talks in detail about life but talks only briefly about human nature. The teachings of Shakyamuni are based in the principle of human nature, that is the reason why it talks in detail about the human nature but talks only briefly about life. Human nature and life are originally not separated from each other, (so) the Dao and Shakyamuni are originally not different."
道家以命宗立教，故詳言命而略言性。釋氏以性宗立教，故詳言性而略言命。性命本不相離，道釋本無二致。
For a survey of the text and a summary of key studies related to *Wuzhen pian*, see Wanmeng Li. (2022). "Wuzhen pian 悟真篇". Database of Religious History, Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia.

[50] The situation was different in earlier times. For example, Tian Xiaofei's study of landscape poetry in early medieval China shows that poets used to enjoy landscape through "seeing with the mind's eye." See Tian Xiaofei, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), pp. 21-67.

Nevertheless, current literary and cultural studies have not addressed sufficiently how the vogue of inner alchemical Daoism partook in literati's literary expression of nature and culture in the Song dynasty. The grotto-heaven landscapes enchanted with the Daoist legacies provided a perfect space for the literati to embody the sacred mountains and probe for ways to resonate with the cosmos.

(3) The Tradition of Wandering in the Sacred Mountains

The Song literati's interest in grotto-heavens invited them to wander in sacred mountains, the representation of which concerns dynamic movements that traverse time and space and connect the self with the natural landscape. Distant excursions into such mysterious mountains as Mount Kunlun 昆侖—either fantasized or actual—have been a vital theme throughout Chinese literary history.[51] Early Chinese literature often imbued unfettered wandering with transcendental connotations and portrayed protagonists who could roam freely either as divine beings, like the immortal dwelling in Mount Guye 姑射 mentioned in *Zhuangzi* 莊子, or as sages or great rulers, like Yu the Great 大禹, the cultural hero who

[51] The earliest survey of literature related to travel in Chinese literary history is Richard E. Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*. The latest monography on travel writing is from James Hargett, who provides a comprehensive survey of the terms related to the concept of travel and forms of travel in his monograph. See Hargett, James M., *Jade Mountains & Cinnabar Pool: The History of Travel Literature in Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018). For a cross-cultural survey of travel writings, see Das, Nandini, and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).
Taiwanese scholars contributed fruitful discussions on the study of "wandering and viewing" (*youguan* 遊觀), especially focusing on the cultural studies of early medieval China, from literary, historical, and religious perspectives. An all-encompassing discussion of the concept of wandering can be found in Liu Yuan-ju 劉苑如, ed., *Inner Landscape Visualized: Techniques of the Body in Medieval Chinese Literature and Religion* 遊觀：作為身體技術的中古文學與宗教 (Taibei: Zhongyanyuan wenzhesuo, 2009). Tsai Ying-chun's 蔡英俊 scrutinizes the affect and emotion related to the imagination of landscape in his book *Youguan, xiangxiang, yu zouxiang shanshui zhi lu* 遊觀、想象與走向山水之路 (Taipei: Zhengda chubanshe, 2018). Additionally, Lee Fong-mao 李豐楙 analyzes the Han and Six dynasties' literature on the theme of wandering with a special concern of the Daoist tradition. See the collections of his works including *You yu you: Liuchao Sui Tang xiandao wenxue* 憂與遊：六朝隋唐仙道文學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010); *Xianjing yu youli: shenxian shijie de xiangxiang* 仙境與遊歷：神仙世界的想象 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010).

measured all the mountains and controlled all the rivers under Heaven according to "The Tribute of Yu" (*Yu Gong* 禹貢).[52]

Early legends of land exploration through wandering became the foundation for the imagination of the empire and were subsequently coded in the imperial narrative of sacred ruling during the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE).[53] Meanwhile, the Han empire assigned special importance to Mount Tai. Historical narratives define the emperor's travel to Mount Tai to perform the *feng* and *shan* sacrifices (*feng shan* 封禪) as a critical method to affirm a legitimate ruling.[54] Later, the imperial pilgrimages further promoted the vision of sacred peaks.[55]

Aspiring for "marvelous purport that reaches beyond the world" 方外之妙趣, poets in the following centuries built on the trope of wandering immortals and chanted about their

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[52] Other examples include the protagonist in "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow) and "Yuan you" 遠遊 (Far Roaming) from *Chuci* 楚辭 (The Verses of Chu) and the sages and kings mentioned in *Liezi* 列子. See the Guye immortal story in *Zhuangzi zhushu* 莊子註疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 1.15-16. Hereafter *ZZZS*. See translation in Angus C. Graham's *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzu* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1989), p. 46.
See "The Tribute of Yu" in Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818) ed., *Shangshu jin gu wen zhushu* 尚書今古文註疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), pp. 136-207. See the translation of the "Yu Gong" chapter from Karlgren, Bernhard. "The Book of Documents." *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 22 (1950): 12-19.

[53] There are a number of scholars who conducted excellent discussions centering on spatial order and the making of empire in early Chinese contexts. Some representative works include Mark Edward Lewis's *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); and David Schaberg's "Travel, Geography, and the Imperial Imagination in Fifth-Century Athens and Han China." *Comparative Literature* 51.2 (1999): 152-191.

[54] The earliest literature that wrote about the Mount Tai ceremony is "Feng shan shu" 封禪書 in *Shiji*. See Sima Qian 司馬遷 (b. 145 BCE). *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 28.1631-1694.
Robert Harrist studies the stone inscriptions related to the Mount Tai ceremonies. See Chapter Four in his *The Landscape of Words: Stone Inscriptions from Early and Medieval China* (University of Washington Press, 2008), pp. 219-270. Since the Tang dynasty (618–907), rulers also began practicing a new form of ceremony on sacred peaks known as Casting the Dragon Slip (*tou longjian* 投龍簡). A representative study on this topic is Chavannes, Edouard. "Le jet des dragons." *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale* 3 (1919): 53-220.

[55] In his study of the Southern Peak, James Robson traces the formation of the five directional peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽). See James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue* 南嶽*) in Medieval China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

spiritual journeys in legendary mountains.[56] They were not concerned much about empirical journeys, because sacred mountains were distant and perilous for actual visits. More importantly, they bore influence of the Wei-Jin period (220–420) elite vogue known as "pure conversation" (*qingtan* 清談), which centered on metaphysical discussions elaborating on Daoist and Buddhist topics. A prevalent practice was to "face mountains and rivers in mystic contemplation" 以玄對山水.[57] Many pursued the ideal of "Perfected Wandering" (*zhiyou* 至遊), which prioritizes the travel of the "interior landscape" over actual travels:[58]

> By outward travel, we seek what we lack in things outside us, while by inward contemplation, we find sufficiency in our bodies. The latter is the perfect, the former an imperfect kind of wandering.
> 外游者，求備於物；內觀者，取足於身。取足於身，游之至也；求備於物，游之不至也。

The excerpt mentions "inward contemplation," which considers the body as a vehicle for delivering spiritual travel through a mental inspection.[59] It is worth noting that although the practice involved a body scan, it was only a preparation procedure for launching the spirit from the top of one's head. The subject that could eventually traverse the cosmos was the departed spirit rather than the body.[60]

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[56] The quotation is from Sun Chuo's 孫綽 "Yudao lun" 喻道論 in *Hongmiji* 弘明集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), p. 168.

[57] See the quote in the commentary about Sun Chuo's stele inscription in Xu Zhen'e 徐震堮 ed., *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), p. 339.

[58] See Yang, Bojun 楊伯峻 comp., *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 4.128. The translation is a modified version of A. C. Graham's translation. See Graham, Angus Charles, ed., *The Book of Lieh-tzu: A Classic of the Tao* (Columbia University Press, 1990), p. 82.

[59] According to Zhang Zhan's 張湛 (ca. fourth century) annotation, Liezi's master Huqiuzi compares the body to the cosmos. His understanding could trace back to the teachings of such Han medical treatises as *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經. This dissertation also offers an explanation of the meditation of the "interior landscape" in the early medieval Daoist practice. See footnote 409 in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[60] A good example that incorporates the above concepts is Sun Chuo's 孫綽 (314–371) "You Tiantai shan fu" 遊天台山賦 (Rhapsody on Roaming the Heavenly Terrace Mountain). Wendy Swartz's study elucidates that Sun adeptly hybridized religious repertoire to describe his approach to not only the mountain top but also the ineffable Ultimate Way. See Wendy Swarzt, *Reading Philosophy, Writing Poetry: Intertextual Modes of Making Meaning in Early Medieval China* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 145-157. The way Sun ascends, as both Tian Xiaofei and Zornica

Moreover, influenced by the early legends of sage kings' travels, sacred mountains were perceived as containers of the sage teachings from the ancient (*gu* 古) era. Because landscapes change little over time, ancient mountains were like enchanted vessels of antiquity.Historical narratives also fashion hermits who dwell in these mountains as experts and guards of such antique teachings.[61] The legends about hermits indicates that the majority who entered sacred mountains to pursue the hidden wisdom were people who claimed to harbor religious and reclusive intentions.

As mountains became more populated after the fourth century, monasteries and villages appeared. Warfare and subsequent calamities further drove elites to the south, landing them in the vicinity of mountains.[62] The historical changes provided fertile ground for the emergence of landscape poetry (*shanshui shi* 山水詩) that portrays the mountains and rivers that poets saw during their travels.[63] Although still latently resorting to metaphysical thoughts, landscape poets focused more on capturing the form of actual and specific sceneries, thus distinguishing their works from the earlier writings about spiritual wanderings

Kirkova have pointed out, was through spiritual roaming instead of physical hiking, despite that his depiction created an illusion of an empirical travel. For related discussions, see Tian, Xiaofei. "Seeing with the Mind's Eye: The Eastern Jin Discourse of Visualization and Imagination." *Asia major* (2005): 67-102; Kirkova, Zornica. "Distant Roaming and Visionary Ascent: Sun Chuo's 'You Tiantai shan fu' Reconsidered." *Oriens extremus* 47 (2008): 192-214.

[61] A representative example is the story of Four Hoary Sages of Shangshan (*Shangshan sihao* 商山四皓) in *Shiji*, 55.2483-2486. It is necessary to point out that the narrative adopts an imperial perspective and focuses on summoning the hermits from the mountains to the capital rather than following the traces of sages to enter the mountains.

[62] The latest historical research on this topic is Wei Bin's 魏斌 *"Shanzhong" de Liuchao shi* "山中"的六朝史 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2019).

[63] The earliest collection of this subgenre appeared in the literary anthology *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature) compiled by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–531). The treatise assigns a category entitled "Excursion and the Panoptic Gaze" (*youlan* 遊覽), which collects the earliest group of landscape poems. Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) was considered the first major landscape poet.

in imagined landscapes.[64] Moreover, landscape poetry generally concentrates on depicting sceneries and sounds to provoke aesthetic sensations.[65] Although there are descriptions of limbs and postures, the purpose of depicting the body was to augment an ocular-centric landscape portrayal.

The Six Dynasties' (220–589) poetic perception of landscape travels profoundly influenced the Tang literary depiction of mountain visits. In addition, the increase of private mountain pavilions and villas for elite sojourns made wild nature more accessible during the Tang dynasty. More prominent landscape poets emerged, and their chanting on enjoyment in mountain estates even developed into a subgenre.[66] However, it is worth noting that most early and high Tang poets were capital dwellers who seldom visited places beyond the city. Mountains were largely deemed as alien and formidable space. The charm of landscape poems thus hinged on capital poets' admiration for those who could either bring back the grand vision of uncharted places or enjoy a peaceful moment in the unsettled realm.

It is a scholarly consensus that the perception of landscapes, especially in the southern regions, was more concrete after the An Lushan Rebellion forced the second wave of migration to the mountainous in southern China. The flourish of a genre known as travel

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[64] Liu Xie regarded this change as "Zhuang and Lao had receded to the background and the theme of mountains and streams then began to flourish" 莊老告退，而山水方茲. Studies on this topic are numerous. Xiao Chi conducted terrain survey to supplement his analysis of landscape poems. See Xiao Chi 蕭馳, *Shi yu ta de shanhe: Zhonggu shanshui meigan de shengzhang* 詩與它的山河：中古山水美感的生長 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2018). Some English studies include Owen, Stephen. "The Librarian in Exile: Xie Lingyun's Bookish Landscapes." *Early Medieval China* 2004.1 (2004): 203-226; Swartz, Wendy. "Naturalness in Xie Lingyun's poetic works." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (2010): 355-386; and David R. Knechtges's discussions in *Inner Landscape Visualized*, pp. 1-63.

[65] See *Inner Landscape Visualized*, p. 64.

[66] The Tang elites constructed more mountain estates and composed poems on their gatherings. See an excellent discussion on the Tang poems on this theme: Stephen Owen, "The Formation of the Tang Estate Poem." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jun., 1995): 39-59.

literature (*youji* 遊記), articulated in the Tang and matured in the Song, resonated with this historical change.[67] In his study of the literary history of travel literature, James Hargett underscores that the genre features a "narrative of the *physical experience* of a journey through space toward an identifiable place."[68] Wang Ao's research on the mid-Tang landscape literature taps into the cultural and historical factors that stimulated the writing of physical journeys; the burgeoning demand for cartography and the increase of geographical knowledge gave rise to new spatial imaginaries.[69] In other words, the development of travel literature indicates revitalized knowledge and experience that literati embraced during their expeditions to mountains.

Map-making flourished in the Song dynasty as an effective means not only to assist the mobilization of resources but also to revive the geographical knowledge in Confucian classics and define Chinese territory during crises of invasion. According to Ruth Mostern's study, Song rulers made unreserved efforts to organize the imperial spatial information by making maps based on the ideal of Yu the Great.[70] Hilde De Weerdt resonates with Mostern on the point that the Song attempted to form a culturally constructed empire by mapping Yu's tracks and defending the Chinese lands against the non-Chinese.[71] In addition to cartographic

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[67] See Hargett's *Jade Mountains & Cinnabar Pool*.

[68] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[69] See Wang Ao's *Spatial Imaginaries in Mid-Tang China: Geography, Cartography, and Literature* (Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2018).

[70] See Ruth Mostern's *"Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern": The Spatial Organization of the Song State (960-1276 CE)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[71] See the discussion in Part II of Hilde De Weerdt, *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

illustrations, the writing, publishing, and reading of local gazetteers, especially mountain gazetteers, amplified the literati's knowledge of unfamiliar landscapes' history and culture.[72]

Gaining geographical knowledge and accumulating empirical experiences in sacred landscapes also became an indispensable part of literati life during the Song.[73] Xin Deyong examines the history of the "Map of Traces of Yu" (*yuji tu* 禹跡圖) and states that it was achieved through the empirical research of Yu's geographical legacy as part of the Song literati's classical studies (*jingxue* 經學).[74] Zhang Cong argues that travel experiences were crucial in elevating literati's status. Further, she demonstrates how such infrastructures as roads and waterways supported the travels of national and local elites.[75] Not only did the experience on the way improve, but dwelling in the mountains also became more affordable for the secular literati. James Robson's study of the southern sacred peak's religious history shows the tension between the local Daoist and Buddhist communities through various means, including expanding religious sites.[76] Since the late Tang, more educated elites took mountain monasteries and temples as academies when preparing for the civil service

[72] See Joseph R. Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers in Imperial China, 1100-1700* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

[73] The empirical turn in the Song literati's approach to understanding legacies of antiquity and the cosmos. For latest studies on this issue, see Ya Zuo, *Shen Gua's Empiricism* (Cambridge, Harvard University Asia Center, 2018); and the discussion of Bell Mountain in Yang Xiaoshan's *Wang Anshi and Song Poetic Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2022).

[74] Xin, Deyong 辛德勇. "Shuo Fuchang shike 'Yuji tu' yu 'Huayi tu'" 說阜昌石刻《禹跡圖》與《華夷圖》. *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報, 28 (2010): 1–44.

[75] Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

[76] See *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue* 南嶽*) in Medieval China*.

examination.[77] This practice implicitly revived the early pursuit of retrieving the sage king's hidden wisdom in sacred landscapes.[78]

Knowledgeable of the rich tradition of landscape wandering, the Song literati roamed into grotto-heaven mountains and enthusiastically chanted about their new journeys. Consequently, their literary representations merged the early tradition of transcendental roaming and pursuit of sage legacies with the contemporary geographical knowledge and trend of physical engagement.

II Literature Review of Grotto-heaven Studies and Areas of Contribution

As the phenomenon of grotto-heaven worship infiltrates into various aspects of Chinese culture, the study of grotto-heavens creates space for interdisciplinary conversations—current studies of grotto-heavens concentrate on the fields of religion, history, art history, and architecture. Comparatively, the literary research on the theme of grotto-heavens is minimal. The literature review helps illustrate the lacuna that this dissertation intends to address. The following section summarizes the available scholarship in three categories: the religious and historical, the art historical, and the literary approaches.

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[77] On studies of religious sites as academies since the eighth century, see Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Tangren xiye shanlin zhi fengshang" 唐人習業山林寺院之風尚, in *Yan Gengwang shixue lunwen xuanji* 嚴耕望史學論文選集 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye, 1991), pp. 271–316; Linda Walton, "Sung Academies and Sacred Landscape," paper presented at the conference on *Mountains and the Cultures of Landscape in China*, U. C. Santa Barbara, January 14-16, 1993; and Linda Walton, *Academies and Society in Southern Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

[78] Underlying literati's belief that landscapes could help them restore the teachings of antiquity was a consensus that "Within the domain of 'The Tribute of Yu ,' mountains and rivers above earth, they must be the same all times" 《禹貢》之域，山川戴地，古今必同. In other words, just like bronze vessels and steles, landscapes were also regarded as stable media of past knowledge and could serve as a reliable reference in the Song study of antiquarianism. See the quotation in the commentary of "The Tribute of Yu" in *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 6.171.

(1) Religious and Historical Studies of Grotto-heavens

As pioneers in the study of Daoism, French sinologists are the earliest ones to notice the significance of grottos in Chinese culture. When researching East Asian gardens, Rolf Alfred Stein sensitively noticed that the imagination of the cave was omnipresent in the design of gardens.[79] Inspired by his garden research, he looked into the origin of grotto worship in the East Asian context in the 1980s and argued that it was rooted in the worship of the mother-goddess and the power of rebirth.[80] Max Kaltenmark's article also addresses this topic, discussing the Chinese grotto myths together with Yu and Mount Kunlun, the axis-mundi, and comparing the grotto world to the labyrinth in the belly of the earth.[81] In the same period, Miura Kunio published an article introducing the basics of grotto-heavens, which became the foundational work that introduced the concept to Japanese scholars.[82] Following in their steps, scholars in recent decades have adopted cross-disciplinary methods to tackle such questions as the prototype and formation of grotto-heavens.[83]

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[79] Stein, Rolf A. "Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient." *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 42 (1942): 1-104. This article was later expanded into *Le monde en petit: jardins en miniature et habitations dans la pensee religieuse d'Extreme-Orient* in 1987.

[80] Stein, Rolf A. *Grottes-matrices et lieux saints de la déesse en Asie orientale* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1988).

[81] See "Grottes et Labyrinthes. En Chine ancienne" in *Dictionnaire des mythologies* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981).

[82] Miura Kunio 三浦國雄. "Dōten fukuchi shōron" 洞天福地小論. *Tōhō shūkyō*, 61 (1983): 1-23. Miura also wrote an article discussing the core concept of the cave with the example of Dongting 洞庭 (Cavern Hall). See Miura Kunio's "Dōtē mizuumi to Dōtē yama: chūgokujin no dōkutsu kannen" 洞庭湖と洞庭山：中国人の洞窟観念 in *Chūgoku jin no toposu*, pp. 113–52.

[83] For example, Jiang Sheng 姜生. "Lun Daojiao de dongxue xinyang" 論道教的洞穴信仰. *Journal of Chinese Humanities* 5 (2003): 54-62; Li Hailin 李海林. "Daojiao dongtian fudi xingcheng xinkao" 道教洞天福地形成新考. *Religious Studies* 4 (2014): 73-77.
Cai Linbo 蔡林波. "Daojiao 'dong' gainian ji shengming zhexue yihan 道教'洞'概念及生命哲學意涵 (On the Meaning of Life Philosophy of the Taoist Concept of Cave)." *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 3 (2019).

The article that officially claims the debut of grotto-heaven research in the English scholarly field is Franciscus Verellen's "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology," which unravels the topic with a comparative religious approach.[84] According to Verellen, the grotto-heaven is a transcendental space created by the Upper Clarity (*Shangqing* 上清) tradition of meditation that imagines the internalization of the outer cosmos into the spiritual world. The key Daoist scripture related to the early imagination of grotto-heavens is *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序 (The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High, DZ 388), which became the subject of Gil Raz's dissertation research.[85] Later, Raz also contributed a systematic introduction of "Daoist Sacred Geography," which encompasses major types of Daoist sacred landscapes.[86] Another critical treatise on grotto-heavens is Du Guangting's 杜光庭 (850-933) *Dongtian fudi yuedu shanming ji* 洞天福地岳瀆山銘記 (Inscriptions and Records of Marchmounts and Rivers of Grotto-heavens and Auspicious Places, DZ 599), which declared the maturation of the grotto-heaven system. Lennert Gesterkamp's textual analysis of the treatise argues that it synthesized the Daoist sacred geographies with the state.[87]

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[84] Verellen, Franciscus. "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (1995): 265-290. It is necessary to note that before Verellen's article, Thomas Hahn published a paper on Daoist mountains and religious geography in 1988, which is the first English article on Daoist sacred geography. It briefly touches on the idea of grotto-heaven in part of his discussion. See Hahn, Thomas. "The Standard Taoist Mountain and Related Features of Religious Geography." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 145-156.

[85] See Gil Raz, "Creation of Tradition: The Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure and the Formation of Early Daoism" (Indiana University, Ph.D. diss., 2004).

[86] See Gil Raz, "Daoist Sacred Geography," pp. 1399-1452, in Lagerwey, John, and Pengzhi Lü eds., *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)* (Brill, 2009).

[87] Gesterkamp, Lennert. "The Synthesis of Daoist Sacred Geography: A Textual Study of Du Guangting's Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji (901)." *Daoism: Religion, History & Society* 9 (2017).

The interest in grotto-heavens is also on the rise in recent Chinese scholarship. Lee Fong-mao is a leading scholar who published about grotto-heaven imaginations in the context of the early medieval Daoist meditative practices.[88] Hsiao Pai-Fang's Ph.D. dissertation is the most comprehensive study of the evolutionary history of the grotto-heaven system in the Song context.[89] Her research shows that the scope of the grotto-heaven system reached its peak under Emperor Zhenzong and Huizong's ardent promotion as an effort to establish the sacred geography for the Song empire. However, the system failed to sustain its size in the Southern Song due to various geopolitical challenges. The latest publication is a collection of papers presented at the first symposium on the research and protection of the grotto-heaven system organized by Tsinghua University in 2019.[90] This selection of articles tackles the topic from various disciplines and encompasses case studies across East Asia.

Additionally, a considerable proportion of the existing research centers on case studies of particular grotto-heaven landscapes. Earlier examples include Verellen's study of Du Guangting's Daoist conceptualization of the Shu land and Schipper's study of Mount Huotong 霍童山.[91] Recently, more case studies of grotto-heaven sites have begun to emerge. For example, Wei Bin examines the sixth grotto-heaven, the Red Citadel Grotto-

[88] See Lee Fong-mao's "Grotto Heavens and Inner Realms: The Inner Visualization Meditations in Jiangnan Daoism from Second to Fourth Century" 洞天與內景: 西元二至四世紀江南道教的內向游觀. *Dong Hwa Journal of Chinese Studies* 9 (2009): 157-197.

[89] Hsiao Pai-Fang 蕭百芳, "Nansong Daojiao de 'dongtian fudi' yanjiu" 南宋道教的「洞天福地」研究 (The Study of Taoist "Dongtian Fudi " in Southern Song Dynasty) (Tainan: National Cheng Kung University, Ph.D. diss., 2006).

[90] Lü, *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*. The symposium was arranged as part of the collaborative work aiming to promote the grotto-heaven system as a UNESCO world heritage.

[91] See Schipper, Kristofer. "Diyi dongtian: Mindong Ningde Huotong shan chukao" 第一洞天：閩東寧德霍童山初考. *Journal of Fuzhou University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 1 (2002): 5-8; and Franciscus Verellen's "Shu as a Hallowed Land: Du Guangting's 'Record of Marvels'." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (1998): 213-254.

heaven (*chicheng dongtian* 赤城洞天), located in Mount Heavenly Terrace, with a historical approach.[92] Tao Jin paid close attention to the depiction of Mount Mao 茅山 in the *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, DZ 1016) to probe the cardinal components of grotto-heavens.[93]

It is also worth mentioning that the Japanese scholar Tsuchiya Masaaki founded the journal *Dōten fukuchi kenkyū* 洞天福地研究 in 2011, which focuses on grotto-heaven research and Daoist studies published in Japanese.[94] Additionally, the media platform *The Paper* collaborates with the National Heritage Center at Tsinghua University and launched a column, "Dongtian xunyin" 洞天尋隱 (Seeking Hermit in Grotto-heavens), which gathers multidisciplinary scholarly articles on grotto-heaven landscapes.[95]

(2) Art Historical Studies and the Materiality of Grotto-heavens

Past discussions on how literati imbued their understanding of grotto-heavens into visual and material representations in paintings and gardens are also fruitful. Two exhibition catalogs provide surveys of a remarkable collection of grotto-heaven art. One is titled *Taoism and the Arts of China,* edited by Stephen Little, based on the first major U.S. exhibition on Daoist art and culture.[96] It catalogs paintings, calligraphies, sculptures, and ritual artifacts under various themes, including sacred Daoist landscapes. After two decades, the Taiwan

[92] *Shanzhong de Liuchao shi*, pp. 138-176.

[93] *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*, pp. 33-95.

[94] The latest volume is Volume 10 published in 2020. See Tsuchiya Masaaki 土屋昌明 et al. *Dōten fukuchi kenkyū* 洞天福地研究. 10 (2020).

[95] "Dongtian xunyin" 洞天尋隱. *The Paper*, 2020-present, https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_100481.

[96] See section 2, 3, 5, and 6 in Little, Stephen, et al. *Taoism and the Arts of China*. (University of California Press, 2000).

National Museum organized a special exhibition titled "Whereto Paradise: Picturing Mountains of Immortality in Chinese Art" and published a catalog in 2018, offering a closer look at paintings and textiles representing grotto-heaven fantasies.[97] Rich collections in major museums provide fertile ground for the visual research of grotto-heavens in premodern times.

One critical argument that art historians have been developing is that paintings and charts of sacred Daoist landscapes dated to the eleventh century and onward rendered the portrayal of mountains as an organic physical human body.[98] Charles Hartman attributes the origin of the corporeal mountain to the Daoist inner alchemical imagination of bodily orifices as caves and Buddhist worship of the Sumeru mountain as the Buddha body, both of which had begun to prevail after the eighth century. He argues that the religious imagination of the corporeal mountain reveals the aspiration for "a unification of physical self and physical world, a unification that generates, in turn, a transcendental vision of cosmic order."[99] Based on the notion of "true form" (*zhenxing* 真形), Susan Huang illustrates the correlation between the Daoist charts and paintings and further reveals how the inner alchemical vision inspired the Yuan painters to superimpose a layer of the body onto their landscape paintings.[100] Several

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[97] Hsu Wen-mei, et al. *Whereto Paradise: Picturing Mountains of Immortality in Chinese Art* 何處是蓬萊：仙山圖特展 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2018).

[98] See Chapter Six and Nine in Kristofer Schipper. *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 100-112, 160-182.

[99] Charles Hartman, "Mountain as Metaphors in T'ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century," paper presented at the conference on *Mountains and the Cultures of Landscape in China*, U. C. Santa Barbara, January 14-16, 1993. (I want to thank Professor Hartman for calling my attention to his unpublished paper, which enlightened me on the late-Tang context of the sacred landscape imaginations. The collection of papers from the 1993 conference is also a hidden gem.)

[100] In the first half of her encyclopedic work titled *Picturing the True Form*, Susan Huang neatly manifests the correlation between the imaginations of the porous body and the cavernous landscape by juxtaposing visual materials from the Daoist treatises dated from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. Her survey empowers other scholars to gain a panoramic idea of the spatial concept underpinning Daoist art. See Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form.* pp. 116-119. She also has an article that

Ph.D. dissertations in the past decade also support the same observation.[101] The imagination of an inner alchemical mountain intrigued many Song literati. Whether as scholars concerned about unification or as aficionados of Daoism, they would find outstanding aesthetic value in the concept of the bodily landscape.

By paying attention to the way in which mountains were represented, art historians lately have reached a common conclusion that the illusory grotto-heaven became more substantiated in the late-imperial visual representations. For example, Shih Shou-chien takes Wang Meng's 王蒙 (1308–1385) painting as an example and argues that the immortal caves became secularized and substantiated in the fourteenth-century illustration.[102] Lee Fong-mao shares the same opinion when reviewing the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) grotto-heaven paintings presented in the "Whereto Paradise" exhibition.[103]

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shows the correlation between true form charts of landscapes and landscape paintings; see "Xie zhenshan zhixing: cong 'Shanshuitu' 'Shanshui hua' tan Daojiao shanshuiguan zhi shijue xingsu" 寫真山之形: 從 [山水圖]、[山水畫] 談道教山水觀之視覺型塑. *Gugong xueshu jikan* 31 (2014): 121-204.

[101] Lim Chyehong discovers the corporeal symbols in landscape paintings yet only discusses the phenomenon in the Confucian context. See "[Re]viewing the Chinese Landscape: Imaging the Body [In]visible in Shanshuihua" (University of New South Wales, Australia. Ph.D. diss., 2011).
Anna Madelyn Hennessey explores the representation of Daoist body charts and its relation to landscapes. See "Chinese Images of Body and Landscape: Visualization and Representation in the Religious Experience of Medieval China" (University of California, Santa Barbara, Ph.D. Diss., 2011).
Liu Ziyun reorients the discussion by focusing on landscape paintings and examines the corporeal vision rooted in inner alchemy. See "The True Realm of Vision: The Visualization of Inner Alchemy in Yuan Shanshui Painting" (University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ph.D. diss., 2021).

[102] About the Peach Spring paintings, see Shih Shou-chien 石守謙. "Yidong de taohua yuan: Taohua yuan yixiang de xingsu yu zai dongya de chuanbu" 移動的桃花源—桃花源意象的形塑與在東亞的傳佈 in *Yidong de taohua yuan: Dongya shijie zhong de shanshuihua* 移動的桃花源：東亞世界中的山水畫 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua, 2012), pp. 49-89. In her dissertation, Yeohoon Choi resonates with Shih's opinion when discussing Wang Meng's visualization of the Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven (*linwu dongtian* 林屋洞天). See Yeohoon Choi, "Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385) and the Visualization of Sacred Landscapes in Fourteenth-century Jiangnan China" (University of California Los Angeles, Ph.D. diss., 2022).

[103] Lee Fong-mao discusses part of the paintings in this exhibition; see "Youguan dongtian: Gugong minghua yu Ming ren youdao" 游觀洞天：故宮名畫與明人游道 in *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*, pp. 114-126.

Another kind of artistic rendition of the grotto-heaven ideals is the Chinese garden. In particular, many gardens were constructed based on the fantasy of the grotto utopia depicted in Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 (365–427) prose "Taohuayuan ji" 桃花源記 (Account on Peach Blossom Spring).[104] Maggie Keswick scrutinized the Chinese garden's conceptual framework and noticed how the literati's "Peach Blossom Spring" hype influenced their garden design.[105] Two decades later, Rolf Alfred Stein published the monograph on container gardens mentioned above, which became the first work to interpret East Asian gardens in the context of grotto-heavens. While Keswick traced the garden concept to the Daoist metaphor of the gourd (*hu* 壺), Stein delved deeper into the issue by making an unchronological survey of the pertinent themes that could explain the perception of a miniature world, including the grotto-heavens, the gourd world, and Buddhist cosmological ideas.

Due to the topic's limitation, neither of their works offers a systematic analysis of the archetypal spatial conception. The latest publication on this issue is *The Cultural Gene of Ancient Chinese Space* by Zhang Jie, who taps into the topic from the viewpoint of architectural analysis and interprets the pattern of the landscape with a Chinese metaphysical knowledge of space.[106]

(3) Literary Studies of Grotto-heavens and the Orientation of this Study

[104] See a discussion on Tao Yuanming and his work in Chapter One of this dissertation.

[105] The book was first published in 1978. See Keswick, Maggie, Charles Jencks, and Alison Hardie, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture* (Harvard University Press, 2003).

[106] Zhang Jie 張傑, *Zhongguo gudai kongjian wenhua suyuan* 中國古代空間文化溯源 (The Cultural Gene of Ancient Chinese Space) (Beijing: Tsinghua daxue chubanshe, 2012).

As grotto-heavens became visible in the literati spatial knowledge, the sacred Daoist space and place developed into an important theme in literati writings. However, compared to the dynamic research in religion, history, and art history, the literary study of grotto-heaven literature is by far limited.[107]

Published in 1986, Stephen Bokenkamp's article "The Peach Flower Font and the Grotto Passage" is the first work that attempts to understand the latent influence of the Daoist grotto-heaven imagination on Tao Yuanming's portrayal of the "Peach Blossom Spring" grotto.[108] Researching the same period, Lee Fong-mao examines the imagination of grotto-heavens from the Six Dynasties to the Tang dynasty and analyzes its influence on the theme of immortal travel in narratives.[109] The research interest in grotto-heaven-related literature has recently reignited, and the focus has turned from the early medieval period to the Song-Yuan period. Sakai Norifumi surveys Zhou Bida's 周必大 (1126–1204) travel literature on his visits to grotto-heaven landscapes.[110] Moreover, Hsieh Shu-wei studies the fourteenth-

[107] A good number of scholarships focus on the literati writings of sacred mountains. However, only a few works lead the discussion in the framework of grotto-heavens or the Daoist sacred landscape.

[108] Bokenkamp, Stephen R. "The Peach Flower Font and the Grotto Passage." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1 (1986): 65-77.

[109] See Lee Fong-mao's "Liuchao Daojiao dongtian shuo yu youli xianjing xiaoshuo" 六朝道教洞天說與遊歷仙境小說 in *Xiaoshuo xiqu yanjiu* 小說戲曲研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1988), pp. 3-52; and "Xian, ji, dongku–cong Tang dao Beisong chu de changji wenxue yu daojiao" 仙、妓、洞窟——從唐到北宋初的娼妓文學與道教 in *Songdai wenxue yu sixiang* 宋代文學與思想 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1989), pp. 473-515. Lee Fong-mao is the first scholar who publishes in Chinese on Daoism's influence on the belletrists and their literary creations. His first research on this issue is his dissertation, which studies the relationship between Daoism and the Six Dynasties' learned men. See Lee Fong-mao. "Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenshi yu Daojiao zhi guanxi" 魏晉南北朝文士與道教之關係 (Taipei: National Chengchi University, Ph.D. Diss., 1978).

[110] See Sakai Norifumi's 酒井規史 "Songdai youji Zhong suojian de dongtian fudi yu daoguan: yi Zhou Bida de youji wei zhongxin" 宋代遊記中所見的洞天福地——以周必大的遊記為中心 in *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*, pp. 173-1910.

century landscape narratives in Daoist temple gazetteers and analyzes the embedded religious vision.[111]

Nevertheless, many questions remain unaddressed. For example, Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (1904–1980) had already noticed in the 1960s that the Song poets often personified nature in their landscape poetry.[112] Past scholars, including Yoshikawa, understood the phenomenon as the result of Song literati's shift of focus from natural landscapes to human beings. Additionally, studies generally accentuate the visual capacity of outstanding Tang landscape poetry and praise its convertibility with painting.[113] Consequently, the Song landscape poems, which appear to be more body-centric and less ocular-centric, are deemed inferior to their Tang predecessors.

However, as was reflected in the studies of landscape paintings, the Song literati's understanding of sacred mountains was profoundly influenced by the Daoist spatial concept and the tradition of inner alchemy, which engaged bodily exercises in self-cultivation. Considering that the Song literati's understanding of sacred mountains underwent changes, using the same aesthetic ruler to judge the Song poetry on landscapes, especially those with Daoist significance, would be insufficient.

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[111] Hsieh Shu-wei 謝世維. "Shisi shiji de Daojiao shanshui xushi: yi Song Lian, Zhang Yuchu wei zhongxin" 十四世紀的道教山水敘事：以宋濂、張宇初為中心 (Daoist Landscape Narrative in 14th Century: Study on Song Lian and Zhang Yuchu). *Studies in Sinology* 43 (2021): 1-34.

[112] Yoshikawa, Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (1904–1980), *Song Yuan Ming shi gaishuo* 宋元明詩概說, Li Qing 李慶 trans. (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1999 rpt.), pp. 39-40.

[113] This aesthetic evaluation was made by Su Shi on his appreciation of Wang Wei's 王維 (693, 694 or 701–761) landscape poetry and painting. His opinion was well-received in later generations and attracted much scholarly attention. A representative study in English is the section on "Painting and Poetry"in Ronald Egan's study of Su Shi. See *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*, pp. 296-309.

This dissertation is dedicated to approaching the overlooked spatial understanding and bodily implications by delving into the literati writings on the enchanted orifices of mountains—grotto-heavens. It incorporates understudied textual sources to examine "secular" literati writings that focus on Daoist spaces and places, including poetry and prose, against Daoist verses and scriptures. It argues that the Song literati used their literary devices to reframe the once forbidden and illusory grotto-heavens as accessible places in actual landscapes. Meanwhile, the reified grotto-heaven landscape reshaped the literati aesthetic of ideal space: it not only became an enchanted vessel for literati to cache Daoism-related memories and explore the knowledge of antiquity but also catalyzed their intellectual and physical cultivation with nature, the traces of sage kings, and eventually the transcendental order. This research will complicate the current understanding of the literati's fashioning of identity and space by underscoring their religious lives and physical cultivation. It also provides a new avenue for addressing the Tang-Song transition by observing the convergence of Confucian and Daoist intellectual trends through the crucial cultural hub of grotto-heavens.

III Chapter Breakdown

The body of this dissertation is divided into four chapters. The first chapter provides a general survey of the origin of the grotto-heaven concept in the Daoist tradition and its reception in literature before the Song dynasty. The wondrous cavernous space was sacralized as grotto-heavens in Daoist texts from the Six Dynasties. It was imagined as an inaccessible utopia reserved for Daoist immortals as earthly lodges and repositories for

heavenly scriptures. Secular elites knew little about these mysterious caves and fantasized about them as alien and forbidden realms separated from their mundane living spaces. Later, its alienness inspired the Tang poets, who entertained the concept of segregation and compared the grotto-heaven space to the forbidden imperial realm to express their grudges about their failure in climbing the social ladder.

Chapter Two narrows the scope by concentrating on the case of Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven and demonstrating its transformation from an enclosed space to a visitable place in literary representations. The initial poetic pattern of alien depiction was challenged when the erudite Song literati adopted an empirical attitude to exploring the mountains and attested them with their knowledge of sacred Daoist geography. Their traces in the sacred Daoist landscape also revised the local cultural memories, turning the "other" space into a tamed place. Eventually, the grotto-heaven mountains became accessible in literati's poetic delineations.

Chapter Three looks into the incentives that drove the Confucian literati into the Daoist realm and how they fashioned themselves in literature. A common trope that the Grand Cleanse visitors resorted to was seclusion. However, influenced by the learning of inner alchemy, their performance of hermitage in the landscape was no longer endurance of physical sufferance. By studying the Daoist scriptures and practicing with the masters, they enjoyed the purification of not only their minds but also their bodies. Their physical cultivation also inspired them to make the corporeality as an important factor in their landscape writings.

Chapter Four builds on the notion of corporeal landscape and questions the specific ways the Song literati represented their self-cultivation of inner alchemy in the grotto-heaven landscape. It conducts a close reading of a set of "Pacing the Void cantos" (*buxu ci* 步虛詞) composed on landscape travel in Grand Cleanse. By referring to literary works and Daoist scriptures and analyzing the genre, images, and tropes, the study reveals that the landscape poems represent an inner alchemical body in practice. Since the tradition of "Pacing the Void" was deeply rooted in the worship of Yu the Great, the poems also manifest the poet's aspiration to cultivate the self through embodying the sage king and emplacing the Yellow River during his wandering in the grotto-heaven.

Chapter One

An Alien Divine Hermitage: the Grotto-heaven Before the Song dynasty

Dongxiao Temple (*Dongxiao gong* 洞霄宮), located to the southwest of Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou), was one of the most influential Daoist temples in the Song and Yuan period. The sacredness of the temple hinged on its connection to two sacred points in Daoist geography: to Grand Cleanse Grotto as the thirty-fourth grotto-heaven, and to Mount Heavenly Pillar as the fifty-seventh auspicious place (*fudi* 福地).

In 1012, after Chen Yaozuo's 陳堯佐 (963-1044) report that he had witnessed divine revelation at Grand Cleanse Grotto, Emperor Zhenzong of Song (r. 997–1022) granted the name "Dongxiao" to the temple, thereby declaring his power over this religious realm. It is not clear why the emperor chose this name for the temple.[114] To take the choice at face value, the significance of the sacred geography was encoded in this name: the basic meaning of *dong* 洞 is cave; *xiao* 霄, as a polysemous word, basically means cloud and mist but is

[114] The name "Dongxiao gong" was not invented by Zhenzong. It first appears in *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (Esoteric Essentials of the Most High, DZ 1138), which refers "Dongxiao gong" (Dongxiao Palace) as the residence of one of the highest deities, the *Sanyuan chenzhong huangjing xuhuang yuantai Thearch* 三元晨中黃景虛皇元臺君 of the Jade Clarity Heaven. For detailed explanations of the hierarchy of deities, see Yuwen Yong 宇文邕 (r. 561-578). *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (Esoteric Essentials of the Most High). vol. 3. Zhou Zuoming 周作明, annot.. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016, p. 14. Also see *Shangqing yuanshi bianhua baozhen shangjing jiuling taimiao guishan xuanlu* 上清元始變化寶真上經九靈太妙龜山玄籙 (Most Wondrous Mysterious Register in Ninefold Numina [Palace], Tortoise Mountain, in the Superior Higher Clarity Scripture Preserving Perfection on the Transformation of the Primordial Beginning, DZ 1393): 1.1b3-4a7, and *Dongxuan lingbao zhenling weiye tu* 洞玄靈寶真靈位業圖 (Sublime Scripture of Lingbao–Illustration of the Hierarchy and Merit of Perfected Numina, DZ 167).
Another interesting fact is that there was another Dongxiao Temple in Weizhen Prefecture, which was revered as the shrine for Laozi's mother since the Tang dynasty. See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061) et al., *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 38.990. Emperor Zhenzong paid homage this Dongxiao Temple in 1004. After the emperor designated this name to the Dongxiao Temple that this research concerns, the importance of the Weizhen Dongxiao Temple decreased. See *Song shi* 宋史, 8.127, in *Ershisi shi quan yi* 二十四史全譯 (Complete Translation of the Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories) (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 2004).
For further details of Emperor Zhenzong's worship, see Ebrey, Patricia. "Portrait Sculptures in Imperial Ancestral Rites in Song China." *T'oung Pao* 83.Fasc. 1/3 (1997): 42-92.

often used as a substitute for *tian* 天, meaning sky or Heaven.[115] In Daoist traditions, *xiao* also refers to the empyrean. Putting the two characters together, the name of the temple implies the concept *dongtian* 洞天 or grotto-heaven. In other words, the emperor confirmed the place's fundamental value as a grotto-heaven.

Considering the importance of the grotto-heaven tradition for the construction of the sacred space at Dongxiao Temple, this chapter will provide an overview of the development of grotto-heavens in both the Daoist and the literary tradition, aiming to lay the foundation for the discussion in the following chapters. Because the phenomenon of grotto-heavens has already attracted much attention in previous studies of the Daoist sacred geography by scholars of religion, I will put more emphasis on the reception of the grotto-heaven concept in literary, especially poetic works.[116]

I The Origin of Grotto-Heaven in the Daoist Tradition

The development of the notion of grotto-heaven (*dongtian* 洞天) is closely related to the concept of cave (*dong* 洞). Although *dong* is a crucial term in Daoism, it did not initially mean "cave." Most works from the Han dynasty and earlier period, including canonized texts ranging from the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of Rites) to *Chuci* 楚辭 (Verses of Chu) tend to refer to caves as *xue* 穴 or *ku* 窟, indicating subterranean hollows that could refer to either natural

[115] Wang Jianyin 王劍引 et al., *Gu Hanyu da cidian* 古漢語大詞典 (Shanghai: shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 1436, 1096.

[116] Some representative religious studies on the phenomenon of grotto-heavens include: Miura Kunio's "Dōten fukuchi shōron;" Franciscus Verellen's "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology;" Gil Raz's "Daoist Sacred Geography;" and Lee Fong-mao's "Grotto Heavens and Inner Realms: The Inner Visualization Meditations in Jiangnan Daoism from Second to Fourth Century."

caves or tombs connecting to the netherworld.[117] However, the term *dong* is rarely used in early texts as an independent noun associated with a cave. It is interchangeable with *tong* 通, a phonetic loan character of *dong*, and is used either as an adjective to describe a hollow, penetrating, accessible, or connecting attribute or as a verb indicating the mental activity of discerning or understanding.[118]

It is difficult to tell when the word *dong* formally became a noun meaning "cave." Yet the compound of *dong* with "cave," *dongxue* 洞穴, is first attested in Yang Xiong's 揚雄 (53–18 BCE) "Yulie fu 羽獵賦," where it denotes the entrance to a subterranean space connecting to the sacred Mount Cangwu 蒼梧.[119] According to Li Shan's 李善 (630–690) annotation, this *dong* refers to a path named *dongting* 洞庭 located under Lake Tai 太湖, and *xue* refers to the Cave of Yu (*Yu xue* 禹穴) where the legendary sage Yu 禹 hid the scriptures of his sacred teachings. Entering *dongxue* can enable one to "move underwater (via tunnels) connecting in all directions" 潛行水底無所不通, which hints at a primordial imagination of "earth veins" (*dimai* 地脈)—the interconnected rivers that extend in all

[117] Space for the death, such as tombs and the imagined yellow spring (*huangquan* 黃泉), could be one archetypal space that inspired the later imagination of the grotto-heaven space. However, the link between the two types of spaces is not a direct one.

[118] *Shuowen jiezi* explains *dong* as "rapid flow." See Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 30-124), *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), p. 230. The *dong* in "遂兮洞兮，不虛動兮" is paralleled with *sui* 遂 and means through or connecting (*tong* 通). For the complete sentence, see "Yuandao xun 原道訓" in Liu An 劉安 (179B CE-122 BCE), *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), p. 11. While being a verb, *dong* in "稷丘洞徹，修道靈山" from *Arrayed Traditions of Transcendents* 列仙傳 means to understand or get enlightened. For the context of this sentence, see Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Liexian zhuan jiaojian* 列仙傳校箋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), p. 189.
Due to these connotations, the notion of *dong* later became especially critical to the Daoist soteriological theories as it encapsulates the essential concepts needed for the pursuit of deliverance.

[119] See "entering the *dong* cave and exiting from Mount Cangwu" 入洞穴，出蒼梧 in Yang Xiong's 揚雄 "Plume Hunt Rhapsody" 羽獵賦 from Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) comp., *Wen xuan* 文選. Li Shan 李善 (630-689) annot. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 397.

directions both above and under the ground.[120] This reference identifies *dongxue* as a mysterious entrance that connects to tunnels in lakes and mountains in different parts of the cosmos. The description of *dongxue* extending underwater probably refers to the underground river system, or "pattern of water" (*shuijing* 水經).[121] Later, the connectedness of *dongxue* created space for the imagination of magical swift transportation inside the cave system.[122]

Besides the development of the concept of the *dong* cave, *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Guideways Through Mountains and Seas) and *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals) also became sources for the prototypal imagination of sacred geographies. Lennert Gesterkamp argues that *Shanhai jing* mapped the world based on the worldview illustrated by "Yu gong" 禹貢 (Tribute of Yu) and provided the framework for the grotto-heaven system's geographical visualization.[123] Ohgata Tohru notices that *Liexian zhuan* contains stories that mention mountain caves (*shanxue* 山穴) with transcendent dwellers.

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[120] This imagination of rivers as veins in the body of earth was already in circulation during the Warring States period (475–221 BCE). For example, the section on "Water and Earth" (*shuidi* 水地) in *Guanzi* 管子 writes: "Water is the blood and Qi vitality of earth. It passes and flows like (blood in) veins." 水者，地之血氣，如筋脈之通流者也; See Li Xiangfeng 黎翔鳳 et al., *Guanzi jiaozhu* 管子校註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 14.813.

[121] For example, Ji Water (*Ji shui* 濟水) and Qian Water (*Qian shui* 潛水) are deemed to be connected to other rivers and have segments going underground. For descriptions of underground rivers, an early source with detailed description is *Shuijing zhu* 水經註, see Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (466 or 472–527), *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng* 水經註校證, Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛 annot. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007).

[122] Cai Linbo's solid study on the term *dong* resonates with the observation of this dissertation. Denying that the primitive meaning of *dong* was a cave, Cai concludes that *dong* comprises four fundamental layers of meanings: the confluence of massive waters or flows of Qi vitality; the representation of the Way or the chaotic status of primordial world; the cognitive ability to penetrate; and the realm where *yin* and *yang* balance and live flourishes. Although he covers all meanings of *dong* in a detailed and comprehensive way, Cai categories the meanings rather than discuss the development of the ideas with a chronological basis. With a skew towards the scrutiny of the concept of grotto-heaven, this dissertation research approaches the concept from earlier to later times, thus offering a better presentation of the accumulation and transformation of the ideas pertinent to the term *dong*. For the complete study of Cai, see "Daojiao 'dong' gainian ji shengming zhexue yihan."

[123] Lü Zhou et al., *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*, pp. 3-19.
It is worth noting that the spatial knowledge related to Yu resonate with current archeological surveys. Min Li examines the genealogy of narratives centered on the traces of Yu and the related geographical imaginations with an archeological insight; see his article "The Genealogy of Yugong Spatial Ideology" 《禹貢》與禹跡敘事的知識譜係, in The Center for the Study of Art and Archeology, Zhejiang University 浙江大學藝術與考古研究中心 ed., *Zhejiang University Journal of Art and Archaeology, Supplementum 2* 浙江大學藝術與考古研究（特輯二） (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2020), pp. 349-365.

Many mountains mentioned in *Liexian zhuan* also overlap with those included in the grotto-heaven system.[124] In short, the prototype of grotto-heaven imagination centered on the geographical paradigm based on the worship of Yu the Great and mythical mountains already began to form in the Han dynasty.

The imagination of *dong* as caves was enriched in the Daoist tradition during the Six Dynasties period. There gradually developed a common belief that hollow chambers (*dongshi* 洞室) existed in all the sacred mountains instead of only being underwater as at Lake Tai.[125] Lee Fong-mao hypothesizes that such beliefs derived from the discovery of the karst topography, a landscape commonly found in southern China.[126] The sack of Luoyang in 311 by nomad invaders forced the Jin court to flee to the Yangzi Delta region and set off a wave of migration to the south.[127] It was probably at that time that certain groups of people, especially religious practitioners, became pioneers in exploring the southern landscapes. Inspired by the porous limestone mountains, they started to include the mysterious caves in their rituals and practices. Daoist writings on secret mountain tunnels also began to emerge around this period.

Composed roughly in the same century, *Taishang dongxuan lingbao fuwu xu* 太上洞玄靈寶五符序 (The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High, DZ 388) mentions the story

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[124] *Ibid.,* pp. 20-32.

[125] See vol. 4 "Daoji jing" 道濟經 in *Esoteric Essentials of the Most High*: "the Five Marchmonts and famous mountainsall have grotto chambers" 五嶽及名山皆有洞室 from *Daozang* vol.25, p. 11.

[126] See discussions in "Grotto Heavens and Inner Realms: The Inner Visualization Meditations in Jiangnan Daoism from Second to Fourth Century."

[127] The sack of the Western Jin (266–316) capital Luoyang under the attack of the northern non-Han ethic groups caused vast migration of the Han people to the south for the first time in history and profoundly influenced the socio-political order during the early Medieval period.

of the Recluse of Mount Bao (*Baoshan yinju* 包山隱居), who recovered the sacred scripture that Yu the Great hid in the *dongting* cave under Lake Tai.[128] The cave explored by the recluse is described in rich detail: after venturing through a long tunnel, the recluse discovers a bright immortal residence contained in a vast divine cavern space lit by sun and moon. The extravagant buildings are lavishly decorated and surrounded by sacred plants and mysterious animals. The scripture points out some key features of a grotto-heaven: this cave is a junction where "multiple ways" (*zhongdao* 眾道) converge and functions as a storehouse for sacred texts and residence for immortals. Although the grotto is not completely sealed, its internal space is accessible only to worthy outsiders who have attained the Way (*de dao* 得道).[129] These Way-achievers are also allowed to take the divine scriptures from the grotto and bring blessings to the mundane world.

One of the earliest direct uses of the term *dongtian* 洞天 is found in *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, DZ 1016), a collection of Upper Clarity revelations assembled by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536).[130] Although it is not certain if it was the author of the *Declarations* who coined the term *dongtian*, its description of the grotto-heaven appears to be

[128] The scripture is dated to Eastern Jin (317–420). For English translation, see Robert Ford Campany's *Making Transcendents: Ascetics and Social Memory in Early Medieval China* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), p. 93. About the creation date of the scripture and the analysis of it, see Gil Raz's "Creation of tradition: The five talismans of the numinous treasure and the formation of early Daoism," pp. 169-185. Raz also hypothesizes that the scripture was fabricated to curry favor after the fall of the Wu ruling house.

[129] About the self-contained and enclosed feature of a sacred mountain, see page 5 in Charles Hartman, "Mountain as Metaphors in T'ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century."

[130] See the *Declarations of the Perfected* in *Daozang*, Taixuan *bu*, vol. 20, p. 490. For the annotated version, see Yoshikawa Tadao 吉川忠夫, and Mugitani Kunio 麥谷邦夫 et al., *Zhengao jiao zhu* 真誥校註, Zhu Yueli 朱越利 trans. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006). For the introduction of this scripture, see Bokenkamp, Stephen R. "Declarations of the Perfected." *Religions of China in practice* 3 (1996): 166. For the list of early Daoist texts that also mentioned *dongtian*, see Li Hailin's "Daojiao dongtian fudi xingcheng xinkao."

inheriting and integrating details from the texts mentioned above.[131] Moreover, the shape of the grotto-heaven also changes innovatively in the *Declarations*, which mentions for the first time that there are thirty-six subterranean grotto-heavens under heaven and that each of these grotto-heavens is linked to the others in different directions.[132] With the above Daoist textual sources, the prototype of grotto-heaven gradually reveals itself: the grotto-heaven is a nexus of thirty-six interconnected caves linked to heaven. Hidden in deep mountains that function as altars, the entrances always lead to long and crooked tunnels. At the end of each tunnel is a fairyland that accommodates immortals who guard sacred texts.[133] The description of a palace like space with worldly power shows how the enclosed spaces and the excluded exclusiveness of palaces can turn out not to be cut off at all, but to have connections to the grandest reaches of the surrounding cosmos.

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[131] When citing the source of knowledge related to the grotto-heaven concept, encyclopedias from later times frequently quote a text entitled *Maojun neizhuan* 茅君內傳 (The Inner Biography of Lord Mao), or by abbreviation *Maojun zhuan* 茅君傳, which predated the *Declaration* and was also from the Upper Clarity (*shangqing* 上清) revelation of Mount Mao. However, because the text is lost, it is unknown how the text describes the grotto-heaven system.
According to the existing excepts attributed to *Maojun neizhuan*, the notion of *dong* cave exists in concepts such as the cave terrace (*dongtai* 洞臺) or the cave repository (*dongfu* 洞府) made by gold and jade. See excerpts of the text in Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) ed., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 661.191. For the detailed discussions, see in Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l 'histoire du taoïsme* (Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), vol. 2, pp.289-98, 397.
Another text from roughly the same period that touches upon the topic of grotto paradise is *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳 (Esoteric Biography of the Perfected Ziyang, DZ 303). For some scholarly insights, see Verellen, Franciscus. "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology." It is also worthy to note that the usage of terms *dong* in the *Esoteric Biography of the Perfected Ziyang* is allegorical, and its meaning is rather fluid. Some *dong* terms denote caves that Zhou Ziyang 周紫陽 visited during his travel for sacred text hunting. Others refer to the corporal cavities that are related to Daoist meditation practices. The transition of the meaning resonates with the early belief in the unification of human and nature (*tianren heyi* 天人合一).

[132] *Ibid,* vol. 11. The thirty-six grotto-heavens was originated from the believe in the system of the thirty-six heavens and served as its terranean counterpart. For the development of the vision of the thirty-six heavens, see Lu Min 路旻, "The Research on the Heavens of Taoism from Jin to Tang Dynasties" 晉唐道教天界觀研究 (Lanzhou University, Ph.D. diss., 2018).

[133] For a thorough analysis of the paradigm of grotto-heaven described by the *Declaration*, see *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*, pp. 33-95.

Nevertheless, the *Declarations* does not provide a list of grotto-heavens despite of mentioning the number "thirty-six." The earliest list is provided by *Wushang biyao* 無上秘要 (Esoteric Essentials of the Most High, DZ 1138), which includes the "Category of Mountain Caves" 山洞品 that introduces the names of caves in ten sacred mountains and "Category of Grotto-heavens" 洞天品 that introduces the names of ten heavens. The image of a thirty-six grotto-heaven system was further elaborated in the Tang dynasty.[134] The Upper Clarity (*Shangqing* 上清) Daoist master Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735), in *Tiandi gongfu tu* 天地宮府圖 (Illustration of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences), adopted the information offered by *Wushang biyao* and made a list of ten "superior grotto-heavens" (*da dongtian* 大洞天). Additionally, he highlighted the number thirty-six mentioned in the *Declarations* by providing an additional list of thirty-six "lesser grotto-heavens" (*xiao dongtian* 小洞天).[135] Lastly, he also added a catalog of seventy-two auspicious places (*fudi* 福地). Since the locations included have a wide coverage, *Tiandi gongfu tu* can be considered an attempt to prioritize the sacred geographies in the Upper Clarity tradition through the construction of a synthesized national geographical system.

By the late Tang, the Daoist master Du Guangting further elaborated Sima Chengzhen's system. He compiled *Dongtian fudi yuedu shanming ji* 洞天福地岳瀆山銘記 (Inscriptions and Records of Marchmounts and Rivers of Grotto-heavens and Auspicious Places, DZ 599)

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[134] The rise of grotto-heaven cult was grounded in the reimagination of the imperial landscape. Xie Yifeng argues that it was related to the Tang rulers' need to locate sacred grottos for conducting the casting dragon plaque ritual, which became an essential part of imperial sacrifice during the Tang dynasty. For details, see Xie Yifeng 謝一峰. "Tang Song jian guojia toulongyi zhi bianqian" 唐宋間國家投龍儀之變遷. *Songshi yanjiu luncong* 1 (2015): 228-246.

[135] For the complete text of the *Illustration of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences*, see volume 72 in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels, DZ 1032) in *Daozang*, *juan* 22.

and supplied additional geographical information and appending thirty-six sanctuaries for practice (*jinglu* 靖盧). He also coordinated the system with the widely worshipped Five Peaks, Three Isles, and Ten Continents, indicating a complementary relationship between the old and newly established systems and reinforcing the legitimacy of the new one.[136] According to Gil Raz's study, Du Guangting's revision of the system differentiated the grotto-heavens into several tiers, thus stabilizing the hierarchy of the sacred landscapes.[137] Most importantly, it integrated the sacred geography of Heavenly Masters and Upper Clarity, the worship of Jade Capital Mountain, and the imperially sanctioned sacred mountains in one system.[138] The commonly known system of grotto-heavens and auspicious places was finalized and signified in the sacred landscape by this point.

II Literary Tradition of Grotto-Heaven Representation

Poetic representations of Dongxiao Grotto-heaven were conditioned by more than just visitors' memories and personal experiences in the sacred landscape. It is even inappropriate to regard the place as a self-contained source for the poems in the *Dongxiao Anthology*. Just as the grotto-heaven is connected with other grottos in different sacred landscapes, the Dongxiao poems also have sophisticated connections with the various themes in the rich literary repertoire on visits to mysterious mountains. This literary knowledge was a critical

[136] See *Dongtian fudi yuedu shanming ji* in *Daozang*, vol. 331. Lennert Gesterkamp all compared Du Guangting's version with Sima Chengzhen's version closely. See the details in his "The Synthesis of Daoist Sacred Geography: A Textual Study of Du Guangting's Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji (901)."

[137] See Raz, Gil. "Daoist sacred geography" in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220-589 AD)* (Brill, 2009), pp. 1429-1438, and Verellen, "The Beyond Within," p. 275.

[138] "The Synthesis of Daoist Sacred Geography," pp. 10-19.

resource that enabled the poets to translate the grand scenery of the place into poetic language. The following section provides a review of the pertinent literary traditions that contributed to the construction of the Dongxiao world in literary representation.[139]

(1) Grotto-heaven Tradition in Pre-Tang Literature

Grotto-heavens are immortal residences hidden in mountains. Traveling to grotto-heavens, regardless of whether the grotto-heaven is in fantasy or real landscape, is a form of a visit to the immortal land. Therefore, the poetic representation of grotto-heaven visits is intrinsically rooted in the tradition of the wandering immortal (*youxian* 遊仙).[140]

The typical wandering immortal literature always situates otherworldly journeys in the imagined space in the sacred mountains or the cosmic world above them. It is a scholarly consensus that the wandering immortal tradition was originated in *Chuci*. Some earliest representative works are "Li sao" 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow) and "Yuan you" 遠遊 (Far Roaming).[141] While "Li Sao" traces the failed celestial journey of a misjudged minister fettered by his concerns for his state, "Far Roaming" focuses more on introducing legends and guidance for spiritual transcendence. The two works establish an archetypal theme: departing from the mundane to a heavenly realm becomes an allegory for the banished

[139] Zornica Kirkova conducts an exhausting survey of the worship of immortal in literary representation from early China to early medieval China. Her book, especially Chapter 4 and 5, is a good reference for my discussion because it provides the larger context of the pursuit of immortality during early stages. See *Roaming into the Beyond: Representations of Xian Immortality in Early Medieval Chinese Verse* (Brill, 2016).

[140] For studies of "Wandering Immortals" poetry, Lee Fong-mao's research is the most comprehensive one. Most of his past studies are integrated into Lee Fong-mao. *You yu you: Liuchao Sui Tang youxian shilunji*. Edward Schafer also contributed a monography on the most productive Late Tang "Wandering Immortals" poet Cao Tang 曹唐 (ca. ninth century). See Edward H. Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea of Time: The Taoist Poetry of Ts'ao T'ang* (University of California Press, 1985).

[141] See the original texts in Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090–1155), *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983). For the analysis on the influence of "Far Roaming" on later wandering immortal poetry, see Paul W. Kroll's "On 'Far Roaming.'" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1996): 653-669.

minister's disappointment with a fatuous ruler and a chaotic world. The works also introduce some of the imagery of the wondrous immortal realm, including radiant deities and divine creatures. In terms of the immortal realm, the two works paint a similar picture of the dazzling celestial world located atop legendary mountains like Mount Kunlun, the fantastic images of which reveal possible influence from some spiritual rites in the early shamanistic tradition.[142]

In the Jin dynasty (266–420), Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) collected tropes and allusions from the early legends and wrote a set of nineteen poems entitled "Wandering Immortal Poems" (*Youxian shi* 遊仙詩), marking the debut of Wandering Immortal poetry as a formal poetic genre. In the fourth century, literati who migrated to the south began situating their imagined journeys among the sublime and inaccessible mountains of Southern China. One example is Sun Chuo 孫綽 (314–371), whose "You Tiantai shan fu" 遊天台山賦 (Rhapsody on Roaming the Heavenly Terrace Mountain) depicts Sun's dreamlike ascension of Heavenly Terrace Mountain to visit the "grotto residence where spirits and immortals reside" 靈仙之所窟宅.[143] It is worth noting that although Sun innovatively organized the

[142] Besides the tropes of banished minister and celestial transcendent, there is a third influential trope that tells the story of a ruler's mountain travel and his encounter with a goddess, typically on Mount Wu 巫山. Some representative works include "Mu tianzi zhuan" 穆天子傳 (The Biography of Mu, Son of Heaven"), "Gao-tang fu" 高唐賦 (The Poetic Exposition on Gao-tang), and "Shennü fu" 神女賦 (The Goddess). For the study of the story of King Mu, see Suzanne Cahill's "Beside the Turquoise Pond: The Shrine of the Queen Mother of the West in Medieval Chinese Poetry and Religious Practice." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 12.1 (1984): 19-32.
Later, the fantasy of mingling with a goddess inspired the fantasies of erotic encounters in sacred grottos. The most renowned piece is Zhang Zhou's 張鷟 (660–740) "*A Dalliance in the Immortal's Den*" 遊仙窟, in which an immortal grotto turns into a boudoir while the immortal dwellers transforms into courtesans who mingle with the protagonist. For a specific study on this work, see "A Dalliance in the Immortals' Den" in Paul Rouzer's *Articulated Ladies: Gender and the Male Community in Early Chinese Texts* (Harvard Univerisity Asia Center, 2001), pp. 311-354; Lee Fong-mao's *Xianjing yu youli: shenxian shijie de xiangxiang*, pp. 373-382; and "Xian, ji, dongku–cong Tang dao Beisong chu de changji wenxue yu daojiao." However, considering that the main subject of this dissertation, the representation of the grotto-heaven space of Dongxiao, did not involve any erotic rendition of a grotto space, this chapter will not include this type of grotto imagination in the discussion.

[143] *Wenxuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 11.493-502. For a specific study on Sun Chuo, see Chapter 3 in Wendy Swartz's *Reading Philosophy, Writing Poetry*; Tian Xiaofei's Chapter 3 in *The Cambridge history of Chinese*

portrayal following his wanderings (*you* 遊), he makes a spiritual journey rather than a physical tour. The building blocks of the rhapsody are Sun's transcendental visualizations based on some general "pictures and illustrations" (*tuxiang* 圖像) of the mountain, without specific descriptions of grottos or tunnels.

"Pictures and illustrations" in this context probably refers to the type of illustration known as a "true form chart" (*zhenxing tu* 真形圖), a hybrid "image-text" typically used by Daoists in the Six Dynasties for guiding mountain travels.[144]

Figure 1 The *True Form Charts of the Five Marchmounts* from *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成

The mountain "image-text" was also believed to reveal the esoteric teaching of the Way and was widely used in meditative cultivation for immortality (see Figure 1).[145] The literary work

literature (Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Tian's article "Seeing with the Mind's Eye: The Eastern Jin Discourse of Visualization and Imagination."

[144] Susan Huang defines the chart as an "image-text," which precisely captures its hybrid nature. For an introduction of the true form charts and the *True Form Charts of the Five Marchmounts*, see Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, pp.135-138.

[145] The most well-known true form chart of sacred mountains is the *True Form Charts of the Five Marchmounts* (*Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖), which was mostly used to guide the Daoist meditative practices. Figure 1 is an illustration of it documented in *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成. See "Fangyu huibian" 方輿彙編, "Shanchuan dian" 山川典, *juan* 8 of Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (1650–1741) et al., eds. *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* 欽定古今圖書集成 (Imperial Edition of the

represented his practice of "sending spirit rushing and working thought" (*chishen yunsi* 馳神運思) when viewing the illustration rather than his empirical knowledge of the landscape.[146] By orchestrating his imagined wanderings in a play of mind, he sought to unite his spirit with the mountain—the mythical representation of the Way as the ideal of the arcane pursuit.

Although what he saw was possibly only a chart, Sun Chuo devoted much effort to providing a close scan of his imagined mountain journey and making it as vivid as possible. He did not merely resort to visions of the magical celestial circuit found in the *Chu ci* or the dry and formulaic style of the arcane discourse (*xuanyan* 玄言) fashionable in his time. His literary talent enabled him to juxtapose his ethereal itinerary innovatively with earthly imagery to construct a tangible and vibrant mountain. For example, the line "(I) embrace the long vines of trees with drooping branches, and pluck the kudzu creepers' soaring stems" 攬橾木之長蘿，援葛藟之飛莖 alludes to the "Jiumu" 橾木 (Trees With Drooping Branches) from the *Book of Odes*.[147] Originally symbolizing the blessings for a gentleman during a

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Comprehensive Collection of Illustrations and Writings, Past and Present) (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1997). Although the Heavenly Terrace Mountain was "not listed as one of the five Marchmounts" 不列於五嶽, Sun regarded it to be as divine as the most renowned peaks, so he could have used illustration as a chart to assist his visualization of the Daoist teachings. For the discussion on "Rhapsody on Roaming the Heavenly Terrace Mountain," its relation to the true form chart, its inheritance of from the *Verses of Chu*, and its relation to the 4th century literature, see Zornica Kirkova's "Distant Roaming and Visionary Ascent: Sun Chuo's 'You Tiantai shan fu' Reconsidered."

[146] Sun's spiritual representation was later criticized by Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206), who wrote in "Sent to be Inscribed on Sidan Abbey of Li Yuxian" 寄題李與賢似剡庵:
Look there! Xinggong once composed the rhapsody of Heavenly Terrace Mountain,
he actually had never recognized the path to Heavenly Terrace.
Between a bow and a raise, he already ascended again.
There was no need to use thin vine and silvergrass sandals.
君不見興公舊草天台賦，元不曾識天台路。
一俛仰間已再升，何用瘦藤與芒屨。
Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書 (1910-1998) also echoed this idea and wrote that Sun's rhapsody depicts a spiritual travel conducted by viewing a chart of the mountains. See Qian Zhongshu's *Guan zhui bian* 管錐編 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shu ju Xianggang fen ju, 1980), p. 870

[147] The first line, which is quoted below, repeats three times in the poem with variations:
In the south are trees with curved drooping branches,
Entwined with kudzu creepers.
"We delight in the gentleman,
Who reposes in his blessed dignity."

celebration, Sun visualized the willows to decorate and bless his mountain journey. The line became even livelier as the poet mentioned the physical movements of embracing and reaching from a subjective perspective, conveying a tactile interaction with the vegetation. Compared to his predecessors' wandering immortal writings, Sun Chuo situated his vivid movements on a lush sacred mountain, creating amplified visual effects that made the imagined landscape more tangible.

While Sun Chuo and others focused on large-scale mountains as the imagined space for transcendence, they did not mention grottoes as residences of spirits and immortals. Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427) was the first to set his imaginary journey in a cave and to make a grotto space central to a literary creation.[148] As noted above, the prototypical story of glamourous immortal caves was already prevalent among Daoist practitioners and probably also lay aficionados by the fourth century. However, Tao Yuanming did not follow the typical pattern offered by the wandering immortal literature or Daoist scriptures. In his *Taohua yuanji shi bing xu* 桃花源詩並序 (Peach Blossom Spring: poem with preface),

南有樛木，葛藟累之。
樂只君子，福履綏之。
Although the precise meaning of the poem remains a mystery, it generally chants for the blessing of a gentleman. See *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 1.41-42.

[148] There are many hypotheses about the prototype of the Peach Spring story. One hypothesis is that the story was modeled after the "Rhapsody of Shouyang Mountain" 首陽山賦 by Du Du 杜篤 (d.78). The rhapsody began with the description of the awe-inspiring and misty mountain, which serves as the background for the developing story centered on Boyi and Shuqi who hid in a cave and abstained to protest the new regime.
Stephen Bokenkamp argues that the text was derived from sources similar to the account mentioned in the *Scripture of the Five Talismans*. For details, see "The Peach Flower Font and the Grotto Passage." However, since the "Grotto Passage" text that Bokenkamp used as the main reference suffers from a dating problem, whether Tao Yuanming relied on this specific text as his source of inspiration remains unclear. For a brief comment on this issue, see Anne Birrell's comment in "Paul W. Kroll (ed.): Sinological studies dedicated to Edward H. Schafer. Journal of the American Oriental Society. Special Issue. Vol. 106, no. 1, 1986. pp. vii, 245." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53.2 (1990): 373.

instead of depicting a gorgeous celestial realm, he created a different kind of grotto world.

The following is from the preface: [149]

> (A fisherman of Wuling) once rowed upstream, unmindful of the distance he had gone, when he suddenly came to a grove of peach trees in bloom …… It came to an end at the foot of a mountain whence issued the spring that supplied the stream. There was a small opening in the mountain, and it seemed as though the light was coming through it. The fisherman left his boat and entered the cave …… after a few dozen steps it suddenly opened out onto a broad and level plain where well-built houses were surrounded by rich fields and pretty ponds. Mulberry, bamboos, and other trees and plants grew there, and crisscross paths skirted the fields. The sounds of cocks crowing and dogs barking could be heard from one courtyard to the next……
> 緣溪行，忘路之遠近。忽逢桃花林 …… 林盡水源，便得一山。山有小口，髣髴若有光。便捨船，從口入。…… 復行數十步，豁然開朗。土地平曠，屋舍儼然。有良田、美池、桑竹之屬。阡陌交通，鷄犬相聞。

The preface tells a fable of a fisherman who accidentally found a pastoral utopia hidden inside a grotto but could never find his way back once he had left. Tao's cave has some elements connecting it with the grotto as depicted in the earlier accounts: a stream shaded by peach trees, the symbolic plant of immortality, is paired with the cave. The cave becomes the water source of the stream, signaling the concept of origin. The interior of the cave also changes from jade palaces and jasper trees to a pastoral landscape with fields and a village. In other words, the text presents an oxymoron by replacing the glamorous immortal residence with a rustic scene in a sacred grotto-heaven setting. The serene and relaxing land of retreat constituted the new aesthetic ideal of fantastic space.

To illustrate his essential understanding of the cavern space, Tao Yuanming entertained the concept of accessibility (*tong* 通), which is the phonetic loan character of cave (*dong*

[149] Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈, ed. and annot., *Tao Yuanming ji jianzhu* 陶淵明集箋註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), pp. 479-489. The translation is by James Robert Hightower. See the complete preface with the poem in Lau, Joseph Shiu-Ming, and John Minford, eds. *Classical Chinese literature: An anthology of translations* (Columbia University Press, 2000), pp.515-516.

洞). Although he used the term "isolated region" (*juejing* 絕境) to define the space, the secret cave did not completely barricade itself from secular outsiders. The cavern space was somehow weakly connected to the outside mundane world. Tao defines the Peach Spring residents as refugees who escaped to the hidden cave because they could not survive the tyrannic governance of the Qin dynasty. This plot resonates with the early Daoist belief that sacred caves are soteriological spaces.

However, the fisherman was not a refugee. Nor was he a Daoist master who could access the sacred space through ritual practices like those mentioned in the Daoist scriptures. Instead, he accessed the cave by accident, which reveals the new criterion that could grant a person legitimate entry. In other words, Tao made the Daoist ideal of non-action (*wuwei* 無為) the key to entering the cave: only those who do not deliberately search for it can find the entrance. By configuring the story in this way, Tao did not focus solely on a moral criticism of the corrupt world. He also voiced his aspiration for a space that worships Laozi's ideal of "small country with few people" (*xiaoguo guamin* 小國寡民). By downplaying the importance of esoteric Daoist practices, Tao's reimagination made the sacred grotto more attractive to the learned class who were familiar with philosophical Daoist teachings and yearned for political disengagement from the dusty world.[150]

[150] According to Li Fengmao's study on the notion of grotto-heaven, the knowledge about the grotto-heaven was monopolized by the minorities including loggers and hunters who accidentally stepped in or religious figures who intentionally search for mysterious realms in nature during the Six Dynasties. Even some literati like Xie Lingyun went to explore the untamed wild, the places they reached were still not as dangerous as those conquered by religious practitioners. Therefore, the tension between literati's wish to visit the grotto-heaven in person and their failure attempts constantly played an important role in literature from Jin to the Tang. For the details of Li's discussion, see Li Fengmao. "Dongtian yu neijing: xiyuan er zhi si shiji Jiangnan daojiao de neixiang youguan."

Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Spring," especially its preface, profoundly shaped subsequent literary imaginings of grotto paradise.[151] Meanwhile, a paradox also puzzled later generations: while shaping the grotto world as a rustic village in the preface, Tao in the poem also wrote: "This rare trace stayed hidden for five hundred years, then one day the divine realm was revealed" 奇蹤隱五百，一朝敞神界.[152] The conflict between the "divine realm" and the bucolic space stirred much debate among later readers. Despite the disputes, some scholars point out that early medieval people commonly believed in the existence of an extraordinary immortal world.[153] It is very likely that Tao also believed that the immortal world existed, even though Confucian commentators from centuries later refused to acknowledge this aspect of him.

Generic conventions may also favor references to a divine world. While the preface is more allegorical, the Peach Spring poem still shows the strong influence of wandering immortal poems. The style and rhetoric of this poetic genre limit the narrativity in representation while emphasizing the invocation of transcendental sensations. Additionally, the main theme of wandering immortal poems is celestial travels, and this may have prompted Tao to represent the divine realm more directly in his poem.

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[151] The Six Dynasties's poems already began alluding to the Peach Spring motif frequently. Yang Hong reviewed the Six Dynasties's usage of this allusion. See Yang, Hong. *Songdai shixue shiyu xia de taohua yuan zhuti* 宋代詩學視域下的桃花源主題 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2016), pp. 44-50.

[152] See translation from *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations*, p. 517

[153] See Chan, Timothy Wai Keung. "A Tale of Two Worlds: The Late Tang Poetic Presentation of the Romance of the Peach Blossom Font." *T'oung Pao* 94.4 (2008): 209-245; Mark Meulenbeld further discussed about this issue, see Meulenbeld, Mark. "The Peach Blossom Spring's Long History as a Sacred Site in Northern Hunan." *T'oung Pao* 107.1-2 (2021): 1-39.

(2) Before the Mid-Tang: Obscure Grotto-heavens and Divine Peach Spring

During the early and high Tang (618–755), the terms like "grotto-heaven" (*dongtian* 洞天) or "grotto-residence" (*dongfu* 洞府) began showing up in literary creations sporadically. However, the general secular elite's interest in caves was still little, which was largely due to the negligence of the sacred grotto's significance in the religious Daoist repertoire. The early Tang encyclopedia offers us a lens through which to learn about the literati class's knowledge of grotto-heavens during that period.

a) From Divine Space to Courtly Space: Grotto-heaven in *Yiwen Leiju* and Li Bo's Poetry

Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 (Collection of Literature Arranged by Categories), being an assemblage of organized scholarly knowledge, provide some clues about how the early Tang literati envisioned grotto-heavens.[154] Completed in 624, the encyclopedia mentions sacred caves sporadically under a few headings. The absence of a separate entry on sacred caves implies that the significance of grottoes had not yet attracted much attention in literati circles.

Records of immortal grottoes can be found in texts categorized under the headings "Mountains," "Recluses," and "Immortals and Daoists." Such grottoes appear to be sublime and transcendent and were used as elements to uphold the otherworldliness of the main subjects.[155] Meanwhile, the pastoral grotto in Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Spring"

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[154] Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), comp., *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, ed. Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985). For an introduction to medieval encyclopedia, see Chapter 30 in Rusk, Bruce, et al., eds., *Literary Information in China: A History* (Columbia University Press, 2021).

[155] The encyclopedia quoted Xie Lingyun's 謝靈運 "Rhapsody of Mount Luofu" 羅浮山賦 includes some very representative imaginations of a typical grotto-heaven space:

> Mount Mao stands at the entrance of a grotto court that connects to the south with Mount Luofu. … The number of caves is four times nine, this mountain is the seventh. It hides in (the shades of) the night while leading the brightness (of the moon). It makes a secluded realm with bright sunlight. Thus, it is called the *yang* palace of Crimson Dawnlight, the *yin* chamber of Illuminating Perfection.

appears under the entry “Peach,” an emblem for immortality. This arrangement is thought-provoking since the compilers seem to take the magical peaches as the main indicator that the dwellers are immortals while overlooking the rustic grotto as a significant factor. Additionally, although the encyclopedia introduces the knowledge of thirty-six grotto-heavens and certain mountains that host sacred grottoes, it fails to provide a systematic overview of the grotto-heaven space.[156]

Narrowness of knowledge greatly limited the depiction of the grotto-heaven space in poetry of the early Tang literati. When portraying grotto-heavens, they were confined to otherworldly depictions. Additionally, grotto-heaven appeared mostly in the poems written on the order of the Emperor (*yingzhi* 應製) to eulogize spaces related to imperial rule. There was a common belief that the imperial space was a reflection of the heavenly space. Terms like “immortal’s home” (*xianjia* 仙家) and “immortal’s capital” (*xiandu* 仙都) were often used in court poems in reference to the imperial palace. The courtier poets used such images when composing during pleasant occasions like banquets, so they tended to adopt a eulogistic tone and make the “celestial land” a fanciful and joyful space. As some poets learned vaguely that grotto-heavens were also a type of immortal space, they also began using the sacred caves as a new metaphor for the imperial realm.[157]

茅山是洞庭口，南通羅浮。……洞四有九，此惟其七。潛夜引輝，幽境朗日，故曰朱明之陽宮，耀真之陰室。 Zornica Kirkova offers additional information about Xie’s rhapsody, see *Roaming into the Beyond*, pp. 182-187.

[156] The knowledge came from *Maojun neizhuan*, see footnote 131. The mountains that have grottoes include Mount Hua, Mout Luofu, and Mount Mao.

[157] For example, Wu Zetian’s 武則天 (r. 690–705) poetry gathering at River Shicong 石淙 next to her summer palace at the foot of Mount Song 嵩山, which one of the five marchmounts and a grotto-heaven, was an occasion when the courtier men entertained the grotto-heaven knowledge and imaginations at a banquet. The empress herself wrote the line “Three mountains and ten grottoes illuminate the dark register” 三山十洞光玄籙, which situated her retreat space in the larger imagined sacred geographical system of the three immortal mountains and ten greater grotto-heavens.

Among those who chanted about the magical caves as imperial space, the most outstanding was undoubtedly Li Bo 李白 (701–762). While early chanting generally did not consider the grotto image to be especially unique, Li Bo's poems demonstrated more intriguing factors of the magical caves. Being an ordained Daoist with more esoteric knowledge of grotto-heaven, he explored new ways to engage the image of magical caves in his poetry.[158] In his famous poem "Mengyou tianmu yin liubie" 夢遊天姥吟留別 (A Song on Visiting Heaven's Crone Mountain in a Dream), Li Bo records a convoluted but fantastic journey to a grotto-heaven:[159]

> A thousand peaks and ten thousand turns, my path was uncertain;
> I was lost among flowers and rested on a rock, when suddenly all grew black.
> Bears roared and dragons groaned, making the cliff-streams quake,
> The deep forests were shivering, tiered ridges shook,
> ……
> Thunder-rumbling in Lightning Cracks, hill ridges split and fell;
> Then the stone doors of grotto-heaven swung open with a crash.
> A billowing vast blue blackness whose bottom could not be seen,
> where sun and moon were gleaming on terraces silver and gold.
> Their coats were of rainbow, winds were their steeds,
> The lords of the clouds came down in their hosts.
> Tigers struck harps, phoenixes drew coaches in circles,
> those who are the Undying stood in ranks like hemp.
>
> 千巖萬轉路不定，迷花倚石忽已暝。
> 熊咆龍吟殷巖泉，慄深林兮驚層巔。
> ……
> 列缺霹靂，丘巒崩摧。
> 洞天石扉，訇然中開。
> 青冥浩蕩不見底，日月照耀金銀臺。

[158] Li Bo had broader religious knowledge about Daoism because not only was he ordained has a Daoist, which allowed him access to esoteric texts, he also had close relationship to Daoist masters, the most renowned one among which was Wu Yun 吳筠 (d. 778). Wu travelled widely and had substantial knowledge about the sacred geography including grotto-heavens. See a brief introduction about Wu Yun's potential influence on Li Bo in Stephen Owen's *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: the High T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp.175-177.

[159] *Li Bo quanji bianjian jianzhu* 李白全集编年笺注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), pp. 721-726. Hereafter *LBQJ*. See Stephen Owen's translation in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: WW Norton, 1996), p. 402.

霓爲衣兮風爲馬，雲之君兮紛紛而來下。
虎鼓瑟兮鸞迴車，仙之人兮列如麻。

The above section incorporates many salient components of a sublime grotto-heaven space that were possibly familiar to the encyclopedia readers: the bewildering sinuous paths, the ethereal deities, and the dazzling celestial world. However, Li Bo's portrayal was more impressive as it was not rigidly crafted from the limited information offered by the encyclopedia. With his literary talent and Daoist knowledge, he invoked images unfetteredly from the *Verses of Chu*, the wandering immortal poems, and the descriptions that appeared in the Daoist scriptures. In other words, Li Bo artfully synthesized various literary elements to construct a grotto-heaven world that was more awe-inspiring than any previous depictions of an immortal realm.

The enhanced delineation of the grotto-heaven world also served a specific purpose: it was created as a mythological conceit for the imperial space. However, Li Bo did not fix his eyes on the joyful world inside the grotto on top of the mountain but devoted more effort to portraying the difficult mountain path. The Daoist scriptures often describe the passage to the grotto world of transcendence as a perilous one. For Li Bo, it perfectly represented his way to the imperial heartland, which was full of obstacles and dangers. What left an indelible impression on Li Bo was not the ephemeral pleasant time in the court but the risky journey to the locus of central power. He thus translated the daunting ascension depicted in the Daoist texts into his poem: the sacred mountains are extremely perilous for the mundane, and only

those who are well prepared can find the grotto gate to enter the immortal land.[160] As for the poet, the joyful wonderland inside the grotto was nothing but an illusory glimpse, which would be lost forever upon his waking.

b) Peach Spring World as a Restricted Divine Hermitage

Compared to the general neglect of the grotto-heaven as a subject in early and high Tang poems, the Peach Spring story was more widely alluded to, even developing into a minor motif during this period. It is worth noting that despite how Tao Yuanming envisioned the Peach Spring initially, as Mark Meulenbeld's study shows, many poets before the mid-Tang were obsessed with the definition of the Peach Spring as a "divine realm" (*shenjie* 神界). Most of them had not yet linked it to the notion of the grotto-heaven, but they firmly believed that the Peach Spring wonderland represented a type of Daoist immortal land in which the refugee eventually transcended.[161]

The first person who explicitly wrote about this belief was Wang Wei 王維 (693, 694 or 701–761), who imitated Tao Yuanming's Peach Spring poem and composed a heptasyllabic old-style verse entitled "Taoyuan xing" 桃源行 (Song of Peach Spring).[162] Wang's work not only initiated a trend of imitating the Peach Spring poem, but was seen as conforming most closely with the original work.[163] In the last couplet, Wang Wei wrote: "When spring

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[160] The earliest descriptions of risky ascension on sacred mountains can be found in the *Verses of Chu*. It was a consensus among the Daoist practitioners that the journey to heaven was extremely perilous, which was starkly different from how the common court poets imagined about heavenly ascensions.

[161] Meulenbeld, Mark. "The Peach Blossom Spring's Long History as a Sacred Site in Northern Hunan." *T'oung Pao* 107.1-2 (2021): 3-8.

[162] Chen Tiemin 陳鐵民 annot., *Wang Wei ji jiaozhu* 王維集校註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 16-19.

[163] Qiao Yi 喬億 (1702-1788) in *Jianxi shuoshi* 劍溪說詩 commented that: "The four versions of "Song of Peach Spring," Mojie's is a conforming work, Changli's and Banshan's spent extraodrinary effort, Mengde's is not refined either" 《桃源行》四篇，摩詰為合作，昌黎、半山大費氣力，夢得亦澄汰未精。

comes, all around is the flow of peach flowers. (The fisherman) cannot recognize the source of the immortal realm. Where should he seek for it?" 春來遍是桃花水，不辨仙源何處尋. His poem reinforced the impression that the Peach Spring was an enclosed immortal wonderland in bewildering mountains. Later comments regard this couplet as having "laid out the segregation between the immortals and the secular" 寫出仙凡之隔.[164] The hermits in this context were not merely refugees but immortals-to-be, while the actual mortal people, like the poets, were segregated from the Peach Spring dwellers.

Wang Wei's view reflects a typical reception of the Peach Spring world among his contemporaries. The affirmation of the Peach Spring as a divine hermitage also turned this "other" space into a poetic reference to the "immortal's homes" in mountains, such as the mountain villas and temples where imperial members dwell. An example is Chu Guangxi's 儲光羲 (c. 707–760) "Yuzhen gongzhu shanju" 玉真公主山居 (Princess Yuzhen's Mountain Residence):[165]

> To the north of the mountains, there is a garden with heavenly spring.
> To the east of the mountains, there is the home of the phoenix maiden.
> Do not say that the Qin Garden is good.
> It only hides behind Wuling's peach flowers.
> 山北天泉苑，山西鳳女家。
> 不言沁園好，獨隱武陵花。

See *Jianxi shuoshi*, in Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, ed., *Qing shihua xubian* 清詩話續編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), p. 1085.

[164] *Tang shi gui* 唐詩歸 8.15:a in Beijing Airusheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin 北京爱如生数字化技术研究中心. *Zhongguo jiben guji ku* 中国基本古籍库 [Database of Chinese Classic Ancient Books]. Beijing: Beijing Airusheng shuzihua jishu yanjiu zhongxin, 2011.

[165] *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩, 25 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 139:47. Hereafter, *QTS*.

The pentasyllabic regulated verse was composed possibly for a court gathering at Princess Yuzhen's (690–762) newly constructed mountain abbey.[166] To eulogize the abbey, Chu first wrote a parallel couplet and compared it to Huaqing Palace 華清宮, the glamorous hot spring imperial retreat located at the northern foot of Mount Li. In the second couplet, he broke the balance and turned to another comparable case–the garden of Princess Qinshui 沁水 (c. 60), the beloved daughter of Emperor Ming of Han (r. 58–75). The princess was famous for receiving an elegant garden from her father. Also being a gift from the emperor, however, Yuzhen's estate was better than Qinshui's in Chu's eyes. How was it better? Chu eventually alluded to the Peach Spring, praising it as the mysterious utopia to which all mundane people aspire.

Previous studies that take the Peach Spring as a reclusive space tend to regard this type of comparison between the imperial space and the Peach Spring as forming an antithesis. Stephen Owen points out in his study of the mountain estates in Tang poetry that comparison forms an oxymoron and that the Tang poets love to state "contradictory values poetically, free from any sense of conflict."[167] I want to add that for the early and high Tang poets, the conflict between the two worlds was reconciled by the divine nature shared by both spaces. On an ontological level, the Peach Spring's power to transform the refugees lay precisely in its intrinsic divinity, making it an embodiment of the ultimate source of cosmic order. Meanwhile, it was also a consensus among the Tang elites that the imperial space was

[166] Emperor Rui built abbeys for Princess Yuzhen and Princess Jinshan in 712. The project was so extravagant, causing fierce remonstrance from officials. See Liu Xu 劉昫 (888–947), *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 100. 3128-3129

[167] See Owen's "The Formation of the Tang Estate Poem."

constructed according to this divine order. The aristocratic resorts even conform with it better as they were located in nature. In other words, the two spaces formed a binary representation of the ultimate principle, or the Way, with the peach grotto serving as the heavenly counterpart of the earthly imperial realm.

This double-sidedness of the Peach Spring representation also portends that those who could present themselves neither as superior aristocrats nor as true recluses would not be able to find a fitting position inside the divine hermitage in poetic representation. When alluding to the Peach Spring in the depiction of remote and uncharted mountains, poets would present it as an enchanted and hidden space, defying any approach by secular searchers. A work that encapsulates this idea is Meng Haoran's 孟浩然 (689/691–740) "Wuling fanzhou" 武陵泛舟 (Floating on a boat at Wuling), which saw the interior of the peach grove as an unfathomable immortal space:[168]

> Wuling's waterway is narrow.
> My boat glides on into peach-blossom forests.
> Nobody can fathom, inside the shady source of spring,
> How deep is immortal residence?
> River winding, converging the emerald cliffs.
> Clouds passing, shading the green stream.
> I sit in leisure and listen to the howling of apes,
> And profusely purify my heart longing for going beyond the dust.
>
> 武陵川路狹，前櫂入花林。
> 莫測幽源裏，仙家信幾深。
> 水回青嶂合，雲度綠溪陰。
> 坐聽閑猿嘯，彌清塵外心。

[168] *QTS*, 160:72. See the annotated version in Xu Peng 徐鵬 ed., *Meng Haoran ji jiaozhu* 孟浩然集校註 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1998), p. 152. I modified the translation with reference to the translations by Zhang Longxi, David Hinton and Mark Meulenbeld. See: Zhang, Longxi. "The Utopian Vision, East and West." *Utopian Studies* 13.1 (2002): 1-20; Hinton, David, ed., *Classical Chinese Poetry: An Anthology* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014), p. 154; and "The Peach Blossom Spring's Long History as a Sacred Site in Northern Hunan," pp. 24-25.

Although the mundane poet adopts the role of the fisherman in the Peach Spring story, he fails to fathom the immortal residence even if he sails all the way to Wuling in person. Not belonging to the immortal realm, he sees the source of spring where the immortals dwell as remote and inaccessible. Nevertheless, the hidden Peach Spring imbues the surrounding mountains and waters with a sense of solidarity and serenity. Meng is able to represent his stay in the enclosed and tranquil mountains. The drifting boat creates a transient space suspended from the mundane, allowing him to temporarily appease his "heart longing for going beyond the dust." Nonetheless, failing to enter the immoral realm means that Meng's self-fashioning of the fisherman is unsuccessful. Even if he succeeded, he eventually still had to leave, just like the fisherman in the original story. The poem epitomizes the two lifestyles that Meng aspired but could not fully embrace: an official life in the capital that was remote and unfathomable for someone like him with a provincial background, and a life of retreat in the immortal landscapes that he could only enjoy during evanescent journeys because he was unwilling to give up his career.[169]

In brief, the poets during this period styled the Peach Spring world in two ways: it either referred to a transcendental domain in deep mountains that existed exclusively for immortals and hermits as the immortals-to-be or was used as a metaphor for the realms of aristocrats from the imperial capital like their mountain estates. The setting of a divine hermitage inevitably restricted its access to the superior few, blocking the majority, including those talented poets without aristocratic pedigree or religious pursuit forever beyond the grotto

[169] For an overview of Meng Haoran's life and poetic style, see Stephen Owen's *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang*, pp. 71-90.

gate. In turn, the sense of sacredness and sublimity also compelled the poets to imagine the Peach Spring, either referring to the immortal land or as a metaphor for the imperial domain, as an alien and mysterious world that was too superior and forbidden for them to approach.[170]

(3) Mid-Tang and Onward: Grotto-heaven as a Subject

The mid-Tang generation continued to be fascinated by the divine Peach Spring story, and Wang Wei's poem inspired imitations by Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842), Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), and possibly others. While Liu Yuxi followed Wang's model in retelling the story, Han Yu aimed for something innovative.

Probably influenced by Wang Wei's painter-poet vision, the Peach Spring story had become a theme that inspired paintings. After the An Lushan Rebellion (755–763), such paintings became popular as form of spiritual sanctuary, and one that was brought to the capital attracted Han Yu's attention. After viewing the painting, Han composed "Taoyuan tu" 桃源圖 (A Painting of Peach Blossom Spring). However, he did not merely translate the

[170] It is also necessary to note that the Peach Spring allusion used in poems during the Six Dynasties and Tang dynasty could also refer to the legend of Liu Chen 劉晨 and Ruan Zhao 阮肇 traveling to Mount Tiantai. Written by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444) in *Youming lu* 幽明錄, the story tells about the two men's encounter with goddesses behind peach trees in the mountain. It also involves a Rip Van Winkle plot of time lapse, which was also a typical plot in the immortal encounter narratives.T
For a complete translation of the Liu Ruan story and a comprehensive discussion of the poetic presentation of the tale with well-illustrated examples, see Timothy Wai Keung Chan's "A Tale of Two Worlds: The Late Tang Poetic Presentation of the Romance of the Peach Blossom Font."
The discussion in this chapter does not elaborate on the Peach Spring story of Liu and Ruan because the original story does not set the stage inside a grotto although it deals with a magical realm inside the sacred mountain. It was not until the late Tang that the story became recognized as one that tells a grotto-heaven story like Tao Yuanming's Peach Spring. The convergence of stories could be resulted from literati's growing recognition of the grotto-heaven subject, which is the focus of the discussion in the following section.
For the study on the transmission and metamorphosis of Liu and Ruan's Peach Spring story, see Xu Wei 許蔚. "A Study on the Fairytale of Liu and Ruan, Focusing on Development of Plot Layers, Changing of Contexts and Shifting of Meanings" 劉阮故事的文本層次, 語境變遷與意義轉移. *Bulletin of the Department of Chinese Literature National Chengchi University* 31 (2019): 59-76.

original story. Instead, Han used this theme to criticize his contemporaries' longing for escape to an illusory utopia. He opened the poem with this bold claim: [171]

> The existence of divine and immortal beings, how uncertain it is!
> The legend of Peach Spring is truly absurd!
> 神僊有無何渺茫，桃源之說誠荒唐。

Later receptions understood Han Yu's critical twist as a manifestation of his struggle to reinterpret the old theme. Nevertheless, as some commentators have noted, none of the major Tang imitators, including Han Yu, questioned the association of sacredness with Peach Spring.[172] Albeit disapproving of others' obsession with the immortal fantasy, he still regarded Peach Spring space as an unpalpable "other realm" (*yijing* 異境) and based his criticism on the previous repertoire of this theme.

Nevertheless, Han Yu's attempt signals his discontent with the old connotations of the Peach Spring theme. As the Tang empire declined, Han and his contemporaries stopped praising the estates that celebrated extravagant imperial sojourns in mountains. They found themselves trapped in a corrupted and chaotic world. The harsh reality compelled them to reflect on the Peach Spring theme. While Han Yu voiced a complete rejection of the fantasy, some others found new ways to reconstruct the divine grotto in literature. The grotto gate locked by the mist of sublimity swung open as more migrants traveled to grotto-heavens in actual porous landscapes in the south. Growing knowledge of these sacred caves led the politically disheartened literati to develop new patterns to represent a more accessible utopia.

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[171] *QTS* 338:11. About the Peach Spring paintings, see Shih Shou-chien's *Yidong de taohua yuan*, pp. 49-89.

[172] Hu Zi 胡仔 (1110–1170) summarized, "the Tang people took the Peach Spring as (the realm) of deities and immortals, such as Wang Wei, Liu Yuxi, and Han Yu, all of their works are of this kind" 唐人以桃源為神仙，如王摩詰、劉夢得、韓退之，諸作是也. See in *Tiaoxi yunyin conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), p. 13.

a) Peach Spring as a Grotto-heaven: Establishing Geographical Concreteness

While most of the earlier Tang poets knew little about the grotto-heaven world and regarded the Peach Spring world simply as the imaginary "other" world, the two worlds began to converge as knowledge of the grotto-heaven became more available to secular literati in the middle of the eighth century. Li Bo, probably together with other famous Daoists like Wu Yun 吳筠 (d. 778), brought esoteric knowledge of the sacred grotto-heavens to poetic circles in the capital.[173] In his poems, Li Bo not only precisely captured the key features of grotto-heaven in various works but also revealed that the Peach Spring belonged to the tradition of thirty-six grotto-heavens.[174] Additionally, Mark Meulenbeld's research shows that a Daoist institution, Peach Spring Abbey, appeared in Wuling no later than 748. It could be around this time that the Peach Spring began to be reified as a concrete site.[175]

The reification of the legendary Peach Spring took place during the course of a nation-wide development of Daoist structures. During the Tianbao reign (742–756), Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756) ordered that "all palaces and mountains under heaven that have grottoes shall establish altars, temples, and buildings" 天下有洞宮山各置壇祠宇 to support Daoist ritual activities, especially the casting dragon plaque ritual (*toulong* 投龍).[176] Many

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[173] While the Daoist scriptures remained esoteric to the secular poets, Li Bo's works opened a window for others to take a glimpse of the Daoist literature. For specific studies on the influence of Daoist scriptures on Li Bo's poetic creations, see: Page 103 in Zhao Yi 趙益. " 'Zhengao' yu Tang shi" 《真誥》與唐詩. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 2 (2007): 97-112; Totsuya Masaaki 土屋昌明. "Li Bo zhi chuangzuo yu daoshi ji Shangqing jing" 李白之創作與道士及上清經. *Journal of Sichuan University (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)* 5 (2006): 105-111.

[174] See *Quan Tang Wen* 全唐文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 349.11:a: "Feng jian shiqi weng ershisi weng xun taohua yuan xu" 奉餞十七翁二十四翁尋桃花源序.

[175] "The Peach Blossom Spring's Long History as a Sacred Site in Northern Hunan", pp. 28-37.

[176] Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025) et al., *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), p. 602.

sites constructed under this mandate were recognized later as grotto-heavens or auspicious places according to Du Guangting's *Inscriptions and Records of Marchmounts and Rivers of Grotto-heavens and Auspicious Places*. It is likely that Xuanzong's selection of grotto mountains was based on Sima Chengzhen's advice and his *Illustration of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences*.

Additionally, the esoteric transmission of Daoist scriptures was disrupted due to the An Lushan Rebellion. As a result, fragments of texts recording the knowledge of the sacred grottos were leaked to secular elite readers, further catalyzing the growth of literati interest in the Daoist mountains. As studies have shown, the rebellion disrupted the esoteric transmission of Daoist teachings. Cardinal scriptures like the *Declaration of the Perfected* that were once exclusive to the high-level Daoist masters came into the hands of secular readers, including mid-Tang poets.[177] Consequently, more literati began to represent the once metaphysical grotto-heavens, including that of the Peach Spring, as landscapes in specific locations.

However, the localization of grotto-heavens as reified landscapes did not instantly demystify the legendary grotto-heavens in poetic representations. Because many grotto-

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The casting dragon plaque ritual was formed as a ritual of submitting memorials (*shangzhang* 上章) during Empress Wu's period. It was based on the belief that the grottoes were connected to heaven. By casting strips into grottoes, rulers could send their pleas to the superior gods. See a general survey of the historical context in Timothy Hugh Barrett's *Taoism under the T'ang: Religion and Empire during the Golden Age of Chinese History* (Wellsweep, 1996), pp. 54-73. Xuanzong probably have access to the treatise *Illustration of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences*, the treatise on grotto-heavens composed by Sima Chengzhen, who was favored by the emperor and assisted the emperor with his ordination. Meanwhile, Xie Yifeng shows in his research that an essential reason causing Emperor Xuanzong to search for grottoes was to promote the casting dragon plaque ritual. See footnote 134. The approach was a strategy to regulate local religions and reinforce the central control over the southern lands.

[177] According to Zhao Yi's research, certain poets including like Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (747–792), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), and Li He 李賀 (790–816). For related research concerning the transmission of Daoist scriptures and its influence on the Tang poets, see Li Jing 李靜. " 'Zhengao' dui Tangshi fasheng yingxiang zhi Shijian zaiyi" 《真誥》對唐詩發生影響之時間再議. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 3 (2017): 231-247.

heavens were located in the remote southern lands, capital elites learned about the sacred grottoes mainly through travelers to the capital, such as pilgrims, hermits, or other banished officials. Additionally, it was still commonly accepted that grotto-heaven landscapes were forbidding to the secular. As a result, direct poetic representations of personal stays in a grotto-heaven were still comparatively rare. Most works addressed the sacred grottoes indirectly by adopting certain themes that offered a context for the poets to interact with actual grotto-heaven visitors. Some common poetic themes of this kind included seeing off a priest or hermit upon his return to a grotto-heaven landscape, expressing thanks for a gift sent by a sacred mountain dweller, or exchanging poems with residents of the divine mountains.[178]

Meanwhile, as the rebellion forced large-scale migration to southern China, the number of elites who were banished to the south as local governors also increased.[179] The relocation put many in close vicinity to the legendary grotto-heavens, providing some the opportunity to visit the legendary porous landscapes. Such visits inspired chanting about grotto-heavens from a first-person perspective.

While not celebrated during the prosperous era, serious seclusion became a rational choice for many dejected mid-Tang literati, who chose to situate themselves in actual grotto-heaven landscapes as a way to voice their discontent. One of them was Gu Kuang 顧況 (c.

[178] Some typical examples are the poems exchanged among Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (ca. 838–883), Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (d. 881), and Zhang Ben 張賁 (ca. 867), who once secluded in Moun Mao, the eighth grotto-heaven and founding place of the Upper Clarity Daoism. See these poems collected in Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (ca. 1317) et al., *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), pp. 436-443.

[179] See Wang, Ao, *Spatial Imaginaries in Mid-Tang China: Geography, Cartography, and Literature*.

725–814), who fashioned himself as a grotto recluse after withdrawing to Mount Mao in his late years. He crystallized his mountain experience in "Shanju jishi" 山居即事 (What Happened in my Mountain Dwelling), which became one of the earliest extant works to delineate reclusive life in a concrete grotto-heaven landscape. The first four couplets read:[180]

> To the Palace of Lower Mooring descended the immortal of Mao.[181]
> In ease and leisure, he secluded himself in the grotto-heaven.
> Master Yang regulated the superior rituals.
> Master of Fate halts the flowing ages.
> Where the crags come together there is water full of peach blossoms.[182]
> Where the window separates the haze in the Willow Valley.[183]
> Holding my grandson, I can still plant trees.
> Leaning on my cane, I ask about plowing the field.
>
> 下泊降茅仙，蕭閑隱洞天。
> 楊君閑上法，司命駐流年。
> 崦合桃花水，窗分柳谷煙。
> 抱孫堪種樹，倚杖問耘田。

Mount Mao was the center of Upper Clarity Daoism and was home to Juqu Grotto-heaven 句曲. The first two couplets focus on the sacred history of Mount Mao. Gu Kuang first recalls the Upper Clarity legends about the three immortals and their arrival at the grotto-heaven. He then recounts the history of Yang Xi 楊曦 (b. 330), one of the founders of the Upper Clarity sect, and addresses the role of Mount Mao as the governor of lifespan. After setting the stage of the grotto-heaven, Gu turns to portraying his seclusion in the landscape of Mount Mao: the "stream of peach blossoms" flowing from a cave resonates with the entrance stream in Tao Yuanming's Peach Blossom Spring, while the farming scene presents the poet

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[180] *QTS*, 273:49.

[181] Edward Schafer's *Mao Shan in T'ang Times* (Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1989), p. 39.

[182] There is a place known as Peach Blossm Crag (*taohuayan* 桃花崦).

[183] The *Declarations* write: "Left to Jinling is a mountain, and to its right is a marsh called Willow Valley" 陵之左有山也，右有源汧名柳谷. See *Zhengao jiao zhu*, p. 348.

as an elder dwelling in the grotto. Here, Gu compares his seclusion in Juqu Grotto-heaven to the life of the refugees in the Peach Spring grotto. By doing so, he implicitly voices his disappointment towards the depraved Tang dynasty by comparing it to the tyrannical Qin. This kind of criticism by alluding to Peach Spring was never seen in works written during the heyday of the Tang dynasty. The grotto-heaven utopia began to shed its imperial connotations and recover its original status as a space antithetical to the aristocratic domain.

However, seclusion was not a prerequisite for most demoted officials to approach a grotto-heaven in the south. Official duties during exile in remote lands also drove literati to visit grotto-heavens, sometimes as delegates of the imperial court to practice the casting dragon plaque ritual. It is worth noting that even when visiting a grotto-heaven in person, literati still spontaneously borrowed surreal descriptions from legends and tales to portray the landscape. The nature of their duty compelled them to differentiate the trip to the sacred grotto from other personal travels in ordinary geographical landscapes. The clash between the actuality of a personal visit and the sacredness of the grotto created a conundrum about how to represent such trips properly.

Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831) was among the few grotto explorers who had the chance to confront this dilemma. After his visit to Mount Kuaiji 會稽, Yuan left an extended pentasyllabic regulated verse entitled “Chunfen toujian Yangming dongtian zuo” 春分投簡陽明洞天作 (Written on Casting Strips at Yangming Grotto-heaven During Spring Equinox). In his long poem, Yuan offered a witty solution: he juxtaposed the landscape

writing with the wandering immortal depictions in one poem, making his journey to the cave realistic while rendering the experience inside the cave surreal.[184]

At the beginning of the poem, Yuan first explained the purpose of his trip:

> By chance, since (I need to) cast an esoteric stele,[185]
> for the moment I could sail to a tranquil lake.[186]
> ……
> The common folks prosper with their lands,
> and their customs are different from that of the Chinese.
> 偶成投秘簡，聊得泛平湖。
> ……
> 閭閻隨地勝，風俗與華殊。

As a local official, Yuan visited Yangming Grotto-heaven, the tenth grotto-heaven, on behalf of the government to conduct the dragon-casting ceremony. What he found was people of the Wu-Yue region practicing rituals unfamiliar to him. Such a realistic yet exotic setting in a strange land acts as a prelude to the fantastic experiences in the latter section of the poem. The land also held rich cultural memories of the Great Yu, which contributed to the vision of eccentric landscapes dotted by his traces. Albeit strange, the scenery along the way turns into typical landscape poetry under Yuan's brush:

> The Temple of Yu is barely apart from the city wall.
> The Chen Village is just in the midway.
> How precipitous Mount Rock Sails is!
> (The way to) Longrui (Temple) is originally tortuous.
> The cave, for the sake of searching talisman, split open.[187]

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[184] The poem was composed in 829, when Yuan was banished to Yuezhou. See the poem and its annotation in Zhou Xianglu 周相録 annot., *Yuan Zhen ji jiaozhu* 元稹集校註 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2011), pp. 1588-1595.

[185] *Ibdb*. In other versions, 成 (*cheng*, to accomplish) is replaced by 因 (*yin*, because), which makes more sense in this context.

[186] Pinghu 平湖 could be a pun that also refers to Pinghu Prefect.

[187] According to *Wuyue Chunqiu* 吳越春秋, Yu opened Mount Wanwei 宛委山 to discover a golden slip (*jinjian* 金簡) that recorded the method of water control. See Zhou Shengchun 周生春 ed., *Wuyue Chunqiu jijiao huikao* 吳越春秋輯校匯考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 6.102.

The pond, because of the lost arrows, became hollow.[188]
The dike is curved, shaping like a flatiron.
The shape of the peaks undulates like an incense burner.
禹廟纔離郭， 陳莊恰半途。
石帆何峭嶢，龍瑞本縈紆。
穴為探符坼， 潭因失箭刳。
隄形彎熨斗，峰勢踴香爐。

After several couplets depicting the alien landscape with reference to local legends, Yuan finally arrives at Yangming Grotto-heaven, which serves as the demarcation between the realistic landscape and the quarters of "Wandering Immortals":

His heart is free from greed.
and knocking on silence he enters void and oblivion.
君心除健羨， 扣寂入虛無。

Upon reaching the grotto, Yuan suddenly turns to address the divine will. His mind enters the status of ultimate oblivion after finishing the previous journey, indicating that he is ready for transcendence. With these several couplets serving as a short transition, Yuan finally departs from the mundane and enters the celestial realm:

Stepping on the handle of the Big Dipper to flip the stellar tracks.
Talisman flies and shakes the pivot of Thearches.[189]
Eastern Thearch lifts the white sun.
The Big Dipper descends to Mystery Capital.
岡蹋翻星紀，章飛動帝樞。
東皇提白日，北斗下玄都。

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[188] *Taiping yulan* records that cranes used to search for arrows for immortals and dug in the ground to unearth the arrows. The pond was created in this way, and the mud formed Mount Crane (*heshan* 鶴山). See *Taiping yulan*, 47.421. Longrui Temple 龍瑞宮 locates right next to Yu Cave 禹穴. He Zhizhang 賀知章 (ca. 659–744) composed "Account on Longrui Temple" 龍瑞宮記 in his late years. The work was inscribed on a stele erected at the temple and recorded its significance and sacredness as a grotto-heaven. Yuan Zhen must have seen the stele during his visit, and the stele content could be an important reference based on which he composed the above section.

The cave in the last couplet is referring to Yu Cave, while the pond refers to Shedi Pond 射的潭, the pond adjacent to Longrui Temple. For further studies on the Yu legacies at Yangming Grotto-heaven, see Zhang Yanxing 張炎興, *Dayu chuanshuo yu Kuaiji shan wenhua yanbian yanjiu* 大禹傳說與會稽山文化演變研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018).

[189] The "pivot" refers to the first star in the Big Dipper names Celestial Pivot (*tianshu* 天樞). The best reference for the Tang dynasty worship of cosmos and stellar is Edward Schafer's *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

The action of stepping the Big Dipper points to a typical ritual scene of the rite of Pacing the Void (*buxu* 步虛), which mimics limping dance of Yu.[190] The ritual was likely part of the cast the dragon ceremony that Yuan participated when praying for the imperial fortune. However, Yuan was not an ordained Daoist master, so he was not authorized to practice the rite and was possibly observing the ceremony. To best conjure the sense of sublimeness, Yuan resorted to the style of "Wandering Immortals" poetry and depicted the celestial journey normatively comprises three parts: spiritual preparation, transcendence, and return to mundane.

By the end, the rite was finished as "the beating of drums hastens the dimming color (of the sky)" 鼓鼙催暝色. The poet parted with his "perfected companions" (*zhen tu lü* 真徒侶) and headed back to the mundane. Interestingly, he concluded the poem with a question comparing Yangming Grotto-heaven to Peach Spring:

> Fortunately, I have a Peach Spring close by.
> Will my whole family agree to depart for it?
> 幸有桃源近， 全家肯去無。

The threshold for representing a visit to a grotto-heaven was further lowered for the late Tang generation. Launching adventurous expeditions to visit these caves in actual landscapes became a leisure experience for a small group of curious literati equipped with insights into Daoist rituals. In such context, the depiction of grotto-heaven visits was less political but concerned more about personal travel experiences.

[190] For more detailed discussions on the ritual of Pacing the Void conducted at a grotto-heaven landscape, see Chapter Four in this dissertation.

Being appointed as the prefect attendance of Suzhou in 870, Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (c. 838–883) visited Lake Tai, also known as Lake Dongting 洞庭, a crucial hub in the grotto-heaven system and site of the ninth Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven (*linwu dongtian*) 林屋洞天. After assisting a warding-off flood ceremony, he recorded his "travel and play in mountains and rivers" (*shanshui youwan* 山水遊玩) at Lake Tai in a series of twenty poems.[191] The third poem was about the Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven. The first section presented Pi's preparation, by which the poet almost fashioned himself as a Daoist master:

I have been fasting my heart for three days.
My bones and muscles are as light as mists.
Below my waist, I wear a golden beast (mirror).
In my hand, I hold a fire bell.
The deep pond expands for four hundred li,
Inside of which there is the essence of sun and moon.
Interlinked, there are thirty-six (grottos),
Each one of which forms a Jade Capital.
If one's heart is not extremely sincere,
He would for sure be boiled by the divine beings.

齋心已三日，筋骨如煙輕。
腰下佩金獸，手中持火鈴。
幽塘四百里，中有日月精。
連亙三十六， 各各爲玉京。
自非心至誠，必被神物烹。

To justify his entrance to the grotto-heaven, Pi prepared himself with a set of Daoist rituals for entering mountains (*rushan* 入山). Such rituals were first elaborated in the chapter "Deng she" 登涉 (Ascension and Wading) in *Baopuzi* 抱樸子, which emphasizes that a visitor would be consumed by demons unless he followed certain instructions. For a mundane person, the text requires that he fast for seven days, wear a mountain ascension talisman, and

[191] See the preface to the poem.

set out on an auspicious day. However, he could still be enchanted by demons that disguise themselves as human beings. Such demons could be dispelled only by a Daoist master wearing a ritual mirror.[192] Pi Rixiu's preparation appears to be a mixture of various instructions. Apparently, he was unprofessional with certain details: he fasted, but only for three days; he carried a mirror, but was not an ordained Daoist; and he forgot to wear a talisman, the most essential ritual object to take.

Regardless of how clumsy his Daoist act was, Pi, who was a minor official but a great poet, paved a new path to representing grotto-heaven with vivid details. Some couplets offer an empirical vision of the grotto that was never depicted by the poet's predecessors:

> Crawling forward a hundred steps,
> I can level my stick slightly.
> Suddenly, there are white bats,
> Darting into the flame of my pine torch.
> People's voice echoes pervasively in the grotto.
> The sound of rocks was tinkling high above.
>
> 匍匐一百步，稍稍策可橫。
> 忽然白蝙蝠，來撲松炬明。
> 人語散頌洞，石響高玲玎。

In previous literary representations, grotto-heavens were never narrow and dark. Nor were they ever explored by humble mundane literati with a torch. With abundantly detailed descriptions, however, Pi showed that even if he lacks "immortal bones" (*xiangu* 仙骨), or the immortal pedigree, he could still "enter the *yin* palace" (*ru yingong* 入陰宮). Most importantly, the poet's purpose is to enjoy the mind-boggling natural splendor. His approach

[192] In the chapter "Ascension and Wading", Ge Hong 葛洪 (ca. 283-363) offered a detailed description of the dangerous mountains and explained the necessary Daoist rites that could help the climber get prepared. See Wang Ming 王明, *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi* 抱樸子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), pp. 299-322.

challenged the stereotypical view that saw grottoes as pleasure lands accessible only to aristocrats or immortals.

Nevertheless, Pi Rixiu's experience was still idiosyncratic by the standards of most of his contemporaries.[193] The poet was aware that entering a grotto-heaven had the Daoist connotations of seclusion, so in the last few lines he wrote:

> Although I entered the yin palace,
> I still could not pay homage to the Upper Clarity.
> Facing that grotto of deities and immortals,
> I was disgusted with my muddy and mundane form.
> But how I rue that the Fashioner-of-Things,
> Has sent me to ride the star of literature.
> 雖然入陰宮，不得朝上清。
> 對彼神仙窟，自厭濁俗形。
> 却憎造物者，遣我騎文星。

As if still wanting to claim that he belonged to the majority, Pi tinted the grotto-heavens as the "other" Daoist world that he could not pay homage to, even if he already entered it after performing the necessary rituals. He even blamed the "Fashioner-of-Things" (*zaowu zhe* 造物者) for making him a literatus and thus trapping him forever in a muddy and mundane form. By counterposing his literati identity to the transcendent, the poet adopted the conventional poetic pattern tracing back to "Li sao," which ends with a failed transcendence. This rendition indicates that he had yet to be freed from the old pattern and had not found a legitimate way to represent his enjoyment in grotto-heavens with a fully relaxed mind.

b) Bai Juyi: Objectifying Grotto-heaven Through Scholarly Appreciation

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[193] See *QTS*, 610:3: "Fenghe Ximei Taihu shi ershi shou, ru Linwu dong" 奉和襲美太湖詩二十首 入林屋洞
I am not a person with square pupils, and do not dare to pry into the grotto entrance.
Only you, the person with curiosity, could whistle again and again and forget desire and friendship.
自非方瞳人，不敢窺洞口。唯君好奇士，復嘯忘情友。

The reason Pi Rixiu thought his literary learning blocked him from enjoying the grotto-heaven space was probably that "literature" in his definition referred to literati knowledge, which prepared him for civil service. However, some literati utilized their scholarly knowledge of the newly disclosed Daoist literature creatively to harmonize their relation to the sacred caves.

Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) was one of the dedicated literati readers of such Daoist scriptural materials. He approached knowledge of grotto-heavens with rigorous scholarship: he created an independent heading, "Cave" (*dong* 洞), to hold what he learned about grotto-heavens in his *Baishi liutie shilei ji* 白氏六帖事類集 (Master Bai's Collection of Categorized Matters in Six Tablets).[194] This addition made his collection the earliest extant encyclopedic work that made sacred grottoes a distinct category. Under this entry, Bai provided a systematic list of the ten major grotto-heavens, together with their home mountains, the Daoist appellations, and the counties in which they were located. Such systematic knowledge was once esoteric to the Daoist tradition. Bai thus was also the first literatus who meticulously recorded it in a work for literati readers.[195] The inclusion of the excerpt proves that Bai had a better insight into this issue than most of his contemporaries. His widely accepted encyclopedia also became an outlet that revealed more details of the grotto-heavens to the literati circle.

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[194] See vol. 2 in *Baishi liutie shilei ji: sanshi juan* 白氏六帖事類集: 三十卷 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987).

[195] Such knowledge could have originated from the previously mentioned Sima Chengzhen's *Illustration of Celestial and Terrestrial Palaces and Residences*. Interestingly, the earliest version of Sima Chengzhen's work was found in the Song dynasty Daoist canon *Yunji qiqian*, which indicates its limited circulation before the Song dynasty. Apart from the excerpt in Bai Juyi's encyclopedia, there was no other extant record of this systematic grotto-heaven description from the Tang dynasty. The next one to appear was Du Guangting's version, which was expanded from Sima Chengzhen's original work.

With his better insight, Bai Juyi was also able to expand the scope of grotto-heaven allusions in poetry. In his "Wanchun chongdao Jixian yuan" 晚春重到集賢院 (In Late Spring, I Revisited the Academy of Scholarly Worthies), Bai offered a novel interpretation of the grotto-heaven in the opening couplet: [196]

> The official sector is clear and close as if it is not the human realm.
> Wind and moon are bright and brilliant as if this is a grotto-heaven.
> 官曹清切非人境，風月鮮明是洞天。

"Clear and close" was once used by Li Bo to describe Phoenix Pond 鳳凰池, the synecdoche for the Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省) during the Six Dynasties. Bai Juyi applied the terms to describe the academ as the office was also close to the emperor yet was comparatively aloof from political struggles.[197] What was eye-catching was Bai's assertion that the office dominated by scholars was a transcending space beyond the mundane.

Bai may have been inspired by the academy's history. In 725, Emperor Xuanzong had held a banquet at the Palace of Assembling Immortals (Jixian dian 集仙殿), which had been Empress Wu's sleeping quarters. Inspired by the presence of prominent scholars including Zhang Yue 張說 (667–731), the emperor ordered that the palace's name be changed to the Palace of Assembling Scholarly Worthies (Jixian dian 集賢殿).[198] In retrospect, the subtle

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[196] The poem was composed in 821. See Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 ed., *Bai Juyi ji jianjiao* 白居易集箋校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 19.1240-41. Hereafter *BJYJ*. For the discussion about the historical background and an analysis of Bai's poetic context, see Lu Yang 陸揚. "Gudu de Bai Juyi: jiu shiji zhengzhi yu wenhua zhuanxing zhong de shiren" 孤獨的白居易： 九世紀政治與文化轉型中的詩人. *Journal of Peking University(Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 56.6 (2019): 104-121.

[197] Bai Juyi also alluded to Phoenix Pond in "Reply to Minister Duke Pei's Request for the Cranes" 答裴相公乞鶴 (*BJYJ,* 25.1761). Yang Xiaoshan also interpreted his usage of this allusion. See in Yang Xiaoshan, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), pp. 152-153.

[198] *Xin Tang shu*, 47.1212: The Palace of Assembling Immortals is where Academicians, Auxiliary Academician, Academician Reader-in-waiting, and Senior Compiler were in charge of printing and compiling classics and ancient texts. For all charts and books, surviving and lost treatises, together with the worthies, talents, hermits, and the overlooked persons of ability, the academy shall search for them under the imperial order. (As for those) whose strategy can be executed in the contemporary time, and whose writings and arguments can be disseminated in the world, the academy shall test their learnings and techniques and inform the ruler.

substitution of "immortal" (*xian* 仙) with the homophone "scholarly worthy" (*xian* 賢) became the precursor of a new value: by talent rather than by pedigree, scholarly worthies could transform the immortal palace, once reserved for the leisure of royal family members, into a space available for their own gatherings.[199]

The true spark of inspiration appeared in the second line, in which the poet further compares the academy to a grotto-heaven. This rendition highlights the grotto-heaven's essential function as a repository and space for sacred text transmission, a feature that most of Bai's literati predecessors had ignored. In the legend of Mount Bao, the grotto-heaven was essentially regarded as a repository of sacred texts and a residence of immortals who were in charge of the collection.[200] Similarly, the Academy of Scholarly Worthies brought together scholars who compiled and studied its collection of ancient books and records. For Bai, the value of the grotto-heaven as a metaphor lay primarily in its representation of the repository of the true knowledge.

Bai Juyi's scholarly study of Daoist knowledge also enabled him to possess a grotto-heave by projecting it onto the Lake Tai rocks.[201] Bai discovered an extraordinary hue in two

集賢殿院。學士、直學士、侍讀學士、修撰官，掌刊輯經籍。凡圖書遺逸、賢才隱滯，則承旨以求之。謀慮可施於時，著述可行於世者，考其學術以聞。

[199] This change was made due to the influence of Xuanzong's massive compilation project initiated in 717 and his need to assign a space for scholars to work and store books. It is also arguable that the change also bore influence from the expansion of immortal-hood to include scholars after the implement of the Civil Service Examination. In the article on Niu Sengru's 牛僧孺 (780–848)'s "Records of Mysterious Anomalies" 玄怪錄 and the Tang literati identity, Sing-chen Lydia Chiang points out that the presented literatus (*jinshi* 進士) with a humble background began to appear as immortals in the mid-Tang literatures. See Chiang, Sing-chen Lydia. "Daoist Transcendence and Tang Literati Identities in" Records of Mysterious Anomalies" by Niu Sengru (780-848)." *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* (2007): 1-21.

[200] In fact, only Li Bo mentioned once about grotto-heaven as a repository: "The Daoist recluse is not visible. The numinous scriptures are hidden in grotto-heavens" 道隱不可見，靈書藏洞天.

[201] Besides Bai Juyi, the most passionate rock collectors in the Tang dynasty were Niu Sengru 牛僧孺 (779–848) and Li Deyu 李德裕 (787–849). For discussions on rock collections, see *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere*, pp.179-196.

pieces of rocks he received when learning that the rocks were from Lake Tai. The rocks' porous shape made them perfect miniature embodiments of grotto-heavens, inspiring Bai to compose the following lines:[202]

> Sparkling tracery in the grotto of Huayang.
> Multiple layers in the cliff of Mount Kuang. [203]
> Far away, the Immortal Palm is remote. [204]
> Gaping open, the Sword Gate is deep. [205]
> Its shape and quality crown the past and present.
> Its air and color connect to the sun and shade.
> 嵌空華陽洞，重疊匡山岑。
> 邈矣仙掌迥，呀然劒門深。
> 形質冠今古，氣色通晴陰。

The poem was composed in 829. Since Bai Juyi had been appointed to Suzhou in 825, he was likely very familiar with Lake Tai and Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven when he wrote this poem. Clearly, Bai was showing off his knowledge of grotto-heavens through his exceptional vision of the rock: he claimed that in it he had found the grotto of Huayang. In another poem on these Lake Tai rocks, he wrote "They must be Mount Hua's grandsons" 應是華山孫.[206] The grotto of Huayang refers to the eighth grotto-heaven, the Juqu Grotto-heaven 句曲洞天, located in Mount Hua. According to the *Declaration of the Perfected*, Juqu Grotto-heaven "connects to Linwu in the east" 東通林屋.[207] As a reader of the *Declaration* who visited Huayang in the past, Bai was certainly familiar with this connection between the two

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[202] Bai Juyi, "Taihu shi" 太湖石, in *BJYJ*, 22.1498.

[203] Mount Kuang is the birthplace of Li Bo

[204] Immortal Palm refers to a peak of Mount Hua. See "Fenghe shengzhi tujing huayue yingzhi" 奉和聖製途經華嶽應制 in *QTS*, 74:5.

[205] The Swordgate Mountains are located at the entrance to Shu 蜀 and are known for their steepness. Countless poems including Li Bo's "Hard Ways to Shu" 蜀道難 and Du Fu's "Swordgate" wrote about how the challenging mountains are.

[206] The quote is the last line in another "Taihu shi" 太湖石 of Bai Juyi, see *BJYJ*, 25.1708.

[207] *Zhengao jiao zhu*, p. 345.

grottoes.[208] By possessing the rocks, Bai claimed the tokens that connected him to other great grotto-heavens.

Interestingly, Bai also seemed to doubt his contemporaries' ability to appreciate the marvel of his grotto rocks, probably due to people's general lack of knowledge of grotto-heaven culture. As a reconciliation, he compared the rock to Mount Kuang and Sword Gate, the two precipitous mountains well-known to others thanks to Li Bo and Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770)'s fame, to supply the sublime beauty of his rocks. Nonetheless, his mind seems to be still lingering on the essential features of a grotto-heaven. In the next couplet, he affirms that he sensed both past and present and sun and shade in the rocks, which resembled a grotto-heaven in transcending time and balancing *yin* and *yang*.

More intriguingly, Bai was not satisfied with merely owning the tokens. He also stressed that his own learning and knowledge enabled him to resonate with the rocks. In the latter half of the poem, Bai Juyi wrote "Its natural look is truly extraordinary; Pragmatic use is not its lot" 天資信為異，時用非所在, boasting that he was able to discern in the rocks an extraordinary (*yi* 異) quality that others had overlooked.[209] What gave him the unique perception was precisely his superior insight into grotto-heaven lore. For Bai, understanding

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[208] In "Savoring the Way" 味道, Bai Juyi mentions "Seven passages of the *Declaration* discuss the immortal affairs" 七篇真誥論仙事; see *BJYJ*, 23.1577. He also wrote about his connection to Mount Hua in "Inside Huayang Temple, During the Night of August the Fifteenth, I Summoned My Friends to Enjoy the Moon" 華陽觀中八月十五日夜招友玩月 in *BJYJ*, 13.733. See Schafer's discussion and translation of this poem in Edward Schafer's *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, pp. 41-42.

[209] Yang Xiaoshan provides the translation and interpretation of the latter section of the poem in his *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere*. In the discussion, he focuses on the establishment of the aesthetic of ugly and uselessness in his analysis of petrophiles and rock fetishism. See *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere*, pp. 98-105.
While Yang attributes Bai Juyi's appreciation of Lake Tai rocks to his "gifted aesthetic sensitivity," I want to add that he could not have viewed the rock in this way without an increasing curiosity about grotto-heavens and insights of the tradition. Bai probably did not only focus on the dichotomy of elegance and vulgarity of the aesthetic of rock. What he truly pressed upon was the knowledge of grotto-heavens that he believed to be delivered by the Fashioner-of-Things.

the extraordinary rock this way was just like understanding the extraordinary men (*jiren* 畸人) in *Zhuangzi*, who are "extraordinary in the eyes of men but ordinary in the eyes of Heaven."[210] Visualizing the grotto-heaven world in a rock, Bai Juyi felt that his mind could resonate with the vast grotto spaces in all mountains created by the "Fashioner-of-Things" (*zaowu zhe* 造物者), or Heaven, which he regarded as the only one that "can understand my mind" 獨能知我心. In turn, the miniature grotto-heaven in the rocks also became Bai Juyi's emblem, embodying his extraordinary character, which could be appreciated only by others in possession of rare and extraordinary learning.

III Conclusion

The history of Daoist sacred geography reveals that the worship of grotto-heavens arose in the fourth century, possibly inspired by geographical characteristics of the south. During the following centuries, descriptions of grotto-heavens appeared sporadically in Daoist texts and remained esoteric to the Daoist professionals. Despite being mysterious to outsiders, some grotto legends and local myths of sacred mountains influenced one other, and these stories may have served as inspiration for some literary works. The earliest masterpiece that situated the story inside a magic grotto was Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Spring." The story narrated in the preface outlines a literary paradigm for representing a sacred grotto: enclosing a pastoral landscape, the grotto could be found by a mundane person serendipitously but would remain hidden to any deliberate seekers.

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[210] *ZZZS*, 6.150. See translation in *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzu*, p. 90.

While early Tang elites remained largely indifferent to the Daoist concept of grotto-heavens, Tao Yuanming's Peach Spring story intrigued capital poets like Wang Wei, who made the grotto space as a divine space for immortals in their poetic imitations of Tao Yuanming. Belief in the space's inherent divinity lent the image of Peach Spring an imperial connotation, transforming it into a perfect metaphor in eulogies of aristocrats' suburban estates. Whether referring to a transcendent world or aristocratic domain, sacred grottoes epitomize the fantasy of a utopia restricted to an elite while forbidden and perilous to those from humble backgrounds.

However, belief in the grotto-heaven as a forbidden and fantastic space weakened in the latter half of the Tang dynasty. Two historical events prompted this change. One was Xuanzong's promotion of the worship of sacred grottoes, most of them located in southern China. The mandate endowed the grotto-heaven system with geographical concreteness. The other was the catastrophic An Lushan Rebellion. The calamity caused a grand migration to the south, enabling banished literati to venture into actual landscapes to see the grotto-heavens with their own eyes. Some disheartened poets also began fashioning themselves as grotto recluses in critiques of the failing empire. The rebellion also disrupted the transmission of esoteric Daoist scriptures, allowing the release of fragments of sacred geographical information to secular literati readers. The newly exposed textual materials piqued scholarly curiosity and inspired a few writers to project the fantastic space onto porous rocks picked from grotto-heaven landscapes. The miniature rocks also enabled literati to objectify and figuratively possess the divine grotto-heavens.

In general, grotto-heavens in Tang dynasty literary representations remained largely imaginary, symbolizing a divine "other" world. As the dynasty deteriorated, some literati gained stronger intellectual and material connections to these sacred grottoes. The gradually concretized grotto-heavens laid the foundation for the Song dynasty literati's interaction with Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven.

Interlude

Wandering into Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven

Dongxiao Temple in Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was one of the most prestigious Daoist temples during the Song dynasty. Lu You 陸遊 (1125–1210) crystalized the glory of the place in the stele scripture "Dongxiao gongbei" 洞霄宮碑 (Dongxiao Temple Stele):[211]

> At the beginning of Creation, Mount Kunlun was boundless. When the one Qi vatality was divided, Heaven accumulated Qi above, and Earth accumulated Qi below. Those that were bright became sun and moon. Those that were dard became ghosts and deities. When Qi gathered, it became mountains, peaks, seas, and rivers. When Qi disseminated, it became the myriad of things. Among everything, the most numinous became humans. The most numinous among men were saints and sages, immortals and perfected. Moreover, the Way is the origin of the myriad of things between Heaven and Earth, the assembly of dark and bright, big and small. This was what Fuxi, Yellow Emperor, and Laozi relied on to master the cosmos and manage the transformation. What they composed were the sixty-four hexagrams of the *Change*, the five thousand words of *Daode*; the scriptures of *Yinfu*, *Duren*, *Xisheng*, *Shengshen*;[212] and the books of Lie Yukou, Zhuang Zhou, and Guan Yinxi. Their learners must retire from the mundane and vulgarity, practice the essence and store the spirit, and dwell in the famous mountains and outstanding peaks. (Its teachings) are slightly different from our teachings (of Confucianism). However, they are dedicated to the relationship between father and sons and the ties between the ruler and the subordinates. They are not different from the texts passed down from Yao, Shun, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius. Therefore, they can rectify the great aim of our teachings. Dongxiao Temple at Lin'an Prefecture, previously known as Heavenly Pillar Temple, is located under Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven. It has a long history of being the residence of those who study Huang-Lao. Coming down to our Song dynasty, with Chongfu Temple at Mount Song, it became one of the two main temples among all temples under Heaven.
> 造化之初，崑崙旁薄。 一氣既分，天積氣於上，地積塊於下。明為日月，幽為鬼神。聚為山嶽海瀆，散為萬物。萬物之至靈為人。人之至靈為聖哲，為僊真。而道為天地萬物之宗，幽明鉅細之統。此虙羲、黃帝、老子所以握乾坤、司變化也。其書為《易》六十四卦，《道德》五千言；《陰符》、《度人》、《西

[211] *DXTZ*, 6.173-176.

[212] The scriptures listed here refer to: *Huangdi yinfu jing* 黃帝陰符經 (Yellow Thearch's Scripture on the Hidden Talisman, DZ 311); *Duren jing* 度人經 (*Scripture of Salvation*, DZ 1); *Xisheng jing* 西升經 (Scripture of the Ascent to the West, DZ 666); and *Dongxuan lingbao jiutian shengshen zhangjing* 洞玄靈寶九天生神章經 (Stanzas of the Life Spirits of the Nine Heavens, DZ 318).

升》、《生神》之經；列禦寇、莊周、關尹喜之書。其學者必謝去世俗，練精積神，棲於名山喬嶽。略與吾教弗類，而篤於父子之親、君臣之義，與堯舜、周公、孔子遺書無異，則正吾教之大指也。臨安府洞霄宮，舊名天柱觀，在大滌洞天之下，蓋學黃老者之所盧，其來久矣。至我宋，遂與嵩山崇福，獨為天下宮觀之首。

The opening paragraph of the stele scripture outlines Lu You's understanding of the grotto-heaven landscape's significance. As one of the numinous grotto-heavens, the mountains of Grand Cleanse yielded the essence of the universe and the gist of Daoist legacies, which could complement the Confucian teachings. Therefore, it offered as an alternative space for literati to pursue self-cultivation. Notably, Mount Song was the axis-mundi in the Confucian worldview and the sixth grotto-heaven in the Daoist landscape system. However, it was no longer part of the Song territory after the Jurchen invasion (1125–1142). Therefore, Lu You's paralleling Dongxiao to Chongfu at Mount Song can be seen as his attempt to glorify Grand Cleanse as the center of the Southern Song sacred geography.

Including Dongxiao Temple, some sites in Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven are critical for the following discussions and call for a brief introduction. The illustration below is from *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖誌 (Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer, see Figure 2).[213] The red circle marks the ring of mountains surrounding the heartland of Grand Cleanse landscape, with Dongxiao Temple sitting in the middle. Located to the south of the temple is Grand Cleanse Grotto (*dadi dong* 大滌洞, see Figure 3), the thirty-fourth grotto-heaven in the system and the key grotto in the landscape.

[213] *DXTZ*, pp. 9-10.

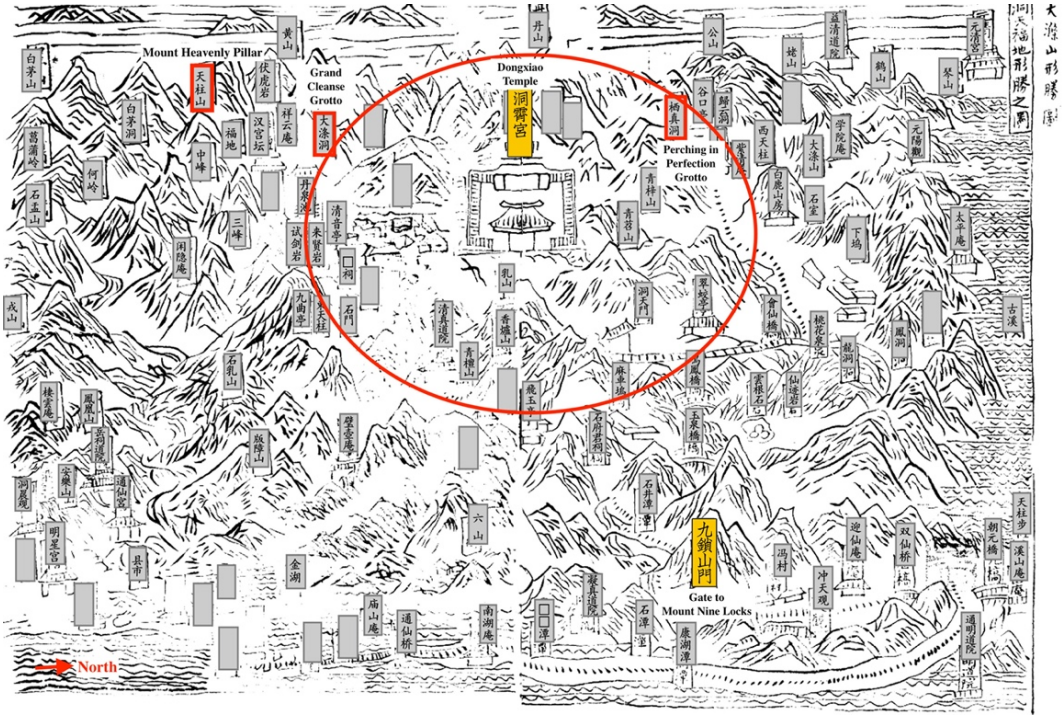

Figure 2 “Dadi shan xingsheng tu” 大滌山形勝圖 (Illustration of Scenic Spots of Grand Cleanse Landscape). Image edited by Qu Shuang 曲爽 and Tao Jin 陶金 from National Heritage Center at Tsinghua University.

Figure 3 Grand Cleanse Grotto. Picture taken in July, 2019 by Wanmeng Li

Next to it is Mount Heavenly Pillar (*tianzhu shan* 天柱山), which is the fifty-seventh auspicious place. To the North is Perching in Perfection Grotto (*qizhen dong* 棲真洞), which is the second most important cave. Legends record it to be connected to Grand Cleanse Grotto.

Guarding the mountain range is the Gate to Mount Nine Locks (*jiusuo shanmen* 九鎖山門), demarcating the entrance to the grotto-heaven landscape. Mount Nine Locks refer to the mountains flanking the insinuated path leading into the central area. Along the path flows a stream that originates from Mount Heavenly Pillar (See Figure 4). In short, an entrance, a path, a stream, a sacred peak, some grottos, and a temple comprise a sacred landscape that had been mirroring the Daoist cavern utopia since the tenth century.

Figure 4　Mount Nine Locks and the stream. Image credited to Yang Xi 楊曦, Hangzhou Institute of Archaeology 杭州市考古所. Picture taken in January, 2016. The stream continued to flow for more than a thousand years. Unfortunately, this part of the path was destroyed in 2017 due to the local freeway construction.

Chapter Two

Let the Gate of Utopia Open Wide: Grand Cleanse as Envisioned by Song Literati

Imagined by Tang literati as a world for immortals, the grotto-heaven space underwent profound change in the following generations. In vividly detailed landscape paintings of the era, scholars of Yuan dynasty art history and Daoism have identified the development of a new perception of a substantiated Daoist utopia. In his study of Peach Spring paintings, Shih Shou-chien 石守謙 argues that Yuan painters like Wang Meng 王蒙 (1308–1385) began to paint the Peach Spring as a substantiated landscape. His rendition contrasted sharply with earlier paintings that focused on the theme of immortal land.[214] Lee Fong-mao 李豐楙 examines paintings of the Yuan and Ming dynasties on the theme of grotto-heavens and argues that the Ming painters established a new paradigm, which he defines as "traveling the Way" (*youdao* 遊道), featuring paintings of realistic travels to landscapes with Daoist spiritual implications.[215] He stresses that paintings of this kind encompassed realistic Daoist temples and mountains, thus changing from depicting entirely illusory imageries to representing actual travels to places.

The sharp contrast between Tang poetry's emphasis on illusoriness and Yuan paintings' tendency to reflect a concrete world raises some questions: What led to the change of representation? Did it hinge on the Song people's perception of grotto-heavens? How did the

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[214] *Yidong de taohuayuan: Dongya shijie Zhong de shanshuihua*, pp. 49-89.

[215] *2019 nian diyijie dongtian fudi yanjiu yu baohu guoji yantaohui lunwen ji*, pp. 114-126. Li's study was based paintings presented on the special exhibition at National Palace Museum in Taipei titled "Hechu shi Penglai–xianshan tu tezhan 何處是蓬萊—仙山圖特展." The exhibition was put on from July 1st to September 25th, 2018. For reference of the exhibited paintings, see Hsu, Wen-mei, *Hechu shi Penglai*.

Song literati write about grotto-heavens? This chapter will examine the case of Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven and discuss the changing understanding of the liminal grotto space's accessibility (*tong* 通) in the literary representations. It will take the related textual materials as a prism to discuss the cultural context that nurtured gradual substantiation of the grotto paradise in literature.

I Grotto Gate About to Open: Luo Yin's Ambition to Approach the Antiquity at Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven

During the Tang and the early Song period, Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, like many other grotto-heavens of the time, was represented in poems as a mysterious world reserved for Daoists and hermits. One example is the landscape displayed in the poem composed after a farewell banquet held for the Daoist master Feng Dezhi 馮德之(ca. 10th-11th centuries) before his return to Dongxiao. Many high officials attended the banquet and wrote poems under the title "Song Tianzhu Feng xiansheng" 送天柱馮先生 (Seeing off Master Feng of Heaven Pillar). Among them was the then Palace Secretary Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025), who wrote the following farewell poem:[216]

> In the Jade Capital, the empty palace rests on cloud and rainbow.[217]
> The essence of jade and the luster of pearls crown the Ziwei Palace.[218]
> Provisionally visiting the imperial city, he attended the assembly paying homage to the Dipper.
> Yet with mind lingering on the rock grottoes, he wishes to carry his zither and return.

[216] *Dongxiao tuzhi* records that "the ministers and officials of the time all bid farewell to him with poems" 時公卿皆以詩餞行; See *DXTZ*, 5.138. See the two extant poems in *DXSJ*, 2.235. *QSS*, 93.1047.

[217] *Yuxiao* 鬱蕭 refers to *yuluo xiaotai* 郁羅簫台, which is an alternative name for the Jade Capital (*yujing* 玉京), or the heavenly city where the Daoist deities reside.

[218] The Ziwei Palace hosts Jade emperor, the central deity in the Daoist pantheon. In cosmology, Ziwei is also the constellation where the Big Dipper is located.

Running to the sun, (the master's) interior landscape has *qian* and *kun* tranquilized.[219]
Spring gargles, chanting clear tones. Wolfberries and chrysanthemums are flourishing.
However, he goes to live in a deep and remote place in the region of waters.
The clear mountain mists hide from the view, setting off the spring sunshine.

鬱蕭空殿倚雲霓，玉氣珠輝冠紫微。
暫到帝城朝斗會，却思岩竇負琴歸。
日奔內景乾坤靜，泉漱清音杞菊肥。
却到水鄉深邃住，晴嵐掩映簇春暉。

Responding to the context of their banquet in Kaifeng, Wang Qinruo starts the poem by comparing the capital and the imperial palace to the Jade Capital and the heavenly court in the fantastic Daoist celestial realm.[220] Setting the stage in this way, Master Feng's visit to the capital could be interpreted as "paying homage to the Dipper," a cardinal theme in the Daoist liturgy. The poem unfolds following the pattern the Tang poets commonly adopted when writing about a master having an audience with an emperor. This pattern usually consummates with the master's successful ascension to the "Jade Capital." However, Master Feng was leaving the capital for his residence in "rock grottoes." This unusual move implies that the "rock grottoes" must be as extraordinary as, if not more superior to, the imperial domain.

Interestingly, Wang did not delineate Master Feng's place as more resplendent than the capital to justify the master's return. Rather, he understood the master's return to the grotto's interiority as entering an interior landscape, a space conjured for internal cultivation. He also compares the interior landscape to a tranquil mountainscape embellished with herbs and

[219] This line alludes to Chapter Twenty-Six "High Running" 高奔 in *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* 太上黃庭內景玉經 (Precious Book of the Interior Landscape of the Yellow Court, DZ 331), which regards the ascension to the sun and the moon as the superior Daoist cultivation.

[220] This poem from Wang Qinruo bore strong influence from the Xikun style (*xikun ti* 西昆體) poetry, which drew heavily on the Daoist allusions to depict the imperial library officials' courtly gatherings. About Wang Qinruo and his relation to Xikun poetry, see Luo, Zhengming 羅爭鳴. "*Xikun chouchang ji* de Daojiao dise" 《西昆酬唱集》的道教底色. *Wuhan University Journal (Humanity Sciences)* 65 (2012): 76-80.

spring water consumed for dietary practices, thus making the landscape an ideal space for the comprehensive cultivation of immortality. Additionally, he asserts that the grotto was not only remote but also hidden from the capital dwellers like him. Even if he projected his vision afar, all he could see were the mists that imbued the spring mountain with a sense of mystery.

Somewhat like the predecessors who took a capital-oriented perspective, Wang Qinruo presented the grotto-heaven conventionally as an enclosed and detached world of Daoists and immortals. His impression was not baseless, as during his era the grotto-heaven remained a cultural blind-spot for most literati with worldly occupations. Located far from the capital, Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was dominated before the Song dynasty by people from beyond the bounds of the ordinary world (*fangwai* 方外).[221] The *Dongxiao Anthology* records the works of seven poets from the pre-Song period. Among them were three Daoist priests, a Buddhist monk, and a recluse. The only two poets who ever served as officials were Xu Ning 徐凝 (ca. 9th century) and Luo Yin 羅隱 (833–910). However, Xu visited the grotto-heaven during a time of seclusion. Therefore, the only person who wrote about his visit on his official post was Luo Yin.

[221] The "Stele Scripture of Heavenly Pillar Temple" 天柱觀碣 (*DXTZ*, 6.164-165) written by the Tang dynasty Daoist master Wu Yun 吳筠 (d. 778) in 778 states:

> In the early Zhengguan (also known as Zhenguan 貞觀 627–649) reign, Master Xu Mai embraced the Way and lived in idleness. He was recommended and summoned but did not respond to the call. Later, there were Daoist masters include Zhang Zheng, Ye Fashan, Zhu Junxu, Sima Ziwei (also known as Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎), Ji Qiwu, Xiaohou Ziyun, all of which were from the superior stream. They either wandered or resided, and lingered all year long with no thought of leaving.
> 正觀初，有許先生曰邁，懷道就閒，薦召不起心。後有道士張整、葉法善、朱君緒、司馬子微、暨齊物、夏侯子雲，皆為高流，或游或居，窮年忘返。

Luo was interested in the grotto-heaven for a special reason. Though talented, he failed the civil service examination many times and went into seclusion at Mount Jiuhua for several years, changing his name to Yin or "hermit." During his seclusion, Qian Liu 錢鏐 (852–932), who would later become the founder of the Wuyue Kingdom, noticed and recruited him.[222] Probably because he had built his fame as a hermit, Luo Yin was especially keen to approach religious masters. After the Upper Clarity master Lüqiu Fangyuan 閭丘方遠 (d. 902) sought refuge with Qian Liu and settled at Grand Cleanse, Luo, who was serving as the Qiantang magistrate under Qian, pledged to be Lüqiu's disciple.[223] However, Luo did not mean to become a Daoist. In the first verse of three elegies written to commemorate Lüqiu, Luo Yin reveals the motivation that drove him to study Daoism with the master:[224]

> How remote, the path to the grotto-heaven!
> How luxuriant, Grand Cleanse mountain!
> Your heavenly carriage I cannot stop,
> But with your banner and knot, you can take your time in going.
> At the minister's office we were old intimate friends,
> And now the gate to your teaching has just begun to open.
> The art that could bring peace and salvation,
> Is left to the human realm.
>
> 杳杳洞天路，蒼蒼大滌山。
> 景輿留不住，麾節去應閑。
> 相府舊知己，教門新啟関。

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[222] About a study of Luo Yin's biography, see Chen Peng 陳鵬. "Luo Yin nianpu ji zuopin xinian" 羅隱年譜及作品系年. *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan*, 2011(2): 35-39.

[223] It was probably because Luo Yin approached Daoism with utilitarian purposes, Lüqiu did not speak high of him. See *Wuyue beishi* 吳越備史, attributed to Qian Yan 錢儼 (937–1003),:

> Every time when Luo Yin of the Easter River visited Fangyuan for his teaching of the works of philosophers (except for Confucius), Fangyuan would always close his eye and impart. He also would not offer other comments. His disciple Xia Yin said to Fangyuan: "Scribe Luo is the guest of Secretariat Director, why did master not speak to him?" Fangyuan said: "Yin's flair is high but his nature is inferior. Despite teaching the treatises, I do not want to talk with him about other matters."
> 江東羅隱每就方遠授子書，方遠必瞑目而授，餘無他論。 門人夏隱言謂方遠曰："羅記室，上令公客，先生何不與之語？ "方遠曰："隱才高性下，吾非授書，不欲及他事。 "

[224] *DXSJ*, 1.229.

太平匡濟術，流落在人間。

Luo Yin was one among many late Tang literati who were desperate to find some technique or art that could bring the chaotic world back to order. He compared the grotto gate to "the gate to (the master's) teaching" (*jiaomen* 教門), and Lüqiu's presence opened to him the gateway to Daoist teachings to him, offering him a solution. Luo ambitiously thought that he could "bring peace and salvation" to the human realm by integrating the Daoist knowledge to rectify the Confucian teachings.[225] Therefore, he framed his acquiring the art of governing from Lüqiu in Grand Cleanse following the motif of Mount Bao the Recluse, who entered Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven and retrieved Yu's scriptures to save the world.[226]

By modeling himself after Mount Bao, Luo Yin implied three crucial messages. Luo Yin did not emphasize the presence of Daoist rituals, as Yuan Zhen and Pi Rixiu had done, to validate the entrance of literati into the grotto space. Instead, his embodiment of Mount Bao, who resonates with the hermit aspect of his identity, legitimized his approach to the grotto. Further, he compared Grand Cleanse to Forest Chamber, which is a proper comparison as there was a common Daoist belief that the two grotto-heavens were interconnected.[227] Most importantly, the connection to Forest Chamber implies that Grand Cleanse's efficacy hinged

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[225] His thoughts were crystallized in the book he composed entitled *Liangtong shu* 兩同書 (The Identity of Both, DZ 1135), which argues for the art of governing that could "bring peace and salvation" based on the unification of Confucian and Daoist values. See *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 314-316.

[226] See the story of Mount Bao the Recluse in *The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High*, DZ 388. See related discussions about the story in Chapter One, pp. 41-42.

[227] The "Stele Scripture of Heavenly Pillar Temple" writes:
The grotto that gained reputation is called Grand Cleanse. Although it is vast, deep, and unfathomable, it is secretly connected to the *yin* palace of the grand Thearch together with Forest Chamber and Huayang.
得其名者谓之大涤，虽寥邃莫测，盖与林屋华阳密通大帝阴宫耳。
DXTZ attributes this belief to the lost treatise *Maojun zhuan* 茅君傳, which is attributed to Yang Xi 楊曦, the main compiler of the Upper Clarity treatises. See *DXTZ*, 3.79.

on its potential deposits of the teachings from the ancient sage king Yu. Considering that all grotto-heavens were interconnected, it was likely that a small group of literati like Luo Yin began viewing the grotto-heaven landscapes as channels for approaching the knowledge of antiquity.

Although the grotto-heaven became loosely open for Luo Yin, that did not mean that it would remain open forever. By the last couplet of the third verse, he wrote:

> From now, the arcane words disappear.
> The grotto gate would be closed forever.
> 自此玄言絕，長應閉洞門。

Luo Yin did not intend to depict an eternally accessible grotto-heaven. What enabled him to access the ancient teachings stored in the cave was the Daoist master's guidance. Therefore, he took Lüqiu's intellectual property as the key to the grotto gate. From open to close, the gate's status depended on the existence of his teachings. As the master ascended, the gate was shut permanently to the mundane. Thus, Luo Yin's portrayal established Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven as the ideal location for probing hidden ancient wisdom through a Daoist approach. More essentially, he legitimized literati approaches to the grotto-heaven with his ambition of making Daoist knowledge a remedy for a crisis in Confucian ideology. This background endowed Feng Dezhi's return to the "rock grottoes" with a deeper meaning.

Master Feng returned with a mission. The preface of *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels, DZ 1032) provides additional information on what happened after the farewell banquet:

> (Emperor Zhenzong) took all of the Daoist scriptures stored in the imperial library and the precious stocks of Great Clarity (from the Great Clarity Temple in Weizhen Prefecture), and sent them to Yuhang Prefecture. He sent the present prefect and former

> Auxiliary Academician of the Bureau of Palace Secretariat Qi Lun (954–1021) and the Transport Commissioner and present Hanlin Academician Chen Yaozuo (963–1044), and selected Daoists, including Master Chongsu Zhu Yiqian and Feng Dezhi, to focus on the compilation and collation work. He also commanded them to compile a canon and present it to the emperor.
> 盡以秘閣道書、太清寶蘊出降於餘杭郡，俾知郡故樞密直學士戚綸、漕運使今翰林學士陳堯佐，選道士沖素大師朱益謙、馮德之等，專其修校，俾成藏而進之。[228]

This record tells of the imperially sponsored compilation of the first edition Song dynasty Daoist canon, *Baowen tonglu* 寶文統錄.[229] According to *Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀 (Annals of the Sage of Undifferentiated Beginning, DZ 770), the initial compilation began in 1009. In 1010, Wang Qinruo was appointed to lead the proofreaders in the Academies and Institutes for detailed emendation.[230] Wang's role as director of the project explains his presence at the banquet. The banquet thereby marks the change of the compilation location from the capital to Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven in Hangzhou, the center of the publishing industry in Jiangnan.

Notable here, and unprecedented, is the appointment of literati rather than Daoist masters as leading personnel of the Song canon compilation.[231] Besides Wang Qinruo as the chief, two literati, Qi Lun and Chen Yaozuo, led the group that departed for Grand Cleanse, and Master Feng Dezhi's name appeared only in the fourth place in the account quoted above.

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[228] *Taiqing baoyun* 太清寶蘊 (Precious Stocks of the Great Clarity) refers to the Tang dynasty manuscript version of the Daoist Canon stored in Zhenyuan Prefecture 真源县. See *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, p. 800.

[229] The compilation was completed in 1019. See in *Song shi*, 8.131.

[230] See *Hunyuan shengji*, vol. 9. Wang Qinruo also engaged deeply in Daoist learnings. Wang was also known for his confidence in his proficiency in Daoism. See *Song shi*, 283.6437.

[231] Ever since the categorization and collation of Daoist texts began in Eastern Jin (317-420), the main conductors of such projects had generally been distinguished Daoist masters. Literati only played subordinate roles with most of their names faded in history. See related introductions in Volume One and Two in *Zhongguo daojiao shi*.
However, literati began to play critical roles in helping the emperor compiling Daoist treatises. For such discussions, see Chen Guofu's *Daozang yuanliu kao*, pp. 108-109, and *Zhongguo daojiao shi*, p. 797.

Although it is unlikely that Qi Lun and Chen Yaozuo participated directly in the collation work, by listing the main participants in this way the records forcefully promote the impression that all participants shared a common literati identity.[232]

Bringing Daoist treatises together with Daoist masters also offered the Song literati a new chance to knock open the sealed grotto gate of Grand Cleanse once again. Chen Yaozuo, one of the two officials who accompanied Feng Dezhi back to the grotto-heaven, offers a sense of the grotto's openness in a set of four poems under the title "Dongxiao gong" 洞霄宮 (Dongxiao Temple). The second poem in the set reads:[233]

> At the entrance to the valley, I draw up my carriage and ascend the emerald mountainside.
> The palace of five-colored clouds throws open its golden gates.
> Not knowing where (the immortals) assemble to have an audience with the primordial,
> Just then I see the dragon and simurgh returning in a guard of honor.
> 谷口停驂上翠微，五雲宮殿闢金扉。
> 不知何處朝元會，恰見龍鸞隊仗歸。

In Chen Yaozuo's description, his entrance to the grotto was effortless: he was neither a ritual practitioner nor a hermit. All he did was disembark from his carriage and ascend the mountain, and the grotto gate opened to welcome him. The temple gazetteer, recording this event retrospectively, elaborates Chen Yaozuo's lines into a supernatural story to signify the grotto's sacredness:[234]

> In the fifth year of the Xiangfu reign (1012), the imperial commissioner Mister Bai, transport commissioner Mister Chen (Yaozuo), and officials of the prefectures and counties all came. …… Just when everyone was preparing the burner and incense, there were clouds of five colors rising from the cave, flying up to the heaven and permeating

[232] Although not elaborated in his book, Zhang Zhenqian summarizes Emperor Zhenzong's Daoist worship to be "centralized on literati," which resonates with my discussion of the Dongxiao and Daoist canon related affairs. See *Daojiao wenhua yu Songdai shige*, p. 18.

[233] *DXSJ*, 2.234. *QSS*, 97.1089.

[234] See in the entry "Xiangguang ting" 祥光亭 in *DXTZ*, 4.94-95.

down into the woods. Meanwhile, feathered men and their attending rides were all in the misty clouds as if immortal officials were having an audience at the Jade Capital.
祥符五年，中使白公、漕使陳公及州縣官皆至。……方秉爐灶香，忽有五色雲自洞中出，上直霄漢，下瀰漫林麓。 時羽人從騎皆在雲氣中，若仙官之朝玉京也。

It was said that Chen reported the miracle to Emperor Zhenzong, who was greatly pleased and granted the title Dongxiao to the temple. Although the miracle was likely fabricated, Chen's delineation suggests that the grotto-heaven's threshold had become lower for secular literati who accessed the Daoist knowledge stored inside.

Nonetheless, just like Luo Yin, Chen Yaozuo did not regard the grotto-heaven as fully accessible to the general literati crowd. In the last poem, he wrote:[235]

Rustling ruby trees are in front of the jade peak,
And for my love of peach blossoms, I enter the grotto-heaven.
By chance, I idly chase the rainbow banner for a hundred steps,[236]
yet worry that the mortal realm has many years lapsed.
蕭蕭紅樹碧峯前，為愛桃花入洞天。
偶逐霓旌纔百步，卻憂人世已經年。

The poem alludes to the legend of Liu Chen's and Ruan Zhao's visit to Mount Heavenly Terrace, another peach blossom story that by the late Tang had been integrated into the Peach Spring theme and grotto-heaven narratives.[237] Apart from the spatial segregation demarcated by peach trees, the grotto in this tale was temporally detached from the outside. By alluding to this tale, Chen reaffirmed that the magic spell sealing the immortal cave was not disturbed by his entrance. However, unlike the two protagonists, Chen was aware of the fast flow of

[235] *Ibid.*, p. 234. *QSS*, 97.1089.

[236] The line could allude to Han Wo's 韓偓 (844–923) line:
Is if from the entrance of the Peach Spring Grotto?
Vermillion knots and rainbow banners remain for a long time.
桃源洞口來否，絳節霓旌久留。
See in *QTS*, 683:57.

[237] For the story, see footnote 170 in Chapter One. Elements of the story mixed with Tao Yuanming's Peach Spring story during the Five Dynasties.

time outside. He presented himself as one who not only knew but worried about the time lapse. His adoption of the generic story pattern reflects that Chen, as a literatus, still chose to represent the grotto-heaven as an alien world, even though the gate to the grotto was already opened to secular literati like him.

II Wang Anshi, Su Shi, and the Rationalization of a Concrete Peach Spring

Just as Chen Yaozuo's last poem shows, poets from the earlier half of the eleventh century still followed the Tang models and rendered the Peach Spring as an extravagant immortal land. This impression of the immortal utopia was unchallenged until the theme came under the pen of Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086). In 1056, Wang Anshi composed his version of "Taoyuan xing" 桃源行 (Song of Peach Spring), which offers a groundbreaking interpretation that deconstructed the old tale:[238]

> Inside the Wangyi Palace, a stag is called a horse.
> Half of the Qin people died under the great wall.
> Those who retreated from the world were not only the elders of Mount Shang.
> There were also those who planted peaches at Peach Spring.
> Arrived in this place and planted peaches for several springs.
> Picking flowers, eating fruits, and taking branches as firewood.
>
> 望夷宮中鹿爲馬，秦人半死長城下。
> 避世不獨商山翁，亦有桃源種桃者。
> 此來種桃經幾春，採花食實枝爲薪。

[238] For the poem, see Li Bi 李壁 (1159–1222) annot., *Wang Jing Wen gong shi jianzhu* 王荊文公詩箋註 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), pp. 143-144. See also *QSS*, 539.6503. For the close analysis of the poem, see Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒. "How Could He be So Original in a Well-Established Genre Filled with Masterpieces—A Reading of Wang Anshi's Andante of the Peach Blossom Creek" 佳作如林的傳統主題如何推陳出新—讀王安石《桃源行》. *Chinese Literature and History* 1 (2020): 39-42.

The poem broaches the theme with an unusual beginning.[239] The renowned Tang imitators of the Peach Spring generally mentioned the retreat without stressing the social unrest, as if the refugees sought only transcendence. By succinctly recapitulating the original context of Tao Yuanming's Peach Spring poem, Wang emphasizes that what drove the commoners into seclusion was Qin's tyranny, thus setting the undertone for the poem. He also alluded to the famous hermits of Mount Shang to reinforce the impression that the refugees became recluses and led a primitive in isolation for decades:

> Sons and grandsons were born and grew up segregated from the outside world.
> Although practicing the etiquette of father and son, men do not form a ruler and minister relationship.
> 兒孫生長與世隔，雖有父子無君臣。

Based on the above context, Wang makes an unprecedented claim in the fourth couplet: the residents of the utopia were not the generation from the Qin dynasty who had achieved immortality, but their descendants leading an apolitical life. For the first time, the Peach Spring took off the transcendental veneer. The concept of recluse (*yin* 隱) also developed into an independent concept free from immortal implications.

> The fisherman, rippling the water with his boat, lost track of distance.
> Encountering in the blossoms, they were shocked, asking each other questions.
> On this world, how could (the fisherman) know that there used to be Qin?
> In the mountains, how could (the peach planters) expect that now it was already Jin?
> They heard that Chang'an was swept by the dusty winds of warfare.
> Against the spring breeze, they turned their faces away, wiping tears.
> How could the sage king Chonghua be back again after he was gone? [240]
> Generation after generation, how many eras like the Qin have people under Heaven undergone?

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[239] Wang's "Song of Peach Spring" was likely to be written under the same occasion when Mei Yaochen composed "Peach Blossom Spring poem" 桃花源詩 because both poems begin with the "calling stag as horse" anecdote, although Mei did not challenge the dwellers' immortal identity like Wang did. See Liu Chengguo. *Wang Anshi nianpu changbian* 王安石年譜長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018), pp. 379-380.

[240] Chonghua refers to the sage king Shun 舜.

漁郎漾舟迷遠近，花間相見驚相問。
世上那知古有秦，山中豈料今爲晉。
聞道長安吹戰塵，春風回首一霑巾。
重華一去寧復得，天下紛紛經幾秦。

In the following section, Wang shifts his focus to the fisherman, who learned from the hermits about the sorrowful era of the Qin and informed them of the vicissitudes of the outside world. The climax of the poem lies in the final quatrain. Through the conversation of the insiders and the outsider, the poet manifests an agonizing resonance between the past and present. The brutal repetition of history also compels the poet to contemplate beyond the times of Qin and Jin, arriving at a more distressing conclusion: without a sage ruler, the commoners, even including those of his days, must have lived in suffering.

The poem was composed three years before Wang Anshi submitted the famous "Shang Renzong huangdi yanshi shu" 上仁宗皇帝言事書 (Memorial Submitted to Emperor Renzhong), by which Wang proposed a systematic political reform. Striving to engage the sagely wisdom of the antiquity to direct the current governance, Wang made constant efforts to reflect the past against the status quo and to voice idiosyncratic insights from the literary past with a more pointed political concern.[241] His "Song of Peach Spring" is one of the works that reflect his anxiety about the country's sociopolitical crisis and his ambition to model after Shun and transform society after years of warfare with the Liao and Western Xia. Nevertheless, Wang Anshi's main purpose was not to argue that a Peach Spring with hermits

[241] Another widely discussed case is Wang Anshi's rendition of Wang Zhaojun's story in his "Song of the Radiant Consort" 明妃曲. Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1712–1814) in *Oubei shihua* offered a precise summary of Wang's style: "Jinggong was especially interested in making unconventional claims. It was his nature that made it so." 荊公專好與人立異，其性然也. See in *Oubei shihua* 甌北詩話 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1963), p. 166. About Wang Anshi's reform and its intellectual and historical context, see *"This Culture of Ours,"* pp. 212-253, and Zhao Dongmei 趙冬梅. *Dasong zhibian 1063–1086* 大宋之變 1063–1086 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2020).

really existed at an actual place during his time. His assumption was also not enough to shatter the firm belief in the inaccessible immortal utopia. However, his interpretation was a seed that inspired Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) to ponder this possibility.

Native to the Sichuan region, the cradle of religious Daoism, Su Shi had exposure to the Daoist teachings during his young age and was an aficionado of Daoism throughout his life.[242] His network with other learners of Daoism and the knowledge of the sacred Daoist landscapes offered him a better insight to elaborate Wang Anshi's perception of the Peach Spring story. In the preface to his poem "He Tao yaohuayuan bing yin" 和陶桃花源並引 (Matching Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Spring with preface"), Su Shi reiterated the potential existence of Peach Spring in the real world:[243]

> Popular legends about Peach Blossom Spring are usually overblown. If we examine Yuanming's record carefully, he only said that their ancestors came to that place to escape warfare at the end of the Qin. So those whom the fisherman met seemed to be their descendants, not some immortal people from the Qin. …… In my opinion, there are many places like this between heaven and earth, not just Peach Blossom Spring. When I was in Yingzhou, I once dreamt of arriving at an official building. The people there did not differ from those in our world, but the mountains and rivers formed a vista clear and vast, which was truly delightful. I looked back into the hall and found a tablet with the inscription "Mate Pool." Then I woke up. It occurred to me that Mate Pool used to be the homeland of the Di natives from Wudu, under the protection of Yang the Irresistible. How did I get there? The next day I asked my guests. A guest called Zhao Lingzhi (1061–1134), whose polite name was Delin, said: "Why should you ask, sir? This is a land of bliss adjunct to the Grotto-heaven of Lesser Holdings. Du Fu once said: 'The age-old cave on Mate Pool Mountain, secretly connects to the Lesser-Holdings-Heaven.'" Another day, Wang Qinchen (ca. 1034–1101), whose polite name was Zhongzhi, Vice Director in the Ministry of Works, told me: "Once on my return from an envoy trip, I passed by Mate Pool. It was fed by ninety-nine springs and surrounded by myriad mountains. It was truly a place to hide from the world, just like Peach Blossom Spring."

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[242] About Su Shi's relation to Daoism, a good reference is Zhong Laiyin's 鐘來茵 *Su Shi yu Daojia Daojiao*.

[243] The poem was written in 1096, see Su Shi, "He Tao 'Taohuayuan' bing yin" 和陶桃花源并引, *SSSJ*, 40.2196-98. *QSS*, 821.9531. The English translation of the complete work is a modified version of Zhiyi Yang's translation. See Yang, Zhiyi. "Return to an Inner Utopia: Su Shi's Transformation of Tao Yuanming in His Exile Poetry." *T'oung Pao* 99.4-5 (2013): 359-369.

世傳桃源事，多過其實。考淵明所記，止言先世避秦亂來此，則漁人所見，似是其子孫，非秦人不死者也。…… 嘗意天壤之間，若此者甚眾，不獨桃源。予在潁州，夢至一官府，人物與俗間無異，而山川清遠，有足樂者。顧視堂上，榜曰仇池。覺而念之，仇池武都，氐故地，楊難當所保，余何為居之。明日，以問客。客有趙令畤德麟者，曰:"公何為問此，此乃福地，小有洞天之附庸也。杜子美蓋云: '萬古仇池穴，潛通小有天。'"他日工部侍郎王欽臣仲至謂余曰: "吾嘗奉使過仇池，有九十九泉，萬山環之，可以避世，如桃源也。"

In the first sentence, Su Shi declares straightforwardly that the rumors of Peach Spring were exaggerations, echoing Wang Anshi's point that the dwellers were likely descendants of the Qin refugees. However, Su Shi focused neither on the dwellers' identity nor on the repetition of time. Instead, his main point had to do with the place and time of Peach Spring: he hypothesized that Peach Spring was not unique but was one of the "many places" that shared the same form.

This claim was probably a striking one to Su Shi's contemporaries, but he did not arrive at this argument without ground. To illuminate his rationale, he recalls a dream he had in around 1091, in which he traveled to Mate Pool. Initially, he is confused by the dream's omen because he understands Mate Pool in a historical context that has nothing to do with his personal experience. His friend, Zhang Lingshi, interprets the dream through a couplet in Du Fu's "Qinzhou zayong" 秦州雜詠 (Unclassified Poems from Qinzhou).[244]

Wudu, where Mate Pool was located, became part of Qinzhou during the Western Jin (266–316), so it is not surprising to see Du Fu chanting about Mate Pool during his stay in Qinzhou. The unusual thing is that Du imagined Mate Pool to be connected to Mount

[244] The quote is from "Qinzhou zayong" 秦州雜詠. See in Qiu Zhao'ao 仇兆鰲 (1638–1717) annot., *Du shi xiangzhu* 杜詩詳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), 7.584. I substituted the translation of this line with Stephen Owen's translation. See *The Poetry of Du Fu* (De Gruyter, 2015), 7.44, pp. 142-143. I also modified the translation of *xiaoyou* 小有 to Lesser Holdings because it is the counterpart of *dayou* 大有 (Great Holdings), a hexagram from the *Classic of Changes*. For the translation of *dayou*, see Lynn, Richard. *The Classic of Changes—A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (Columbia University Press, 2004), pp. 223-229.

Wangwu 王屋, which is an actual mountain located in Jiyuan 济源 (Source of Ji) and is believed to be connected upward to the transcendental realm.[245] The pivot of his couplet is the phrase "secretly connect" (*qiantong* 潛通), which hints at the imagination of the earth veins. Mount Wangwu is deeply bonded to the earth veins. The Taiyi Pool 太乙池 on the mountain top is the source of Ji River (*Jishui* 濟水), one of the "four water channels" (*sidu* 四瀆) amended by Yu the Great.[246] However, Qinzhou was thousands of miles away from Mount Wangwu. With the phrase "secretly connect," Du seemed to suggest that the grotto in Wangwu was connected to the Mate Pool through the earth veins regulated by Yu. In the last verse of the Qinzhou poems, he stated this point more explicitly:[247]

> I have heard of Yu's cave with its hidden writings,
> in reading accounts, I think back on Mate Pool.
> 藏書聞禹穴，讀記憶仇池。

Yu's cave and his hidden texts form a direct allusion to the legend that Yu hid the sacred teaching of flood control in a grotto-heaven.[248] In other words, Du's poem represented his

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[245] Mount Wangwu is in modern Shanxi and known as the "Heaven of Lesser Holding and Clarity and Void" 小有清虛之天. See Bai Juyi's *Baishi liutie shileiji*, 2.36a.
The reference for Mate Pool in Su Shi and Du Fu's interpretations are different. While Su Shi's knowledge could come from *Shuijing zhu*, there was also legends circulating during the Tang and Song period probably among locals of Qinzhou and Daoist adepts that Mate Pool marked one way to enter Mount Kunlun. See *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng*, 20.481.
For the Mate Pool legends, see the note by Zuke 祖可 in Su Shi, "Shuang shi bing xin" 雙石并敘, *SSSJ*, 35.1880.

[246] The concept of "four water channels" is first mentioned by *Erya* 爾雅 in the section titled 釋水 Ji Water is one of the four. The "four water channels" refer to Yangtze River, Yellow River, Huai River, and Ji River (*Jiang He Huai Ji* 江河淮濟). According to *Shuijing zhu*'s 水經註 quotation of Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276–324) words, the Ji River "secretly flows underground, extends to the south of Mount Gong, and reemerges at Eastern Hill" 潛行地下，至共山南，復出于東丘. See *Shuijing zhu*, p. 187.
Because the Ji River changed its channel and merged with the Yellow River, it was later substituted by the Han River. One of the early texts that mention the alternative four rivers is *Mencius*. When eulogizing Yu's achievement in reigning the flood, it writes: "The water, flowing through the ground, formed the Yangtze, the Huai, the Yellow River, and the Han" 水由地中行，江、淮、河、漢是也; see *Mengzi zhushu* 孟子註疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 6.177.

[247] *Du shi xiangzhu*, 7.588. See Owen's translation in *The Poetry of Du Fu*, 7.50, p. 149.

[248] Commentators had contending opinions about the location of "Yu's cave" in Du's words. However, their debates do not nullify the fact that Du Fu considered the grotto-heaven imaginations as related to Yu's legends.

general impression that the water and caves of Mate Pool belonged to the system of water channels from Yu's legacy.

Significantly, religious Daoist texts never mention that the Mate Pool was connected to Wangwu, so Su Shi was seemingly not drawing on Daoist knowledge in this preface. A year later, he acquired two rocks, one of which had a penetrating hole. Just as how the two Lake Tai rocks reminded Bai Juyi of the Huayang Grotto-heaven, Su Shi's rocks brought the Mate Pool dream back to his mind.[249] When enjoying the rocks with Wang Qinchen, he brought this topic up again. To his surprise, Wang told him that the Mate Pool was a real place that he had visited in person. More strikingly, he confirmed that Mate Pool's topography was similar to that of the Peach Spring.

Wang Qinchen's insight is worth ruminating over because he was known as a close student of the most revered Daoist master Chen Jingyuan 陳景元 (1025–1094).[250] It is to be expected that Su Shi trusted his knowledge of Daoist sacred geography. Wang's words suggested to Su Shi that the Mate Pool in his dream, Du Fu's transcendental Mate Pool that connects to Wangwu, and the real-world Mate Pool in Peach Spring form that Wang had visited might all refer to the same thing. If this was the case, a syncretic approach would also corroborate Su Shi's hypothesis: the concept of Peach Spring could denote all the sacralized landscapes in a similar form, and these landscapes were all interconnected. Since Mate Pool

[249] To commemorate the event, Su Shi composed a poem titled "Double Rocks" 雙石, which resonates with Bai Juyi's poem title for his Lake Tai rocks. It is worth noting that in this poem, Su did not mention about Wang Qinchen's story.

[250] Wang Qinchen had intimate relationship with one of the most influential Daoist master Chen Jingyuan 陳景元 during the eleventh century, so he was one of the literati who studied Daoism dedicatedly and could provide Su Shi reliable Daoist knowledge. See *Bishu luhua* 避暑錄話, 2.285 in Zhu Yi'an 朱易安, Fu Xuancong 傅璿琮 et al. eds. *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 2 *bian*, no. 10. Hereafter *QSBJ*.

and Mount Wangwu, both of which were confirmed as visitable landscapes, were all integrated under the system of grotto-heavens, the implication was that mythical Peach Spring must also have substantiated embodiments as a part of the grotto-heaven system. In other words, what became accessible to Su Shi and his fellow literati was not only one mythical mountain like the Mate Pool but a vast network of "Peach Springs" in all the significant mountains under Heaven.

This realization thrilled Su Shi. Not only did it break down the distinction between real-world landscapes and the fantasy of grotto-heavens, it offered him a better insight into Daoist ideas of the equality of things (*qiwu* 齊物) and free wandering (*xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊). He wrote the following lines in the matching poem to convey such thoughts:

> Commoners and sages do not differ in their residence;
> The pure and the foul share this same world.
> When my mind is idle, I catch an occasional glimpse;
> But when a single thought stirs, it vanishes like a flash.
> To find out where hides the Truth-Unity,
> You must abandon your six senses![251]
> Peach Blossom Spring is truly not far,
> Reachable by walking with a goosefoot stick while taking small rests.
> ……
> Though Ziji was segregated from it by his form,
> Yuanming already visited it with his mind.
> High mountains are not hard to cross;
> Shallow waters are trivial to wade.
> It is unknown that my Mate Pool,[252]

[251] This expression alludes to *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*. The original line states: "Reverse the flow to preserve the One; let the six senses stay in abandonment" 反流全一，六用不行. It resonates with the Daoist practice of mind purification. For the reference of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1924-32), vol. 19, 945.141.

[252] According to the *SSSJ*, the *Dongpo qiji* 東坡七集 version writes "It is unknown that my Mate Pool" 不知我仇池 while the Zhonghua shuju version adopts "It is not comparable to my Mate Pool" 不知我仇池. I do not think "not comparable" make sense because it does not connect to the question of "how many years" in the next line. Additionally, Su Shi expressed the idea of equality throughout the poem, so it is unlikely that he would consider Mate Pool to be superior that other grotto-heavens.

Has raised high above for how many years!
Where life and death are always treated equal;
And lately, the foolish and the clever have also become the same.
The Calamus Gully is the domain of Scholar Anqi;[253]
Mount Luofu is the territory of Zhichuan.[254]
In dreams I follow their roaming;
The encounter of our spirits shall clear my delusions!
Peach blossoms fill an entire court;
A flowing stream outside of the door.
Now I laugh at those who escaped the Qin despot–
They still had fears–my true kindred spirits they were not!

凡聖無異居，清濁共此世。心閑偶自見，念起忽已逝。
欲知真一處，要使六用廢。桃源信不遠，杖藜可小憩。
……
子驥雖形隔，淵明已心詣。高山不難越，淺水何足厲。
不知我仇池，高舉復幾歲。從來一生死，近又等癡慧。
蒲澗安期境，羅浮稚川界。夢往從之遊，神交發吾蔽。
桃花滿庭下，流水在戶外。卻笑逃秦人，有畏非真契。

In the poem, Su Shi broached a critical topic that he did not elaborate in the preface: his rationalization of divinity (*shen* 神) in Tao Yuanming's original work vis-à-vis the equalization of the illusory sacred realm and the concrete mundane world. Deconstructing his Tang predecessors' supposition of an immortal realm required that he reinterpret the term *shen*. Perhaps enlightened by his experience with Mate Pool, which centered on his dream and belief, Su Shi entertained the doubleness of *shen*, which refers to both "spirit" as a deity and as the mental force of man.

Su Shi also referred to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343), whom he revered as his soulmate from the past. Ge wrote extensively in the Inner Chapters of *Baopuzi* on how to refine spirit,

[253] Su Shi added a comment to this line: "This is at Guangzhou" 在廣州. Changpu jian 菖蒲澗 is where the immortal Anqi sheng 安期生 transcended.

[254] Zhichuan refers to Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343), who secluded to Mount Luofu and was believed to transcend from there.

mind, and heart in the mountains. For example, in the chapter "Ming ben" 明本 (Clarifying the Basic), he wrote:[255]

> It is not that the Way exists in the mountains and forests, but those cultivate the Way are obliged to enter mountains and forests, because they must get far away from the fetid stink of society and enjoy the purity of these secluded places. He who enters the nine chambers to cultivate (the preservation of) thought, and those who preserve Truth-Unity to summon the gods, do this because no pleasure is taken in shrill noises and association with the soiled and noisome.
> 山林之中非有道也，而為道者必入山林，誠欲遠彼腥膻，而即此清淨也。夫入九室以精思，存真一以招神者，既不喜諠譁而合污穢。

Su Shi read Ge Hong's works attentively during his exile in Huizhou.[256] He internalized Ge Hong's theory and made the method for cultivating Truth-Unity the basis for equalizing the sacred and the mundane. The method centers on the purification of mind and results in the unification of gods and the practitioner's spirit. This process became the prerequisite for the practitioner's spiritual travel in sacred mountains.

Thinking of Daoist spiritual roaming, Su Shi speculated that Tao Yuanming's travel to the grotto-heaven of Peach Spring was probably not difficult, regardless of the height of the mountains or the depth of the waters. The thought also gave Su Shi hope to travel by spirit freely from the sacred landscape like Mount Luofu, the grotto-heaven located next to the place of his exile.[257] However, Su Shi's travel did not only concern the spirit aspect. It is worth noting that Su Shi's spirit travel was different from those free wanderers like Sun Chuo in the previous times, who considered the space for their roaming as alien and transcendent.

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[255] *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi*, pp. 187. This is a modified translation based on James R. Ware's interpretation. See James R. Ware's *Alchemy, Medicine, and Religion in the China of AD 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung* (MIT Press, 1966), p. 171. "Nine chambers" in the Daoist terminology refers to the brain area.

[256] Yuan, Lang 袁朗, "Ge Hong *Baopuzi* jieshou yanjiu" 葛洪《抱樸子》接受研究 (The Research of the Reception of Ge Hong's Baopuzi) (East China Normal University, Ph.D. diss.2015), pp. 305-308.

[257] Mount Luofu is the seventh grotto-heaven and the thirty second auspicious place in the grotto-heaven system.

Su Shi stressed that his travel was in "this same world" (*cishi* 此世) where his physical self was bonded. Holding the faith in the equality of things, he equalized the lands marginal in the imperial perspective but quintessential in the Daoist worldview with places conventionally considered as worldly.

In this sense, the hermits of Peach Spring, who were driven by fear, did not live up to the Daoist ideal of a free mind and therefore could not be Su Shi's true companion. In Su Shi's opinion, the Peach Spring was neither a backward and miserable refuge nor a soteriological space disconnected to the outside. Nor was it a fantasized and suspended space symbolizing the philosophical ideal of non-action. He embraced the grotto-heaven landscapes as part of the concrete literati world and celebrated their interconnectedness and sociability on the basis of pure knowledge, beyond resources and politics.

By composing the matching poem, Su Shi demonstrated a more profound and personalized understanding of the system of grotto-heaven geography. A latent reason that motivated him to render grotto-heavens as substantiated and approachable places was made manifest in two couplets from "Ciyun Gao yaoling Liu Shi Xiashan si jianji" 次韻高要令劉湜峽山寺見寄 (Answering the Poem by Matching the Rhyme of Liu Shi, the Magistrate of Gaoyao, at Xiashan Temple):[258]

> Mate Pool has ninety-nine springs,
> Mount Shaoshi of Mount Song has thirty-six peaks.
> (Mate Pool has ninety-nine springs. I used to visit it in a dream and wrote a poem. Ziyou recently bought lands near Yangdi, which outlooks Mount Song and is very close.)
> Heavenly beings and the mundane share the same dream.

[258] The poem was also composed in 1096. See Su Shi, "He Tao 'Ciyun Gaoyao ling Liu Shi Xiashan si jianji" 次韻高要令劉湜峽山寺見寄, *SSSJ*, 40.2188-90. *QSS*, 821.9529.

Immortals and mortals do not have separate registers.
仇池九十九，嵩少三十六。
（仇池有九十九泉，予嘗夢至，有詩。子由近買田陽翟，北望嵩山，甚近。）
天人同一夢，仙凡無兩錄。

Su Shi annotated the first couplet to remind readers of his connection to the Mate Pool and of the fact that his brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112) had recently settled near Mount Song.[259] Because Mount Song was also a grotto-heaven, the Mate Pool was theoretically connected to it.[260] In other words, the interconnected grotto-heavens became a tunnel that could free him from the place of banishment and transport him to his brother's place. He probably also believed that his brother was able to travel from Mount Song to his place likewise. In the same dream of free wandering, the brothers could unit in the grotto-heavens, no matter where they were. Driven to relate his own location to the places he longed for, Su Shi represented the grotto-heavens with a sense of concreteness and underscored their connectedness.

Besides Mate Pool, Mount Luofu, and Mount Song, another grotto-heaven that Su Shi wrote about was Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, a concrete grotto-heaven he visited during his appointment at Hangzhou. In 1098, he recalled his trips in an anecdote he wrote about Guo Wen 郭文 (ca. fourth century), a legendary Daoist master who became a recluse in Grand Cleanse and befriended Ge Hong.[261] At the end of the anecdote, he wrote:[262]

> I used to govern Qiantang Prefect. I traveled to Mount Nine Locks in Yuhang and visited Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, which was Master Guo (Wen)'s former hermitage. The grotto was huge, and had an enormous gully, which was unfathomably deep. It is said that there used to be imperial orders to conduct casting dragon ceremonies.

[259] Su Che also mentioned in "Buju fu" 卜居賦 that he purchased land at Yingchuan.

[260] Mount Song is the sixth lesser grotto-heaven in the grotto-heaven system.

[261] Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648), et al. *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 94,64:2440-2441.

[262] *Dongpo Zhilin* 東坡志林, 4.96 in *QSBJ*, 1 *bian*, no. 9.

予嘗監錢塘郡，遊餘杭九鎖山，訪大滌洞天，即郭生之舊隱。洞大，有巨壑，深不可測，蓋嘗有勅使投龍簡云。

Although Su Shi wrote several poems about the place during his two appointments, he never referred to it as a grotto-heaven.[263] In his earlier poems, grotto-heavens generally denote the transcendental realm rather than a concrete place. It was not until his encounter with Mate Pool that he could finally accept that the mountains of Grand Cleanse that he visited were indeed a grotto-heaven.

Compared to his predecessors, Su Shi took a step further in extending literati access to grotto-heavens in the poetic world. Be it Bai Juyi, who found the sacred grotto in his Lake Tai rocks, or Luo Yin, who entered a grotto-heaven to save the world, earlier poets had portrayed the grotto-heaven largely as one elusive space reserved for the approach of one secular yet extraordinary individual. However, Su Shi's works from the last decade of his life paint a different picture: the grotto-heavens were associated directly with many real landscapes, including that of Grand Cleanse, and some were even within the reach of secular literati. Additionally, as the sacred landscapes constituted a shared space that brought the Su brothers and their friends together, the concrete grotto-heavens also became accessible for all like-minded literati.

[263] See *DXSJ*, 2.236-237. *QSS*, 791.9186; 794.9219; 814.9439.

III Let the Grotto Gate Open Wide: Revelation of Grand Cleanse

One year before Su Shi passed away, the emperor known for his obsession with Daoism, Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1126), ascended the throne. Since the capital at Kaifeng was not close to sacred peaks, the emperor constructed a private imperial garden called the Northeast Marchmount (Genyue 艮嶽) to add a peak to his residence, making it a place of a "superior form" (*xingsheng* 形勝) suitable for immortals and sages.[264] According to the "Account on the Florescent Solarity Palace" 華陽宮記 by Zuxiu 祖秀 (ca. 12th century), the artificial landscape brought together many Lake Tai rocks and included an artificial grotto-heaven mountain called Jade Green Vacuity (*bixu* 碧虛).[265] Its existence symbolizes the mountain's connections to and control over the myriad mountains in Huizong's empire. In addition, Huizong took care to arrange his "original destiny" (*benming* 本命) worship at multiple grotto landscapes.[266]

After the fall of the Norther Song, countless people were uprooted from the lands where they had been dwelling for generations and relocated to territories that had formerly been sites of banishment. Even the capital was moved from Kaifeng to Hangzhou, the city that had received Su Shi in exile. The removal to the south entailed a geographical reorientation. Most

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[264] See "Account on the Northeast Marchmount" 艮嶽記 by Emperor Huizong collected in Wang Mingqing 王明清 (ca. 1127–1202). *Huichen houlu* 揮麈後錄, 2.91-96 in *QSBJ*, 6 *bian*, no. 1.
For a survey of the Northeast Marchmount, see Hargett, James M. "Huizong's Magic Marchmount: The Genyue Pleasure Park of Kaifeng." *Monumenta Serica* 38.1 (1988): 1-48.
Patricia Buckley Ebrery in her latest work on Emperor Huizong also offered historical insight in the construction of the Northwest Marchmount. See *Emperor Huizong*, pp. 273-278.

[265] Florescent Solarity Palace is another name of the garden. See section 8a of the translated version of this account in "Huizong's Magic Marchmount," p. 40.

[266] There is yet a systematic study on Huizong's original destiny palaces and their relation to the sacred landscape. According to my preliminary survey of *Nanyue zongsheng ji* and *Dongxiao tuzhi*, Mount Heng, also known as Crimson Mount Grotto-heaven, and Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven constructed Huizong's original destiny palace.

elites settled in the vicinity of actual grotto-heaven mountains for the first time in their lives. Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, located only eighteen *li* away from Hangzhou, naturally attracted much attention. Dongxiao Temple was renovated under imperial support and received visits from several emperors.[267]

From the literati perspective, the Grand Cleanse gradually developed into a relatable site for literati retreat. Besides knowing of it as one of the sites for the imperial casting dragon ceremony, many literati had read about it in literary works, including Su Shi's poems. Therefore, by the beginning of the twelfth century the landscape came to be understood as a grotto-heaven neither restricted to the transcendental deities nor built as an extravagance for members of the imperial family. Additionally, the grotto-heaven was associated with the sinecure position of Supervisor of Dongxiao Temple (*tiju Dongxiao gong* 提舉洞霄宮), which was granted to many high officials during the Southern Song. The following section will focus on the poets' efforts in naming the sites to evoke their memories from past and narrating their travel experiences to record the present.

(1) Imprinting Literati Memories: Revealing Grotto-heaven Through Naming

Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was a site imbued with a Daoist legacy before literati wandered into it. Most of the old landmarks were labeled after traces of legendary Daoist figures and local miracles. Associated with the Mount Mao tradition, the landscape received the most eminent masters, including Xu Mai 許邁 (ca. fourth century), Wu Yun 吳筠 (d.

[267] Dongxiao Temple underwent renovation funded by the state treasury with the support of Gaozong and the empress dowager. It was also awarded as the site for imperial rain praying ceremony.

778), Ye Fashan 葉法善 (616–722), and Lüqiu Fangyuan 閭丘方遠. Among the more notable examples are: Mount White Deer (*bailu shan* 白鹿山), named after the anecdote of Xu Mai, who achieved transcendence with white deer on the top of the hill; Stone Chamber Grotto (*shishi dong* 石室洞), the shelter of Wu Yun, who hid his book and sword in the cave; a lecture hall founded by Ye Fashan; and Xuantong Bridge (*xuantong qiao* 玄同橋) and Immortal Assembly Pavilion (*juxuan ting* 聚仙亭), built by Lüqiu Fangyuan.[268]

As literati roamed into Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, they contributed to the creation and designation of new landmarks. There was a common belief in the significance of the place nominalization. In the Confucian tradition, name (*ming* 名), corresponding with essential qualities of a thing, is considered the counterpart to reality (*shi* 實), the representation of substantial manifestation.[269] Based on this context, Richarg E. Strassberg considers the imperative to manifest reality as the fundamental drive motivating place-naming and inscription.[270] Yang Xiaoshan furthered this point by stressing authors' personal concerns and arguing that place-naming could serve as a device to perpetuate authors' fame.[271] Moreover, Stephen Owen approaches this subject by way of the relationship between things and the self and asserts that naming is a gesture to claim possession of the

[268] See the records of the mentioned sites in *juan* 1-3 in *DXTZ.*

[269] See the point argued in Makeham, John. "Names, Actualities, and the Emergence of Essentialist Theories of Naming in Classical Chinese Thought." *Philosophy East and West* 41, no. 3 (1991): 341.

[270] See Richard E. Strassberg's *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*, p. 21.

[271] Yang Xiaoshan in his discussion of the late Tang landscape essays argues that the act of place naming in Yuan Jie and Liu Zongyuan's essays was meant for establishing personal fame. See Yang, Xiaoshan. "Naming and Meaning in the Landscape Essays of Yuan Jie and Liu Zongyuan." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (2000): 82-96.

named object.[272] Additionally, Cong Ellen Zhang refers to Su Shi's case to emphasize the local effort to preserve certain cultural memories.[273] The above observations provide an overview of some fundamental cultural factors at work in the practice of place designation.

However, when it comes to the Daoist places, literati naming activities became more complicated. Two principles deserve attention in our analysis of their naming in the grotto-heaven landscape. First, Daoist teachings stigmatize the desire for personal fame and material obsession. The Daoist domain of Grand Cleanse also embodied this value, as the gazetteer noted:[274]

> For those who let their passions run free and are obsessed with desires, how could they know that there are Clarity and Tranquility to revere? For those who aspire for achievement and fame, how could they believe that there are deity and immortals to learn from?
> 馳情嗜欲者，豈知有清靜可宗？ 抗志功名者，豈信有神仙可學？

Second, grounded in a similar effort to pinpoint reality or, in Daoist terms, true form, the coinage or chanting of supernatural beings' correct names in Daoist rituals would enable practitioners to summon and control otherwise elusive supernatural beings.[275] The naming of landscape features was thus an action to manifest the true form of the place. I argue that the naming of landscape features with labels significant to literati created connections between men of letters and the Daoist mountains of the "other" world; the names also made the

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[272] See Owen, Stephen. *All Mine!: Happiness, Ownership, and Naming in Eleventh-century China* (Columbia University Press, 2021).

[273] See Chapter 8 in Cong Ellen Zhang's *Transformative Journeys*.

[274] *DXTZ*, 1.24.

[275] For studies on this matter, see the articles by Gil Raz and Poul Andersen: Raz, Gil. "Time Manipulation in Early Daoist Ritual: The East Well Chart and the Eight Archivists." *Asia Major* (2005): 27-65; and Andersen, Poul. "Talking to the Gods: Visionary Divination in Early Taoism (The Sanhuang Tradition)." *Taoist Resources* 5, no. 1 (1994): 1-24.
For a close look on the summoning rituals in the Song dynasty, see Chapter Five and Eight in Edward L. Davis's *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

landscape with its esoteric culture more intelligible and relatable to groups beyond the Daoist circle.

Since Su Shi was one of the most revered literati among the Grand Cleanse visitors, in the following discussion we will focus on incidents of place-naming related to him to examine what the new names for grotto-heaven sites meant for literati. Su Shi's life intersected with Hangzhou twice. The first time was when Su felt disheartened by the Prime Minister Wang Anshi's reform policies and asked to leave the capital. He ended up serving as Assistant Prefect in Hangzhou from 1071 to 1074. The following poem "Dongxiao gong" 洞霄宮 (Dongxiao Temple) by Su records a gathering with six local officials at Dongxiao Temple during his first appointment at Hangzhou:[276]

> The superior Thearch while residing in the empyrean is compassionate towards the stubborn mundane,
> Therefore, he leaves a jade palace to the secular world.
> The Nine Lock emerald mountains are not easily approachable,
> Those who got up are seven people who are sitting leisurely together.
> A running stream flows under the hall like a dancing emerald dragon, [277]
> Inside the cave there are flying bats fluttering like white crows. [278]
> Aged pine trees and bizarre rocks are beneficial for my frosty grey temples,
> I no longer need the golden elixir to strenuously retain my youthful appearance.
>
> 上帝高居湣世頑，故留瓊館在凡間。
> 青山九鎖不易到，作者七人相對閑。
> 庭下流泉翠蛟舞，洞中飛鼠白鴉翻。
> 長松怪石宜霜鬢，不用金丹苦駐顏。

[276] See the poem in *SSSJ*, 10.503. *DXSJ*, 2.236. *QSS*, 791.9186.

[277] It probably alludes to Du Mu's 杜牧 (803–852) line "The water glisters as it quivers in the wind, like a piece dancing emerald silk" 颭艷翠綃舞 in "Nongshui ting" 弄水亭. See *QTS*, 520:44.

[278] It alludes to Li Bo's line "The immortal bats are like white crows, dangling down towards the moon in the clear stream" 仙鼠如白鴉，倒懸清溪月 in "Da zuzhi seng zhongfu Yuquan xianrenzhang cha" 答族侄僧中孚贈玉泉仙人掌茶 in *LBQJ*, 8.763-64. *QTS,*178:37.

As mentioned earlier, Su Shi had not yet at this time developed a special sentiment towards the grotto-heaven. His chanting focused on his enjoyment with six friends in the landscape away from the capital. “Those that got up are seven people” alludes to “There were seven who got up” (*zuozhe qiren* 作者七人) in Book XIV of *The Analects*.[279] In the original text, Confucius refers to “the worthy men who shun the world” (*xianzhe bishi* 賢者避世). By this allusion, Su Shi not only comments on the difficulties of climbing Mount Nine Locks but also implies his intention to maintain his virtue by “shunning the world” disturbed by cliques and conflicts. The poet also borrowed Du Mu’s line describing a stream and a line of Li Bo’s portraying caves. Freed from anxiety and worries, he felt that he could attain longevity in the mountains, just like those who entered the Peach Spring and enjoyed an extended life there.

The time Su Shi spent at the grotto-heaven was transient, but his poems, especially the piece above, were transformed into the names of local sites in the Southern Song and were passed down in later usage. According to *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer*, the cliff where the seven literati gathered was named “Worthies Assembly Cliff” (*laixian yan* 來賢岩), and the pavilion next to it became “Benefit the Frost Grey Pavilion” (*yishuang ting* 宜霜亭).[280] The line “a running stream flows under the pavilion like a dancing emerald dragon” also furnished the name of “Dancing Emerald Pavilion” (*wucui ting* 舞翠亭). Later, when Gong Feng 鞏豐 (1148–1217) visited Dongxiao in the company of the then administrator of the temple, Wang Siming 王思明 (ca. twelfth century), he commented that “Dancing Emerald” sounded rather

[279] See the original line in Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed. and annot., *Lunyu zhushu* 論語註疏 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), p. 200. The English translation is by D. C. Lau. See *Confucius: The Analects* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000), pp.144-145.

[280] *DXTZ*, 4.88.

perplexing, and it was better to name it straightforwardly as "Emerald Dragon Pavilion" (*cuijiao ting* 翠蛟亭). Wang happily accepted the suggestion and changed the name of the pavilion.[281]

Textual analysis tools offer us a direct view of the rise of Su Shi's influence on place-making and naming in post-Tang *Dongxiao Anthology* poems.[282] A comparison of the place names catalogued in the temple gazetteer with those found in the poems of *Dongxiao Anthology* reveals the frequency with which Song poets mentioned the exact names in their poems.[283] Results show that of the 190 names of sites found in the catalogue and maps in the temple gazetteer, 45 places are directly mentioned in a total of 231 textual locations. In the 198 post-Tang poems from the *Dongxiao Anthology* in the Zhida period (1308–1311) temple gazetteer, 98 poems (titles excluded) include at least one mention of a place name.[284] The chart below (Chart 1) demonstrates the most frequently mentioned places:

[281] *DXSJ*, 3.263.

[282] The digital analysis was conducted with the help by David Shepard at UCLA Scholarly Innovation Lab. Due to technical limitations, the analysis did not count the indirect allusions to places. The calculation also excludes ambiguous terms, for example "perching in perfection" (*qizhen* 棲真), which refers to both the name of a site and the status of cultivation.

[283] The temple gazetteer referred to is *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記, the earliest extant temple gazetteer according to research, which should be more approximate to reflect the Song Yuan temple condition. Since mentioning the subject place in the title was a common practice in pre-Song landscape poetry, the test conducted here only focused on the main part of poems without taking titles into the analysis. For a study of the bibliography of the text and its relation to *DXTZ*, see the appendix.

[284] Compared to the Tang poems in the same anthology, only two out of twenty-two poems mentioned place names (*Dadi* and *Shishi*). Although the number of Tang poems dedicated to the Dongxiao landscape is scarce, the contrast of the percentage is remarkable.

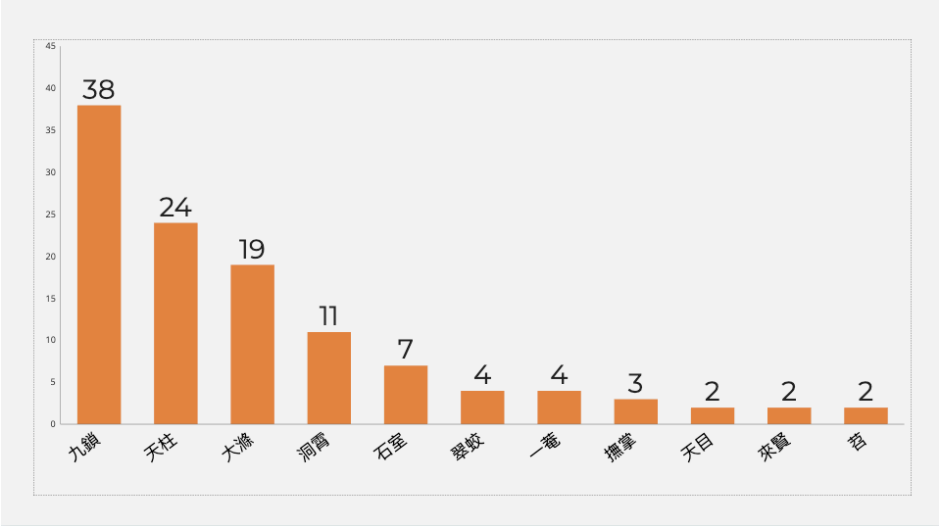

Chart 1　Frequency of Place Names in *Dongxiao Anthology*

As shown on the chart, the top five names are: Nine Locks (*jiusuo* 九鎖, 38 times), which refers to Mount Nine Locks (*jiusuo shan* 九鎖山), the entrance of Dongxiao Grotto-heaven; Heavenly Pillar (*tianzhu* 天柱, 24 times), or Mount Heaven Pillar, the main peak of this area and the fifty-seventh auspicious place; Grand Cleanse (*dadi* 大滌, 19 times); Dongxiao 洞霄 (9 times), the name of the temple; and Stone Chamber (*shishi* 石室, 7 times), which can be either Stone Chamber Grotto or Mount Stone Chamber, and later also became the name of a pavilion. These sites highlight the religious significance of the place: Nine Lock and Heavenly Pillar denote the landscape's sacredness and its connection to Mount Kunlun 昆侖, the axis-mundi;[285] Grand Cleanse marks the key grotto worshipped as part of the grotto-heaven system; and Dongxiao and Stone Chamber reflect the Daoist legacy.

[285] The *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer* writes that there are eight pillars under the heaven, and that the central state has three of them. The Heaven Pillar Mountain is believed to be one of the three, hence is especially important. Meanwhile, the idea that this pillar links up the heaven with the grotto resonates with what Sima Chengzhen defines as the essential function of a grotto-heaven: being able to reach up to the Heaven (*tongtian* 通天). See *DXTZ*, pp. 64-65. The reason why Mount Nine Locks attracted the most attention and its religious connotations will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Besides the sites that signified the grotto-heaven status of the landscape, it is intriguing to see the rise of a new interest in the place names. Notably, Emerald Dragon Pavilion (*cuijiao ting* 翠蛟亭, 4 times) and Worthies' Assembly Cliff (*laixian yan* 來賢岩, 2 times), the sites named after the Su Shi poem, also appear in the chart. Moreover, One Hut (*yi'an* 一菴, 3 times), a temple lodge that was mentioned in Su Shi's two other poems about Grand Cleanse, also appears. These poems were brought to the then abbot Gong Wenhuan 龔文煥 (ca. 13th century) by Jia Xuanweng 家鉉翁 (ca. 1213–1297) in 1270. Since in both poems Su Shi expressed the same wish to retreat to a hut in Grand Cleanse, Master Gong picked the term to name the lodge where Jia lived.[286]

While places related to Su Shi's legacy developed as new hot spots, Stone Chamber Grotto was the only one among the earlier listed places that celebrated great masters. Still, the fame of this name was due not only to Wu Yun's legacy but also to the presence of a latter-day hermit named Lu Weizhi 陸維之 (ca. 12th century), who lived in seclusion in the same cave and was well connected to the literati visitors. If Lu were not part of the local literati network, the site could have gone into oblivion like the other sites commemorating past Daoist masters. In other words, literati visitors valued the sites connected to their cultural and social interests. As literati and local priests collaborated in impressing Su Shi and other outstanding poets' traces on the grotto landscape, these landmarks also turned into lighthouses that guided literati to experience the grotto-heaven following his steps.

[286] See in the paratext under Su Shi's two poems in *DXSJ*, 3.237-238.

Among them, Sima You 司馬櫰 (1091 *jinshi*) lamented Su Shi during his visit:[287]

Lifting up the petals and treading along the stream, I gently probe for the fragrance.
I idly follow the lonely cloud into the emerald green mountains.
Entering deep into Nine Locks, the view becomes more splendor.
The seven people who sit together must have enjoyed a long conversation.
After a hundred years, one faces vanity while dust ages.
In the fifth month, I diverted myself by relaxing in the cool grotto.
How laughable the arrogant Daoist priest of River Qian is![288]
Never had he encountered the jade chamber and golden palace.

撩花踏水細尋香， 閒逐孤雲入翠崗。
九鎖已深看更好， 七人相對話應長。
百年空向塵埃老， 五月聊乘洞府凉。
可笑潜川狂道士， 未逢玉室與金堂。

When Sima You visited Grand Cleanse after he was appointed to Hangzhou, Su Shi had probably already passed away. Proceeding along the same route that Su Shi once traversed, he passed Mount Nine Locks and stopped by the Worthies' Assembly Cliff. The absence of the worthy man reminded him of Wang Changling's lines in a farewell poem, in which Wang "holding each other's hands, encouraging that: 'you shall not age with the dust.'" 把手相勸勉，不應老塵埃.[289] However, Su Shi was gone and the dust had settled, leaving Sima alone in the landscape thinking of him. Immersed in the sorrow of his loss, Sima bitterly mocked the self-styled arrogant Daoist priest who found neither the grotto palace depicted in legends nor the recognition of the imperial palace.

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[287] The poem is titled "You Jiusuo" 遊九鎖. *Ibid.*, 3.243. *QSS*, 1271.14388.

[288] Su Shi referred to himself as an arrogant Daoist priest twice in his poems. The first time was in a poem written on Yang Kanggong's (1065 *jingshi*) rock in 1085, the year after he left Huangzhou. He saw the shape of the rock as a grotto-heaven that trapped a monkey, so he compared himself to the monkey, which transformed into a mad priest but was fettered inside the rock. It was clearly a metaphor that reflected the Crow Terrace Poetry Case (*wutai shian* 烏台詩案) that marked the turning point of Su Shi's life. For details of the event, see Hartman, Charles. "Poetry and Politics in 1079: The Crow Terrace Poetry Case of Su Shih." *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 12 (1990): 15-44.
In the second mention, the priest alluded to a possibly fabricated priest named Xuanyuan Miming 軒轅彌明, who outsmarted two literati in a linking verse competition.
See "Yang Kanggong youshi, zhuangru zui daoshi, wei fu cishi" 楊康功有石，狀如醉道士，為賦此詩 in *SSSJ*, 26.1375-1376. *QSS*, 807.9368; and "Ciyun Liu Jingwen deng Jie ting" 次韻劉景文登介亭 in *SSSJ*, 32.1699-1702. *QSS*, 813.9429.

[289] *QTS*, 140:25.

There were also many who chanted about their pilgrimage to the Emerald Dragon Pavilion and regarded it as the place that enshrined Su Shi's spirit.[290] The sentiment was also shared among the Daoist masters at Dongxiao. Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194–1229), the leading figure of the Southern Lineage Daoism, ended his poem on his visit to Grand Cleanse with the following couplet:[291]

> I heard that Immortal Po's poem and calligraphy are still here,
> And I invite you to have a sit together in Emerald Dragon Pavilion.
> 見說坡仙詩墨在，約君同坐翠蛟亭。

Therefore, place names derived from the works of great literati like Su Shi became anchorages that offered later literati visitors who had never been to the grotto-heaven positions to fit their shared memories and relate to the Daoist landscape. This positioning would in turn make the grotto-heaven more culturally encompassing for a wider range of secular literati.

(2) Narrating an Actual Mountains and Trips in Travel Poem

Southern Song poetic representations of actual grotto-heavens also brought changes to older grotto-heaven motifs. Poets began engaging their fresh perception of the mountains and streams to rewrite old tales of grotto-heavens, thereby creating a palimpsest in which utopia and the substantiated landscape were fused.

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[290] According to the Yuan dynasty temple gazetteer, a statue of Su Shi was erected behind the pavilion. See *DXTZ*, 1.45.

[291] *Ibid*., 6.197. *QSS*, 3139.37681.

One of the Southern Song poets who alluded to this motif, Li Yanzhong 李延忠 (fl. 13th century), wrote the following lines in his "You Dadi" 遊大滌 (Visiting Grand Cleanse):[292]

> The limpid stream path enters the Wuling source.
> Fowls, dogs, and homes of people are separated off in the neighboring village.
> Rising abruptly from the ground is a peak lofty like a pillar.
> Perching in clouds, five caves narrowly open their gates.
> 清溪路入武陵源，雞犬人家隔近村。
> 拔地一峯危作柱，棲雲五洞窄開門。

At first blush, the couplets seem to be merely a reproduction based on the preface to Tao Yuanming's "Peach Blossom Spring." Just as in the peach blossom story, Li Yanzhong mentions a stream with its source at Wuling, and as follows the stream to its source he finds chickens and dogs and a lively small village. A closer look at the first couplet shows that the poet made some witty alterations: instead of following the original story to describe a stream flanked by peach trees, the poet depicts a "limpid stream path" (*qingxi lu* 清溪路), hence making the scene ambiguous as readers are unsure whether the line is describing a waterway, a walkway, or the two meandering together side by side. Additionally, there is neither a peach grove nor a cave to mark the portal between the stream and the village. At this point, readers may begin to wonder whether the poem is just a slavish copy of the "Peach Blossom Spring" or not. In the next couplet, the poet turns his attention to a pillar-like peak and then mentions the five caves. If he were referring to the mountain at the spring source and the "small opening in the mountain" in "Peach Blossom Spring," Li Yanzhong would have done better to write about the mountain and the cave and then pass through the cave to discover the

[292] *DXSJ*, 3.259. *QSS*, 2673.31436.

village described in the second line. Additionally, the mountain changes into a steep one and the number of caves is multiplied to five.

The alteration shows that the poet intentionally swapped the narrative sequence and effaced some original descriptions to make room for a palimpsest based on realistic delineation of the Grand Cleanse landscape. Bearing in mind the assumption that Li's poem is about the real landscape, the underlying meaning begins to become clear. The poet first walks along the winding path that starts from River Tiao and leads to Dongxiao Temple. Along the path is the stream that originates from Mount Tianzhu, so he calls it "limpid stream path" (See Figure 5). Before reaching the temple site, he passes by Xiawu 下塢 village and sees some local residents and their livestock.[293] After proceeding for a while, Li finally sees Mount Heavenly Pillar rising in front of him. During his visit, Li also saw the five caves that were deemed sacred in the Dongxiao mountain range. "Perching in clouds" (*qiyun* 棲雲) combines Perching in Perfection Grotto (*qizhen dong* 棲真洞) and Returning Clouds Grotto (*guiyun dong* 歸雲洞), two caves among the five.

[293] According to local gazetteers, Dongxiao temple was granted lands by the Song court for multiple times. Textual records write about the scene of farm fields and livestock near the temple. For detailed descriptions, see Hong Zikui 洪諮夔 (1176-1236) "Record of Benefactor Granting Fields 檀越施田記" in *DXTZ*, 6.178-81.

Figure 5　Path in Mount Nine Locks beside a stream flowing down from Mount Tianzhu. Photo (left) taken in Winter 2016 by Yang Xi 楊曦 from Hangzhou Archeology Research Institute. The image (right) is from *Dongxiao tuzhi*.

Despite the reworking of traditional grotto-heaven legends, many Song poets also liberated themselves from the conventions of eulogizing a grotto by composing in genres such as wandering immortal poetry and court poetry. As the grotto-heaven was perceived to be accessible and relatable, many ventured to offer direct representations of the landscape by composing travel poems, a genre that became prevalent among the Song poets.

According to James M. Hargett's study, travel essays entered their heyday during the Song dynasty as leisure activities became an essential part of literati lives. Certain forms of essay, including the sight-seeing account and river diary, were formalized as the prototypical genres that defined travel writing in the following centuries.[294] While Hargett does not elaborate on poetry, travel poems also witnessed critical development in this period. Influenced by the trend of "making poetry from prose" initiated by Han Yu and elaborated by

[294] See Chapter Three in James M. Hargett's *Jade Mountains & Cinnabar Pool*.

Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, and other poets in the name of restoring antiquity, the content and syntax of travel essays also affected the way literati represented their trips in poetry.[295] An essential feature of the Song poetry that engaged the traits of prose was its enhanced capacity to narrate events.[296] In the context of landscape writing, Zhou Jianzhi has argued that Song poets tended to foreground narratives of personal travel experiences in natural landscapes, thus distinguishing their works from traditional landscape poems that focused on scenery and made the author's presence latent.[297]

The strong sense of narrativity also becomes a trait of the poems on trips to Grand Cleanse. Sun Yuanqing 孫元卿 (1130–1217) recalled his visit to the grotto-heaven in "Yu Qian Xiaoxian you Dongxiao" 與錢孝先游洞霄 (Travelling to Dongxiao with Qian Xiaoxian):[298]

> My silvergrass sandals tread on the bright moon.
> I enter the valley to enjoy the spring.
> I know that it is not human realm,
> And my hair and bones are cleared in chilliness.
> I light up a torch and enter the dark grotto.
> How shadowy and mythic the rocky den is!
> How many layers are there between the immortals and the mundane?
> I have no way to ask the rainbow banners.
> I ascend and climb up to the high cliffs,
> the thrust of which is as if they will compete with dragons and tigers.
> I lean on the railing and try to clap my hands,
> And the verdant porcelain ripples in waves.
> It is frustrating that my mundane relationships have not broken yet.
> The secular road still awaits me to proceed.

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[295] About the unity of style and genre in Han Yu's works, see Chapter Four in Charles Hartman's *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity*.

[296] See the argument made by Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 in *Song Yuan Ming shi gaishuo* 宋元明詩概說, pp. 10-14.

[297] Zhou Jianzhi, "A Study on the Narrativity of Song Poetry", pp. 157-163

[298] *DXSJ*, 3. 257. *QSS*, 2673.31432. There is a similar poem titled "You Dongxiao gong" 遊洞霄宮 attributed to Han Song 韓松 (ca. 13th century). See *QSS*, 2836.33797.

I therefore write a poem on Worthies' Assembly Cliff,
And will visit it again when I am old.

芒鞋踏明月，入谷聞泉聲。了知非人間，泠然毛骨清。
篝燈入幽洞，岩穴何陰陰。仙凡隔幾塵，無由問霓旌。
躋攀上高崖，勢與龍虎爭。憑欄試撫掌，碧瓷波紋生。
塵緣苦未斷，世路猶遐征。題詩來賢岩，晚歲當再行。

Although the poet refers to the landscape as a realm that does not belong to humans and blames his return home on his "mundane relationships," the poem's layout conforms with a number of features that are typical in travel logs. One essential feature of a travel log is its narrative following the movement of the traveler and the passage of time. The itinerary reflected by the poem is also very clear: The poet and his friend arrived at the grotto-heaven after sunset. They explored the grottoes that night. On the next day, they hiked the mountains and stopped at a landmark named "Clapping Hand Spring" (*fuzhang quan* 撫掌泉), a spring that would ripple at the sound of clapping.[299] Before heading back, he also left a poem at the cliff where Su Shi had stayed and made a wish that he could return some time.

This two-day travel routine was very typical among the Song visitors. In his portrayal, the poet did not infuse the space with the fantasy of magnificent palaces or flocks of immortals. Nor was he eager to fashion himself as a hermit or ritual master to justify his entrance to the grotto. What he presented was simply a tourist outing in leisure. It was as if he had a guidebook in hand and was trying hard not to miss any recommended checkpoint. The grotto-heaven was no longer an ethereal Peach Spring but had become an easily accessible tourist site that literati could hardly tear themselves away from.

[299] *DXTZ*, 4.88-89.

IV Conclusion: Grotto-heaven Revisited

Two crucial motifs shared by all the traditional grotto-heaven fantasies are the secular protagonist's accidental straying in and his inability to reenter the space after leaving.[300] In the story of Peach Spring, the divine world, once lost, could not be rediscovered by merely following the guidance of the first lucky secular entrant. The permanent loss of wonderland paired with a melancholic emotion served as a commonplace in laments about the deterioration of the realistic world. In other words, the grotto paradise was not deemed an accessible (*tong* 通) space for the mundane seekers before the tenth century.

However, Southern Song literati were comfortable presenting the grotto-heaven as an open space for the secular. In his poem "You Jiusuo" 遊九鎖 (Visiting the Nine Locks), Ye Shaoweng 葉紹翁 (ca. 1194–1269) captures the gist of the grotto-heaven's transformation in Song literati's eyes:[301]

> Tired of body, I wanted only to lie down on the forested slope,
> And the feathered beings, knowing my heart, invited me to stay.
> The sighing of the falls from the cliff is like rain in the middle of the night,

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[300] See a taxonomy of key motifs in immortal tales in Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹, *Chūgoku shōsetsu shi no kenkyū* 中國小說史の研究 (Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten, 1968), pp. 232-245.
It is also worth noting that the motion of reentry has religious significance in Daoism. Susan Huang refers to Needham's study (Needham et al. 1983, 25–26) and points out that phrases such as "reverting" (*huan* 還), "returning" (*fan* 返), "reversion" (*ni* 逆), or "turning [nature] upside-down" (*diandao* 顛倒) are often used in internal alchemical discourse to highlight such a counter-natural formation; see n170 in *Picturing the True Form*, p. 360.

[301] *DXSJ*, 4.267. The version recorded in *Quan Song shi* is slightly different from the one recorded in the *Dongxiao Anthology*. See *QSS*, 2947.35141:
Tired of body, I wanted only to lie down on the forested slope,
And the feathered beings, knowing my heart, invited me to stay.
The stream trickles sluggishly, like rain in the middle of the night,
And the soughing of the heavenly wind makes every season fall.
At the Tiger Crawling Cliff (*fuhu yan* 伏虎岩), the moon is tranquil, and I am lost in the immortal path.
In the dragon grotto, the clouds are remote, (as if the cave) stretches to other regions.
The green mountains of the Nine Locks are not locked, not really—
We will definitely come and visit again once the green peaches bloom.
倦身只欲臥林丘，羽客知心解款留。
泉溜涓涓中夜雨，天風凜凜四時秋。
虎岩月澹迷仙路，龍洞雲深透別州。
九鎖青山元不鎖，碧桃開后更來游。

And the soughing of the wind in the pines makes every season fall.
A tiger roars in the empty pavilion, but where is the man?
The dragon returns to the ancient grotto, but the mist is yet to be gathered.
The green mountains of the Nine Locks are not locked, not really—
We made a date to visit again once the green peaches bloom.

倦身祇欲臥林丘，羽客知心解欵留。
岩瀑蕭蕭中夜雨，松風颯颯四時秋。
空亭虎嘯人何在，古洞龍歸霧未收。
九鎖青山元不鎖，碧桃開後約重遊。

Figure 5　The entrance of Perching in Perfection Grotto with mist. Locals see the white calcareous marks on the rock as the traces left by a dragon's claw. Image credited to Wu Zhen 吳真 from Renmin University.

Like many of his contemporaries, the poet sees the grotto-heaven as a getaway from mundane burdens. The water and wind in the landscape soothes his mood and offers him temporary relief on a hot summer day. In the third couplet, Ye also mentions the Roaring Pavilion (*haoting* 嘷亭) and Perching in Perfection Grotto (*qizhen dong* 棲真洞, see Figure 5). He hints at the legend that a Daoist master once tamed a tiger at the pavilion and mentions the "dragon traces" inside the grotto and the mists surrounding the mountains. All of these details could have been sufficient for him to conjure a mysterious heavenly scene in his poem.

However, Ye refuses to depict the landscape that he enjoys as an enigmatic alien world. Instead, he focuses on the empty pavilion and cave he sees in real life. The missing master and dragon reminds us of the trope of "not finding a recluse" (*xun yinzhe buyu* 尋隱者不遇). Nevertheless, the reason Ye missed the otherworldly beings was not that he came at the wrong time. Nor was that his secular aptitude prohibited him from meeting with them.

Ye explains his understanding of the situation in the last couplet. The adverb *yuan* 元, "originally," here in "never, really," conveys a sense of surprise, which overwhelms Ye as he is exhilarated to find that Mount Nine Locks, the entrance to the grotto-heaven, is always open to secular visitors like him. This means that he can aspire to revisit (*chongyou* 重遊) the Peach Spring of Grand Cleanse. Here, Ye is being dramatic, as it could hardly be a surprise for him to find the landscape approachable rather than illusory. The emphasis on the sense of surprise serves as a reminder of the convention that the grotto-heaven was once considered "locked," which contrasts with the fact that Grand Cleanse is no longer a space reserved for the superior mythical beings. By testifying that the prestigious Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven is indeed an accessible auspicious travel destination, the poet declares that the forbidding mists that has been guarding the grotto gate between the mundane and the divine since the Six Dynasties has finally disappeared. The immortal grotto has become a place that welcomes all the secular literati like him.

The notion of reentry also inspired new ways to adapt the old motif of time's passage inside a grotto-heaven. The action of revisiting implies the change of time at an unchanged space. Late in his life, Zhao Gongshuo 趙公碩 (1122–?) returned to Dongxiao Temple and

left the following lines in his poem "Qingyuan simian wuyue zaiyou" 慶元四年五月再遊 (Revisiting in the Fifth Month in the Fourth Year of the Qingyuan Reign [1198]): [302]

Once before, long ago, I sought immortal connections here.
From that parting till now it has been forty years.
Hair all white, I come again, lamenting that I'm already old,
While green mountains of Nine Locks still remain the same.
舊時曾此覓仙緣，一別於今四十年。
白髮重來嗟老矣，青山九鎖故依然。

According to the title of his poem "Zai Yuhang you Dongxiao" 宰餘杭游洞霄 (Visited Dongxiao while Governing at Yuhang), Zhao's first visit to Dongxiao Temple was during his appointment as the magistrate of Yuhang.[303] Zhao does not reiterate the details of his first visit in this second poem but simply summarizes it as "seeking immortal connections," bringing a hint of mystery to his trip. Between the two visits is a forty-year gap. Although his white hair reveals his old age, Mount Nine Locks is still vibrantly green, just as it was forty years earlier. The stark contrast between the mortal Zhao's white hair and the immortal mountains not only brings forth the ephemerality of human life against the foil nature. It also entertains the old motif from Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao's Peach Spring story, in which the protagonists stayed young and only noticed the flow of time when they stepped back to the human realm.

As the secular Song literati approached the knowledge of Daoist sacred geography and wrote their cultural memories into the sacred landscape, the once esoteric Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was eventually wide open. Compared to the Tang portrayal of cavernous

[302] *DXSJ*, 3.250. *QSS*, 2105.23782.

[303] *QSS*, 3764.45428.

mountains as illusory and alien spaces, the grotto-heaven landscape represented in the Song poems was amplified with specific cultural landmarks, including caves, streams, towers, and pavilions familiar to literati. In addition, the secular Song intellectuals no longer had to imagine themselves performing Daoist rituals to ward off gruesome demons and reveal paths before entering the mountains. Tamed by literati with their cultural memories, Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven transformed into a pleasant and tangible Daoist theme park. Its substantiality was reinforced by Song literati's testimony on their successful visiting and revisiting of the grotto-heaven, something far beyond their predecessors' wildest imagination. By realizing the long-lasting dream of reentering a "peach blossom spring," Song literati bridged the gap between the disjointed sacred world and secular space.

Chapter Three

Becoming Aware of My Body: Literati and the Learning of Life in the Grotto-heaven

The previous chapters examined the grotto-heaven's transformation in poetry from a forbidden and illusory space into concrete mountains accessible to secular literati visitors. However, neither the revelation of Daoist geographical knowledge nor the growing number of scenic spots that commemorated literati cultural traces could sufficiently explain the internal drive that compelled the Song literati to unceasingly explore and write poetry about those valleys with a grotto-heaven aura. This chapter will focus on the Song literati's cultural incentives for engaging with the Daoist mountains, commonly regarded as a space beyond the conventional literati domain.

The primary incentive was rooted in the difference between Confucian and Daoist attitudes about the body. The Confucian tradition had long neglected personal physical health and emphasized moral cultivation even at the cost of sacrificing one's bodily well-being.[304] A representative example is to be found in *Mengzi*:[305]

> That is why Heaven, when it is about to place a great burden on a man, always first tests his resolution, exhausts his frame and makes him suffer starvation and hardship, frustrates his efforts so as to shake him from his mental lassitude, toughen his nature and make good his deficiencies.
> 故天將降大任於是人也，必先苦其心志，勞其筋骨，餓其體膚，空乏其身，行拂亂其所為，所以動心忍性，曾益其所不能。

[304] For a survey of this phenomenon, see Wei-Ming, Tu. "Pain and suffering in Confucian self-cultivation." *Philosophy East and West* 34.4 (1984): 379-388.

[305] *Mengzi zhushu*, 3.75. See translation in Dim Cheuk Lau, *Mencius* (Penguin, 2004), p. 181.

By contrast, Daoist thought put more stress on the preservation of the physical body and life, as *Zhuangzi* shows in the chapter "Rangwang" 讓王 (Yielding the throne):[306]

> The most genuine in the Way is for supporting one's own body, its left-overs are for running a state, its discards are for ruling the empire.
> 道之真以治身，其緒餘以為國家，其土苴以治天下。

The passage presents the ruler's body as a superior microcosmic representation of his family, state, and the world he governs. As a result, it situates good support of body as the prerequisite for good governance. In other words, though it is largely neglected in the Confucian classics, the notion of conserving the body is quintessential in the Daoist intellectual tradition.

As Song literati entered grotto-heaven landscapes, many enjoyed an intensive immersion in the tradition of Daoist bodily cultivation that centered on mountain seclusion. Their poetic representations of these trips also mirrored their growing awareness of and engagement with the practice of bodily conservation. The case of Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven reflects this process. The grotto landscape offered a unique space for its visitors to act as hermits, tourists, and scholars during their pursuit of life preservation. The following discussion will show the Song literati's writings of bodily cultivation in the sacred Daoist landscape through the examination of their representations of their multifaceted identities.

[306] *ZZZS*, 28.507. Translation adapted based on the version from *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzu*, p. 227.

I Middling Hermit in a Liminal Grotto

The yearning for mountains had been encoded in the literary genome since Tao Yuanming set the tone with his lines, "My youth felt no comfort in common things, by my nature I clung to the mountains and hills" 少無適俗韻，性本愛丘山.[307] Meanwhile, the portrayal of detached mountains always anticipated the depiction of hermits. Their retreat to tranquil landscapes was a gesture of their refusal to be sullied in the boisterous mundane world.[308] As Tao Yuanming rose as a cultural idol in the Song dynasty thanks to Su Shi's promotion, many literati aspired to fit themselves in the role of hermits when entering the grotto-heaven world behind the Daoist peaks. However, they refused to seclude themselves in austerity like Tao and resorted instead to their Tang dynasty predecessors, who had fashioned themselves as "middling hermits" (*zhongyin* 中隱). Furthermore, the exceptional advantages that a grotto-heaven landscape had for its visitors also allowed Song literati to create new ways to define their relations with the immortal mountains.

(1) A Hut for the "Master of All Things": Evoking Bai Juyi in Grand Cleanse

Zheng Sun 鄭損 (ca. early 13th century) was one of those who visited the Grand Cleanse multiple times. In his poem commemorating his enjoyable trip, he compared the Grand Cleanse landscape to that of Mount Lu:[309]

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[307] *Tao Yuanming ji jianzhu*, 2.76.

[308] Alan J. Berkowitz is the most prestigious scholar in the English academia who studied the representation of seclusion in the early Chinese medieval contexts. For his systematic discussion, see Alan J. Berkowitz's *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford University Press, 2000). For a bibliography he compiled for the studies on the theme of seclusion in China, see Berkowitz, Alan J. "Reclusion in Traditional China: A Selected List of References." *Monumenta Serica* 40.1 (1992): 33-46.

[309] *DXSJ*, 4.266-67.

All my life I have suffered an addiction to mountains and waters.
Riding the wind, I swiftly ascend to the Kuanglu ridges.
Kuanglu's waters trail down a hundred *ren*.
The Valley Veil is the finest among all under Heaven.[310]
Searching for secluded scenic spots, I visited the Grand Cleanse grotto by chance.
From the precipice, flying waters descend and disturb the icy turquoise pond.
Suddenly, they were like emerald dragons gushing from undulating valleys.
Their force a fitting match to that of Kuanglu.
In the reflection of the chilly autumn sky, stars were dancing.
Yet I doubt that (it is the stars in the river of) the Milky Way spilled in the midnight.

我生宿有山水癖，乘風直到匡廬脊。
匡廬之水懸百仞，天下谷簾名第一。
尋幽偶訪大滌洞，絕壁飛流動寒碧。
忽如翠蛟出乱壑，勢與匡廬亦相敵。
秋空倒影搖寒星，卻疑夜半銀河傾。

Zheng's comparison of Grand Cleanse with Mount Lu was not merely because Mount Lu was another sacred mountain in the Daoist grotto-heaven system. The comparison tied Grand Cleanse to Mount Lu's long tradition of hermits and immortals stretching back to Tao Yuanming's time. The waterfalls that impressed him during his visit also reminded him of the scene depicted in Li Bo's "Wang Lushan pubu" 望廬山瀑布 (Viewing the Waterfall at Mount Lu):[311]

Sunlight streaming on Incense Stone kindles violet smoke;
far off, I watch the waterfall plunge into the river at its base.
Flying waters fall straight down three thousand feet,
till I think (the river of) the Milky Way has tumbled from the ninth height of Heaven.

日照香爐生紫煙，遙看瀑布挂前川。
飛流直下三千尺，疑是銀河落九天。

The author of this poem is problematic. *Liang Song mingxian xiaoshi* 兩宋名賢小集 attributed this poem to Zhao Rutan 趙汝談 (d. 1237), while *Dongxiao Anthology* noted the poet as Zheng Sun. I think Zheng Sun is more likely to be the author because he also wrote a poem that heavily alluded to Bai Juyi on his revisit of Grand Cleanse, resonating with the first poem discussed here.

[310] Gulian 谷簾 (Valley Veil) refers to the fall in Kang Wang Valley of Mount Lu.

[311] *LBQJ*, 1.45. Translation modified based on the version by Burton Watson's edited volume *Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 204.

Zheng transcribed Li Bo's last couplet to portray the streams and waterfalls of Grand Cleanse in the last three couplets of his poem. The "flying waters" entered a pond that reflected the starry sky, just like the breathtaking scenery of the waterfall at Mount Lu crystalized under Li Bo's pen.

More notably, Zheng saw himself as embodying another poet famous for his "addiction to mountains and waters" (*shanshui pi* 山水癖) and his enjoyable retreat to Mount Lu—Bai Juyi. Seeing the craving for landscape as a sickness was initially Bai Juyi's idea. In his "Lushan caotang ji" 廬山草堂記 (Account of My Thatched Hut at Mount Lu), Bai recalled his seclusion on Mount Lu.[312] Using his private wealth, he built a hut next to a cave and retreated for a while during his banishment to Jiangzhou:

> Ever since I moved in to become the master of it all, I look up at the mountain, listen to the spring below, gaze at the bamboo, trees, clouds, and rocks beside me. From dawn to dusk, there is not enough time to experience all of it. Suddenly, something may fascinate me, and then I feel the entire Qi vitality coalesce. Outwardly, I feel at ease; inwardly, in harmony. After one night, my body is at peace; after the next night, my mind becomes calm and congenial; and after the third night, I feel entranced though unable to understand why.
> I asked myself the reasons for this and found the answer: …… Ah! When a man erects a house, embellishes it with fine furniture and dwells therein, he finds it difficult to avoid an attitude of arrogant self-satisfaction. Now I am the master of all things, and when such things are of the finest, one's knowledge can expand. Since each of these things is the finest of its kind, how could I not feel outwardly at ease and inwardly in harmony, my body at peace and my mind joyful? ……
> Moreover, I recalled that from youth onward, whether dwelling in a humble house or behind vermilion gates, wherever I have stopped, even if for a day or two, I have always piled up a few baskets of earth to make a terrace, gathered small rocks to form a miniature mountain, and built a ring around a few ladles of water to make a pond—such is my addiction to mountains and waters! One day, my fortunes reversed, and I came here to serve in Jiangzhou. The prefect consoled me with his kindness, and Mount Lu has received me with the spiritual beauty of its scenery. Heaven has provided me with the opportunity;

[312] The work was written in 817. See the original text in *BJYJ*, 43.2736-42.
The translation is modified based on Strassberg, *Inscribed Landscapes*, pp. 134-127. Strassberg's translation renders Mount Lu as Hermitage Mountain, which underscores the literal meaning of the character *lu* 廬.

Earth has provided me with the place. Finally, I have been able to obtain what I have desired, so what more is there for me to search for? …… my left hand leading my wife and my right hand grasping a zither and books, I will spend the rest of my days here and fulfill my life's desire. May the pure streams and white rocks bear witness to these words!
樂天既來為主，仰觀山，俯聽泉，傍睨竹樹雲石，自辰及酉，應接不暇。俄而物誘氣隨，外適內和，一宿體寧，再宿心恬，三宿後頹然嗒然，不知其然而然。自問其故，答曰：……噫！凡人豐一屋，華一簣，而起居其間，尚不免有驕矜之態，今我為是物主，物至致知，各以類至，又安得不外適內和，體寧心恬哉？……矧予自思：從幼迨老，若白屋，若朱門，凡所止，雖一日二日，輒覆簣土為臺，聚拳石為山，環斗水為池，其喜山水病癖如此，一旦蹇剝，來佐江郡，郡守以優容撫我，廬山以靈勝待我，是天與我時，地與我所，卒獲所好，又何以求焉？……左手引妻子，右手抱琴書，終老於斯，以成就我平生之志。清泉白石，實聞此言。

Zheng Sun adopted the voice of Bai Juyi in the first couplet by comparing Grand Cleanse to Mount Lu. For Bai, Mount Lu was the ideal place to satisfy his "addiction to mountains and waters." Before visiting Mount Lu, he could indulge his craving for the landscape only by decorating his residence with simulacra of natural landscapes. However, his indulgence in the verisimilitude of mountains and waters could cause "arrogant self-satisfaction" (*jiaojin* 驕矜). It was not until he built himself a hut in the actual landscape of Mount Lu, which encapsulated all the perfected mountains and waters, that he found the right place to assimilate his body and mind with the perfected essence of nature.

Bai implied that the landscape resonated with his physicality and mentality but was rather vague about how "something may fascinate me, and then I feel the entire Qi vitality coalesce" (*wuyou qisui* 物誘氣隨). He explained his ideal status both in terms of the books and zither inside his hut and of nature outside, presenting himself as the "master of all things" (*wuzhu* 物主). The notion resonates with *Zhuangzi*'s passage on "he treats things as things but doesn't let them treat him as a thing" 物物而不物於物.[313] Since "it is from the Way that

[313] *ZZZS*, 20.360. See Mair's translation in *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), p. 187.

the myriad things take their courses" 道者，萬物之所由也, Bai had also declared that he transcended his obsession with specific miniature landscapes because he was with the Way.[314] Consequently, he could satiate his landscape addiction and "expand his knowledge" (*zizhi* 致知) from the Way, empowering him to cultivate the ultimate tranquility.

In other words, Bai Juyi divided the simulacra of nature, the artificial product of addiction that could lead to "arrogant self-satisfaction," from actual landscapes that would benefit his cultivation. However, that did not mean that he was free from artificial material attachment. His project of expand his knowledge still required that he have a comfortable hut for living and reading. Although not an aristocrat who had temporary imperial estates in the mountains, Bai Juyi was fortunate enough to be able to afford a private residence in Mount Lu. Hence, he was able to pursue a comfortable mountain retreat with his body "at peace," making him different from the earlier hermits like Tao Yuanming, who suffered a harsh life in seclusion.

It is worth noting that Bai was not the first poet who refused physical suffering in a frugal hermitage. Elites had discussed the feasibility of different modes of seclusion since the fourth century. In "Fan zhaoyin shi" 反招隱詩 (Poem Against Summoning the Recluse), Wang Kangju 王康琚 (ca. third to fourth century) opposed the practice of retreating to the wild and suggested the possibility of remaining in the urban space, forming a paradigm in later rhetoric about hermitage:

The petty hermits hide in hills and marshes,

[314] *ZZZS*, 10.540. See Graham's translation in *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzu*, p. 253.

But the great hermits hide in the court and marketplace.[315]
小隱隱陵藪，大隱隱朝市。

Wang's lines entertain the tension between the cityscape as a crowded space and the hermitage as the place of staying aloof. He created this tension because he was tired of the reality that retreating to the mountains was always accompanied by harsh natural conditions that could cause severe physical sorrow:

The bitter frost shrivels their rosy cheeks.
While icy springs damage their toes of jade.
凝霜凋朱顏，寒泉傷玉趾。

Therefore, he rejected the pursuit of serious seclusion at the cost of one's wellbeing. To offer a better option, he resorted to the Daoist philosophical idea of the equality of things (*qiwu* 齊物) and argued that the crowded space was not different from the deserted mountains if one could treat them the same on the spiritual level. With this theoretical basis, he reconciled the oxymoron of retreating to a city and made it the superior choice for elite seclusion.

Unfortunately, the power of the equality of things faded after the eighth century. As the political situation in the capital deteriorated, it became unrealistic to rely on philosophy or faith to counteract the risks one could experience if one remained in court. Therefore, Bai's solution was to construct a private and comfortable hut in the auspicious Mount Lu, thus balancing his indulgence in the mountains and his need for a comfortable residence.

Bai Juyi's model was also contentious. Some condemned his poetic style as vulgar and considered Qi vitality in his works to be weak (*chan* 孱).[316] Unlike the superior and inferior

[315] *Wenxuan*, 22.1031–32.

[316] Xin Wenfang 辛文房 (ca. 14th century). *Tang caizi zhuan quanyi* 唐才子傳全譯, Li Lipu 李立樸 ed. (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1994), p. 622: Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837–908) belittled Bai's poetic style as "achieved with effort but weak in Qi vitality" 力就而氣孱.

hermits who had to compromise with the environment, Bai as the vice prefect of Jiangzhou had the wherewithal to squander a private fortune on reconstructing nature. It is possible that noble elites were uncomfortable with his juxtaposition of personal wealth and hermit identity in poetry.[317] Another possibility to understand the disfavor of Bai's writings could hinge on the notion of "weak Qi vitality." Bai's effort at cultivating his Qi vitality through his attachment to the mountain deviated from the mainstream of the time. In his references to Qi vitality, Bai had in mind Mencius's notion of "overflowing Qi vitality" (*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣), which he quoted repeatedly in his other works, such as the "Song of White Screen" 素屏謠 written at Mount Lu.[318] However, his rhetoric did not fall in the same vein with that in the Confucian context, which centered on the cultivation of "Qi vitality of pattern" (*wenqi* 文氣) and the study of writings of the Confucian sages to synchronize the heart-mind with the Way.[319]

By contrast, Bai Juyi made his "Qi vitality coalesce" primarily through his synthesis of mind with the sacred mountains rather than with the sages. Although he did not identify his

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317 Owen, *Late Tang*, p.50.

318 In the first chapter of Gongsun Chou, Mencius said: "I am good at cultivating my "flood-like Qi vitality" 吾善養浩然之氣. I modified the translation but did not change the meaning. See original text in *Mengzi zhushu*, 3.75 and translated version in D. C. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 77.
Bai Juyi's "Song of White Screen" was also written at Mount Lu. A line in the poem writes:
My mind has cultivated the overflowing Qi vitality for long.
But I also want to glitter more brilliantly from inside out in you company.
我心久養浩然氣，亦欲與爾表裏相輝光。
See *BJYJ*, 39.2635-36.

319 For discussions on the early development of "Qi vitality of pattern" (*wenqi* 文氣) concept, see Cheng Yu-yu's 鄭毓瑜 *Liuchao wenqi lun tanjiu* 六朝文氣論探究 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban weiyuanhui, 1988), pp. 7-64.
During the middle Tang period, Han Yu's 韓愈 (768–824) writings epitomize the discussions on "Qi vitality of pattern." One representative essay is the "Letter in Reply to Li Yi" 答李翊書. Charles Hartman points out that for Han Yu, *qi* or Qi vitality "is both the author's vital force or vitality of spirit that results from his cultivation of moral values (tao) and the force of his literary style that results from the honest expression of these values (wen)." For the completed translation of the letter with analysis, see Charles Hartman's *Han Yu and the T'ang Search for Unity*, pp. 241-246.

source explicitly, Bai Juyi likely anchored the concept of "overflowing Qi vitality" in the Daoist context of life cultivation. In "Mystery Defined" 暢玄, the first chapter of the inner chapters of *Baopuzi* 抱樸子, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 or 363) wrote:[320]

> A man who knows how to be satisfied can find happiness in uselessness and cultivate his affairs in the mountains and forests. He deploys his phoenix-dragon wings in the company of simple folk and *nourishes his overflowing Qi vitality in a thatched hut*. …… As he hums and whistles among the verdant cliffs, all creation becomes for him but dust and air. He relaxes under thick branches, and the red doors of palatial homes are then seen to pivot on rope. He grasps the plow to help in the tillage, and immediately the banners of the military and the diplomas of office become no more than the whip in his grasp. He drinks tea and rinses his mouth from the spring, whereupon the suovetaurilia become as mere herb soups. Grandly, in the seasons of leisure, he finds pleasure in the arena of action that is perfect freedom. Joyfully, he equates honors and low estate where there is no rivalry. As he partakes of pure drink and maintains simplicity, he is free from covetousness and worry. Maintaining God (Truth) intact and staying uncommitted, he leads the simple life. Partaking of its immensity and movement, he makes his naturalness one with the whirl of all nature.
> 知足者則能肥遁勿用，頤光山林。紆鸞龍之翼於細介之伍，*養浩然之氣於蓬蓽之中*。……吟嘯蒼崖之閒，而萬物化為塵氛。怡顏豐柯之下，而朱戶變為繩樞。握耒甫田，而麾節忽若執鞭。啜蒢漱泉，而太牢同乎藜藿。泰爾有餘歡於無為之場，忻然齊貴賤於不爭之地。含醇守朴，無欲無憂，全真虛器，居平味澹。恢恢蕩蕩，與渾成等其自然。

By leading a simple life, the hut dweller could aspire to synthesize his Qi vitality with mountains and forests, thus achieving the Daoist goal of life preservation—the gist of the inner chapters in *Baopuzi*. The emphasis on pacifying and purifying Qi vitality through landscape immersion distinguishes *Baopuzi*'s teachings from the treatment suggested by Mei Sheng 枚乘 (d. 140 BEC?) in "Qifa" 七發 (Seven Stimuli). There, the illness caused by

[320] *Baopu zi neipian jiaoshi*, pp. 2-3. The English translation is modified based on Ware's translation. See *Alchemy, Medicine, and Religion in the China of A.D. 320; the Nei P'ien of Ko Hung*, pp. 30-31.

overindulgence is cured through listening to the "essential words and marvelous doctrines" (*yaoyan miaodao* 要言妙道) and rectifying the five sensations.[321]

Reflections like those found in *Baopuzi* may have inspired Bai Juyi to follow a path to the Way that did not rely solely on the texts of the sages. Guided by such thoughts, he constructed a thatched hut in the sacred landscape of Mount Lu and portrayed the space in his account as an ideal cosmos for the cultivation of his Qi vitality. However, his idiosyncratic approach probably made him aberrant in the eye of his contemporary critics. Those who were ignorant of the Daoist interpretation of how to cultivate the "overflowing Qi vitality" could have misunderstood Bai's gesture as his obsession with the construction and possession of a mountain property. Such conflicting opinions eventually crystalized as the negative evaluation that measured his "Qi vitality of pattern" reflected in his writings as "weak."

In short, Bai Juyi left to Song literati a critical poetic legacy of fascination with sacred landscapes. He inspired the men of letters to anticipate a cozy stay during their mountain immersion. More importantly, he showed that residing in a stable residence in the natural landscape would offer the most efficacious environment for enhancing their self-cultivation instead of harming their bodies. Although rejected by his contemporaries, Bai Juyi's interpretation of his sacred mountain dwelling would survive. In the following centuries, literati who were intrigued by Daoism, including not only Zheng Sun but also Su Shi, the

[321] See translation and discussion by Knechtges, David R., and Jerry Swanson. "Seven Stimuli for the Prince: the Ch'i-fa of Mei Ch'eng." *Monumenta Serica* 29.1 (1970): 99-116. Additionally, Tsai Ying-chun examines "Qifa" in the context of the early medieval repertoire that centers on the number seven and follows the logic of diagnosing the mental disorder manifested as bodily illness. See Tsai Ying-chun's "Yanshuo zhiliao: Mei Sheng 'Qifa' yu Yichang sixiang quanyou de youxi" 言說治療：枚乘<七發>與一場思想勸誘的遊戲 in *Inner Landscape Visualized*, pp. 190-221.

focus of the following discussion, inherited his vision and elaborated it in their self-representations at the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven.

(2) Leisurely Lying in "a Hut": Su Shi and His Cultivation at Grand Cleanse

In the poems he wrote in Hangzhou, Su Shi repeatedly expressed his wish to retreat to Dongxiao Temple in Grand Cleanse. Dongxiao was also the only place that Su Shi explicitly vowed to make his ideal destination for seclusion. His expression of his wish for retreat provided a model for fashioning oneself as a grotto-heaven recluse. The first time he mentioned his wish for reclusion at Dongxiao was in the first verse of "He Zhang Ziye jianji san jueju" 和張子野見寄三絕句 (Matching the Poem Sent by Zhang Ziye in Three Verses):[322]

> In the previous incarnation, I must have already been to Hangzhou,
> Everywhere I visited, it was like a place I had previously been.
> Even more, I wish to be a recluse official at Dongxiao.
> A leisure place in a hut would offer me a stay.
> 前生我已到杭州，到處長如到舊遊。
> 更欲洞霄為隱吏，一菴閑地且相留。

The poem was composed in 1075, the year after Su Shi left his office in Hangzhou and became the magistrate at Mizhou. During that time, the political struggle in the capital escalated as Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) resumed his position as prime minister. Although physically away from the center of conflict in the capital, Su Shi was still anxious about his situation, so he told Zhang Xian 張先 (990–1078) about his aspiration for retreat. However, he did not want to go into deep seclusion like Tao Qian, who suffered from

[322] *DXSJ*, 2.236. See also in *SSSJ*, 13.652.

poverty. Therefore, he wished for a life as a hermit-clerk at Dongxiao Temple near Hangzhou.

The concept of hermit-clerk was not new to Su Shi's generation, but had already appeared in Bai Juyi's poetry.[323] Bai Juyi used the term "middling hermit" (*zhongyin* 中隱) to denote his status, responding to the dichotomy between great and lesser hermit. In a poem titled "Middling Hermit," he wrote:[324]

> Great hermits reside in the capital;
> Petty hermits go into the mountains.
> In the mountains, it is too desolate;
> In the capital, it is too boisterous.
> It would be better to be a middling hermit:
> Hiding in the Regency in the Eastern Capital.
>
> 大隱住朝市，小隱入丘樊。
> 丘樊太冷落，朝市太囂諠。
> 不如作中隱，隱在留司官。

In his study of Bai's seclusion, Yang Xiaoshan discusses the concept of "hermit-clerk" (*yinli* 隱吏) and defines it as "a detached status of mind while filling an official post and enjoying all the benefits that came with it."[325] In another analysis of this poem, Stephen Owen points out that Bai was blessed to make this compromise because he retired to Luoyang as a court official and had the wealth to possess a private garden, an artificial version of nature in an urban space.[326]

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[323] It is commonly acknowledged that the key person who defined the "hermit-clerk" concept was Du Fu 杜甫. However, Bai Juyi's "hermit-clerk" style was more widely accepted among the Song literati.

[324] *BJYJ*, 22.1493.

[325] Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere*, p. 36. Yang had a complete section in Chapter One titled "Middling Hermit" that contributed a thorough examination of the generation of this notion centering on Bai Juyi's case. See pp. 36-50 in the same book mentioned above.

[326] Owen, *The Late Tang*, pp. 47-50. Yang Xiaoshan also echoed with Owen's point and stressed the importance of possession a garden estate in actualizing the middling hermit practice.

Su Shi's plea to be a middling hermit at Dongxiao temple also hinged on his concerns for material stability. However, he did not anticipate a private garden in the city. What created space for his wish was the newly established official position of temple supervisors (*tiju gongguan* 提舉宮觀), which offered a basic salary and a temple residence. Although official positions in temples had existed since the Tang, more temple supervisor positions were established at Daoist sites during the Song as sinecures for retired officials and victims of political struggles.[327]

Su Shi possibly got the inspiration to be a hermit-clerk as a temple supervisor from a literatus named Wang Gao 王鎬 (d. 1027). Banished to Hangzhou after a dispute with Wang Anshi, Su Shi saw his life mirrored in the story of Wang, who resigned after offending a highly placed official. In the "Hujiao youren Wang jun mubiao" 鄠郊友人王君墓表 (Epitaph for Sir Wang, My Friend from the Suburb of Hu), Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052) mentioned the things that happened after Wang's resignation:

> (Wang) resided inside Chang'an and mingled with people of outstanding talent. He indulged in drinking and singing, resembling the style of Ji Kang and Ruan Ji. People found him strange and were shocked by his behavior. Wang was uneasy about his high status, so he left home and sought an official appointment again. He assumed a position supervising the Shangqing Taiping Temple in Mount Zhongnan and became a hermit-clerk.
> 居長安中，與豪士游，縱飲浩歌，有稽阮之風，人特駭之。公不安其高，復起家就祿，得請監終南山上清太平宮，從吏隱也。[328]

[327] Wang Shengduo 汪聖鐸. "Guanyu Songdai cilu zhidu de jige wenti" 關於宋代祠祿制度的幾個問題. *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 4 (1998).

[328] Li Yongxian 李勇先 eds., *Fan Zhongyan quanji* 范仲淹全集 (Chendu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 372-374. Su Shi probably read this piece as he composed a preface for the compilation of Fan Zhongyan's collected works in 1089. See *Fan Zhongyan quanji*, pp. 940-941.

Wang Gao managed to serve as a supervisor and retreat to Taiping Temple at Mount Zhongnan, top on the list of seventy-two auspicious places in the grotto-heaven system. Su Shi visited Shangqing Taiping Temple 上清太平宫 multiple times to study the Daoist Canon during his posting at Fengxiang. He possibly read about Wang's story during a visit and admired Wang for being able to retreat to the mountains while still being an official. Since then, the example of Wang's appointment as a hermit-clerk at a temple in a sacred Daoist mountain had planted a seed in Su's mind. The hope germinated when he arrived at Hangzhou and learned that Dongxiao Temple in Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven also had a supervisor position. He possibly expressed his wish for the position to the court, but the emperor turned him down.

Since the backdrop of criticism based on Confucian values inevitably put pressure on literati whose "nature clung to mountains and hills," they had to find a more defensible position to address their anxieties when indulging themselves in landscapes. The temple supervisor position that Su Shi proposed could be a better option as it freed one from the necessity to purchase land or build a residence in nature. Nonetheless, it still tied one to a official position.

When he was deported to Hangzhou for the second time, Su Shi's dream of retreating to Dongxiao was rekindled. Unfortunately, the court thwarted his hopes again and ordered him to return to the capital in 1091. Eventually, he realized that his wish for the position would turn into an encumberment. He thus poured out his frustration and reoriented himself in the first verse of "Yu Ye Chunlao, Hou Dunfu, Zhang Bingdao tong xiangshi xinhe, Bingdao you

shi, ciyun ershou” 與葉淳老、侯敦夫、張秉道同相視新河，秉道有詩，次韻二首 (While Inspecting the New River with Ye Chunlao, Hou Dunfu, Zhang Bingdao, Bingdao had a Poem, and I Wrote Two Poems Matching Its Rhyme).[329]

In the first half of the poem, Su Shi recalls his past achievements in the Qiantang water conservancy projects, but these efforts turned out to be useless in keeping him in Hangzhou. The second part of the poem is bitter:

> Old and sick, I long for a return (and my human form is) truly a temporary residence.[330]
> Credit and fame are illusory, and what could I achieve eventually?
> All along, I mock myself that I have been drawing legs on a snake.
> How would such a thing be different from nibbling chicken ribs?
> I feel pity that your obsession is even more pedantic.
> Receiving my new poem, you were so exhilarated that you broke your shoe.
> After hastily completing the affairs in rivers and lakes, I will return directly.
> For the rest of things, it will be the young generation’s duty to polish them.
> At leisure I lie down in a hut at Dongxiao Temple.
> In the well, there is cinnabar sand, and the water is forever vermillion.
>
> 老病思歸真暫寓，功名如幻終何得。
> 從來自笑畫蛇足，此事何殊食雞肋。
> 憐君嗜好更迂闊，得我新詩喜折屐。
> 江湖麤了我徑歸，餘事後來當潤色。
> 一菴閑臥洞霄宮，井有丹砂水長赤。

According to Wang Wengao’s 王文誥 (b. 1764) annotation, Su Shi wrote the above lines after learning about the summon from the court. The fame he accumulated in Hangzhou threw him back into the political whirlwind. This ironic reality made him feel that his effort was superfluous as things turned out contrary to his initial wish. The situation probably reminded him of the cardinal teaching in *Zhuangzi*:

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329 *DXSJ*, 2.237. See also in *SSSJ*, 26.1751-1754.

330 The term “temporary residence” (*zanyu* 暫寓) alludes to Bai Juyi’s line “In between Heaven and Earth, I temporarily resides my form” 天地暫寓形. Bai’s words came from Tao Qian’s “So little time are we granted human form in the world” 寓形宇內復幾時. The concept finds it origin in *Zhuangzi*: “Men should only be as lodging-houses for things” 世人直為物逆旅耳. In other words, Su Shi saluted to both poets and, remotely, Zhuangzi by evoking this term.

The utmost man is selfless,
The daemonic man takes no credit for his deeds,
The sage is nameless.
至人無己，神人無功，聖人無名。[331]

Therefore, he again vowed a leisurely life in "a hut" at Dongxiao. Notably, the "hermit-clerk" model Wang Gao disappeared from the last couplet. He entirely disengaged from lingering thoughts of having a "leisure place" (*xiandi* 閒地) or any official title reserved for his retirement.[332] Instead, Su Shi embraced only the action of "reclining in idleness" (*xianwo* 閒臥) and subtly paid reverence to the two soulmates he found during the evening of his life: Tao Yuanming and Ge Hong.[333]

In this poem, Su Shi mentioned twice his aspiration for a return, resonating with Tao Yuanming's determination for retreat, expressed in a number of works, including "Guiqu laixi ci" 歸去來兮辭 (The Return). Su also repeated the wish he harbored for fifteen years: to lie down in leisure in a temple hut. This again condensed the idea that Tao Yuanming expressed in his "Yu Ziyan deng shu" 與子儼等疏 (Letter to My Sons, Yan and the Others):[334]

I have loved the zither and books since youth. From time to time, I indulged in leisure and serenity. When I opened a scroll and got inspired, I would be so delighted and forget

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[331] *ZZZS*, 1.12. See Graham's translation in *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzu*, p. 45.

[332] Su Shi expressed his aspiration for the "equality of things" (*qiwu* 齊物) and his struggle of decoupling with his worldly attachment throughout his life. For related examples with analysis, see Egan, *The Problem of Beauty*, pp. 186–87; and Zhang, "Porous Privacy," pp. 184-187.

[333] In his late years, Su Shi regarded Tao Yuanming and Ge Hong as his soulmate and chanted about his wish to retreat with them in multiple works. One example is the last piece of his thirteen "Matching Tao's Reading the Classic of Mountains and Seas" written in 1095. The poem ends with this couplet: Taking the hands of Ge and Tao, let us retreat, and retreat again! 攜手葛與陶，歸哉復歸哉！
See Su Shi, "Matching Tao's Reading the Classic of Mountains and Seas, with preface, the thirteenth" 和陶讀《山海經》，並引 其十三 in *SSSJ*, 39.2136.

[334] *Tao Yuanming ji jianzhu*, 7.529. Xiaofei Tian in *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture* noticed a variation of the letter's editions. Both the *Song History* and *Histories of the Southern Dynasties* versions only write about Tao's love for books without mentioning the zither. See discussions in *Tao Yuanming & Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (University of Washington Press, 2011), p. 87.

> to eat. When seeing the shadows of trees and woods interlaced and hearing the birds of the season chirp in a different tone, I would also be immersed in joy. I once said that when I'm lying under the north window in the fifth or sixth month, and a cool breeze happens to come along, I could take myself for a person of the age before the Fuxi emperor.[335]
> 少學琴書，偶愛閑靜，開卷有得，便欣然忘食。見樹木交蔭，時鳥變聲，亦復歡然有喜。嘗言五六月中，北窗下臥，遇凉風暫至，自謂是羲皇上人。

Although Su Shi unleashed himself from official duties, there was still one last thing entailed by Tao Yuanming's way of seclusion that he could not reconcile: the shabby environment could be a threat to his wellbeing. The previous years of adversity had left Su Shi's health considerably impaired. To address this concern, he fashioned his seclusion in a temple hut next to a cinnabar well rather than in a crude cabin in farmland. The cinnabar well alluded to a story from Chapter Eleven, "The Genie's Pharmacopoeia" (*xianyao* 仙藥), in Ge Hong's *Baopuzi*. It is said that a family named Liao resided next to a well that had cinnabar soaking within it. The family members drank from the well, and all enjoyed longevity.[336] The well with water saturated with cinnabar later served as a common element signifying the presence of elixir in the depiction of sacred Daoist landscapes. By alluding to Ge Hong's cinnabar well, Su Shi certified the idea of life cultivation as a quintessential component in the practice of mountain retreat. This certification, in turn, confirmed the grotto-heaven landscapes, which were rich with Daoist legacies, as preferable to such substitutes as the rocks of literati studios and gardens.

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[335] When Su Shi was later banished to Hainan, he commented on this letter by reflecting on himself: "I committed the mundane errors for half of my life on official posts. This is why I deeply revere Yuanming and want to learn one ten-thousandth of him in my late years" 半生出仕以犯世患，此所以深服淵明，欲以晚節師範其萬一也. See in Su Zhe's 蘇轍 *Luancheng ji* 欒城集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), p. 1402.

[336] *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, p. 206. See the English translation of the story in *Alchemy, Medicine, and Religion in the China of A.D. 320*, p. 192.

Although Su Shi's hope for retiring to a private "hut" at Dongxiao eventually faded, his words guided later generations as they negotiated with Bai Juyi's model of landscape retreat. "Lying at leisure in a hut" in a Daoist grotto-heaven enabled him to have a decent stay away from the harsh environment as he liberated himself from any vulgar attachment to private mansions and ponds built with personal wealth. Since the temple structure was located in the middle of the actual sacred mountains, the space surrounding the huts yielded the most refined ingredients and energy for cultivation, hence being more efficacious than the simulacrum of Nature in gardens. Most importantly, the background of grotto-heavens imbued their representation with a Daoist context, fixing the retreat in leisure as a form of self-cultivation rather than self-indulgence.

According to "Heaven and Earth" in *Zhuangzi*, "When the Way is absent under heaven, He cultivates his virtue in retirement (leisure)" 天下無道則修德就閒.[337] In the Daoist context, staying in leisure (*jiuxian* 就閒) is essential cultivation that can enhance one's virtue.[338] The commentator Guo Xiang 郭象 (ca. 252–312) connected this entry to the

[337] *ZZZS*, 5.228. See translation in *Wandering on the Way*, p.107.

[338] It is worth noting that the concept *xian* 閒 is a loaded concept that was primarily valued by Daoist and Confucian teachings. The concept of leisure can relate to a number of words including 閒, 暇, 逸, etc. James Hargett in his article scrutinizes both the English concept of "leisure" and the etymology of 閒 (also interchangeable with 閑 or 間). With the lexicological examination, he argues that the basic meaning of the term "leisure" and 閒 is the same, and it refers to "'time away from one's regular job and responsibilities,' which in turn provides opportunities to rest from physical labor and/or to purse pleasurable activities." Since this chapter also focuses on the Song literati practice of leisure, which shares a similar context with Hargett's paper, I will adopt his definition for the purpose of the following discussion. For the detailed illustrations and discussions, see Hargett, James M. "What Need is There to Go Home? Travel as a Leisure Activity in the Travel Records (*Youji* 游記) of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)." *The Chinese Historical Review* 23, no. 2 (2016): 111-129. Su Zhuang conducted a more comprehensive research of the development of the *xian* concept and its aesthetic value in premodern China. About the notion of "residing in leisure" (*xianju* 閒居), Su states that the Daoist theory associates the status with the cultivation of virtue and life while the Confucian theory treats it as a temporary strategy adopted in adversity. The two overlap in the core value of preservation of power. Additionally, "residing in leisure" gained new significance as the practice of inner alchemy gained popularity among literati during the Song and Yuan dynasties. See Su, Zhuang 蘇狀. " 'Xian' and the Aesthetic Life of Traditional Scholars in China ——A Study on 'Xian' Category from Perspective of the Cultural Aesthetics" "閒"與古代文人的審美人生 (Fudan University, Ph.D. diss., 2008).

Daoist ideal of non-action (*wuwei* 無為): As for "there is nothing which He does not do," it does not mean that he is not at leisure 無為而無不為者，非不閒. During the Tang dynasty, the Daoist master Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (ca. 608-669) further elaborated on the latter half of the entry in his sub-commentary: "When it comes to the time of chaos, one would mix with the commoners and hide his capacities, cultivate his virtue and conceal his traces, keep his Way of life intact, praise eremitism and rest in leisure, and wander free of care and withdraw from the world" 時逢擾亂，則混俗韜光，修德隱迹，全我生道，嘉遁閒居，逍遙遁世. He stressed that a critical aspect of idleness was to preserve one's life. By defining leisure stay in Dongxiao as cultivation of his life, Su Shi resorted to Daoist ideas of cultivation to rationalize his leisurely seclusion in a grotto-heaven as enhancing his moral and physical cultivation without harming his body.

Subsequent visitors to Grand Cleanse embraced Su Shi's interpretation and made it the central principle for their stays in the huts of Grand Cleanse. They combined the rhetoric of cultivation with the notion of replenishing the harmonious Qi vitality—a special treasure yielded in the sacred landscapes that became increasingly important for personal cultivation in the Song dynasty.[339] One of those who elaborated on this was Guan Zhu 關注 (*jinshi* 1135), who recalled his stay in one of the mountain buildings inside the grotto-heaven in a *ci* poem adapted to the "Shuidiao getou" 水調歌頭 (Song for River Tune).[340] In the preface to

[339] Chapter Four will further elaborate on this issue.

[340] *DXSJ*, 3.261. The version included in the *Dongxiao Anthology* does not have the preface. See also in *QSC*, 2.1678. This version includes the preface.

the poem, Guan mentioned a famous hermit at Grand Cleanse, Lu Weizhi 陸維之 (ca. 12th century):[341]

> Lu Yongzhong, my fellow townsman, is erudite and has high talent. Ever since he was young, (his reputation) had been circulating in venues of the Civil Service Examination. He now resides beneath the White Deer Grotto. He abstains from meat and wine, rejects mundane affairs, and banishes himself beyond the dusty world. Although he is almost sixty, his complexion is like an infant's. If he were not someone who has attained the Way, how could he be like this?
> 吾鄉陸永仲，博學高才。自其少時，有聲場屋，今棲白鹿洞下，絶葷酒，屏世事，自放塵埃之外。行將六十，而有嬰兒之色，非得道者能如是乎。

While the preface suggests that the poem was dedicated to Hermit Lu, an accomplished Daoist practitioner, the subject of the poem was ambiguous as the poet superimposed his own subjectivity onto the image of the recluse:

> Where the phoenix dances and dragon crouches, there are jade chambers and golden buildings. My whole life I have longed for the perfected realms, and where might they be? Who believes in (the legend of) Master Xu's cinnabar cauldron? (The location where) Master Wu's bequeathed the relic sword is precisely next to the grotto-heaven.[342] If one wants to find a mind-settling place, it must be away from the arena of official rank.
> 鳳舞龍蟠處，玉室與金堂。平生想望真境，依約在何方？
> 誰信許君丹竈，便與吳君遺劒，只在洞天傍。
> 若要安心地，須是遠名場。
>
> In recent years, forests were cut down at the foot of hills, and mountain buildings were constructed. After sleeping soundly and filling my stomach, while sitting in purity and having nothing to attend, (I) can turn things over in my mind. Rinsing off anxiety and adversity from the mundane and exhausting the sight of wind and moon in the immortal abode, (I feel that) the harmonious Qi vitality is thoroughly purified and exalted. Having a laugh beyond the dusty world, (I stay) with clouds and waters and forget about the distant (mundane world).
> 幾年來，開林麓，建山房。安眠飽飯，清坐無事可思量。
> 洗盡人間憂患，看盡仙家風月，和氣滿清揚。
> 一笑塵埃外，雲水遠相忘。

[341] See Lu Weizhi's information in Zhang, Huizhi, Qiwei Shen, and Dezhong Liu et al. *Zhongguo lidai renming da cidian* 中國歷代人名大辭典 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 1320.

[342] According to the temple gazetteer, Wu Yun hid his sword in Stone Chamber Grotto. See *DXTZ*, 3.81-82

Guan began the poem by questioning the whereabouts of the transcendental space portrayed in the traditional imagination. The question invited his own answer: Hermit Lu's residence in the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was precisely one of the "perfected realms" that people sought after. He said so not only because it was the site where previous transcendent like Master Xu and Master Wu dwelled but also because it was a "mind-settling place" where the hermit renounced his mundane fame and found his inner tranquility.

Transiting to the second stanza, the poet elaborates on the place in greater detail. He first recalls the temple's reconstruction and expansion from the ruins left by the Fang La Rebellion (1120–1121).[343] He mentions especially the massive construction of mountain buildings, indicating the grotto-heaven's increased capacity to receive visitors. In the following line, his focus shifts from objective observation of the environment to his personal physical satiations and the moment of internal meditation, the description of which clearly drew on the poet's personal experience in the grotto-heaven.[344] Probably, the poet's stay in one of the renovated buildings in the grotto-heaven enabled him to temporarily suspend his literati identity and identify with the hermit. He thus entertained the ambivalence of the poetic subject by evoking his self-consciousness and inferring the hermit's feelings through the experience of his own body and mind.

With this identification, Guan also amplified the meaning of the "mind-settling place" with his personal context. Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was known to constitute a "perfected

[343] Emperor Gaozong (r.1127–1162) and the empress dowager's patronage

[344] Although the poet did not make it explicit about his visit to the grotto-heaven in this poem, he mentioned about spending a night at Dongxiao in a different poem titled "Dongxiao yu daoshi yehua" 洞霄與道士夜話 (Talking with a Priest at Night in Dongxiao) in *DXSJ*, 2.245.

realm" with an orderly environment like the ones ruled under the ancient sage kings: "wind purged and Qi vitality harmonized; earth fertilized and spring purified; divine snakes do not sting, and wild beasts can be tamed" 風清氣和，土腴泉潔，神蛇不螫，猛獸能馴.[345] Guan engaged in the Daoist rhetoric at the moment when he joined the persona of Hermit Lu and retained a peaceful mind. Additionally, his literati identity made the grotto-heaven more than a sanctuary in the eerie wilderness. As an official, the poet also implicitly compared his opponents in the political arena to threatening beasts. The Grand Cleanse landscape, therefore, became the ideal place for him to rinse away his mundane anxieties. Under these circumstances, the poet was able to gather the "harmonious Qi vitality" under the guidance of Daoism and cultivate himself for longevity in the same way as Hermit Lu did.

Against the Daoist backdrop, Guan Zhu chose Su Shi's model over Bai Juyi's interpretation of his landscape cultivation in personal properties. In lieu of emphasizing the possession of things, Guan took the freedom from material and political anxiety as the premise and his Daoist meditation in leisure as the method for refining his Qi vitality and improving his health.

II Expanding the Knowledge of Life: Grotto-heaven as an "Academy"

An innate and essential attribute of grotto-heavens is that they were troves of truth teachings. In the Daoist context, narratives define grotto-heavens as repositories of scriptures

[345] *DXTZ*, 2.65. Note that such an ideal had a long tradition. Similar descriptions can be found in *Huainanzi*.

carrying instructions on cultivation for transcendence. From a scholar's perspective, the Song literati found grotto-heaven landscapes particularly charming because they were a space that brought together quintessential Daoist knowledge and memories, just like an academy. Therefore, finding Daoist texts in a grotto-heaven landscape was a unique experience that literati anticipated. Additionally, previous models like Tao Yuanming and Bai Juyi valued the company of books during their seclusion. Bai even specified the books that he took with him when in seclusion at Mount Lu: "books on Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, two or three volumes each" 儒、道、佛書各三兩卷. Subsequently, engaging in knowledge exploration became an indispensable practice in the Song literati's representation of their trips to grotto-heaven landscapes.

There were also historic factors that made grotto-heaven landscapes the ideal place for pursuing true Daoist learning during the Song dynasty. Since the collation of the *Daoist Canon* during the Zhenzong reign (997–1022), Daoist temples in major grotto-heavens functioned as important repositories of Daoist scriptures. Even though advanced printing technique allowed the wide circulation of certain Daoist scriptures, most scriptures collected in the canon still remained in manuscript form and were thus not easily accessible for the majority.[346] Further, as the language of Daoist teachings was mostly arcane, the guidance of reliable Daoist masters was critical during the learning process. Therefore, seekers of Daoist teachings needed to travel to major grotto-heaven landscapes for advanced studies. Against

[346] Although the canon had never been prepared for printing before Emperor Huizong ordered to carve woodblocks for it, the Song court lost all the printing blocks due to the fall of the Northern Song. Unable to afford the expenses, the Southern Song government did not make effort to print the canon again, so the circulation was very limited. See Schipper, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 28-29. For a more detailed discussion, see Loon's *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period.*

this background, Dongxiao Temple in the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, the center of two major Daoist canon projects and a gathering-place for Daoist experts, naturally became one of the preferred destinations for receiving Daoist training on life cultivation.[347]

(1) Taking Grotto Masters as My Mentors

The Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven had developed into a significant spot where Daoist aficionados sought guidance from prestigious Daoist masters since the tenth century.[348] After the grotto-heaven became accessible, the major shift of dynamic in the representation of seeking masters in the mountains was that the celebrated poetic occasion of a failed search for a hermit or master in the mountains gradually faded.[349] A representative Tang poem on this theme of the "absent master" is Jia Dao's 賈島 (779–845) "Xun yinzhe buyu" 尋隱者不遇 (Looking for the Recluse and Not Finding Him Home):[350]

> I asked his young servant under the pines,
> he said: "The master has gone to pick herbs.
> He is somewhere out there in the hills,
> but the clouds are so deep I know not where."
> 松下問童子，言師採藥去。
> 只在此山中，雲深不知處。

[347] The Southern Song court managed to retrieve some complete manuscripts of the Daoist Canon preserved in temples in the south, especially in the Jiangnan region. In 1175, Emperor Xiaozong commanded the manuscript replication of the Zhenghe version Daoist canon in Hangzhou. Dongxiao Temple probably played an important role in the project. The project was completed in 1176.

[348] See Chapter 2.

[349] Varsano, Paula M. "Looking for the Recluse and Not Finding Him in: The Rhetoric of Silence in Early Chinese Poetry." Asia Major (1999): 39-70.

[350] *QTS*, 574:100. The poem's authorship is controversial. In *QTS*, 473:24, the poem is attributed to Sun Ge 孫革 under the title "Visiting Honored Master Yang" 訪羊尊師. See translation in Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p. 373

Paula Varsano suggests in her study on the absent recluse motif that the poet's effort to express ineffable teachings is captured in the way the hermit's traces symbolize the Way.[351] Just like the caves of immortals, true masters' or hermits' whereabouts had been unknown to intentional seekers in the earlier context. True teachings could be revealed only to those with the spirit of "non-action."

The mundane seekers who entered the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven would not be disappointed by the masters' absence. Huang Minde 黃敏德 (ca. late 12th century) wrote about an interesting moment during a sudden visit he describes in "Ru Dongxiao Jiusuo lujian" 入洞霄九鎖路間 (Along Nine-Lock Path into Dongxiao):[352]

> Where green vines hang to the ground, the bright sunlight is dimmed;
> Where fallen leaves cover the path, travelers are few.
> The young servant rushes inside and reports that there is a guest to be received,
> Startling the masters and interrupting their ongoing chess game.
>
> 綠蘿垂地白日暗，落葉滿徑行人稀。
> 青童走入報迎客，驚罷先生一局棋。

Shaded behind the dense vines was the leaf-covered path to the grotto-heaven, indicating that the sacred realm hid from the mundane crowd. Living in detached mountains, the grotto residents enjoy a peaceful life without disturbance from the outside world until the sudden visit of the poet breaks this peace. Noticing the unexpected guest, a young priest hurries inside to notify the masters. The poet probably could not know what happened on the masters' side, for he was still making his way along the path. However, he conjured up the

[351] Varsano, Paula M. "Looking for the Recluse and Not Finding Him in", p. 43.

[352] *DXSJ*, 3.253. See also in *QSS*, 2727.32130.

image of the status of the grotto inhabitants, who were surprised by his sudden visit during a chess game and had to put down the pieces to welcome him.

The image of immortals playing chess all day long was a popular motif alluding to a story in Ren Fang's 任昉 (460–508) *Shuyi ji* 述異記 (Tales Relating the Strange):

> One day during the Jin period, a certain Wang Shi was out [on the mountain] cutting trees when he chanced upon two lads playing a chess game and singing a song. Wang Shi put down his ax to listen and watch the game. The lads gave something to Wang that looked like a date-stone. After Wang Shi ate it, he no longer felt hungry. A short time later, the lads said to Wang Shi: "Why haven't you departed?" When Wang looked at his ax, the handle had already completely rotted away.
> 信安郡石室山，晉時王質伐木，至見童子數人，棋而歌，質因聽之。童子以一物與質，如棗核，質含之不覺饑。俄頃，童子謂曰："何不去？"，質起，視斧柯爛盡。[353]

In the original tale, the immortal servants were not at all disturbed by the protagonist's presence. When Wang observed the chess and listened to their songs, there was almost no communication. The silence was only interrupted when a servant reminded Wang Zhi to depart, waking him to realize that many years had passed.

Unlike the missing hermit in Jia Dao's poem and the indifferent immortals in Ren Fang's narrative, the immortals in Huang Minde's portrayal were like any unprepared hosts receiving guests on short notice. The contrast signals a changing understanding of the previous hide-and-seek relationship: the Daoist masters who dwelled in the mountains were

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[353] Mount Rotten Axe-Handle is the thirtieth auspicious place in the grotto-heaven system. See translation from Jame Hargett's article "Where are the Moth-Eyebrows? -- On the Origins of the Toponym 'Omeishan' 峨眉山." *Hanxue yanjiu* (Chinese Studies) 12.1 (1994): 335–48.
A similar story can be found in *Yiyuan* 异苑 by Liu Jingshu 刘敬叔："In the olden days, a man rode a horse into a mountain. Two elderly men were by the side of the road playing *shupu*. He got off the course, and leaned his whip on the ground and watched. He thought only a moment had passed, but when he looked at his horse whip, it had completely rotted; he then looked at his horse, and it was a skeleton. When he got home, none of his family was alive. He died from the grief.
昔有人乘马山行，遥岫里有二老翁，相对樗蒲。遂下马，以策拄地而观之。自谓俄顷，视其马鞭，灌然已烂，顾瞻其马，鞍骸骨朽，既而至家，无复亲属，一恸而绝。

not just evasive emblems of the Way, nor was the poet just an ignorant mundane seeker of the Way.

A similar yet more insightful delineation of the dynamic between literati and masters unfolds in the two versions of Dai Fugu's 戴復古 (b. 1167) poem in heptasyllabic regulated verse, the first titled "You Jiusuo" 遊九鎖 (Visiting Mount Nine Locks) and the second "Zeng Dongxiao daoshi" 贈洞霄道士 (Composed as a Gift to Dongxiao Priest).[354] The two versions' first two couplets, which praise the cultivation of the Grand Cleanse masters, are identical:

> They rest their heads high on the clear stream and recline on white clouds.
> They have the physiognomy of numinous turtles and the spirit of cranes.
> Of all visitors dwelling in Mount Nine Locks,
> Many were members of the flock of immortals.
> 高枕清流卧白雲，靈龜骨相鶴精神。
> 凡為九鎖山中客，多是群仙會裏人。

The latter half of the poem differs in the two versions. The version in the *Dongxiao Anthology* reads:

> After bathing and fumigating three times, I come to seek the Way.[355]
> Amid drinking and chanting, we discourse together about perfection.[356]
> Under the myrtle green pines next to the Auspicious Light Pavilion,[357]
> I cherish the pure breeze that washes away my mundane dust.
> 三沐三熏來訪道，一觴一詠共談真。

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[354] *DXSJ*, 4.271. *Dongxiao Anthology* and the local gazetteers recorded the version titled "Visiting Mount Nine Locks." There is also a second version titled "Gifting to Dongxiao Priest" 贈洞霄道士, which is preserved in Dai Fugu's poetry collection *Shiping shiji* 石屏詩集 (*QSS*, 2816.33588). The second couplet of the *Shiping* version writes: For all visitors dwelling in the middle of Mount Nine Locks, they must be members in the flock of immortals 凡爲九鎖山中客，定是群仙數內人. For an overview of Dai Fugu and his poetic style, see Michael Fuller, *Drifting Along Rivers and Lakes*, pp. 428-436.

[355] The concept of purifying oneself through bathing and fumigating trice is originally found in *Guoyu* 國語: "smear with aromatic and bath for three times" (*sanxin sanyu* 三釁三浴). See *Guoyu* 國語, p. 69. Han Yu alluded to this line in "Da Lü Yi shanren shu" 答呂醫山人書: "before I invite you to have a seat, I bathed and fumigated three times" 方將坐足下，三浴而三熏之. Dai adopted Han Yu's phrase directly. See Liu Zhenlun 劉真倫, Yue Zhen 岳珍 et al., *Han Yu wenji huijiao jianzhu* 韓愈文集彙校箋注. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 8.905.

[356] Wang Xizhi (321–379), Preface to the "Orchid Pavilion Poems" 蘭亭集序: a cup of wine and a song served well enough to free our most hidden feeling 一觴一詠，暢敘幽情. Owen, *Anthology*, p. 283.

[357] The Auspicious Light Pavilion is located at the entrance of the Grand Cleanse Grotto (*Dadi dong* 大滌洞).

祥光亭畔蒼松下，更惜清風洗俗塵。

The *Dongxiao* version, which could be an early draft, is less loaded with allusions. When embarking on the trip, the poet harbors a conspicuous intention: to seek the Way and learn about the Perfected. He adopts the phrase "bathing and fumigating three times" 三浴而三熏, which Han Yu had previously used, to show his sincere devotion to the masters. Unlike the Tang poets, however, he not only found the masters but also spent a joyful time with them. He even compared their gathering at the Auspicious Light Pavilion with that at the Orchid Pavilion 蘭亭, where Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) and other guests had "freed their innermost feelings" 暢敘幽情 over wine and songs. Eventually, he became one of those purified beings and rested calmly next to the sacred grotto. It is hard to argue that the poet was more sincere than his predecessors, yet he considered himself eligible not only to find the masters but also to join the "flock of immortals."

In comparison, the version from Dai's poetry collection *Shiping shiji* 石屏詩集 (Poetry Anthology of Stone Screen) is more loaded with implications:

> In front of Taming Tiger Cliff, I climb the extending emerald branches.[358]
> Beneath Hacking Dragon Pavilion, I wash away the dust of my journey.[359]
> Master, please do not laugh that I, a crazy man, am old.
> I beg for the golden elixir to treat my sick body.[360]
>
> 馴虎巖前攀逸翠，斬蛟亭下濯征塵。
> 練師莫笑狂夫老，乞我金丹養病身。

This version adopted the spirit Du Fu had displayed in "Kuangfu" 狂夫 (Crazy Man):[361]

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[358] The Taming Tiger Cliff is a site at Dongxiao where Master Guo Wen allegedly tamed a tiger.

[359] The pavilion refers to Emerald Dragon Pavilion (*Cuijiao ting* 翠蛟亭), which became famous after being named after Su Shi's poetic line: "A running stream flows under the hall like a dancing emerald dragon" 庭下流泉翠蛟舞.

[360] The line alludes to the last line in Han Yu's "Letter to Supernumerary Zhou at Suizhou" 寄隨州周員外. See *QTS*, 344:50.

[361] *QTS*, 226:7. See translation by Stephen Owen in *The Poetry of Du Fu*, 9.28, pp. 302-303.

West of Ten Thousand League Bridge, in a single thatched cottage,
the waters of Hundred Flowers Pool are my Canglang.
Wind in the azure dwarf bamboo, winsomely quiet,[362]
rain soaks the river lotus, more fragrant with passing time.
From old friends with fat salaries letters have ceased coming,
my children, constantly hungry, have forlorn complexions.
Knowing I'll be tossed in some ditch when I die, I grow only more careless and free,
and laugh at myself as a crazy man who gets crazier in old age.

萬里橋西一草堂，百花潭水即滄浪。
風含翠篠娟娟靜，雨裛紅蕖冉冉香。
厚祿故人書斷絕，恒飢稚子色淒涼。
欲填溝壑唯疎放，自笑狂夫老更狂。

Du's poem was written in 760 when he temporarily settled as a refugee in Sichuan after fleeing the An Lushan Rebellion. He retreated to a thatched hut and expressed his stance by seeing "the waters of Hundred Flowers Pool" as the water of Canglang, which washes away (*zhuo* 濯) the dust for a recluse in *Menciu*.[363] Bitter and starving, Du was nonetheless able to appreciate the bamboo and lotus outside, which in turn encouraged him to stay "careless and free," just like a crazy old man, and to stay strong in the midst of adversity.

Du Fu's poetic persona profoundly influenced Dai Fugu, who called himself a "crazy man" in many poems. In the *Shiping* version of the above poem, he modeled after Du Fu again to stay "careless and free" by enjoying the grove at a cliff. He also deliberately replaces "washes away my mundane dust" in the wind in the first version with "wash away the dust of my journey" (*zhuo zhengchen*) 濯征塵 in the spring, thus echoing Du Fu's Canglang

[362] Another version is "quiet" (*jing* 靜).

[363] "滄浪之水清兮，可以濯我纓" If the blue water is clear, it is fit to wash my chin-strap.
The line first appeared in *Mencius* and was also mentioned in the *Verses of Chu*. See *Mengzi zhushu*, 7a.196; *Chuci buzhu*, 7.179-181. See translation in D. C. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 121.
Stephen Owen explains "Canglang" as "the proverbial place of reclusion, where one could either emerge to serve or stay withdrawn, according to the situation of the times."

performance. However, he was not satisfied, as Du Fu had been, with simply becoming spiritually "crazy" while giving up his physical well-being. The grotto-heaven masters granted him the privilege of not only liberating his spirit but also conducting Daoist physical practices. To infuse his understanding of cultivation into the poem, Dai introduced a twist on Du's bitter self-mockery by imagining the masters laughing at his clumsy performance of an old crazy man. He then switches to the role of Han Yu, who on one occasion had to "beg for the Daogui elixir to save (my) sick body" 乞取刀圭救病身, and humbly asked the Daoist masters for the "golden elixir." This act epitomizes the consummation of Qi vitality cultivation (*yangqi* 養氣) in the inner alchemical tradition.[364]

Dai Fugu's choice of the latter version to include in his collection *Shiping shiji* indicates his preference. While the first version equates the poet attending the masters' sacred teachings to the gathering at the Orchid Pavilion, the *Shiping* version highlights Dai's commitment to Qi vitality cultivation through his adaptation of Du Fu and Han Yu's models. Dai implicitly connected the Daoist practice of Qi vitality with Han Yu's theory of cultivation, thereby broadening the scope of the discussion of "overflowing Qi vitality." In this term, not only was the enhancement of morality valued, but bodily cultivation became equally important. During this process, masters in sacred mountains were no longer merely elusive symbols of the ineffable Way but became approachable mentors who were

[364] For a study on "golden elixir" in the Southern Song, see Skar, "Golden Elixir alchemy: The Formation of the Southern Lineage of Taoism and the Transformation of Medieval China."

resourceful in the Daoist knowledge that the Confucian literati were increasingly interested in consulting.

(2) Traveling to the Grotto Library and Studying the Daoist Canon

Temples in grotto-heavens functioned as centers for the compilation and storage of the Daoist Canon during the Song dynasty. The fine collections were another cardinal element that made the Song literati aspire for a visit. Notably, their interest in the Daoist scriptures did not remain on a superficial level. On the contrary, many were passionately pursuing Daoist learning with a scholarly attitude. Su Shi set a typical example of literati visiting a grotto-heaven to expand Daoist knowledge. He wrote about his reading of the Daoist Canon at Shangqing Taiping Temple in Mount Zhongnan.[365] In the first two couplets of "Du Daozang" 讀道藏 (Reading the Daoist Canon), he wrote:[366]

> "How fortunate I am!" I sigh with deep gratitude.
> To have the chance to dwell in this precious jade palace.
> What does the palace hold?
> Compacted were thousands of serried scriptures.
> 嗟余亦何幸，偶此琳宮居。
> 宮中復何有，戢戢千函書。

Su Shi expressed his excitement when diving into the ocean of Daoist texts. In the following part, he explained his meditation conducted under the scriptures' guidance:

> When the utmost man apprehends a saying,
> The Way coalesces within the heart.[367]
> When the heart is at ease and reflects on itself,

[365] "Chongdao guan Daozang ji" 崇道觀道藏記 written in 1065 by Fan Zhen 范鎮 (1007–1088) lists the temples that Daoist priests know as reliable repositories for scriptures. See Hu Zhongrong 扈仲榮 (ca. 12th century) et al., *Chengdu wenlei* 成都文類 (*Siku quanshu* edn.), 37.17b-20a.

[366] Su Shi, "Du daozang" 讀道藏, *SSSJ*, 4.181–2.

[367] Middle void (*zhongxu* 中虛) refers to the heart.

It becomes glistening white like a lotus.[368]
至人悟一言，道集由中虛。
心閑反自照，皎皎如芙蕖。

The poet alluded to the critical Daoist visualization in meditative practice that figures the heart as a lotus. He also mentioned the purpose for his reading:

To say, "after thousands of years, I disdain the world and leave"—
Such words are like a straw winding mat for the dead.
People all neglect their bodies,
And treat them as detritus of the Way.[369]
How do I have the time to put the empire right?
I still am worried about a serious ailment that is yet to be treated.
千歲厭世去，此言乃籧篨。
人皆忽其身，治之用土苴。
何暇及天下，幽憂吾未除。

From Su Shi's perspective, claiming transcendence is only an awkward subterfuge to mask one's ineptitude in physical self-care. At the end of the poem, he alludes to teachings from the "Yielding the throne" chapter of *Zhuangzi*:[370]

> Shun resigned the empire to … Zizhou Zhifu. "At the moment I am worried about a serious ailment," said Zizhou Zhifu. "I'm going to put it right, and haven't time just now to put the empire right.
> 堯以天下讓……子州支父，子州支父曰：「以為我天子，猶之可也。雖然，我適有幽憂之病，方且治之，未暇治天下也。」

He stresses that learners of Daoism should not diminish their body's value in the slightest. They must prioritize the preservation of their bodies over other affairs.

Seeking true scriptures in grotto-heavens with the hope of guiding bodily cultivation became a common goal among Grand Cleanse visitors. As mentioned earlier, Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was the site of the compilation of the Daoist Canon. The project attracted

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[368] According to *Taishang Huangting neijing yujing* (DZ 331), "the organ of heart is a lotus with flower" 心部之宮蓮含華.

[369] See footnote 306.

[370] *ZZZS*, 28.504. Translation adapted based on the version from *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzu*, p. 224.

scholars with Daoist interests, among them Yang Dong 楊棟 (in office ca. 1229–1264). Yang's case is particularly interesting because he was a dedicated Neo-Confucian who followed the teachings of Zhou Dunyi and the Cheng brothers.[371] His pursuit of Daoist scriptures in the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven offers us a glimpse into literati interest in Daoist teachings and Neo-Confucian attitudes vis-à-vis Daoist cultural legacies during the Song dynasty.

Yang Dong was a frequent guest at the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven. In the preface to his two poems under the title "You Qizhen dong" 遊棲真洞 (Visiting Perching in Perfection Grotto), Yang explained the background of a trip he made in 1255:[372]

> In the tenth month of 1255 there was a long stretch of clear weather. I, Yang Dong of Mount Mei, was accompanied by my younger brother Lüzhi, together with Shi Jingbo, Du Wu, Deng Yin of Chengdu, and my little son. We sailed across the limpid River Tiao and spent a night at Dongxiao. The next day, we visited Grand Cleanse Grotto and Perching in Perfection Grotto. Then we sailed back under the moon and moored at the city bridge. (By then,) the lanterns had not yet been extinguished. "Eastern Yang" was taken from the cinnabar incantation of the Perfect Lord Yin to name the newly constructed tower of Director-in-chief Bei.
> 寶祐乙卯十月久晴，眉山楊棟弟履之，偕史靖伯、杜午、成都鄧寅，攜小兒，泛清苕，宿洞霄，明日遊大滌棲真洞，歸舟帶月，泊市橋，燈火未闌也。東陽取陰真君丹訣，名貝都監新樓。

Yang recounts his two-day sojourn to Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven in a few words. His group traveled to Dongxiao by boat along River Tiao, the most popular route for quick passage from Hangzhou to Dongxiao. The specific time of their departure is unclear, yet it

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[371] Yang Dong acted as Participant in Determining Governmental Matters (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事) when he was in office. *Song shi* records that "Dong's scholarship was rooted in the teachings of Master Zhou and Master Cheng and was very prestigious within the four seas" 棟之學本諸周、程氏，負海內重望. See Yang Dong's biography in *Song shi*, 421.9159-9161.

[372] *DXSJ*, 4.284.
The two poems were also attributed to Zhang Guifa's 章桂發 (ca. 13th century) in *Shiyuan* 詩淵 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 2.1493. However, considering the existing references including the preface and other works by Yang Dong, it is evident that the actual author should be Yang Dong.

was already nighttime when they arrived. The arrangement implied that the travel took at least half a day.[373] After a good sleep, they explored the sacred grottos. Then they headed back and arrived at Hangzhou when "the lanterns had not yet been extinguished," or probably around midnight.[374] It is worth noting that two critical details related to his visit are implicit in the last sentences: the purpose of the trip was to consecrate a newly constructed tower. During the occasion, he took the responsibility to name the tower as "Eastern *Yang*," a term picked from a Daoist scripture.

Yang mentioned "Eastern *Yang*" and the scripture again in the poems that follow. The first poem is about his departure from Hangzhou and the night spent at Dongxiao. In the second poem, Yang recalled the second day's journey:[375]

> Peaks loftily protrude, narrowly flanking the river banks.
> The stream flows rapidly through the water channel.
> Secretly, I recite the "Eastern *Yang*" instruction.
> Elevated, I compose for the residence of the supreme god.
> The child hides in a treasure chest.[376]
> The *shanzi* horse makes the carriage gallop.[377]
> In arcs, wandering *ji* star and jade *heng* star revolve.[378]

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[373] River Tiao originates from Linmu 臨目 and flows eastward, so the sail from Hangzhou to Grand Cleanse is against the current, making the trip to Dongxiao more time costly.

[374] For a reference, see "Zhonghua diguo de zuoxi shijian biao" 中華帝國的作息時間表 in Yang Liansheng 楊連陞, *Zhongguo zhidu shi yanjiu* 中國制度史研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2007).

[375] *DXSJ*, 4.284. *QSS*, 3230.38598.

[376] See *juan* 5 in *Daoshu* 道樞 (Pivot of the Dao, DZ 1017):
The infant is the fluid of the kidney.
嬰兒者，腎之水也。

[377] *Shanzi* 山子 refers to a legendary fine horse that drew King Mu's carriage. See *Liezi jishi*, 3.97: "On the left, (he) rides *daoli*, and on the right *shanzi*" 左驂盜驪而右山子. The horse is a symbol for the mind (*yi* 意).

[378] *Jiheng* 璣衡 refers to "Wandering *ji* star and jade *heng* star" (*youji yuheng* 遊璣玉衡), denoting the Big Dipper or an armillary sphere. See Lu Zijian 魯子健. "Xuanji yuheng kao" 璇璣玉衡考. *Social Science Research* 5 (1994): 85-88. *Taishang huangting neijing yujing* writes: "wandering *ji* star and jade *heng* star, their color is like emerald jade" 璇璣玉衡色蘭玕. [A variation of *langan* 蘭玕 is *langgan* 琅玕 (Jewel-fruit tree). It initially refers to a kind of celestial tree on Mount Kunlun. It later transforms into a term for a type of elixir that is produced at the first turn during the nine turns of elixir refinement. See Stephen Bokenkamp conducts a meticulous study of meaning of Langgan elixir in early Daoist texts. See Stephen R. Bokenkamp and Peter S. Nickerson, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (University of California Press, 1997), pp. 289-

At the puddle (at the end) of the stream, I can build my cottage.
山峨來夾案，泉急自穿渠。
密記東陽訣，高題上帝居。
牙兒藏寶篋，山子走籃輿。
曲折璣衡轉，溪坳可結廬。

The poem appears to be focusing on Yang's hike and the naming of the tower. Yang also reverently recalled Su Shi and his visit to Dongxiao by alluding to Su's line, "The superior ruler resides elevated but takes pity on the simpletons of the world" 上帝高居愍世頑, in the second couplet.[379] However, the poem also has a latent layer of meaning. To discern this layer, we must first understand Yang Dong's obsession with the "Eastern *Yang*" instruction.

In 1265, Yang Dong composed an epitaph for the Director-in-chief Bei, Bei Daqin 貝大欽 (ca. 1176–1265), entitled "Dongyang lou ji" 東陽樓記 (Account of Eastern *Yang* Tower), which elaborated on the context of the naming of the tower.[380]

Account of Eastern *Yang* Tower
東陽樓記

I once ascended Mount Pingdu and visited the places where Master Zhou of Lianxi once traveled. Among the dilapidated steles, I found some small fragments with two quatrains by Master Zhou. The dots and strokes were sturdy and upright as if still preserving his cordial and stern manner. Its style was like that of the Tang era. One of the poems praised Immortal Yin's "Cinnabar Instruction" and said:
余曩登平都山，訪濂溪周子舊遊，乱碑中得小片周子題兩絕句，點畫勁正，猶存溫厲之氣，官合湯時筆也。其一詠陰仙《丹訣》云：

始觀丹訣信希夷，	Upon reading the "Cinnabar Instruction," I was convinced by Xiyi.
蓋得陰陽造化機。	It seems to have disclosed the gist of y*in*, *yang*, creation, and transformation.

295. I want to express my gratitude to Professor Bokenkamp for pointing out that the term *langgan* has special connotations in the Daoist context.]
According to the annotation of the line recorded in *Yuji qiqian*, the turning dipper symbolizes "the form of the throat (Adam's apple) rolling and turning" 喉有環圓動轉之象也.

379 *DXSJ*, 2.236.

380 *DXTZ*, 6.185-187.

子自母生能致立（主），	If the child is born from the mother, one will attend the master.[381]
精神合後更知微。	After the essence and spirit are united, one could learn further about the tenuity.

I also got to see a piece of "Cinnabar Instruction" from the mountain dwellers. It has been lingering on my mind for some twenty years, and I can still recall it. My predecessor's tomb is located in Yuhang. While residing in my hut among the mountains, I visited Dongxiao multiple times. The manuscript of the Daoist Canon was very authentic. When I went out of my hut and had nothing to do, I would borrow the manuscript from time to time. It was not long before I had read it through and I understood that in what the "Cinnabar Instruction" contains, Master Zhou's "one word says it all."[382]

The Director-in-Chief of the temple palace had the surname Bei, and his given name was Daqin. He was from Yuhang, and his granted sobriquet was Lingyi (Numinous One). He constructed a small tower. Inside the house, (the decorations) were neither extravagant nor frugal, and (visitors) could either compose poems or have a feast. I loved how he lingered beyond the mundane just like a bird spreading its wings, so I visited him at the tower with some guests. He requested a name (for the tower). Just then, the sun was rising above the lofty mountain ridge. I thus composed the three characters "Eastern *Yang* (Sun) Tower" and offered them to him. The term was picked from the "Instruction" by Immortal Yin. Now more than a decade has passed, and I have already forgotten the "Cinnabar Instruction." Only the meaning in Master Zhou's poem is still blazing clear like the flame of a candle in my mind.
又從山中人得觀丹訣一篇，二十年間徃來于心，未忘也。先墓在餘杭。廬居山中，數遊洞霄，道藏寫本甚真。出廬無事，時得假借。無何閱之徧，則知《丹訣》所云，周子一言蔽之矣。
宮殿都監貝其姓，大欽其名，餘杭人，賜號靈一，作小樓，寮中不侈不約，可詩可觴。愛其翼然於塵外也，與客造焉。請名，適朝陽出高崗之上，因作東陽樓三字遺之，摘陰仙《訣》中語也。今又十餘年矣，《丹訣》則已忘之，惟周子詩中之意燭然心目。

Yang Dong's account begins with his experience in Sichuan during the 1230s. He recalled a visit to Mount Pingdu, the forty-fifth auspicious place in the Daoist sacred

[381] The "child" refers to *yin* while the "mother" refers to *yang*. See Chart 2 below on the correlative elements.

[382] The sentence alludes to *The Analects*: "For the three hundred poems, one word says it all" 詩三百，一言以蔽之. See *Lunyu zhushu*, p. 14.

geography.[383] Instead of achieving a Daoist epiphany, however, Yang encountered a Daoist poem on the instructions of the Daoist immortal Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (ca. 120–210) written by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), the alleged founder of Neo-Confucianism who was deeply learned in Daoism.[384] He also read a scripture carrying Yin Changsheng's alchemical instructions alongside the poem.[385] The scripture probably did not offer sufficient details for Yang to comprehend Zhou's poem, so he conducted research in the archives in Dongxiao Temple several years later. The scriptures enlightened him on the essence of the Daoist teachings and, subsequently, Zhou's "one word." To underscore the intellectual lineage, he named Master Bei's tower at Dongxiao with a term he considered quintessential— "Eastern *Yang*."

The key to understanding Zhou's "one word says it all" lies in the message delivered by "Immortal Yin's 'Cinnabar Instruction.'" Scholars argue that the scripture refers to a lost text titled "Zhongzhou Xiandu guan Yinzhenjun jindan jue" 忠州仙都觀陰真君金丹訣 (Zhongzhou Immortal Capital Temple Instruction on Golden Cinnabar by Perfected Lord Yin).[386] Although the text is not available, the lines that Yang Dong alluded to were

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[383] The landscape was famous for its legacies left by the first patriarch Zhang Daoling 張道陵 (34—156) and the legendary Daoist immortal Yin Changsheng 陰長生 (ca. 120–210).

[384] Zhou integrated the Daoist interpretations of the *Classic of Changes* into his Confucian thoughts. He entered the shrine of Neo-Confucian sages only because his ideas might loosely inspire the Cheng brothers, and Zhu Xi found the inclusion of Zhou's discussion of *Taiji* 太極 indispensable for his construction of the *Daoxue* lineage. For related discussions, see Tsuchida Kenjiro 土田健次郎, *Daoxue zhi xingcheng* 道學之形成, Zhu Gang 朱剛 trans. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), pp. 119-163.

[385] It is possible that the priest had been introducing the "Instruction" to visitors since Su Zhe's time. Su Zhe mentioned about his witness of a rubbing of the "Instruction of Golden Elixir by Perfected Lord Yin" at Zhongzhou's Immortal Capital Temple in the "Instruction on Life Cultivation and Golden Elixir" 養生金丹訣, in which he referred to the temple priest's words to underscore the importance of inner alchemy practice.
See Su Zhe 蘇轍, *Longchuan luezhi Longchuan biezhi* 龍川略志 龍川別志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997 reprint), p. 3.

[386] Zheng Qiao 郑樵 (1104–1162), *Tongzhi* 通志. vol. 67 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 5.793a.

preserved in other scriptures. For example, the Tang dynasty scripture called *Jinye huandan baiwen jue* 金液還丹百問訣 (Expiations of the "Hundred Questions" on the Cyclically Transformed Elixir of Liquefied Gold, DZ 266) has the following:

> The "Song of Perfected Lord Yin" says the correct Qi vitality of the North is the waterwheel. *Jia* and *yi* (directions) of the Eastern *Yang* become golden sand (elixir).
> 《陰真君歌》曰：北方正氣為河車，東陽甲乙成金砂。

The "waterwheel" (*heche* 河車) is a metaphor denoting the inner alchemical method that practices the kidneys, which are imagined as waterwheels, to elevate the vital liquid, or the sperm, up to the brain to restore the practitioner's vitality.[387]

Song dynasty scriptures, including *Taiqing yubei zi* 太清玉碑子 (Jade Stele of the Taiqing [Heaven], DZ 927) and *Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu* 陰真君還丹歌註 (Commentary on Yin Zhenjun's Song of the Cyclically Transformed Elixir, DZ 134), offer an expanded version of the text. Both mention the following line, which provides a note to clarify how the "Instruction" transformed into Zhou Dunyi's poem:

> *Zi* (which also means son) is called the tiger, and *mao* (the homophone of "mother" 母) is the dragon. The dragon and the tiger bear together, and they are naturally integrated and assimilated.
> 子稱虎，卯為龍，龍虎相生自合同。

The above scriptures establish a set of correlations centering on *yin* and *yang*:

	Four Directions	Five Elements	Heavenly Stems	Earthly Branches	Dragon and Tiger
Yin	North	Water	*ren* 壬 and *gui* 癸	*zi* 子 (son)	Tiger
Yang	East	Wood	*jia* 甲 and *yi* 乙	*mao* 卯 (mother)	Dragon

For related research, see Zhang Zhaowei 張昭煒. " 'Dongyang lou ji' zhong toushi de Zhou Dunyi sixiang zhi jingyi"《東陽樓記》中透視的周敦頤思想之精義 (Zhou Dunyi's Essential Doctrine Reflected by Dong Yang Lou Ji). *Journal of Hunan University(Social Sciences)* 27.4 (2013): 106-108; Fang Xudong 方旭東. "Zhurou yu longrou—Zhu Xi yu Daojiao danxue de yiduan gong'an" 豬肉與龍肉——朱熹與道教丹學的一段公案 (Pork and Dragon Meat: A Case of Zhu Xi and Taoist Dan Xue). *Studies in World Religions* 5 (2019): 61-71.

[387] *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鐘呂傳道集 (Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Art [of Immonality] to Lü Dongbin: A Collection, DZ 263.14) from the tenth century is the best reference for this practice.

Chart 2　Elements with *yin* and *yang* correlation

In other words, Zhou Dunyi's second line noting "the gist of *yin*, *yang*, creation, and transformation" accentuates the core concepts of Perfected Lord Yin's "Instruction." The latter half of the poem elucidates the relationship of *yin* and *yang* and uses it to illustrate the refinement of essence and spirit, the basis of inner alchemical cultivation. Yang Dong was able to comprehend Zhou Dunyi's wit in the poem only after he surveyed the Dongxiao repository broadly on the teachings of inner alchemy.

The knowledge of inner alchemy also became the foundation of Yang's Perching in Perfection Grotto poem, which is embellished with inner alchemical jargon: flanking riverbanks symbolize the lower part of the spine, called the "flanking spine" (*jiaji* 夾脊) in connection with the notion of "flying the gold essence behind the elbow" 肘後飛金晶;[388] the infant refers to the kidney, while the stream signifies the "fluid of the kidney" or sperm;[389] and the horse represents the mind (*yi* 意). Eventually, the revolving dipper indicates the swallowing action of the throat, leading to the consummation of the practice—developing the elixir in the head. In sum, Yang represented a transcendental journey by connecting his internal Qi vitality circulation, directed by the inner alchemical "Instruction" by Immortal Yin, to his external wandering in the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven.

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[388] *Daoshu*, *juan* 38 explains the steps of "flying the gold essence behind the elbow" 肘後飛金晶: "raise the gold potion from behind the kidney and between the Tailbone Gate (*weilü xue* 尾閭穴), and move it to the 'flanking spine.' From the 'flanking spine' and 'double gates,' it further ascends and arrives at the Upper Palace (referring to the head). It does not cease at replenishing the brain with Qi vitality from the kidney" 自腎之後尾間升之，至於夾脊，自夾脊雙關升之，至於上宮，不止於腎氣補腦.
The practice appeared roughly round the tenth century and was inherited by the Quanzheng school of Daoism 全真道. Louis Komjathy provides a detailed explanation of this cultivation in his book, see *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and self-transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Brill, 2007), pp. 208-210, 314.fn116.

[389] *Ibid.*, *juan* 5: "The kidney takes the charge of the north, and its Heavenly Stems are *ren* and *gui*. Its virtue is in water, and its *gua* is called *kan*. Its name is infant." 腎者司北，其干壬癸，其德在水，其卦曰坎，其名曰嬰兒.

Yang Dong also explained the underlying logic of his fascination with inner alchemy in the following part of the epitaph:

> I said: The Principle of Origin indicated by *qian* is a spirit of *yang*. From it, I derive my beginning. The Principle of Origin indicated by *kun* is a spirit of *yin*. From it, I derive my life. The Principle of Origin is the oneness, and it separates into two entities. Hence, there comes superiority and inferiority, and nobleness and lowliness. …… If (things) would preserve one another, then they would be united, and the union would lead to great harmony. Things rise from harmony and die from transformation. The essence and spirit unite in oneness, equating to the sun and the moon uniting in oneness. If the sun and the moon unite in oneness, then the Principle of Origin indicated by *qian* and *kun* restores oneness. This is the righteous Way of Heaven and Earth, the axiom of the myriad things.
> 余曰：乾元陽神，吾資以始，坤元陰精，吾資以生。元，一也，而分二體，於是有尊卑，有貴賤。……相保則合，合為大和。物生於和，死於變。精神合一，即日月合一。日月合一，乾坤之元復為一。此天地之正道，萬物之公理。

He traced the provenance of the "Instruction" to the *Classic of Changes*, the shared root of Daoist and Neo-Confucianist theories, and argued that the unification of things was the ultimate way of nourishing life (*sheng* 生). He legitimized the boosting of life through the transcendental Daoist cultivation of inner alchemy as a pivotal means for self-cultivation in a broader sense, including the Confucian cultivation commonly pursued by the secular elites of his time. The grotto-heaven landscape was thus augmented as a trove of teachings and the field of practice for all seekers of "the principle (*li* 理) of the myriad things." In turn, seekers of oneness could find the true teachings in the grotto-heaven and prosper with all things through their unification with the sacred mountains.

III Healing or Causing Illness: Chronic Landscape Obsession

The renewed understanding of sacred landscape retreat that emphasized bodily cultivation and restoration did not heal the "addiction (*bingpi* 病癖) to mountains and

waters." On the contrary, the Song dynasty literati carried it forward by promulgating two additional formulations: "the incurable disease of streams and rocks" 泉石膏肓 (*quanshi gaohuang*) and "the chronic illness of mists and clouds" 煙霞痼疾 (*yanxia guji*). The phrases juxtapose two sets of oxymoronic concepts: the sacred mountain elements that could benefit visitors' health and an addiction that developed like a permanent illness.

Although these phrases were allegedly first coined by a Tang dynasty hermit named Tian Youyan 田遊岩 (ca. 670s), the earliest treatise that documented Tian's story was the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old Tang History).[390] The entry first introduced Tian's dismissal from office and retreat to Mount Song with his family. Then, he wrote about Emperor Gaozong's (r. 649–683) summons to Tian:

> Gaozong went on an inspection tour to Mount Song. He sent Xue Yuanchao (623–685), gentleman attendant at the Secretariat, to visit and extend greetings to his mother and granted them medicine and silk. The emperor went to his door in person, and Youyan came out to pay reverence to him in simple attire. His deportment was respectful and sincere. The emperor ordered his subordinates to have him rise and said: "How is your health, master?" (Tian) replied: "My (condition) is what is known as 'the incurable disease of streams and rocks and the chronic illness of mists and clouds.'" The emperor said: "Having you serve for me, how is this different from Emperor Wu of Han having the service of the Four Hoary Sages (on Mount Shang)?"[391] Xue Yuanchao eulogized the emperor: "The Han emperor intended to demote the son of the empress and establish the son of a concubine as heir. This was why the four hermits came out of reclusion. How could that be compared to your majesty's attending the rock and cave in person?" The emperor was pleased, so he ordered Youyan to take his family to the capital and be appointed a scholar in the Institute for the Veneration of Literature.
> 高宗幸嵩山，遣中書侍郎薛元超就問其母，賜藥物絮帛。帝親至其門，遊巖野服出拜，儀止謹樸。帝令左右扶止，謂曰：「先生比佳否？」答曰：「臣所謂泉石膏肓，烟霞痼疾者。」帝曰：「朕得君，何異漢獲四皓乎？」薛元超贊帝曰：「漢欲廢嫡立庶，故四人者為出，豈如陛下親降巖穴邪？」帝悅，因敕遊巖將家屬乘傳赴都，拜崇文館學士。

[390] *Jiu Tang shu*, 192.5117. The story is also mentioned in *Xin Tang shu*. See *Xin Tang shu*, 196.5598.

[391] See footnote 61 for the introduction of the Four Hoary Sages.

The narrative adopts the traditional paradigm of a hermit tale, which concentrates on the emperor's successful summoning of a hermit, signifying his benevolent and righteous ruling. The story gained great popularity starting in Cheng Ju 程俱 (1078–1144) and Zhou Zizhi's 周紫芝 (b. 1082) generation.

Interestingly, although the story was tailored in various versions, the specific part that remained consistent and became a poetic allusion was the hermit's diagnosis of his health condition: the incurable disease of streams and rocks and the chronic illness of mists and clouds. As compared to Bai Juyi's landscape addiction, Tian's reply was novel in three ways: while Bai Juyi's addiction to "the pure streams and white rocks" (*qingquan baishi* 清泉白石) was potentially curable when he entered the actual landscape, the "disease" that Tian developed during his seclusion in Mount Song was "incurable" and "chronic." Bai interpreted his landscape addiction as "my life's desire" (*zhi* 志), but Tian's answer addressed the emperor's question about his health, hence espousing a bodily emphasis. More intriguingly, although the term "streams and rocks" does not indicate the type of landscape, the phrase "mists and clouds," which could refer to Qi vitality of sacred peaks, appears more frequently in literary works about mysterious mountains with Daoist significance.[392] The above features made the "the incurable disease of streams and rocks" and "the chronic illness of mists and clouds," and especially the latter, a laudable condition in Song dynasty poems on literati visits to grotto-heavens.

[392] *Pianzi leibian* has a list of poetic lines that use the term "mists and clouds" (*yanxia* 煙霞). It can offer a quick glimpse into the context for the usage of this term. See Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 (1672–1755), *Yuding pianzi leibian* 御定駢字類編 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), 1.14.1b.

Harboring the chronic desire to approach "mists and clouds," poets rendered the sense of incurability in various ways. Yu Maoshi 俞茂實 (ca. Southern Song), in his "You Dadi" 游大滌 (Traveling to Grand Cleanse), began with the following couplet:[393]

I have not yet cured my chronic illness of mists and clouds,
So I come for a trip to the Grand Cleanse (Grotto-heaven).
未了煙霞痼，來從大滌遊。

He chose the word "have not yet" (*wei* 未) over its homophonic word "for the purpose of" (*wei* 為), implying that, albeit driven by his "illness," he did not make the trip for the sake of curing it but kept it in a lasting status. Another landscape fanatic, Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193), was even more assertive than Yu Maoshi. In his poem "Churu Da'e" 初入大峨 (On Entering Mount Greater E for the First Time), Fan commented as he visited the main peak of the seventh grotto-heaven Mount Emei:[394]

The recurrent sickness of mists and clouds needs no cure.
For this departure, it is truly like the appointment with Vast Waters.[395]
煙霞沉痼不須醫，此去真同汗漫期。

Resonating with the core Daoist ideal of "non-action," Fan candidly denies the need to treat his illness and compares his trip to the wandering with the immortal Vast Waters mentioned in *Huainanzi*. Although Confucian ethics still denigrated any attempt to leave the mundane, by the Southern Song a group of grotto-heaven mountain visitors had formed. These lovers of sacred landscapes created a forceful poetic persona that performed physical cultivation

[393] *DXSJ*, 3.258. *QSS*, 3754.45309.

[394] *QSS*, 2257.25923.

[395] This alludes to "I have already arranged to meet Vast Waters beyond the Nine Limit" 吾与汗漫期於九垓之外 mentioned in the chapter "Responses of the Way" 應道訓 in *Huainanzi*. See He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 12.887. See translation in Major, John S., Sarah A. Queen, et al., *The Huainanzi, A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China of Liu An, King of Huainan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p. 472.

through synchronizing with the mountain essence and the Daoist wisdom the sacred landscapes yielded. This persona became the key to confronting the stigmatization of their mountain indulgence.

Subsequently, the ground supporting the early motif of great seclusion in market and court as a way to preserve the body also collapsed. Cheng Gongxu 程公許 (d. 1251) wrote in the first verse of "Xie Huiming Wang daoshi zi Damian shan jizeng sanshi bing mi huangjing" 謝慧明王道士自大面山寄贈三詩并蜜黃精 (Thanking Daoist Priest Wang of Huiming for Sending Me the Gift of Three Poems and Honey-Soaked Sealwort from Mount Damian):[396]

> Again and again, I meet with you at Mount Min.
> Together, we raise the saint and sage in our gourd wine vessel.
> *One might speak of market and court are places for the great hermit,*
> *But how could this compare to (retreating) to mountains and marshes and befriending the thin immortals?*[397]
> The bright moon in the sky is the place for achieving enlightenment in the heart.
> The froth on the surface of the sea (of clouds) awakens me from mundane karma.
> How could we find a niche where we might meet from time to time,
> Draping the clouds and mists over our shoulders in laughter and clearing up the azure sky?
>
> 與君一再會岷山，共把匏尊中聖賢。
> *强說市朝爲大隱，何如山澤友臞仙。*
> 空中皓月參心地，海面浮漚悟世緣。
> 安得一龕時晤語，笑披雲霧豁青天。

[396] *QSS*, 2993.35641.
The landscape where Priest Wang resided, Mount Emerald Citadel 青城山, was an important Daoist sacred mountain and one of the birthplaces of Daoism. According to *Sichuan zongzhi*, Mount Emerald Citadel is "the fifth grotto-heaven, and the place where deities and immortals gather" 第五洞天，乃神仙都會之所. Its main peak is Mount Min 岷山, which is previously known as Mount Damian 大面山. See the entry on "Mount Emerald Citadel" in "Fangyu huibian" 方輿彙編, "Shanchuan dian" 山川典, *juan* 172 of *Qinding gujin tushu jicheng* 欽定古今圖書集成.

[397] The "thin immortal" alludes to Sima Xiangru's description of mountain immortals. He considered their emaciated shape (*qu* 臞) as inappropriate for a ruler's pursuit of a true immortal. Therefore, he composed "Daren fu" 大人賦. See *Shiji*, 117.3702-3703.

This was not the only time that Cheng received honey-soaked sealwort, a mountain herb for longevity, from Priest Wang. In another poem commemorating the gift of sealwort, Cheng portrayed Wang as an expert in the inner alchemical practice known as "flying the gold essence behind the elbow."[398] In other words, his friendship with Wang hinged on the exchange of knowledge and materials for Daoist physical cultivation. With the master's company, residing in the grotto-heaven landscape was no longer a choice for the petty hermits and physical deprivation. Instead, it became an option preferable to the city-dwelling of the great hermits. The "thin immortals," a term from the "Daren fu" 大人賦 (Rhapsody on the Great Man) designating the mountain immortals who were, in the view of author Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca. 179 BCE–117 BCE), too thin to serve as an imperial ideal, now became the model for a Daoist master, who consumed the mountain essence and cultivated inner alchemy in accordance with the new literati ideal.

In other words, as literati established grotto-heavens as destinations for nourishing the body and comprehending the Way, the sacred landscapes also offered them a new avenue to advance their cultivation as literati. Consequently, the grotto-heaven space was also assimilated into the poetic repertoire as part of the literati space, allowing the literati to feed a lasting addiction.

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[398] See in *Cangzhou chen fou bian* 滄洲塵缶編 (13th ca.; *Siku quanshu* edn.), 12.26b-27a: "Daoist Priest Wang of Huiming Giving me Honey-Soaked Sealwort" 慧明王道士贈蜜黃精
Parted for years with the priest of Huiming,
who never imparts his esoteric cultivation of flying the gold essence behind the elbow.
Sharing with me the sealwort soaked by the honey harvested from cliffs.
With icy countenance, I possibly could long for immortal transcendence.
慧明道士別經年，肘後飛金秘不傳。
崖蜜黃精分遺我，冰容或可覬飛仙。

Chapter Four

Embodying the Mountain, Manifesting the Sage: Grotto-heaven as Inner Alchemical Body

The Song literati's literary reconstruction of the grotto-heaven did not simply transform the sacred Daoist landscape into another literati space, like gardens or studios, for self-manifestation. With knowledge acquired from their conversations with local Daoist priests and readings of the scriptures stored in the local temple, literati also gained deeper insights into deciphering landscape's Daoist connotations. This advanced understanding resonated with their learning in the classics studied by both the Confucians and Daoists. The insights also empowered them to incorporate new ways to represent the grotto mountains, which revealed a new device that could benefit literati's self-cultivation. This chapter will focus on literati's fashioning of the grotto-heaven mountains in their poetry as their inner alchemical body and discuss how literati's wandering in the grotto-heaven landscape constituted a performative embodiment of the perfected body of the ancient sage king.

The discussion of humanized mountains, an essential theme in the Song dynasty literary representation, has not attracted sufficient scholarly attention. Yoshikawa Kōjirō had a well-known observation about the representation of nature in Song poetry:

> Song poetry is deeply interested in human beings, and to that extent, its treatment of nature is apathetic and lacking in distinction.[399]

Yoshikawa's statement, which had a profound influence on later researchers, created the impression that Song literati were more concerned about the self than about mountains and

[399] Yoshikawa, Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, *Song Yuan Ming shi gaishuo*, pp. 39-40. See the English translation in *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*. Burton Watson trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).

rivers. Although he acknowledged that the anthropocentric feature of the Song landscape poetry was an interesting phenomenon, he generally considered the Song poets' landscape depictions as awkward and inferior than the Tang dynasty poems. Yoshikawa's judgment could probably be based on the traditional poetic criticism of landscape poems that values the status of sitting in oblivion (*zuowang* 坐忘) from Daoism or non-self (*wuwo* 無我, anātman) in Buddhism, the salient concepts epitomized by Wang Wei's landscape poems.[400] Superimposing the physical body onto landscapes violates such expectations as the poet explicitly projects his concern of the self onto the mountains instead of forgetting it, thus is aesthetically unfavorable. Consequently, representations of mountains and other natural objects in the anthropocentric poems have not hitherto become a critical topic in the studies of the Song poetics. Discussion of the factors that inspired Song poets' human-centered representation has also been limited.

Nevertheless, a few scholars have noticed the lack of research on this theme. Although they did not elaborate, both Stephen Owen and Shang Wei noticed that the idea of a corporeal mountain already appeared in Han Yu's "Nanshan shi" 南山詩 (South Mountains) in its eulogy of the mighty creator of the world (*zaowu zhu* 造物主):[401]

Mighty they stand between Heaven and Earth,

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[400] Wang Guowei 王國維 was a critical figure in shaping this judgment in modern Chinese poetics. He argues that there are two tendencies in Chinese poetry, namely "the realm in which the self is present" 有我之境 and "the realm of non-self" 無我之境. Wang Guoying 王國瓔 in her study of landscape poetry underscored the preference for the withdrawal or forgetting of the self. See:
Ye Jiaying 葉嘉瑩. *Wang Guowei jiqi wenxue piping* 王國維及其文學批評 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue chubanshe, 2008), pp. 185-202.
Wang Guoying 王國瓔. *Zhongguo shanshui ski yanjiu* 中國山水詩研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), pp. 291-330.

[401] *QTS*, See Stephen Owen's *The End of the Chinese 'Middle Ages': Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 34-40; and Shang, Wei. "Taoye lai shipian: shiren yu zaowu" 陶冶賴詩篇：詩人與造物. *Dushu* 5 (2021): 92-102.

In orderly function like the body's ducts and veins.
大哉立天地，經紀肖營腠。

Especially, Shang Wei argues that the sage king Yu the Great (*da Yu* 大禹) was pivotal in the mid-Tang poetic imagination of the creator role. As for the Song poets, Andrew L. March points out that Su Shi was particularly interested in representing material landscape like mountains "as a biological body like man's."[402] Colin Hawes argues against Yoshikawa in his examination of Northern Song poetry and states that Song poets wrote extensively on the exceptional natural world as a humanized nature to revive their spirits.[403] In both cases it is clear that the humanized mountains may have important stories to tell. Yamamoto Kazuyoshi, examining the factors that drove the Song poets to personify nature, points out that, unlike their predecessors who regarded natural things as distant, the Song poets believed themselves to share a common principle with nature.[404] However, literary researchers have not yet contextualized the belief with additional textual references, especially from religious texts, and have not reflected on the new devices the poets employed to demonstrate their unique relationship with nature.

Although not much considered in literary studies, the representation of mountains as a human figure has become a vital topic in Song dynasty art history research in recent years. Art historians have noticed a cultural trend among the Song landscape painters, who engaged

[402] See Andrew Lee March's "Landscape in the Thought of Su Shih (1036-1101)" (University of Washington, Ph.D. Diss., 1964), pp. 43-45; and his article "Self and landscape in Su Shih." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86.4 (1966): 377-396.

[403] See the discussion in Chapter Six of Colin S. C. Hawes's *The Social Circulation of Poetry in the Mid-Northern Song: Emotional Energy and Literati Self-cultivation* (SUNY Press, 2012).

[404] Yamamoto Kazuyoshi 山本和義, *Shiren yu zaowu–Su Shi lunkao* 詩人與造物—蘇軾論考, Zhang Jian 張劍 trans. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2013), pp. 292-293.

body elements in their landscape paintings. A widely cited piece of textual evidence is found in the synthesis of Guo Xi's 郭熙 (1020–1090) painting theory, *Linquan gaozhi* 林泉高致 (Lofty Message of Forest and Streams):[405]

> Water is the veins and arteries of the mountain; plants and trees are its hair; mist and clouds are the splendors of its spirit. Therefore, the mountain becomes alive through its water, becomes beautiful through its plants and trees, and becomes charming through its mist and clouds.
>
> 山以水為血脈，以草木為毛發，以煙雲為神彩。故山得水而活，得草木而華，得烟雲而秀媚。[406]

It has been argued that Guo Xi's theory inspired many painters in later generations to visualize landscapes as human bodies. One example is Liang Kai's 梁凱 (ca. 1140–1210) "Pomo xianren tu" 潑墨仙人圖 (Immortal in Splashed–ink) (Figure 6), which implicitly compares a drunken immortal to a mountain: Liang made innovative use of the brush technique typically adopted in landscape paintings to paint the immortal figure, structuring him in the shape of a monumental mountain.[407]

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[405] Many art historians of Northern Song landscape paintings have studied this corporeal representation, and Guo Xi's theory is a common reference. See Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, pp. 79-80; and Hartman, "Mountains as Metaphors in T'ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century."
Nevertheless, as Alfreda Murch points out, the theory is likely to be Guo Si's 郭思 fabrication catering to Emperor Huizong's Daoist taste with the wish to elevate his father Guo Xi's status. See the discussion in Alfreda Murck's *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), p. 200.
It is also worth noting that hair or countenance are not part of the five organs (*wuzang* 五臟) exercised in a typical Daoist inner alchemical cultivation. The two parts mostly served as indicators: if a practice is successful, the practitioner will retain black hair and a ruby face. Therefore, Guo Si's interpretation of Guo Xi's painting has some discrepancies with the professional knowledge of Daoist physical practices, particularly inner alchemy.

[406] Guo Si 郭思 (d. after 1123), *Linquan gaozhi ji* 林泉高致集 (Lofty Appeal of Forests and Streams) (Siku quanshu edn.), 10a.

[407] Liang Kai 梁凱 (ca. 1140-1210), "Immortal in Splashed-ink," Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 48.7 x 27.7 cm (National Palace Museum, Taipei). Kristofer Schipper offers a brief analysis of this painting in relation to the topic of the inner landscape. See page 108 and note 28-29 in Chapter 6 of *The Taoist Body*.

Figure 6

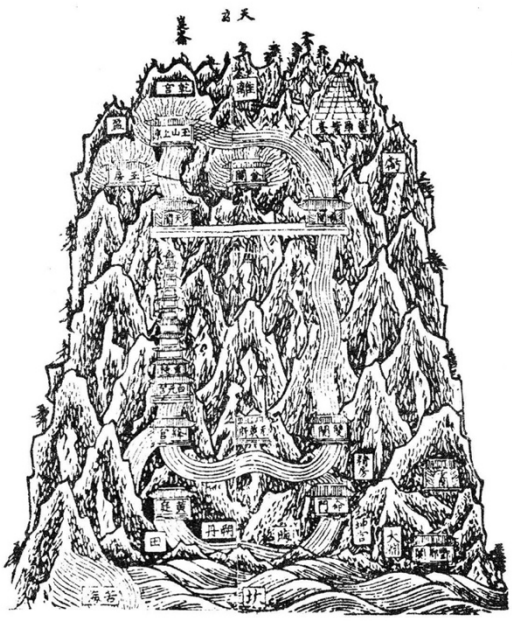

Figure 7

Scholars have attempted to trace the antecedents and outline the cultural context of the Song painters' obsession with the body-mountain homology. Charles Hartman probes into the influence of late-Tang religions on the formation of this vision.[408] A key hypothesis he poses is that the Daoist cultivation practice of inner alchemy, which gradually developed into a vogue among Song literati, served as the main factor of inspiration. Inner alchemy was closely associated with the cultivation of inward observation (*neiguan* 內觀)–a medieval Daoist method that attempted to correlate the inner form of the body with the outer form of the cosmos.[409] The practice became more influential in the Song dynasty as it gained popularity among secular practitioners, particularly literati.

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[408] See Hartman, "Mountains as Metaphors in T'ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century." Other art historians also supported this idea. For the hypothesis on the relation between inner alchemy and landscape painting, see in *Picturing the True Form*, pp. 78-85.

[409] During the Six Dynasties (222–589), the belief in the microcosmic body became a building block for the corporeal imagination of Daoist practitioners. The Daoists regarded the ability to obtain the vision of a corresponding body to be a manifestation of one's aptitude to see the "True Form" 真形, a representation of the Way. For examples, see *Taishang laojun zhongjing* 太上老君中經 (The Most High Lord Lao's Book of the Center, DZ 1168) in *juan* 17 and 18 of *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Cloudy Bookcase with Seven Labels, DZ 1032).
According to Schipper's overview of the Daoist bodily imagination from early to medieval period, Daoism embraced a unique symbolic vision of the human body, which derived from the existing theological vision and the empirical vision that tied to early mythological and medical traditions. See Chapter Six "The Inner Landscape" in Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, pp.

Additional visual evidence from the thirteen century shows that illustrations of mountains were used as a device for inner alchemical cultivation rather than merely as a visual assimilation based upon the speculations of correlative cosmology. One piece of evidence is the inner alchemy chart entitled "Yinyang tixiang shengjiang tu" 陰陽體象升降圖 (Figure 7, Illustration of Ascension and Descension of Yin and Yang in the Body, hereafter "Illustration," see below), included in a commentary on the *Duren jing* 度人經 (*Scripture of Salvation*, DZ 1) composed by the Daoist master Xiao Yingsou 蕭應叟 (ca. 13th century).[410] The chart, completed in 1226, is the earliest extant pictorial illustration of the imagined inner alchemical landscape, which comprises a mountain labeled with tags indicating organs inside a human body.[411] It shows that mountain imagery was already an

100–112. In the meditative practice of Upper Clarity Daoism, the symbolic vision served as the foundation for the cultivation of "interior landscape" achieved by the practice of "making [something in mind] present through imagination" (存思 *cunsi*). Such a cultivation reveals the True Forms of the body and attempts to attain immortality through meditation and imagination. It is worth noticing that although the meditative vision begins from the "grotto chamber" 洞房 in one's head and scans the whole body, which appears to liken the head to a cave, the body is not visualized as a specific mountain landscape. Rather, achieving the vision of viscera is considered an aptitude that can be achieved only after dedicated meditative practice. It prepares one's spirit to depart from the body and transcend with deities who govern the body to travel among the mythical sacred mountains. The sacred mountains are deemed to be the destinations of spiritual travel outside of the body and yet are regarded as a figural representation of a concrete human body. See: John Lagerwey's *Paradigm Shifts in Early and Modern Chinese Religion: A History* (Brill, 2018), pp. 100–101; and Schipper, Kristofer. "The True Form: Reflections on the Liturgical Basis of Taoist Art." *Sanjiao wenxian* 4 (2005): 91-113.

410 Xiao Yingsou's 蕭應叟 (ca. 13th century) illustration appears in *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* 元始無量度人上品妙經內義 (scripture dated to 1226, DZ 90). The information about Xiao is very limited. According to *Huandan mijue yang chizi shenfang* 還丹祕訣養赤子神方 (Divine Recipes for Nourishing the Infant according to the Secret Process of Retuned Cinnabar, DZ 232), Xiao was from Fuzhou. His sobriquet was Runqing 潤清. He was recognized as the Ritual Master of the Upper Clarity of the Great Cavern in the Mysterious Capital of Three Luminance 上清大洞玄都三景法師. For a more detailed introduction to Xiao Yingsou and his annotation, see Bede Benjamin Bidlack's *In Good Company: The Body and Divinization in Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, SJ and Daoist Xiao Yingsou* (Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 89-119. Zeng Shaonan 曾召南 provides a systematic analysis of Xiao's "Yinyang tixiang shengjiang tu," see "Shi xi *Durenjing neiyi* de neidan sixiang" 試析《度人經內義》的內丹思想 in Chen Shengbai 陳聲柏 ed., *Xuebu ji: Zeng Shaonan daojiao yanjiu lungao* 學步集：曾召南道教研究論稿 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2008), pp. 83-93.
It is also important to note that *Durenjing* initially consisted only one *juan* but was expanded to sixty *juan* under the influence of Huizong's promotion of Daoism. In the Southern Song dynasty, it became one of the most important Daoist texts for both Daoist professional and lay readers. See von Glahn's brief discussion on this issue in Chapter Five of *The Sinister Way*, pp. 71-71, 156-157.

411 Catherine Despeux's refers to Xiao's chart as the archetype for "the Body as a Mountain." See Catherine Despeux's *Taoism and Self Knowledge: The Chart for the Cultivation of Perfection (Xiuzhen tu)* (Brill, 2018), pp. 6-38. Shih-Shan Huang in *Picturing the True Form* offers an informative discussion of this chart and argues from an art historian's perspective that it was derived from the Northern Song monumental landscape painting. See Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, pp. 78-85.

important pictorial device for professional inner alchemical practice. Nevertheless, because the composer was a Daoist professional, the chart cannot serve as a direct revelation of the literati vision. It is also unknown if Xiao Yingsou's vision shared common ground with the humanized mountains visualized by the Song poets and scholars like Su Shi.

This chapter will take up this issue from a different angle by examining literati writings composed at Grand Cleanse Grotto–heaven. The compositions of Grand Cleanse not only reflect the same vision, but they also offer a vantage point from which to analyze the literati body, sacred mountains, and inner alchemical tradition in the same textual context, revealing the underlying knowledge that inspired the integration of the three dimensions. I argue that the literati approach to grotto–heavens in sacred mountains played a critical role in leading them to conceive the body as a mountain. Their representation entertained the concept of Daoist bodily refinement by ritualizing the ascension of mountains. The kinetic performance in the corporeal landscape also enabled literati to embody the movement of the sage king from the antiquity, manifesting a more profound understanding of literati identity and cultivation in relation to nature and the empire.

I Su Shi's Understanding of Grand Cleanse Grotto–heaven

The grotto-heaven space offered literati new ways to stage their mountain cultivation. For them, self-cultivation in the mountains was not a new idea because correspondences between human beings and nature had long been assumed to exist. Because mountains were considered a crucial part of nature, many medieval poets mentioned the way natural spaces

benefited their spiritual cultivation as they fashioned themselves as hermits in the mountains. Zheng Feng 鄭豐 (ca. third century) summarized his understanding of cultivation in the mountains in the prelude to his "Da Lu Shilong shi sishou—Nanshan" 答陸士龍詩四首—南山 (Answering Lu Shilong with Four Poems: South Mountains):[412]

> As for the South Mountains, they reward ultimate virtue. There is a secluded official behind a humble door made of cross pieces of wood, who cultivates the Way in order to tend harmony, and abandons mundane affairs in order to retain his spirit.
> 南山，酬至德也。有退仕衡門，修道以養和，棄物以存神。

The preface conveys several layers of meaning. The one with "ultimate virtue" is the perfected figure whose actions comply with the Way, or the natural order.[413] Embodying the Way, mountains form the only proper space to host this "ultimate virtue." The preface also frames the mountains as a reclusive space antithetical to imperial space and regards retreating to perfect seclusion as a prerequisite for those who intend to seek "ultimate virtue." However, merely entering the mountains is not sufficient. One needs to "tend harmony" and "retain the spirit" in a process of refinement to unite with the Way.[414] While it underscores spiritual cultivation, the text does not comment on physical practices. It epitomizes medieval literati understanding of cultivation in mountain spaces.

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[412] See the poem in Lu Qinli 逯欽立 ed., *Xian Qin Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) pp. 721-722. "Door made of cross pieces of wood" alludes to "Cross-wood Door" 衡門 (138) in the *Book of Odes* and refers to the deep and remote residence of hermits.

[413] The term "perfected virtue" appears in multiple times in *Zhuangzi*. The first chapter, "Carefree Wandering" 逍遙遊, and Chapter Seventeen, "Autumn Flood" 秋水, offer a relatively clear definition by describing "the one with perfected virtue" 至德者 as invulnerable to all kinds of dangers and therefore immortal. See the relevant sections in translation in *Wandering on the Way*, pp. 6-7, 158-159. The *Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經註 (Commentary on the Perfect Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power, DZ 682) also mentions that "Men of great virtue do not follow the doings of the vulgar. They only follow the Way" 大德之人，不隨世俗所行，獨從於道也. See the translation on page 162 in Erkes, Eduard. "Ho-shang-kung's Commentary on Lao-tse." *Artibus Asiae* 8.2/4 (1945): 119-196.

[414] In the medieval literature, the ideal of cultivating life (*yangsheng* 養生) is often interchangeable with the concept of cultivating nature (*yangxing* 養性), which relies heavily on spiritual, particularly virtual, refinement.

Concerning physical cultivation, the mainstream method literati adopted was guiding the circulation of Qi vitality and consuming elixirs.[415] Although the elixir could indirectly connect them to mountains, since typical ingredients such as pine needles and mica were produced in the mountains, such practices did not have to be completed in the mountain space. Nor did literati have to procure the ingredients in person. The Daoist text *Baopu zi* stated, "… as for (those who) practice the Way and compound the elixir, and those who seek refuge from upheaval and seclude, none do not enter the mountains" 凡為道合藥，及避亂隱居者，莫不入山. This implies that it was typically the mountain gatherers, many of whom were Daoists, who collected the ingredients for elixirs. In other words, the mountain spaces played an essential role in the physical practice of Daoist professionals rather than literati during the medieval period.[416]

However, in the case of the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven during the Song dynasty, we find that literati began representing their physical cultivation in the mountain space more directly and even made it a focal point. For example, Su Shi's poem for Grand Cleanse concluded with the following couplet:[417]

> Aged pine trees and bizarre rocks are beneficial for my frost grey temples,
> I no longer need the golden elixir to retain my youthful appearance strenuously.

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[415] An example is Xi Kang's 嵇康 (223–263) "Yangsheng lun" 養生論. See in Dai Mingyang 戴明陽, ed. and annot., *Ji Kang ji jiao zhu* 嵇康集校註 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), 3:228-256.

[416] The foundation of this belief can be explained by examining the medieval understanding of the concept of mountain. The Tang dynasty encyclopedia *Yiwen leiju* includes a quotation from *Chunqiu shuoti ci* 春秋說題辭 saying that "The reason why mountains are regarded as circulative and dispersive is because they reserve water and disseminate Qi vitality, harmonizing the five spirits." 山之為言宣也，含澤布氣，調五神也. See *Yiwen leiju*, 7.121. According to The *Commentary on the Perfect Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power* (DZ 682), the five spirits refer to the five organs, but can also mean the five elements. For a brief explanation of mountain's fundamental connotation in relation to the insight meditation, see Hartman, "Mountains as Metaphors in T'ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century," pp. 7-9.

[417] See the poem in *SSSJ*, 10.503. *DXSJ*, 2.236. *QSS*, 791.9186. See the complete poem in translation with analysis in Chapter Two.

長松怪石宜霜鬢，不用金丹苦駐顏。

Su Shi's claim would probably be counterintuitive to his medieval literati predecessors. The poet's portrayal of the mountain as a space for physical rejuvenation is unconventional, as past literati had tended to address spiritual and moral advancement. What is more bizarre is Su Shi's assertion that he could cultivate his physicality without the golden elixir. This suggests that the pines and rocks were not perceived as merely herbs and minerals for actual consumption. Instead, Su Shi "consumed" the mountain in a new way.

Although Su Shi kept the underlying rationale latent in this poem, in a later poem composed after he was banished to Danzhou, he explained the idea underlying his unique "consumption." In the eighth of his eleven matching poems to Tao Yuanming's "Zashi" 雜詩 (Miscellaneous Poems), one couplet states:[418]

Forming Kinship of the Three to obtain the numinous key.
The Nine Locks release Boyang.
參同得靈鑰，九鎖啟伯陽.

The couplet is replete with allusions. The term "Nine Locks" is very eye-catching: it is a direct reference to Grand Cleanse Grotto–heaven, as it points to Mount Nine Locks (*jiusuo shan* 九鎖山), the entry to the sacred landscape.[419] "Kinship of the Three" (*cantong* 參同)

[418] *SSSJ*, 41.2272-77. *QSS*, 822.9549.

[419] The name of the mountain "Nine Locks" first appeared in Xu Ning's 徐凝 (ca. early 9th century) line "The emerald mountains of Nine Locks surpass Mount Nine Doubts" 九锁青山胜九疑, which associated Mount Nine Locks to the central mountain for the worship of Shun 舜. The name "Nine Locks" had become accepted well by the tenth century. See Xu Ning's poem in *DXSJ*, 1.230. In *QSS*, nearly all mentions of the term "Nine Locks" 九鎖 point to the mountain at the entrance to Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven.
Su Shi's poem was composed in 1097, the year when he arrived in Danzhou. During this period, he was much more dedicated to the practice of alchemy because of health problems. Before he composed the matching poem, he had visited Mount Nine Locks and expressed his appreciation for the place during his first appointment to Hangzhou from 1071 to 1074. In 1098, he also wrote about his visit to Mount Nine Locks in *Dongpo Zhilin*. In 1098, Su Shi also spoke about Mount Nine Locks in relation to Grand Cleanse in his *Dongpo Zhilin*: "I used to govern Qiantang Prefect, during which I traveled to Mount Nine Locks and visited Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, which was once the hermitage of Guo Wenju" 予嘗監錢塘

refers to *Zhouyi cantongqi* 周易參同契 (Token for the Kinship of the Three According to the Zhouyi, DZ 999), the most important scripture on alchemical practices, written by Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 (ca. 2nd century) and based upon the *Book of Changes*.[420] Pairing the "lock" with the essential metaphor of "key," the line references commentary on *Kinship of the Three* entitled "Huandan neixiang jinyaoshi" 還丹內象金鑰匙 (Golden Key to the Inner Vision of Reverted Cinnabar), which was compiled by the Daoist master Peng Xiao 彭曉 (?–955) to present an inner alchemical interpretation of Wei Boyang's scripture.[421]

The reason that Su Shi considered the concept of key (*yue* 鑰) as an essential one also hinged on its Daoist connotation. *Yue* 鑰 is interchangeable with its phonetic loan character *yue* 籥, which was first signified by Laozi's metaphor:[422]

> May not the space between heaven and earth be compared to a bellows?
> 天地之間，其猶橐籥乎?

Yue refers to a bamboo flute or a tube-shaped object.[423] *Daodejing* 道德經 compares the hollow spaces under Heaven as a bellows that creates wind, symbolizing the moving Qi vitality that leads to the generation of the myriad of things. In his stele script "Jianchu si

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郡，游餘杭九鎖山，訪大滌洞天，即郭生之舊隱. Based upon these clues, we can tell that he was very familiar with the mountain and its cultural significance. See *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林, 4.96 in *QSBJ*, 1 *bian*, no. 9.

[420] See the translation of the scripture in Richard Bertschinger's *The Secret of Everlasting Life: The First Translation of the Ancient Chinese Text on Immortality* (Rockport, MA: Element, 1994).

[421] *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 70. The treatise was documented well and circulated widely. The term "key" represents the "the principal way that divulges the secret knack" 開秘訣之循途.
It is not surprising that Su Shi was familiar with these treatises because he received concrete Daoist education during his early years in his birthplace, Sichuan, which was the key region that witnessed the emergence of a new Daoist tradition in the late eleventh century. The tradition promoted inner alchemy as the central ritual practice by referring theoretically to the Zhong-Lü tradition and Peng Xiao's interpretation of *Token for the Kinship of the Three*. The historical context indicates that these teachings were already influential among the Daoist adepts in Sichuang by the mid eleventh century and constituted a crucial part of Su Shi's Daoist learning. See Livia Kohn's edited volume *Daoism Handbook* (Brill, 2000), pp. 469-471.

[422] Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249), annot., *Laozi Daodejing zhu jiaoshi* 老子道德經注校釋, ed. Lou Yulie 樓宇烈 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 5.14. See Paul J. Lin's translation of the text and commentary in *A Translation of Lao-tzu's Tao Te Ching and Wang Pi's Commentary* (University of Michigan Press, 2020), pp. 11-12.

[423] Xu Shen, *Shuowen jiezi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 2.48b.

Qiong fashi bei” 建初寺瓊法師碑 (Master Qiong’s Stele in Jianchu Temple), Jiang Zong 江總 (519–594) alluded to Laozi by writing “Laozi was amazed by the numinous bellows” (*Lao jing lingyue* 老驚靈籥). It is likely that Su Shi took the term “numinous bellows” (*lingyue* 靈籥) and adapted it as “numinous key” (*lingyue* 靈鑰) to address both Laozi’s bellows and Peng Xiao’s metaphor of key and lock in his poem.[424]

The two couplets together declare Su Shi’s reason for abandoning the golden elixir: he found the inner alchemy within the grotto–heaven. The poet translated this vision into his poetic lines artistically, portraying his body as capable of resonating with the essential elements of the grotto-heaven as if he absorbed them directly. In other words, Su Shi conjured an inner alchemical landscape implicitly to represent Mount Nine Locks. Nevertheless, he did not elaborate in his poem on how the Nine Locks could facilitate the practice of inner alchemy, so it is hard to tell if he had a profound understanding of the inner alchemical mountain or was simply entertaining the concept.

Su Shi’s vision did not go unnoticed. The inner alchemical Mount Nine Locks gained special recognition among Dongxiao residents and ensuing visitors. Roughly a century later, another Song literatus, Chen Xunzhi 陳洵直 (ca. late 12th century–early 13th century), developed Su Shi’s concept of the inner alchemical mountain further in his poetic representation after visiting Grand Cleanse Grotto–heaven in 1198. His work provides a

[424] *Yiwen leiju*, 76.1310. A variation of *tuoyue* 橐籥 is *tuoyue* 橐龠. Another possibility is that Su Shi somehow knew the term *lingyue* 靈龠, which possibily is the title of a music official. This term appears in the inscription of the tripod Da Ke ding 大克鼎 dated to Western Zhou (1046–771 BCE) and was excavated in 1890.

comprehensive picture of the knowledge that underpinned the notion of an inner alchemical Nine Locks and will be the focus of the following discussion.

II Chen Xunzhi and His Manifestation of the Corporeal Grotto–heaven

After a trip to Grand Cleanse Grotto–heaven, the Song literatus Chen Xunzhi recorded an extraordinary perception of the landscape in his poem. A minor literatus, the poet left few historical traces. Although he did not receive Daoist ordination, the limited sources indicate that he had an excellent exposure to Daoism because his family had deep ties with the Daoist network in the Dongxiao area.[425] His grandfather 陳良孫 (ca. mid-11th century) was an accomplished Daoist master of the Upper Clarity tradition and was known for his seclusion on Mount Heavenly Pillar (*Tianzhu shan* 天柱山), a famous peak in the Dongxiao region.[426] In the next generation of the Chen family, Chen Chongdao 陳崇道 (ca. 12th century), a scholar-official, inherited Chen Liangsun's Daoist teachings. In his elegy for Chen Chongdao, Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213) eulogized him as a highly accomplished Neo-Confucian and poet who not only inherited Daoist learning from his father but also

[425] Although Chen Xunzhi's background information is scarce, some clues can help confirm his literati identity. His poem is included in Volume 5 of *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*, which is the section for literati poems. He also left another poem entitled "Impromptu on Traveling to Dadi and Resided at Mingyu Lodge" 游大滌假宿鳴玉館偶成. The Mingyu Lodge does not appear in the local records, but is a type of architecture different from retreat halls (齋 *zhai*), the buildings that host religious guests. Lodges 館 like Shuyu Lodge 漱玉館 recorded in local gazetteers are guesthouses for official visitors. Hence, it is likely that Chen Xunzhi was received as an official at Dongxiao.

[426] In *Wanli Yuhang* Gazetteer, an entry records that Chen Liangsun secluded in Mount Dadi since he was young. In 1201, Zhao Rushi 趙汝湜 (ca. early thirteenth century) mentioned in the preface to his matching poem to Chen Xunzhi's "Pacing the Void Cantos" that Chen Liangsun was his great-grandfather on his maternal side and Chen Xunzhi was his uncle. While mentioning Chen Liangsun's Daoist activities at Dongxiao, Zhao does not specify Chen Xunzhi's practice of Daoism. This can also indicate that Chen Xunzhi was not a Daoist priest.

accumulated Buddhist merit.[427] Thus, it is very likely that Daoism constituted an essential part of the Chen family tradition.

By composing a set of "Jiusuo buxu ci" 九鎖步虛詞 (Cantos on Pacing the Void at Nine Locks), Chen Xunzhi not only eulogized the natural scenery of the sacred Mount Nine Locks, but he also transmitted Su Shi's understanding of the grotto-heaven as an inner alchemical body and engaged more complex and systematic inner alchemical knowledge in this own poetic representation of the grotto-heaven.

(1) Prelude: From Mount Kunlun to Grotto-heaven with Nine–times Turning

Granted better access to the Daoist repertoire, Chen Xunzhi unveiled a wondrous vision of Mount Nine Locks in his chef-d'oeuvre, which begins with a prelude:[428]

九鎖步虛詞幷引
Cantos on Pacing the Void at Nine Locks, with a Prelude

大滌洞天，為江左形勢之最，九鎖乃天下所無。	Grand Cleanse Grotto Heaven is the most outstanding element of the topography to the southeast of the Yangtze River. Mount Nine Locks is indeed unique under Heaven.
回旋百峰，隱眞境者九。望芝駢、瞻象緯，未易進越，如君門九重，不可逕也。	Amid the swirl of hundreds of surrounding peaks, nine peaks are concealed in the Perfected Realm. Gazing at the parallel canopy stars, and observing the cosmological form and divination, it is clear that they are not easy to enter and surmount, but like the nine gates of the ruler, which cannot be breached.

[427] "Elegy for Chen Chongdao" 陳崇道挽詞: His academic attainments achieved Guishan's [Yang Shi's 楊時 (1053–1135) sobriquet] profundity.
His poems transmitted beyond River Ru.
學造龜山蘊，詩傳汝水餘。
…
His pure karma matched that of those in the lotus society.
His cinnabar scriptures were taught by Qinxu [refers to Chen Liangsun].
白業追蓮社，丹經授寢虛。
See Lou Yao 樓鑰 (1137– 1213), *Gongkui ji* 攻媿集 ([Master] Gongkui's Collected Works). Reprint of Song dynasty (960–1279) ed. (Beijing: Beijing Erudition Digital Research Center, 2001–19), 13:25a

[428] *DXSJ*, 5.288-291. *QSS*, 2861.34189.

迹今考古，嘗謂天門巍峨，嚴圍九關，虎豹守之，啄害下人，有天關鎖。

Tracing the present and inquiring into the past, it used to be said that the gates of Heaven are lofty and closely surrounded by nine passes, each guarded by tigers and leopards, with jaws ever ready to tear mortal men into pieces. This is the Heavenly Pass Lock.

雲無定攝，藏於巖谷，出有入無，神力以行，有藏雲鎖。

Clouds have no fixed form but conceal themselves in the steep valleys, emerging into being and returning to nothingness and moving with divine power. This is Concealing Cloud Lock.

度弱水，登瑤池，可羽駕者鸞也，德者致之，道者御之，有飛鸞鎖。

Crossing Weakwater, (I) ascend to the Turquoise Pond. The creature that can be yoked to a feathered chariot is the Simurgh. Those who have virtue can approach it; those who have attained the Way can ride it. This is Flying Simurgh Lock.

騰青雲，凌太虛，飛舉之道也，蛻形換骨，始獲身輕，有凌雲鎖。

Soaring above the gleaming clouds, (I) push against the Great Void. This is the Way of transcendence: only after I cast off my old form and replace my bones can I achieve a lighter body. This is Soaring Cloud Lock.

澄煉五欲，化氣為神，此眞彼眞，洞然無礙，有通眞鎖。

Purifying and refining the Five Desires, (I) convert Qi vitality to spirit. Authenticity here brings authenticity there, and (I can) penetrate without obstacle. This is Penetrating Perfection Lock.

天用唯龍，景雲從之，奮蟄則吟，惟神則攝，有龍吟鎖。

What Heaven uses is none other than dragons. Luminous clouds follow them, and when awakened from hibernation they chant. Only with the spirit can they be yoked. This is Dragon Chant Lock.

道成德備，元微洞澈，變化無方，眞人下接，有洞微鎖。

When the Way is accomplished and Virtue is complete, the Primordial and the Tenuous are pervasive and lucid (within me), and (my) transformation is boundless. Then the Perfected descends to receive (me). This is Profound Tenuity Lock.

紫旄絳節，一唱萬和，樂音來下，以迓有功，有雲璈鎖。

With purple oxtail and crimson insignia, the singing of one brings the responses of myriads. Music and melody descend in order to greet the accomplished one. There is Cloud Lithophone Lock.

九關無禁，三清垂光，彤芝玉墀，視聆至道，有朝元鎖。

Once the nine passes are freed from obstruction, the Three Purities send down their light, and under the crimson canopy, on the jade stairs, (my) vision and hearing attain to the Ultimate Way. This is Venerating Primordial Lock.

若夫奇峰秀嶺，苟出類者，必標名以永傳。九鎖環環，人見山而已。

As for peculiar peaks and remarkable ridges, for any of them that is particularly outstanding, people are sure to have selected

names in order to have them passed down forever. The Nine Locks are interlinked, yet what others see is just mountains.[429]

戊午仲春，徜徉巖麓，恍然若登天，次第之階，俯境冥會。因入一鎖，即記一名，幷述步虛詞九章，離塵達清，未免覬霄房之見接也。

In the mid-spring of the *wuwu* year (1198), I wandered below the steep crags. In a trance, (I) suddenly felt as if I were climbing into Heaven. As I climbed the stairs, I leaned over the realm and reached arcane enlightenment. Thereupon, as I entered each lock, I would mark its name, altogether composing nine "Cantos on Pacing the Void." Leaving behind the mundane and attaining purity, I could not but long to be received in the empyrean residence.

The prelude provides background for Chen's composition and a silhouette of the nine verses that follow. Chen Xunzhi does not mention Mount Nine Locks directly in the opening, choosing instead to begin with a short introduction to the emblem of sacredness in this landscape, Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven. The archetype of a grotto–heaven landscape paradigm comprises two components: a sinuous path and a grotto. By reminding readers that the place is a grotto-heaven, Chen implicitly but effectively underscores the significance of Mount Nine Locks, which functions as the sinuous path leading to Grand Cleanse Grotto.

The prelude also reveals Chen's skill in using allusions familiar to both Confucian and Daoist readers to import elements of the actual grotto-heaven landscape into his work. For example, the path to Mount Nine locks was guarded by a mountain gate erected during the Northern Song.[430] Chen Xunzhi was probably inspired by the scene of the gate in his allusion to "the nine gates of the ruler" (*junmen jiuchong*) 君門九重, an allusion that exists in various early classical texts and refers to the remoteness of the divine lord.[431] To reinforce the image,

[429] *Huan* 環 is interchangeable with *zhuan* 轉, meaning reverting.

[430] *DXTZ*, 1.30.

[431] The allusion first appeared in "Summons of the Soul" 招魂 from the *Verses of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭): "Soul! Turn back! Do not climb to the heavens. By its nine-fold gates, leopards and tigers rend men from Earth below" 魂兮歸來！君無上天

he named the first lock “Heavenly Gate” and wrote a one-sentence description, which provides a setting for the first poem in the set. The name also reveals another reason for the allegory of the gate: the “Heavenly Gate” (*tianmen* 天門) was commonly named in early traditions as the point of access to Heaven on Mount Kunlun 昆侖. In *Huainanzi*, the “Heavenly Gate” becomes a part of the *axis mundi*, Mount Kunlun 昆侖: “Traversing mountains and rivers, (Ping Yi and Da Bing) strode over Mount Kunlun. Pushing through the Chang He [gate], they surged through the gateway of Heaven”（馮夷、大丙）經紀山川，蹈騰昆侖，排閶闔，淪天門.[432]

Mount Kunlun is another key allusion in Chen Xunzhi’s poem. In the subsequent introductory passages for verses on the other locks, Chen vigorously likens Mount Nine Locks to Mount Kunlun by adopting images exclusive to the Kunlun legends: the dragons of all forms that guard Kunlun, the river Weakwater on the northern side of the mountain that blocks ineligible climbers, the Turquoise Pond where the Queen Mother of the West resides, and the cloud chariot that helps the celestial figures ascend.[433] By the end of the prelude, Chen returns his vision from Mount Kunlun to reality. He explains his motivation for composing the set of “Cantos on Pacing the Void”: he believes that all remarkable mountains deserve proper appellations for commemoration, so he feels the urge to name the peaks that

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些。虎豹九關，啄害下人些. The translation is from Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p. 206. The “gate” to the immortal realm was alluded to in a vast number of early texts.

[432] Chapter Four, “Terrestrial Forms”, in *Huainanzi* has additional descriptions of the nine-layer palace on Mount Kunlun: “Yu… excavated the Wastelands of Kunlun to make level ground. In the center [of Kunlun] is a manifold wall of nine layer” 禹…掘昆侖虛以下地，中有增城九重. See Major, *The Huainanzi*, p. 156.
According to Hartman, the concept of Axis-Mundi was assigned many different names, the most well-known of which is Mount Kunlun. See “Mountains as Metaphors in T’ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century,” p. 4.

[433] For records about Mount Kunlun, see: *Liezi jishi*, pp. 97-99; and Major, *The Huainanzi*.

have offered him such an otherworldly experience. Meanwhile, he also wishes to write outstanding work to show his gratitude to the Dongxiao priests who hosted him. It is with this concern in mind that he wrote the prelude and the poem in nine verses.

To the casual eye, Chen's depiction of Mount Nine Locks in the prelude is little more than a traditional eulogy on ethereal mountains using the trope of Mount Kunlun. This may be the reason past studies mistook Chen's poem for an ordinary landscape poem and considered it merely an expression of Chen's longing for transcendence.[434] Read with an eye to its Daoist elements, however, his work reveals a different intent beneath the shell of a landscape poem. The clue to this hidden aspect of the verses is found in a single sentence in the prelude: "The Nine Locks are interlinked (reverting), yet what others see is just mountains" 九鎖環環，人見山而已. *Suo* 鎖 refers to the turning point of the mountain "path accompanied by a stream" 路並溪.[435] *Huan* 環 in the Daoist context is interchangeable with *huan* 還, which means to return, and *zhuan* 轉, which means to turn or revert.[436] By conflating the two characters based upon their similar indications of a turning movement, Chen is implying that he discovered an outstanding, yet implicit, transcendent vision of the mountain, and it was related to the Daoist practice of "Nine–times Turning" (*jiuzhuan* 九轉).

[434] Zhang, *Daojiao wenhua yu Songdai shige*, p. 289.

[435] *DXTZ*, 2.64.

[436] See Chen Guofu's 陳國符 *Daozang yuanlu xukao* 道藏源流續攷 (Hong Kong: Liren shuju, 1983), pp. 72-84.

The Nine-times Turning refers to the cardinal Daoist alchemical practice.[437] According to the early Upper Clarity scriptures, "the Nine-Times Reverted Elixir" was already consumed by Daoists during the Six Dynasties. For example, the *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected, DZ 1016) writes: "The immortals and Daoists have the magical cinnabar of Nine-times Turning. If consumed, one would become a white swan" 仙道有九轉神丹，服之化為白鵠.[438] In the Song dynasty, the "Nine-Times Reverted Elixir" was conflated with the theory of inner alchemy.[439] Meanwhile, scriptures began highlighting the spatial imagination of the nine turnings and its correlation with the legend of Yu taming the Yellow River. For example, the 12th century in the inner alchemical scripture *Chongyang zhenren jinque yusuo jue* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 (Instructions concerning the Golden Bar and the Jade lock, DZ 1156) writes that "Fixing of nine turnings of adverse currents in Yellow River" 九曲黃河逆流定. In this context, taming the Yellow River became a metaphor for guiding the flow of Qi vitality inside an alchemical body. By taming the river of Qi vitality, practitioner would also embody Yu during the cultivation.

In the prelude to his poem matching the rhymes of Chen's work, Chen's nephew, Zhao Rushi 趙汝湜 (ca. 13th century), expands upon Chen's message:[440]

> I have heard that Heaven shows forth the virtue of yang, and the number nine represents the ultimate yang. It is for this reason that immortals and Daoists worship

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[437] For a detailed study of this alchemical technique in the early medieval period, see Pregadio, Fabrizio. *Great Clarity: Daoism and Alchemy in Early Medieval China*. Stanford University Press, 2006. About the technique of the Nine-times Turning, see Roy Spooner and C.H. Wang. "The Divine Nine Turn Tan Sha Method, a Chinese Alchemical Recipe." *Isis* 38 (1948): 235-42.

[438] *Zhengao jiao zhu*, 5.170.

[439] See *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇 (Passage of Returning Cinnabar and Restoring Life, DZ 1088) by Xue Daoguang 薛道光 (1078–1191).

[440] *DXSJ*, 5.291-92.

> *yang* and consistently apply the number nine. For compounding Qi vitality in the inner luminance, (one) takes the number of steps to be nine; for ultimately restoring the golden elixir, (one) conducts nine turnings to produce the fruit; and in the case of the human body, there are nine palaces. Above it corresponds with the constellations, which are the nine luminaries. The heavenly sphere has nine levels. Is nine not therefore the apex of the *yang* and the residence of the immortals and the perfected? The grotto-heaven of Heavenly Pillars is surrounded on the periphery by Mount Nine Locks, which is the creation of divinity.
> 竊聞天秉陽德而九為老陽，故仙道宗陽而取數皆九。內景合氣以九為節，金丹大還九轉為寶，其在於人爰有九宮。上應列宿，是為九曜。圜則九重，豈非陽數之極而仙真所居者乎！天柱洞天，外環九鎖，神造靈設。

In this passage, Zhao deciphers the metaphor on which Chen does not expound: the nine "locks" or turns of the mountain are viewed as the anthropomorphic representation of man's nine corporeal palaces, which also correlate with the Nine-times Turning of the golden elixir refinement within the human body. The interpretation confirms that what connected Mount Nine Locks with an inner alchemical body was the method of the Nine-times Turning.

(2) "Pacing the Void Cantos" (*buxu ci* 步虛詞)

It was after careful deliberation that Chen Xunzhi chose to write in the form of his "Cantos on Pacing the Void" to represent his travel in the grotto-heaven mountains. His choice of genre sheds light on the underlying knowledge that legitimized his conflation of the human body and the divine mountains.

As a crucial part of the classical Daoist ritual in the tradition of Numinous Treasure (*lingbao* 靈寶), "Cantos on Pacing the Void" was originally a set of hymns the practitioner chanted as he moved in a circular motion centered around an altar.[441] The hymn later

[441] *Buxu*, or pacing the void, was an influential practice of Daoist hymns. It describes the celestial beings on the Jade Capital Mountain paying homage to the Celestial Worthies. During the ritual, the Daoist practitioner chants the hymn and encircles the platform or alter table (*xuanxing* 旋行) while visualizing personal transcendence to Heaven with an assembly of body deities.

developed into a poetic genre in the hands of medieval writers and became a traditional topic in Music Bureau poetry (*yuefu* 樂府) portraying the scene of immortals' ascension to Heaven.[442]

The "pacing the void" dance is also closely correlated to the worship of Yu the Great. According to Kristofer Schipper's study, the practice is known as "walking the stars" (*bugang* 步纲).[443] The ritual has the practitioner stepping on constellations divided into nine realms similar to the pattern of the character *jing* 井, which corresponds with the earthly concept of the Nine Provinces (*jiuzhou* 九州) mentioned in "Yu gong" 禹貢 (The Tribute of Yu) in *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of Documents).[444] The pace of the dance is in a hopping movement, mimicking the limping walk of Yu, who suffered from a deformed leg crippled during the flood. Hence, it is called the pace of Yu (*yubu* 禹步). In other words, performing the "pacing the void" can be seen as a gesture to conjure the tradition of Yu and embody Yu to summon his power.

The earliest known scripture that includes the "Pacing the Void Cantos" is *Taishang dongxuan lingbao shoudu yi* 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀 (Ritual for the Transmission [of the Corpus] of Lingbao [Scriptures], DZ 528) compiled by Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477). For studies on "Pacing the Void Cantos," see: Kristofer Schipper's "A Study of *Buxu*: Taoist Liturgical Hymn and Dance." *Studies of Taoist Rituals and Music of Today* (1989): 110-20; Edward H. Schafer's *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Sta* and his "Wu Yün's" Cantos on Pacing the Void"." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1981): 377-415; Stephen Bokenkamp, "The 'Pacing the Void Stanzas' of the Ling-pao Scriptures" (University of California, Berkeley, Master's thesis, 1981); Fabrizio Pregadio ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (Routledge, 2013), pp. 241-242; Hsiao, Teng-fu 蕭登福. "Cong Ge Chaofu 'Dongxuan lingbao yujingshan buxu jing' kan Daojiao buxu ci de jianli" 從葛巢甫《洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經》看道教步虛詞的建立. *Hong Dao* 28 (2006): 1-8; and Luo, Zhengming 羅爭鳴. "'Buxu' sheng, buxu ci yu bugang niedou: yi 'Taishang feixing jiuchen yujing' wei zhongxin de kaocha" 步虛聲、步虛詞與步罡躡斗—以《太上飛行九晨玉經》為中心的考察. *Academic Forum* 5 (2013): 148-154.

442 See Wu Jing 吳兢 (670–749), "Yuefu guti yaojie" 樂府古題要解, vol. 2 (*SKQS* 197-50).

443 "A Study of *Buxu*: Taoist Liturgical Hymn and Dance," p. 116.

444 Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818) comp. *Shangshu jingu wen zhushu* 尚書今古文注疏. ed. and annot. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), pp. 136-207.

It was also a treatise on "Cantos on Pacing the Void" that first conjured the image of mountain as body. The Tang dynasty *Dongxuan lingbao shengxuan buxu zhang xu shu* 洞玄靈寶昇玄步虛章序疏 (Commentary on the Stanzas for Ascending to Mystery and Pacing the Void, DZ 614) says, "This mountain is the body; it is also the body of the Most High" 山者，身也，亦太上身也.[445] In this context, the mountain (*shan* 山) in question is the Mountain of the Jade Capital (*yujingshan* 玉京山), the imagined stage where the dance and hymn of the liturgy "Pacing the Void" are performed.[446] The body-mountain analogy inferred here implies a conflation of the celestial mountain and the transcending body of the Way. Although it does not denote a concrete mountain or body in the human realm, it shows that a narrative scrutinizing the relation between the abstract concept of one body and one mountain had emerged by the Tang dynasty.[447]

It is worth noting that unlike the traditions of Upper Clarity and Heavenly Masters, with their systems of sacred geography centered on Mount Kunlun, Numinous Treasure did not emphasize sacred landscapes in the real world. The only mountain revered by the tradition was the Mountain of the Jade Capital, and it was not initially associated with any actual landscape. According to Du Guangting's encyclopedia of Daoist geography *Inscriptions and*

[445] Kristofer Schipper also commented on this scripture. See Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, p. 108.

[446] The Mountain of the Jade Capital (*yujing shan* 玉京山) is also known as "Jade Mountain with Superior Capital" (*yushanshangjing* 玉山上京). Schipper pointed out that the juxtaposition of the performance and visualization is the fundamental characteristic of the ritual, which converges the interior and exterior. For more details about the ritual of "Pacing the Void" and the Mountain of the Jade Capital, see "A Study of *Buxu*: Taoist Liturgical Hymn and Dance." Hartman also summarized the symbolic meanings of the Mountain of the Jade Capital; see "Mountains as Metaphors in T'ang Religious Texts and the Northern Landscape Painting of the Tenth Century," p. 12.

[447] Lagerwey points out that the Daoists' interest in the body-mountain relationship focuses on the inward and the "True Form." As indicated by the sentence, the Mountain (of the Jade Capital) represents the body of the Most High, which is a synonym of the Way. See Lagerwey, *Paradigm Shifts in Early and Modern Chinese Religion*, p. 102.

Records of Marchmounts and Rivers of Grotto-heavens and Auspicious Places, the Mountain of the Jade Capital, imagined as the peak of Mount Kunlun in the shape of the axial pillar, enters the cosmological system of Mount Kunlun and becomes the new pivotal mountain that serves as the residence of the Daoist pantheon. In this sense, the Mountain of the Jade Capital was superimposed upon Mount Kunlun.

Consequently, as all legacies converged, the genre of "Cantos on Pacing the Void" that the Song poets inherited was filled with multiple layers of implications. It had become a perfect container amalgamating the trope of Mount Kunlun, the worship of the Mountain of the Jade Capital, and the new concept of body-mountain identification. It created an opportunity for Chen Xunzhi to assimilate corporeal imagining with the delineation of the sacred Mount Nine Locks. Nevertheless, the body as presented in the "Pacing the Void" tradition was not presented as an inner alchemical body. The following analysis of the nine verses will examine how the poet complicated the body and inserted the inner alchemical elements of the body into the landscape.

(3) The Verses of Nine Locks

Although the number of verses in "Pacing the Void Cantos" varies in the early records, the standard form accepted widely in the Song dynasty consists of ten verses.[448] However, Chen Xunzi does not follow the typical pattern of this poetic style strictly. He truncated the

[448] The earliest extant and widely accepted prototype of "Pacing the Void Cantos" is *Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing* 洞玄靈寶玉京山步虛經 (Pacing the Void Scriptures on the Mountain of the Jade Capital of Numinous Treasure from the Cavern Mystery, DZ 1439), which contains ten verses. Jiang Zhenhua offers a primitive analysis of the influence of "Pacing the Void Cantos" on literati writing. See Jiang, Zhenhua 蔣振華. "Daojiao buxu ci jiqi dui wenren chuangzuo de yingxiang" 道教步虛詞及其對文人創作的影響. *Social Science Research* 4 (2007): 180-184.

standard ten stanzas to nine deliberately to fit the concept of Nine–times Turning. His reworking of the lyrical structure prevents him from mimicking the original contents and structure of the ten-stanza "Cantos on Pacing the Void" precisely. Nor is his work a bricolage of random landscape depictions using Daoist vocabulary. Instead, Chen endows his poem with a dual vision of mountain landscape and inner alchemical body.

Throughout the poem, in each of its verses, the poet superimposes an inner alchemical body upon Mount Nine Locks when illustrating his progressive journey in the grotto-heaven. As is mentioned in the first vignette in the prelude, the poet's journey as represented in the "Cantos on Pacing the Void" begins from Heavenly Gate Lock:

第一 天關鎖	First: Heavenly Pass Lock
仙人十二樓，	Twelve-story towers of immortals,
緲緲垂重鐶。	so ethereal, hanging in faint interlocked rings.
志士憫幽阻，	A person of ambition is bothered by isolation and obstruction.
鬱觀何繇攀。	In this dense vista, where can I start my climb?
栖眞曆幾塵，	To perch in perfection, how many layers of dust must I pass through?
洞戶方孱顏。	The entrance to the grotto is nothing but rugged cliffs.
一鎖度靈鑰，	At the first lock, I go through with the numinous key.
九虎開天關。	Nine tigers open the Heavenly Pass.

Looking upward from outside the gate, the poet gasps at the mountains, which are as lofty as "twelve-story towers of immortals" rising before him. Like many landscape poets, Chen expresses anxiety about the upcoming journey among the rugged cliffs. However, for a person equipped with the knowledge of inner alchemy, the two terms "Heavenly pass" and "twelve-story towers of immortals" point to a different understanding. "Heavenly pass" refers to the mouth, while "Twelve-story towers of immortals," also known as "multi-level tower"

(*chonglou* 重樓), is the throat.[449] In other words, the poet concentrated his mind on his mouth and throat at the beginning of his ritual journey.

第二 藏雲鎖	Second: Concealing Cloud Lock
圓象默交感，	The image of fullness silently experiences the correspondence of energy.
序氣翔氛氳。	Orderly Qi vitality flows as *yin* and *yang* converge.
飆欶偃華蓋，	Like a tempest, it presses upon my canopy.
骨骼百寶熏。	Skeleton and hundreds of jewels are fumigated.
八景非眞遙，	The Eight Luminance is not truly remote.[450]
欻扣虛皇君。	I humbly consult the Resplendent One of the Void.[451]
二鎖度靈鑰，	At the second lock, I go through with the numinous key.
松風卷藏雲。	The breeze curling among the pines conceals them in cloud.

This second stanza, "Concealing Cloud Lock," also has two facets. On the literal level of meaning, the climber experiences a refreshing feeling in the mountains. The mountain wind is so strong that it bends his canopy, and the poet feels as if his body becomes purified. The sensation convinces him that he is on the right track and cannot be far from his destination. Nevertheless, examined through the lens of inner alchemy, the verse shows a different level of meaning. The "image of fullness" in the first line refers to the head.[452] The "orderly Qi vitality" is emphasized by both the Daoist and medical traditions, and the proper flow of Qi

[449] *Taishang Huangting neijing yujing* 太上黃庭內景玉經 (Precious Book of the Interior Landscape of the Yellow Court, DZ 331) writes: "the mouth is the Heavenly Pass" 口為天關. *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註 (Commentary on the Precious Book of the Inner Landscape of the Yellow Court, DZ 401-402), 1:11a: "*chongtang* is the name of the throat. Another name is *chonglou*, it is also called *chonghuan*. This scripture writes: *jiangguan* and *chonglou* have twelve stories" 重堂，喉嚨名也，一曰重樓，亦名重環。本經云：絳官重樓十二級.

[450] Eight Luminance refers to all of the eight corners of the universe and represents the ultimate palace or the final destination of the ritual travel. See Kaltenmark, Max. "'Ching' yü 'pa ching'" 景與八景, in *Fukui hakase shōju kinen tōyō bunka ronshū* 福井博士頌壽記念東洋文化論集 (1969), pp. 1147-54.

[451] Schafer, "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'", p. 411. The title (*Xuhuang* 虛皇) abbreviates the double appellation 虛皇元始大道天尊, the full title of the Lord of All at the summit of Jade Clarity.

[452] *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序 (The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High, DZ 388): "The round head symbolizes Heaven, the square foot represents Earth" 頭圓象天，足方法地.

vitality is essential for the practice.[453] The key corporeal metaphor appears in the second couplet: in inner alchemical terms, the "canopy" is the lung, the main organ that helps guide the Qi vitality, and is overseen by a deity called White Principle (*baiyuan* 白元).[454] The poet's journey within the alchemical body thus begins from the throat and moves down to the lungs. With a vigorous, perfected Qi vitality, or in inner alchemical terms, the "hundreds of jewels" flowing through his body, the poet knows that he is on the right track to approach the Resplendent One of the Void.[455]

第三 飛鸞鎖	Third: Flying Simurgh Lock
琅軒列朱房，	Jewel-fruit trees flank the crimson building.[456]
風露峩高寒。	Accompanied by wind and dew, the peak is lofty and frosty
森羅九宮道，	Spreading out, it is the paths to Nine Palaces.
隱約八封壇。	Looming behind are the eight rammed altars.
春酣酌金漿，	As the spring becomes invigorated, I pour the golden broth.
徹視揮外丹。	While my vision becomes penetrating, I cast away the outer alchemy.
三鎖度靈鑰，	At the third lock, I go through with the numinous key.
悠悠控飛鸞。	Serenely, I harness the flying Simurgh.

In the eyes of a layperson, the first two couplets of the "Flying Simurgh Lock" depict the scenery of the architectural complex of Dongxiao Temple, with its palaces and altars barely visible in the far distance. However, "jewel-fruit tree" (*langgan* 琅玕) in the first line is also the name of a type of elixir produced at the first turn during the nine turns of elixir

[453] *Huangdi neijing suwen buzhu shiwen* 黃帝內經素問補註釋文 (Questions on Initial Life, from the Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor, Text and Annotations, DZ 1018): "if the intestines and stomach are negatively clogged, then Qi vitality will not be flowing smoothly and orderly. If Qi vitality does not flow orderly, then the upper and the lower, the interior and the exterior will combat with each other. Therfore, (one will experience) headache and tinnitus, and the nine orifices of the human body will be unhealthy" 腸胃否塞則氣不順序，氣不順序則上下中外互相勝負，故頭痛耳鳴，九竅不利也.

[454] *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 11: "the organ/palace of lung resembles canopy … Lord Baiyuan resides in the Palace of Lung" 肺部之宮似華蓋……白元君主肺宮也.

[455] The similar idea is also expressed by the Daoist master Wang Chuyi's 王處一 (1142–1217) poem "Following the Brother and Ask About Cultivation" 隨哥問修行 in *Yunguang ji* 雲光集 (Radiance of the Clouds, DZ 1152).

[456] See footnote 69 in "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'", p. 395.

refinement.[457] The "crimson building" (*zhufang* 朱房) is a coded name for the "crimson palace" (*jianggong* 絳宮) or heart. The third couplet adduces two additional key notions: The "golden broth" is a typical term for saliva, a quintessential component for inner alchemical practice. With his golden broth cultivated, the poet makes a striking declaration: he casts away the practice of outer alchemy. Thus, Chen Xunzhi is claiming that he is determined to embrace inner alchemy in his venture through the corporeal mountainscape, making overt the connection between his cantos and the practice of inner alchemy.

第四 凌雲鎖	Fourth: Soaring Cloud Lock
太虛本非有，	The Grand Void originally is nonexistence.
團塊何迂踈。	How illusory is this balled-up clod![458]
一旬更五日，	Ten days and then five days more,
風乎駛軒和。	As swift as the wind, I ride on my chariot. [459]
神馭兩腋輕，	Steering with my spirit, I feel my two armpits are lightened.
絳霞理襟裾。	Crimson wisps of cloud neaten the hems of my robe.
四鎖度靈鑰，	At the fourth lock, I go through with the numinous key.
八表當凌虛。	Beyond the eight realms, I should soar into the void.

In a layman's view, the fourth stanza, "Soaring Cloud Lock," describes the poet's swift ascension of the mountains after overcoming obstacles along the way. Enlightened by the nature of the Grand Void, which by its essence is nonexistence, the traveler exclaims that one should not be hampered by his obsession with the physical form of the land. He thus

[457] "Jewel-fruit trees flank crimson building" is paraphrased from Yang Xi's 楊曦 poetic line "Jewel-fruit trees inside crimson building" 琅軒朱房內. See *Zhen'gao*, *juan* 1; *Yunji qiqian*, *juan* 97. Stephen Bokenkamp conducts a meticulous study of the meaning of Langgan elixir in early Daoist texts. See Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, pp. 289-295.

[458] *Huashu* 化書 (Book of Transformation , DZ 1044) writes in the first *juan* "Transformation of the Way" 道化 that "In the middle of the void, there is a block. Seeing the block, one will not see the void; breaking the block to seek the void, one will see the void but not the block. The shape does not hamper the man but the man hampers himself. The things do not obstruct the man but the man obstructs himself. How woeful it is!" 當空團塊，見塊而不見空；粉塊求空，見空而不見塊。形無妨而人自妨之，物無滯而人自滯之，悲哉！

[459] "Lieh-tzu now, he journeyed with the winds for his chariot, a fine sight it must have been, and did not come back for fifteen days" 夫列子御風而行，泠然善也，旬有五日而後反 from "Going Rambling without a Destination" 逍遙遊 in *ZZZS*, 1.10. See also translation in *The Seven Inner Chapters and Other Writings from the Book Chuang-tzŭ*, p. 44.

continues his journey accompanied by the mountain breeze, just like Liezi 列子, who could travel by wind. From the perspective of inner alchemy, the key message hinges on the image of wind. According to *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, the wind generates the element of wood, which in turn energizes the liver, the organ that is the poet's focus in this verse.[460] Meanwhile, he concentrates his mind by "steering with his spirit" (*shenyu* 神馭), a reference to the crucial technique known as "steering the Qi vitality by spirit" (*yi shen yu qi* 以神馭氣).[461] This cultivation is the prerequisite for the next stage of practice, known as "converting Qi vitality to spirit" (*hua qi wei shen* 化氣為神), which is mentioned in the vignette for the fifth stanza in the prelude.

第五 通真鎖	Fifth: Penetrating Perfection Lock
神氣化虛晃，	Spirit and Qi vitality transform into void and brightness.
太上尊玉宸。	The Great High is revered in the heavenly palace.
煉此沉下質，	Refining this heavy profane substance,
感彼玄上春。	I am affected by that spring in the mysterious upper realm.
靈液反流用，	The numinous liquid reverses and flows to where it is applied.
偃息崑閬津。	I rest my breath at the ford of Kunlang.
五鎖度靈鑰，	At the fifth lock, I go through with the numinous key.
滯散潛通眞。	The stagnation fades away, and I secretly penetrate perfection.

In the fifth, "Penetrating Perfection Lock," the poet is halfway through his journey. Here, unlike in the previous stanzas, Chen does not spend much effort presenting this stanza as a landscape verse, but finishes it with direct reference to inner alchemy. After his spirit and Qi vitality are transformed into void and brightness, his spirit departs from "heavy profane

[460] *Huangdi neijing suwen buzhu shiwen* writes: "Wind gives birth to wood, wood gives birth to sour, sour gives birth to liver 風生木，木生酸，酸生肝.

[461] This practice takes one's spirit metaphorically as a carriage to rein the "horse," the representation of his Qi vitality. See *Lingjianzi yindao ziwuji* 靈劍子引導子午記 (Notes on the Induction of Qi from *Zi* to *Wu*, by the Master of the Magic Sword, DZ 571): "If the spirit can maneuver Qi vitality, then the nose will not lose its breath. The perfected being makes his spirit the carriage, his Qi vitality the horse, and rides all day long but will not get lost" 若神能馭氣，即鼻不失於息。真人以神為車，以氣為馬，終日行而不失 in *The Taoist Canon*, p. 788.

substance," or his physical body, enabling him to revere the Most-High remotely. The step that follows "steering Qi vitality with spirit" is holding one's breath and meditating.[462] With his numinous liquid, or semen, restored to the proper place, he proceeds to the next level of practice. Normally, the place to rest the breath is the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭) or the spleen.[463] Here, he replaces the word Yellow court with the term Kunlang 崑閬, which is a compound word that refers to the realm of Langfeng 閬風, the middle of the three levels of Mount Kunlun 崑崙, resonating with the fact that Chen is at the midpoint of his travel in Mount Nine Locks.[464]

第六 龍吟鎖	Sixth: Dragon Chant Lock
粵嶂洞陰窅，	Behind the thick cliffs, the cave is shady and deep.
嶕嶢鬱千尋。	The craggy peaks cast shadows a thousand fathoms long.
中有不測淵，	In the middle, there is a deep pool of unfathomable depth.[465]
蜿蜒伏蕭森。	It wanders through the dense and murmuring groves.[466]
作霈待時舉，	When it rains heavily, it waits for the time to rise.
妙化通天心。	Wondrously transformed, it transcends the heavenly heart.[467]
六鎖度靈鑰，	At the sixth lock, I go through with the numinous key.
綜御歸龍吟。	Having comprehensive control, I find my way to where the dragon chants.

As he advances to Dragon Chant Lock with his vision of inner alchemy suspended, the lush mountainscape reappears. Vertiginous peaks and verdant forests not only conceal the

[462] *Ibid*.

[463] In *Yunji qiqian*, the *Lingbao dongxuan ziran jiutian shengshen zhang jing* 靈寶洞玄自然九天生神章經 in *juan* 16 instructs that one should "… rest breath inside the Yellow Chamber in the Cloud Palace" 偃息雲宮黃房之內. Yellow Chamber (*huangfang* 黃房) is the synonym of Yellow Court (黃庭 *huangting*), which is also known as Cinnabar Field (*dantian* 丹田). See also in *Sanji zhiming quanti* 三極至命筌蹄 (The Three Ultimates and the Supreme Destiny Ensnared, DZ 275): *Huangfang* is also referred to as *huangting* or *dantian* 黃房者，亦名黃庭，又曰丹田.

[464] The structure of Mount Kunlun is mentioned in *Shuijing zhu*. See Li Daoyuan, *Shuijing zhu jiaoshi*, p. 1.

[465] "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'", p. 91.

[466] The translation of the first two couplets can be found in Stephen R. Bokenkamp's *A Fourth-Century Daoist Family: The Zhen'gao, or Declarations of the Perfected, Vol. 1* (University of California Press, 2020), pp. 104-105.

[467] According to *Huangdi yinfu jing* 黃帝陰符經 (Yellow Thearch's Scripture on the Hidden Talisman, DZ 311), "Heavenly heart" 天心 is interchangeable with "Heavenly mystery" 天機.

enigmatic grotto but also enclose an unfathomable spring. Crouching in the spring is a dragon that awaits to rise, and its presence enchants the water. The stanza again looks different as a corporeal allegory. The first two couplets are an adaptation of the opening poem of *Declarations of the Perfected*, attributed to the deity Elühua 愕綠華 (var. 萼綠華):

神嶽排霄起，　The spirit-filled Marchmount parts the empyrean as it rises,
飛峰鬱千尋。　Its flying peaks cast shadows a thousand fathoms long.
寥籠靈谷虛，　Like an empty basket, the numinous valley is void,
瓊林蔚蕭森。　Its rose-gemmed groves dense and murmuring.[468]

Chen replaces the image of a "valley" in the original poem with a "deep pool," which refers to Grand Deep Pool (*dayuan* 大淵) or Sea of Qi vitality (*qihai* 氣海), the term for the kidney in the inner alchemical context.[469] Further, this line alludes to the Qian 乾 diagram from the *Book of Changes*, according to which the dragon in the deep spring ascends to Heaven after leaping into the spring; the movement corresponds precisely to the dragon's movement in the poem. This ascension indicates that the following practice will concentrate on the head.

第七 洞微鎖　Seventh: Profound Tenuity Lock
嘉遁仰靈範，　In praise of eremitism, I look up to the Numinous Template.[470]
世道何韁鞿。　How fettered and haltered the world and the Way is!
長生昔對面，　In times past the long-lived faced one another,
皇皇昧玄機。　Magnificently lost in mysterious principles.
沆瀣不足吞，　(But now) the magic dews are not sufficient to consume.
正一知所歸。　With the Orthodox Unity, I know where I should return.
七鎖度靈鑰，　At the seventh lock, I go through with the numinous key.
進力行洞微。　I push forward to practice Profound Tenuity.

[468] For the study of Elühua and the translation of her poem, see Bokenkamp, *A Fourth-Century Daoist Family*, pp. 98-107.

[469] *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法 (Great Rites of the Shangqing Lingbao, DZ 1221): "The deity of the kidney is in the Grand Deep Spring, calms and pacifies the perfected Qi vitality" 腎神大淵，鎮安真炁.

[470] "Wu Yün's 'Cantos on Pacing the Void'", p. 393. "Numinous Template" is the master pattern of the cosmos, a kind of Platonic prototype of the phenomenal world, displayed as the array of asterisms.

In the opening of the seventh “Profound Tenuity Lock,” the poet casts his eyes up to the sky during his ascension. He is deeply disappointed with the corrupted mundane world. This disappointment serves as sufficient reason for his ascension to the celestial realm. The heavenly world also implies the temple, the destination of his actual journey, and, in inner alchemical terms, the head. At this stage, the poet is ready to approach the ultimate stage where the Orthodox Unity resides.

第八 雲璈鎖	Eighth: Cloud Lithophone Lock
犖确玉峯矗，	Where the jagged cliffs and jade summits stand erect,
真朋夐遊遨。	True companions roam afar at their ease.
洗耳發清響，	Rinsing my ears, I give a clear whistle.
躡蹻瑲鸞高。	Trudging upward, I hear the Simurgh bell ring high above.
飛泉落松杪，	Waterfalls splash upon pine twigs.
節奏風蕭騷。	Beating the rhythm, the forest breeze chimes and whispers.
八鎖度靈鑰，	At the eighth lock, I go through with the numinous key.
鏗鏗引雲璈。	Clanging and clanking, I am led in by the Cloud Lithophone.

On the steep summits of the “Cloud Bell Lock,” those who come to receive him are the perfected people, that is, either the Daoist masters who welcome the poet at Dongxiao Temple during his actual journey or the immortals residing in the celestial palace in his inner alchemical journey. His gesture of rinsing his ears also has two connotations. It recalls the legendary recluse Xu You 許由, who rinsed his ears after rejecting the sage king Yao’s 堯 invitation to serve the state. Meanwhile, the cleansed ear is also the critical apparatus for hearing the Cloud Lithophone, the sound of which serves as an alert to notify the deities that a new visitor is entering Heaven.[471] After he hears the bell, the poet’s gaze once again shifts

[471] *Yunji qiqian* records in *juan 50* that “Therefore, the Thearch of Crimson Master orders the two deities of the ear, Jiaonv and Yunyi, to lead him inside. Hence, one has tinnitus because he is ordered to enter from the outside. During the Rite of Cloud, the bells will ring in order to notify the Nine Palaces. It lets them know that the outsider is entering and orders them to stay alarmed.” 於是赤子帝君，乃命兩耳神嬌女、雲儀使引進之，故人覺耳鳴者，外使入也。雲儀時扣磬鐘，以聞九宮，使知外人來入，令警備也。

from the interior corporeal vision to the external reality of the waterfalls and pines of Mount Nine Locks. He takes one last look at the mountain scenes before he follows the ringing of the Cloud Lithophone and enters the central region of Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, or the last stage of practice for eternal transcendence.

第九 朝元鎖	Ninth: Venerating Primordial Lock[472]
矯首太霞真，	When I raise my head, the Great Wisps are vivid before me.
飛忱紫微垣。	I fly to the center of the Purple Tenuity Enclosure.
委蛻速霞舉，	Sloughing off my profane shell, I swiftly rise with the wisps.
脫灑入命門。	I break away (from the profane) and enter the Gate of Life.
羽葆交芝雲，	Feathered canopies cross with splendid clouds,
琳琅飆神旛。	Sapphires and jades decorate the fluttering divine banners.
九鎖度靈鑰，	At the ninth lock, I go through with the numinous key.
五氣身朝元。	The five Qi vitalities of my body venerate the primordial.

Eventually, at the "Venerating Primordial Lock," the poet celebrates his final arrival at Dongxiao Temple, hidden behind Mount Nine Locks. From the perspective of inner alchemy, the poet ascends to the Purple Forbidden Palace in the Mountain of the Jade Capital located on the vertex of the head, the brain.[473] Entering the Jade Capital is also the epitome of accomplishing the Nine-times Turning of the inner elixir. At this final stage of cultivation, the poet ultimately casts away his profane form and embraces his transcendent self in the Gate of Life (*mingmen* 命門) guarded by the Lord of Peach, the deity who oversees longevity.[474]

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[472] "Primordial" can refer to multiple entities: the most supreme will in cosmos, the emperor that overlooks everything under heaven, and the highest Daoist deities.

[473] *Ibid.*, *juan* 3: "The highest sky is called Daluo, which is located above the Mysterious City of Jade Capital. Purple Forbidden and Golden Gate… transform within it." 最上一天名曰大羅，在玄都玉京之上。紫微金闕，… 化生其中… See also *Yuanshi wuliang duren shangpin miaojing neiyi* (DZ 90): "*Yuluo xiaotai*, is the brain section; the Mountain of the Jade Capital, is the mud ball/kernel of the brain" 鬱羅蕭臺者，腦際也。玉山上京者，泥九也.

[474] *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* (DZ 401-402) writes: "Within the radius of one *cun*, it is in the gate of life" 方圓一寸命門中. *Shangqing dadong zhenjing* 上清大洞真經 (True Scripture of the Great Cavern of Shangqing, DZ 6) *juan* 2 includes a section entitled "Lord Peach of the Gate of Life" 命門桃君章.

Joining the divine flock, the poet finally has the perfected Qi vitality that fully imbues his five organs and claims to have consummated his transcendence.

By describing Mount Nine Locks as a pastiche of Mount Kunlun images, Chen not only transforms Mount Nine Locks into an embodiment of the Mountain of the Jade Capital but also converts the Mountain of the Jade Capital, the subject of "Pacing the Void," into the body that practices the Nine-times Turning inner alchemy.

III Contextualization of the Literati Representation of a Corporeal Landscape

What makes Chen Xunzhi's poetic representation more intriguing is his works' connection with two of the aforementioned figures: Su Shi and Xiao Yingsou. In the last couplet of each stanza, Chen repeatedly mentions the "numinous key," a term Su Shi mentioned in the line "Forming Kinship of the Three to obtain the numinous key." Moreover, the term also invokes the image of Laozi's bellows through Su Shi's line. The shape of grotto forms a concretized hollow space, which naturally becomes a sacred bellows between heaven and earth that furnishes blasts of Qi vitality. In other words, the progress of the poet's journey through the grotto symbolizes the progress of wind in the bellows that generates life

By highlighting the "numinous key," Chen reveals that his inner alchemical practice of the grotto-heaven was modeled on Su Shi's idea. Given Su Shi's lasting fame, it is not difficult to imagine that the local priests would have mentioned his visit and his work on the grotto-heaven to later visitors. Admirers of Su Shi, like Chen, would also try to interpret his words together with the Daoist teachings they received from the local masters. In other

words, later poets' admiration of Su Shi reinforced their belief that Mount Nine Locks in Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was an inner alchemical mountain. This belief also made the climb into the grotto-heaven a process that transmitted past literati's Daoist learning and practices to the literati of later generations.

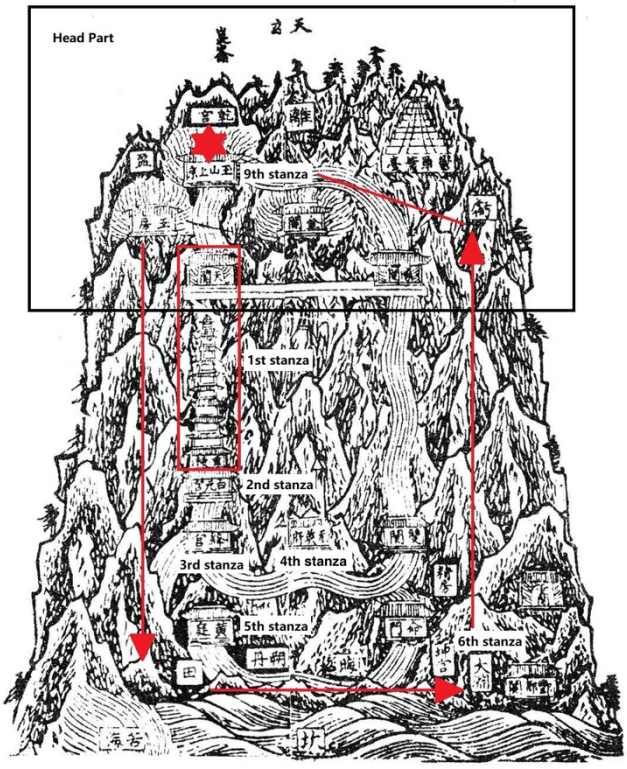

Figure 8 "Yinyang tixiang shengjiang tu" compared with Chen Xunzhi's poem

Additionally, Chen Xunzhi's representation of his ritual journey in the grotto-heaven shares some intriguing similarities with Xiao Yingsou's mountain chart. The sequence of Chen's internal scan observes the following images: The Heavenly Gate (*tianguan* 天關, the mouth) and the Multi-story Tower (*chonglou* 重樓, the throat) in the first stanza, the White Principle (*baiyuan* 白元, the lung) in the second, the Crimson Palace (*jianggong* 絳宮 or *zhufang* 朱房, the heart) in the third, the liver in the fourth, the Void Luminosity (*Wuying* 無英, the liver) in the fourth, the Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭, the spleen) in the fifth, the

Grand Deep Pool (*dayuan* 大淵, the kidney) in the sixth, the rising movement in the seventh, the ear in the eighth, and finally, the Purple Forbidden Enclosure in the Mountain of the Jade Capital (also known as *yushan shangjing* 玉山上京, the brain) in the ninth stanza.

Nearly all of the images above can find their corresponding locations in Xiao's "Illustration" (see Figure 8). The mountain in Xiao's chart is labeled Kunlun. The Heavenly Gate and Multi-level Tower are located on the upper left side of the chart, while the White Principle and the Crimson Palace are below the two images above. Further below is Void Luminosity, and the Yellow Court. Then the focus shifts to the lower right side at the Grand Deep Pool. In the next step, the viewing moves upward. Although there is no corresponding image for the ear in the chart, the focus is now on the head, and the destination of the Mountain of the Jade Capital finds its place in the top left corner of the chart. Following the sequence provided by Chen's poem, we notice that the movement follows the mountain stream and eventually forms a loop.

This water movement is notable in several aspects: the order of the organs in the chart is highly congruent with the procedure of the inner alchemical body scan in Chen's grotto-heaven poem. If we follow Chen's order, the viewing begins from the upper left side, contravening the traditional method of viewing a monumental landscape painting.[475] Moreover, the counterclockwise direction of the movement indicates a reverse motion that resonates with the idea of Nine-times Turning. The idea of controlling the stream and

[475] *Picturing the True Form*, pp. 83-85.

restoring the primordial order also resonates with the essential spirit conveyed by the legend of Yu taming Yellow River.

Although no record shows that Xiao Yingsou had ties with Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, the congruency of Chen's and Xiao's expressions of the inner alchemical paradigm of organs in the form of a mountain is not likely to have been a coincidence. Two cardinal Daoist scriptures could be the shared source of their knowledge of the corporeal mountain. One is *Taishang Huangting neijing yujing* 太上黃庭內景玉經 (Precious Book of the Interior Landscape of the Yellow Court, DZ 331).[476] It is alternatively known as "Taishang qinxin wen" 太上琴心文 (Scripture of the Utmost Mind of the Lute). Yellow court (*huangting* 黃庭) refers to the central and most sacred part of the body. The scripture surveys the inner organs of a human body and introduces the corresponding deities that govern the organs, offering guidance for the preliminary cultivation of Keep the One (*shouyi* 守一) in the early Daoist meditative practices of the Upper Clarity tradition.[477] The phrase "interior landscape" (*neijing* 內景) indicates that the belief of body as a correlative landscape was already incorporated in the work when it was composed. The scripture became widely read and chanted among the secular literati during the Song dynasty.[478] Although Chen Xunzhi did not explicitly mention it, his nephew Zhao Rushi, in his matching poem, offered a

[476] See an introduction of the text in *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 184-185.

[477] *The Taoist Body*, pp. 132-133.

[478] See the discussion of Song literati's reception of this scripture in *Daojiao wenhua yu Songdai shige*, pp. 106-122.

clear reference to the scripture by writing the line: “Thirty-six (Chapters) is the scripture about (cultivating) the mind of the lute” 六六琴心文.[479]

The other scripture is the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序 (The Five Fu, Powerful Treasure of the Most High, DZ 388), which is the only scripture that describes the exact same order of organs mentioned in Chen’s poem.[480] As one of the early Daoist texts that were later incorporated in the Numinous Treasure corpus, the *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* is also the key Daoist treatise that provides the prototypical portrayal of grotto-heavens.[481] Most importantly, the scripture mentions the cultivation of inner organs in the context of an explanation of correlative cosmologic practices for absorbing the essence of the universe. Probably because of the scripture’s significant status in the grotto-heaven tradition, a certain kind of knowledge that interpreted inner alchemy based on the theory of inner organs mentioned in the scripture evolved in the Song dynasty.

Additionally, the reversion of the river in the corporeal Nine Locks can be considered an elaboration of the inner alchemical cultivation of the “waterwheel” based on the method of “flying the gold essence behind the elbow.” The tenth century text *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鐘呂傳道集 (Zhongli Quan's Transmission of the Art [of Immonality] to Lü Dongbin: A Collection, DZ 263.14) explains the practice through a fabricated interlocution between the

[479] *DXSJ*, 5.293.

[480] *Taishang lingbao wufu xu*, 1:20a. See a brief review of the scripture in *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 232-233. For a comprehensive research of it, see Gil Raz’s *Creation of tradition: The Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure and the Formation of Early Daoism*.

[481] See the discussion under the section “The Origin of Grotto-Heaven in the Daoist Tradition” in Chapter One of this dissertation.

Daoist immortals Zhong Liquan 鍾離權 (ca. 168–256) and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (796–1016):[482]

> The techniques of silent merging and inversion, of the dragon and tiger commingling, and of transforming the yellow sprouts are the lesser waterwheel. Flying the gold essence behind the elbow, the reverted crystal entering the brain, extracting lead to supplement, and completing the great medicine are the greater waterwheel.
> 默契顛倒之術，以龍虎相交而變黃芽者，小河車也。肘後飛金晶，還晶入泥丸，抽鉛添汞而成大藥者，大河車也。

This is Zhong's response to Lü, who asked for an explanation about "the waterwheel essentially represents the aligned Qi vitality from the north, and it revolves eternally" 河車本北方之正氣，運轉無窮. Although Zhong's words are vague, Chen's poem and Xiao's chart flesh out the procedures of "lesser waterwheel" (*xiao heche* 小河車) and "greater waterwheel" (*da heche* 大河車). The detailed knowledge was probably in line with the local teaching of inner alchemy at Dongxiao.

Among the scriptures that Chen may have consulted, *Yunji qiqian*, the abridged version of the first Daoist Canon compiled in the Song dynasty, appears to be a key reference. This is not surprising, since Dongxiao Temple in Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was the center where the canon was compiled.[483] In the Southern Song, it also became one of the grotto-heavens that still held the collections. Given the other Daoist scriptures in its repository and the teachings offered by local priests, Dongxiao became the academy par excellence for Daoist aficionados to learn about grotto-heavens and the relevant religious knowledge. Chen condensed his knowledge to compose the heavily loaded "Pacing the Void" verses.

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[482] The translation is by Louis Komjathy, see *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and self-transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism*, p. 317.fn127.

[483] See the transmission and preservation of the Daoist Canon manuscript in Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index*.

It is also necessary to note that while Xiao's mountain chart is a symbolic representation of "true form" that typically anticipates for meditative practice with visual movements, Chen's poems suggested a progressive physical movement in the actual landscape. He demonstrates to later literati visitors that their walk from one "lock" to another to enter the sacred grotto-heaven was already a process of inner alchemical practice. This promises a more feasible method for literati as laypeople to experience the sense of Daoist transcendence and practice inner alchemy.

Both the poems of Su Shi and Chen Xunzhi can also be understood as the Song literati's effort to attach new empirical significance to the landscape to compensate for the fading of the grotto-heaven's mythical and utopian aura as more secular people came to visit. The ritualized progressive walk in the grotto-heaven would have made the Daoist landscape more relevant to the Song literati's obsession with the sacred mountains, as they gained a sense of habituating themselves to the place through physical cultivation. In turn, the new representation also complicates the literati's understanding of the grotto-heaven mountains because the poetic emplacement of literati bodies creating a deeper intimacy between the landscape and the self.

Most essentially, the stage of Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven combined with the traveler's bodily and literary representations consummate a grand performance with latent yet critical implications. It was long believed that Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven was connected to Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven. As is introduced in Chapter One, Forest Chamber Grotto-heaven was the legendary repository of Yu's sacred text. The connection between the two grotto-

heavens made Grand Cleanse a portal through which the visitors could access Yu's legacy. Additionally, the chanting and dancing of Pacing the Void naturally had the poet Chen Xunzhi embody Yu as he gazed the stars and observed the terrain along the way. Lastly, the poet's travel upstream along the Nine Locks turnings to enter the center of the grotto-heaven mimicked Yu's achievement in controlling the Yellow River and paid homage to the origin of the river, Mount Kunlun.

In a nutshell, the poet's ascension in the landscape was a performance to reincarnate the sage king Yu and approach the Way. The grotto-heaven became a perfected piece of art made by the creator and an emblematic vessel of antiquity that condensed time and space of the past and the present. It empowered the Song literati visitors to pursue their dream of not only cultivating their body to restore its primordial form but also embodying the sage king from the ancient times. Eventually, the once estranged Daoist land of mystery developed into an emblem of a special and organic aspect of the literati pursuit of antiquarianism, which in turn legitimized the literati's obsession with mists and clouds.[484]

[484] Interestingly, the thinking of the progressive movement in the nine turning landscape as a form of bodily cultivation spread not only in China but also to Korea in the following centuries. An example is Zhu Xi's "Jiuqu zhaoge" 九曲棹歌 (The Boatman's Song at the Nine Turning River) and it later reception. Some Ming literati explicitly chanted the river travel's implication of the inner alchemy. For example, Wang Mai's 王邁 (1184—1248) poetic lines, which read: "This Nine-times Turning of Mount Wuyi is a hallucination. The numinous sand reverts nine times to produce cinnabar and lead" 武夷九曲此幻相，靈砂九轉成丹鉛; and Dong Qichang's 董其昌 (1555—1636) line: "In 'The Boatman's Song at the Nine-times Turning River,' the cinnabar conducts Nine-times Reversion" 九曲棹歌丹九轉.
Zhu Xi's legacy inspired the vogue of self-cultivation in nine turning landscapes among the Joseon (1392–1897) scholars. I Lo-fen has a number of articles discussing the appropriation of the "cultural image" of the Nine Bending Stream centered on Zhu Xi's influence; see I Lo-fen, "Wandering and Pursuing: Zhu Xi's Wuyi Boating Song and Follow Writings in Joseon Dynasty Korea" 遊觀與求道：朱熹〈武夷櫂歌〉與朝鮮士人的理解與續作. *Journal of Chinese Studies* 60 (2015): 53-71; and "Text and Image Studies: Theory of East Asian Cultural Diffusion." *Journal of Cultural Interaction in East Asia* 10.1 (2019): 43-54; also see Christina Hee-Yeon Han's "Territory of the Sages: Neo-Confucian Discourse of Wuyi Nine Bends *Jingjie*." (University of Toronto (Canada), Ph.D. diss., 2011).
I hope the analysis in this dissertation can expand the context of this cultural phenomenon and create space for further discussions.

Appendix

The Compilation and Transmission of *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*

The *Dongxiao shiji* 洞霄詩集 (the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*) is a collection of poems dedicated to the Dongxiao temple, chiefly written by the Song dynasty authors who came together through the efforts of the Daoist priest Meng Zongbao 孟宗寶 (ca. 14th century) and the literatus Deng Mu 鄧牧 (1247–1306).[485] The text barely survived transmission from the Yuan dynasty to the Qing dynasty and underwent several changes. This study considers the lineage of its editions and analyzes the forces that influenced its transmission and transformation. Changes in the *Dongxiao shiji* serve as a barometer for the changing relationship between the literati and the temple's Daoist legacy.

The *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology* is emblematic of the mutual interests of the literati and Daoist priests. Traces of those interests are hidden in the content of the *Dongxiao Anthology* and the progress of its compilation. In the preface to this collection, Deng Mu states that the *Dongxiao Anthology* gathered poems from the Tang and the Song and was dedicated to the Grand Cleanse Grotto-heaven, an auspicious Daoist land where the Dongxiao temple is located. Interestingly, this study finds in its composition that the literati poets without a Daoist background significantly outnumber those writers with a religious background, such as the ordained Daoist priests. In other words, it was largely the literati who used poetry to

[485] The *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology* has several editions, which are introduced later in this appendix. Among them, the most comprehensive is collated by the Zhibuzu Studio 知不足齋; see Meng Zongbao, *Dongxiao shiji* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965). The book's title is translated as the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology,* which this paper refers to as the *Dongxiao Anthology*. The *Zhibuzu Studio* edition is referred to as the *Zhibuzu* edition.

highlight their connection to this Daoist site. The number of poems in the *Anthology* referring to the temple, its people, and surrounding landscape, together with any deleted or omitted poems, indicate that poetry was a common activity among the literati visitors to the Dongxiao temple at that time.

The literati's interest in the Dongxiao temple triggered the compilation of the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*. Shen Duofu 沈多福 (ca. early 14th century), the abbot of the Dongxiao temple, notes in the Anthology's preface that he initiated the project because he was grateful for the glories that the literati works had brought to the temple and because he feared that the works might be lost in time. After the compilation was completed, he ordered it carved onto woodblocks in preparation for printing.[486] In addition, the preface mentions the reclusive literatus Deng Mu collaborating with the Daoist priest Meng Zongbao, the collection's chief compiler. In his introductory essay, Deng Mu stressed the significance of the Dongxiao poems, specifically their content and ideas, rather than the ingenuity and beauty of the language, which reflects the then literati aesthetic taste.[487] Meng Zongbao, who agreed with Deng, "thereupon edited and republished" the collection.[488] Even though the main contributor was allegedly Meng Zongbao, Deng Mu likely participated in the compilation as

[486] *Ibid*., 5. "When the time came to (the Tang dynasty), the Tang people made poems for singing and chanting. When it came to the Song dynasty, … and Mister Chen (Chen Yaozuo 陳堯佐, 963–1044) outstandingly contributed marvelous words. Within three to four hundred years, long essays and short writings were written in alternation. Therefore, the magnificence of the five caverns and nine peaks were all resplendent. … They were in the past appreciated with much importance. If they are not assembled and collated into a collection, they may be lost as time passes. Then will not the ones who live in this mountain feel ashamed? I respectfully gather the famous writings from the past till now and compiled fourteen volumes then carved them on woodblocks." 及唐人作為歌詠。至宋□陳諸公妙語傑出，三四百年間大篇短章交作，於是五洞九峯勝槩燦爛……□□□（鳥）之內而地視。昔為益重矣。使不會粹成編，久或散失，則居是山者將無恧乎。謹裒古今名章，其十四卷而鋟諸梓. This excerpt appears only in two Qing dynasty woodblock printed editions.

[487] *Ibid*., 4. Deng Mu's introduction appears in both an early Ming collected edition that is allegedly a Yuan manuscript as a postscript and the two Qing dynasty editions.

[488] *Ibid*., 4.

his advisor. Thus, although dedicated to a religious Daoist site, the *Dongxiao Anthology* is the fruit of the interaction of the literati and Daoist culture. Furthermore, intending to pass on the *Anthology*'s writings, the compilers wanted to attract the attention of future literati and Daoist parties.[489]

However, even if its compilers wanted the literati connection to assure the text's transmission and inheritance, passing the reputation of the Dongxiao Temple and legacies on to later generations, the *Dongxiao Anthology*'s path to survival was tortuous. To learn about its textual history, the following discussion will survey the bibliographical record by examining the surviving versions of the *Dongxiao Anthology*.

Issues Related to the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*

There are two extant Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) versions of the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*. The earliest is a printed edition, *Dongxiao shiji*, preserved by Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 in Japan.[490] According to its preface, the Seikadō edition dates from 1302. The other version is a manuscript allegedly dating to the Yuan Zhida period (1308–1311) and is preserved as part of the temple gazetteer the *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖誌 (the *Dongxiao*

[489] The compilation of *Dongxiao Anthology* resonated with a Yuan dynasty vogue of compiling recipient-oriented anthologies (*zongji* 總集). In most cases, the recipient would be a person. The *Dongxiao Anthology* adopted a similar form but changed the recipient to a place. For a specific discussion of this vouge, see Chen, Wen-yi 陳雯怡. "You 'shijuan' dao 'zongji': Yuandai shiren jiaoyou de wenhua biaoxian" 由「詩卷」到「總集」——元代士人交遊的文化表現 (Recipient-oriented Poem Anthologies and Literati Social Interaction in the Yuan Dynasty). *Historical Inquiry* 58 (2016): 47-104.

[490] Meng Zongbao, *Dongxiao shiji*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Seikadō Bunko Bijutsukan, 1302).

Illustrated Gazetteer) and compiled by the same people.[491] The co-existence of the two versions from the same period raises the question of whether the *Dongxiao Anthology* was initially intended as an individual work. The Qing scholar Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), who collated the *Dongxiao Anthology* after it was rediscovered, wrote in the preface that the two works might have originally appeared as a set,[492] but he gave no evidence to support his belief.

Although the textual history of the *Dongxiao Anthology* is unclear, Wang Zongyu completed a comprehensive bibliographical study of the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and this can serve as a side reference.[493] Through painstaking research, Wang shows that the *Illustrated Gazetteer* was likely a collaboration between Deng Mu and Meng Zongbao, rather than being Deng Mu's independent effort. Wang also comprehensively researched the *Illustrated Gazetteer*'s editions, of which there are five: the Yuan manuscript, the *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記 (Record of Grand Cleanse Grotto Heaven, DZ 782), the *Zhibuzu Studio* 知不足齋,

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[491] Deng Mu, *Dongxiao tuzhi: Zhejiang sheng* 洞霄圖誌：浙江省 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe youxiangongsi, 1983). *Dongxiao tuzhi* is translated here as the *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer* and abridged to the *Illustrated Gazetteer*. This Yuan Zhida manuscript edition is referred to as the Zhida edition.

[492] Ruan Yuan wrote: "The *Record* originally was compiled by Deng Mu. The reason why the preface regards Meng Zongbao (to be the compiler) maybe is just that the two books were combined and launched together by that time" 記本鄧牧著，而序以為孟宗寶者，疑當日兩書本合行耳. See Meng Zongbao, *Dongxiao shiji*, *Wanwei biecang* ed., in Zhang Zhi 張智 and Zhang Jian 張健 et al., *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan xubian* 中國道觀志叢刊續編 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2004), p. 2. The preface of the *Record* refers to Shen Duofu's preface in the *Record of Grand Cleanse Grotto Heaven*. Shen wrote: "I'm afraid that the splendors and anecdotes will vanish as time passes, so I entrusted the priest Meng Zongbao and the recluse Deng Muxin to collect old texts together and consult knowledgeable elder people. After research and revision, they compiled the *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer*" 余懼靈迹奇聞久將湮沒，遂俾道士孟宗寶、隱士鄧牧心相與搜羅舊籍，詢咨故老，考訂作《洞霄圖志》.

[493] See Wang Zongyu 王宗昱, "*Dongxiao tuzhi* de banben" 《洞霄图志》的版本, in Lian Xiaoming 連曉鳴 et al., *Tiantaishan ji Zhejiang quyu daojiao guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 天台山暨浙江區域道教國際學術研討會論文集 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2008), pp. 397-403.

the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀, and the *Siku Quanshu* (Complete Library in Four Sections) 四庫全書.[494]

According to Wang, the *Zhibuzu* edition is by far the most complete, while the Yuan manuscript, preserved independently by the Ming book collector Wu Xiu 吳岫 (ca. 16th century), can serve as a supplementary source to the *Zhibuzu* edition. Wang points out that although the Yuan manuscript was periodized to the Yuan dynasty, according to the chronicle cited in the preface, a few entries contain content dating to the Ming Hongwu period (1368–1398). This indicates that the Yuan manuscript was probably revised later during the Ming. Of the two, the *Dadi* edition has the least annotation and rewriting despite being severely truncated and retitled by the Daoist priests when they cast the woodblocks for printing at the beginning of the Ming dynasty.[495] Since the Celestial Master successor Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1359–1410) said in the preface that he had received this version directly from the Dongxiao priests, the *Dadi* edition is more likely to reflect the original Yuan text. While both the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* and *Siku* editions are less comprehensive than the *Zhibuzu* edition, they probably share the same source and are therefore less important.

Although Wang's survey is comprehensive, it focuses primarily on the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and barely mentions the *Dongxiao Anthology*. Because there is no bibliographical

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[494] According to the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, *Dadi dongtian ji* is a revised version of the *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer*. Some early Ming Daoist priests truncated the book while preparing for reprint, retitling the revised edition as *Dadi dongtian ji*. This study will refer to *Dadi dongtian ji* as the Dadi edition. For citation information of the Yuan manuscript edition and the *Zhibuzu Studio* edition, see the previous footnotes. For the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* edition, see Xu Shiluan 徐士鸞 (ca. 18-19th century), Wu Xianghan 吳鄉斥 (ca. 1781 - 1856) et al., *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀, Volume 29 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1983), pp. 2547-2678. For the *Siku* edition, see Deng Mu. *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志 in Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) comp., *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, Volume 587 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983).

[495] About the synopsis on the *Record of Dadi Grotto Heaven*, see Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) et al., *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 欽定四庫全書總目提要, Volume 77, *shi* Section 33 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2000), p. 2032.

study of the *Dongxiao Anthology*, this paper attempts to fill this gap. In many editions transmitted after the Yuan dynasty, the *Dongxiao Anthology* was considered separate from the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and, therefore, even if the two are closely associated, the *Dongxiao Anthology* needs an examination of its textual history of its own.

Bibliography of *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*

Although directly descended from the *Illustrated Gazetteer*, the *Dadi* edition is not relevant to the discussion of the textual history of the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*. Not only is the section on significant figures missing, as well as many other passages, but the entire *Dongxiao Anthology* is also missing. No record explains why the Daoist priests revised the book, and so their amendment makes this edition less useful for this study.

As mentioned above, there are two extant Yuan dynasty versions of the *Dongxiao Anthology*: the printed Seikadō edition of 1302 and the Zhida manuscript edition. The Seikadō edition consists of two volumes. The first includes poems by literati and Daoist priests from the Tang and Song dynasties, and the second includes poems by the Song monks and the Yuan literati. Unfortunately, this edition is severely damaged, with many pages in the first volume being illegible (see Figure 9). In comparison, the Zhida manuscript edition of the *Dongxiao Anthology* is intact. It is attached to the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and includes poems, especially the fragmentary lines, from the first volume of the Seikadō edition. However, the second volume of the same edition does not exist in the Zhida edition.

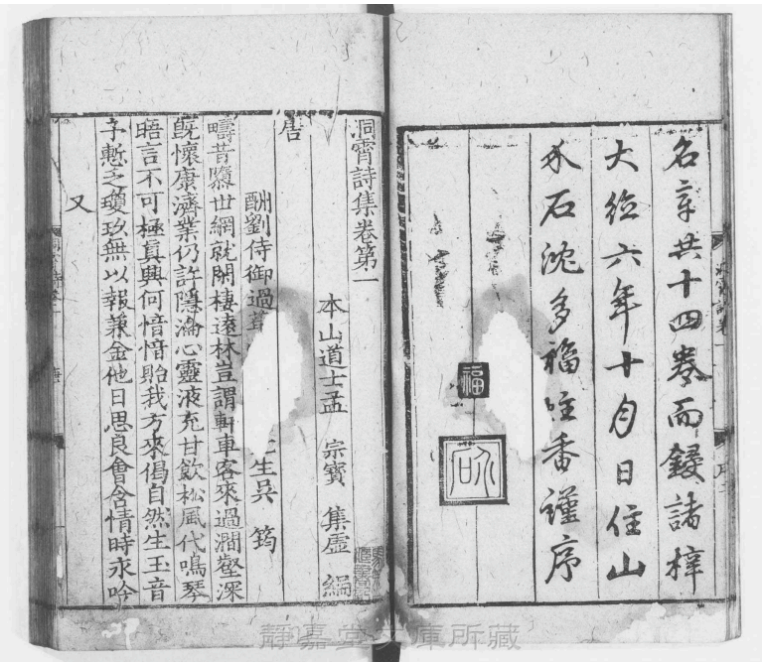

Figure 9　Damaged pages in the printed Seikadō edition (1302)

During the Ming dynasty, two treatises in circulation contained the *Dongxiao Anthology*. One was Wu Xiu's Yuan manuscript edition, dating to the Jiajing reign (1522–1566), and shows that the *Dongxiao Anthology* was appended to the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and that the two are combined into one set. The other is a copy from the Wanli period (1573–1620), probably lost during the Qing dynasty but later discovered by the book collector Gao Yimo 高以謨 (ca. 16th century).[496] The evidence suggests that he edited both the *Gazetteer* and the *Anthology*, although the relationship between the two works is unknown. Apart from these sources, there is no record of other editions circulating during the Ming dynasty. In other words, while the *Illustrated Gazetteer* entered the Daoist Canon, indicating that it received

[496] Ruan Yuan 阮元 states in *Siku weishoushu tiyao* 四庫未收書提要 that "there was a Ming edition published by Gao Yimo, but it was lost by his time" 是本明有高以謨刊，近亦不可得見. See page 2 of the *Dongxiao shiji* in *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan xubian*. Traces of Gao's editorial work are also found in the annotation on page 98. Gao was a book collector and the assistant magistrate of Yuhang area around 1583. See Dai Riqiang 戴日強 (ca. 1610). *Wanli Yuhang xianzhi* 萬曆餘杭縣志, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, Ji Yun 紀昀 comp. *shi* Section, Volume 210 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983), pp. 259-450.

Daoist and imperial recognition, the *Dongxiao Anthology* was shared only among private collectors without drawing Ming imperial attention.

Nonetheless, the *Dongxiao Anthology* survived the Qing dynasty. There were two major Qing editions, a print edition collected by the *Zhibuzu Studio* collection[497] and an edition from the private rare book collection of Emperor Jiaqing (r. 1796–1820) named *Wanwei biecang* 宛委別藏 (Supplementary Wanwei Collection).[498] Apart from these, Wenren Ru 聞人儒 (ca. 18th century), a Qing scholar, provided an expanded poetry collection in the *Dongxiao gong zhi* 洞霄宮志 (Dongxiao Temple Records), which includes not only poems from the *Dongxiao Anthology* but also poems written after the deaths of Deng Mu and Meng Zongbao.[499]

Jiaqing Yuhang xianzhi 嘉慶餘杭縣志 (Jiaqing Yuhang Prefecture Gazetteer) provides the background of the *Zhibuzu* edition of the *Dongxiao Anthology*'s rediscovery in the Qing dynasty.[500] The *Gazetteer* cites a preface by Zhu Wenzao 朱文藻 (1735–1806), who narrated the process of his compilation of the *Dongxiao tuzhi xu* 洞霄圖志續 (Addendum of the *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer*, 1798):[501]

> I visited Dongxiao in the autumn of 1780. There, I found *Dongxiao gongzhi*, which was compiled by Wenren Ru. Because its style and layout look recent, I always think about re-editing it to provide it for others' observation and reading. Later when I visited Wu's family, I went with Bao Luyin (Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博, 1728–1814) to a bookstore. We

[497] Meng Zongbao, *Dongxiao shiji*, 1965.

[498] See Meng Zongbao, *Dongxiao shiji*, *Wanwei biecang* ed.

[499] Wen Renru comp., *Dongxiao gongzhi* in *Zhongguo daoguan zhi congkan xubian*, vol. 17.

[500] Zhang Ji'an 張吉安 (1759–1829) comp., *Jiaqing Yuhang xianzhi* 嘉慶餘杭縣志, Zhu Wenzao 朱文藻 (1735–1806) ed., in *Zhongguo di fang zhi ji cheng: Zhejiang fu xian zhi ji* 中国地方志集成：浙江府縣志輯, vol. 5 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993).

[501] *Ibid*., 1071b

> acquired old manuscripts of Deng Muxin's (Deng Mu) *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer* and Meng Zongbao's *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*. I gladly took it back and made woodblock plates (for printing preparation). Considering that the books by Deng and Meng date to the Yuan dynasty, I am thus motivated to mimic the Yuan style.
> 余自庚子秋遊洞霄，見聞人氏所纂《洞霄宮志》，體例凡近，每思重為考訂，以資觀覽。後客吳門，與鮑綠飲從書肆中，購得舊鈔本鄧牧心《洞霄圖志》，及孟宗寶《洞霄詩集》，欣然攜歸，付之剞劂。因鄧、孟兩書迄於元代，由是發心仿其例。

Zhu Wenzao said that he and his friend Bao Tingbo found a set of Yuan manuscripts of the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and the *Dongxiao Anthology* in a bookstore while visiting Wu Qian 吳騫 (1733–1813), a famous book collector. Although Zhu's *Addendum* was no longer extant, the textual sources of the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and the *Dongxiao Anthology*, which later appeared in Bao Tingbo's *Zhibuzu Studio* collection, probably originated in the books that Zhu purchased.

In a poem he wrote for the epilogue of the *Zhibuzu Dongxiao Anthology*, Bao Tingbo provides further details about the *Dongxiao Anthology* manuscript that he and Zhu discovered: "Searching for the amazing scrolls of excellent writings, I happily encountered Li" 探奇墨妙欣逢厲. In an annotation, Bao explains that the line denoted "Li Zhengjun's (Li E 厲鶚, 1692–1752) handwritten poem about his revisit to Dongxiao attached after the poetry anthology" 詩集後厲徵君手書重游洞霄詩.[502] This indicates that the bookstore copy was part of Li's private collection before the book fell into their hands.

As for the *Wanwei* edition, the compiler was Ruan Yuan, the Qing's official scholar. According to the preface of *Siku weishoushu tiyao* 四庫未收書提要 written by Ruan

[502] *Dongxiao shiji*, *Zhibuzu* ed., pp. 231-235. The epilogue also includes Li E's poems and essay.

Yuan's son Ruan Fu 阮福 (ca. 19th century), Ruan Yuan had searched for rare books and manuscripts when serving as an official in the Zhejiang province. He invited Bao Tingbo and other scholars to help him with the editorial work.[503] After the collation work was finished, Ruan presented the work, together with other recently acquired books not included in the *Siku* collection, to Emperor Jiaqing, who admired it and named it *Wanwei biecang*.

According to the *Jiaqing Yuhang Prefecture Gazetteer*, Zhu Wenzao not only wrote a preface for his *Addendum of Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer*, but Zhu also invited Ruan Yuan to write a preface of his own, which appears in this work before Zhu's. Although Ruan Yuan, Zhu Wenzao, and Bao Tingbo likely used the same Yuan manuscript, there is nothing to suggest that Bao was involved specifically in Ruan's collation of *Poetry Anthology*, although Ruan had invited Bao to help with the general editorial works of his large book collection project.

Still, the two editions differ in several areas and this study will list their inconsistencies.[504] Like other books in the *Wanwei* collection, a synopsis is attached at the beginning of the *Wanwei* edition of the *Dongxiao Anthology*. Despite missing this synopsis, the *Zhibuzu* edition has additional content that the *Wanwei* edition lacks. For example, the *Wanwei* edition has several blank pages in the third *juan* while the *Zhibuzu* edition does not. At the beginning of the fourth *juan*, the *Zhibuzu* edition records an additional poem titled

[503] Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) et al., *Siku weishoushu tiyao* 四庫未收書提要 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), p. 2.

[504] Despite the listed discrepancies, there are many comparatively minor differences, such as the inconsistent usage of certain characters and sequence changes in some poems.

"Chongyou Dongxiao gong" 重遊洞霄宮 (Revisiting Dongxiao Temple).[505] The poem is anonymous, yet it might belong to the Southern Song official Zheng Sun 鄭損 (ca. 13th century) according to the *Wanli yuhang xianzhi* 萬曆餘杭縣志 (Wanli Yuhang Prefecture Gazetteer) and the Zhida edition of the *Dongxiao Anthology*.[506] Also, in the same volume, the sequence of Zhou Wenpu's 周文璞 (ca. 1216) poems in the two Qing versions differ, while the *Zhibuzu* edition's sequence agrees with that in the Yuan dynasty editions. By the end of the sixth *juan*, the *Zhibuzu* edition records the title of a poem "Xiaori huai Jiusuo" 夏日懷九鎖 (Recalling Mount Nine Locks in a Summer Day), after which there are four blank pages, indicating that this part is missing from Bao's references (see Figure 10).[507] Similarly, the *Wanwei* edition does not include the missing poems, but it does not leave the pages blank. Interestingly, the 1302 Seikadō edition also omits these pages (see Figure 11). Finally, the *Wanwei* edition does not have the epilogue attached by Bao Tingbo to the end of the *Zhibuzu* edition. Because of these differences, it is reasonable to assume that even if Bao Tingbo and Ruan Yuan had access to similar sources, the copy that Ruan read was less complete than the bookstore manuscript that Bao accessed. Moreover, the bookstore manuscript was likely a copy descended from the 1302 Seikadō printed edition, which might explain why both the *Zhubuzu* edition and the Seikadō edition have fourteen *juan*.

[505] *Dongxiao shiji*, *Zhibuzu* ed., p. 62

[506] Dai Riqiang, *Wanli Yuhang xianzhi*.

[507] *Dongxiao shiji*, *Zhibuzu* ed., p. 106-110.

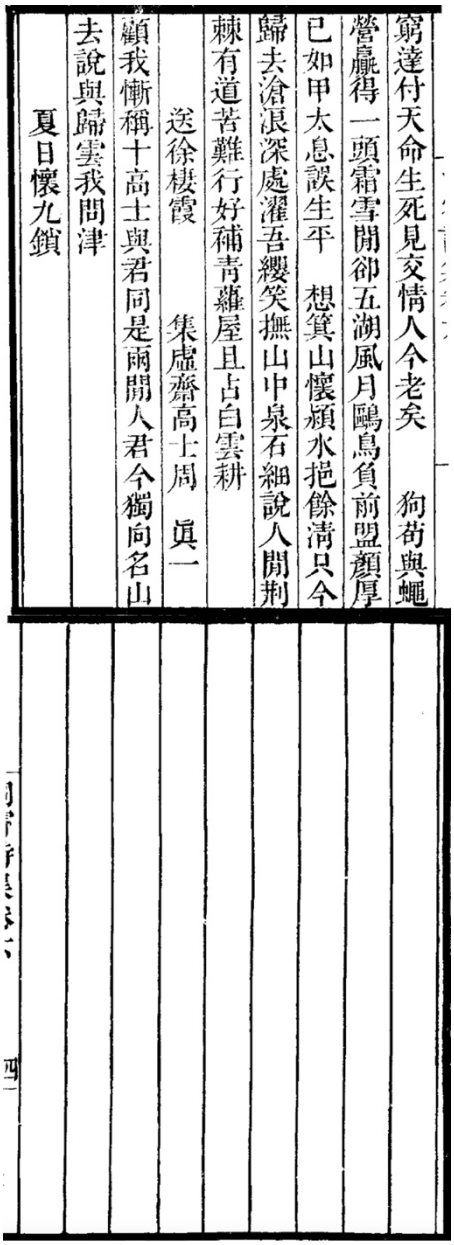
窮達付天命生死見交情人今老矣　狗苟與蠅
營贏得一頭霜雪開卻五湖風月鷗鳥負前盟顏厚
已如甲太息誤生平　想箕山懷潁水挹餘清只今
歸去滄浪深處濯吾纓笑撫山中泉石細說人間荊
棘有道苦難行好補青蘿屋且占白雲耕
送徐棲霞　集虛齋高士周　眞一
顧我慚稱十高士與君同是兩閑人君今獨向名山
去說與歸雲我問津
夏日懷九鎖

Figure 10　The blank page in the *Zhibuzi* edition

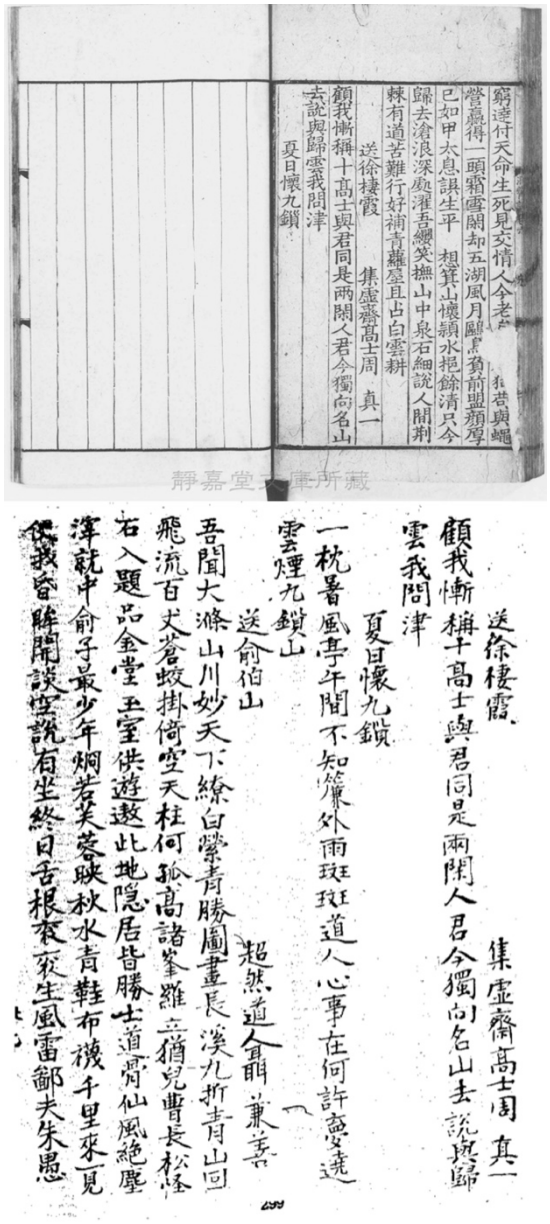

Figure 11　The Seikadō edition (up) and the Zhida edition (down)

It is important to note that the Zhida edition is drastically different from the Qing editions. If we compare them, only the first three volumes are roughly the same—except for some different usages of characters.[508] However, the next three *juan* have several differences. At the beginning of the fourth *juan*, the Zhida edition includes three additional

[508] For examples, in both versions, characters like the "游" and "遊", and "峰" and "峯" are used interchangeably.

poems compared with both Qing versions. They are “Wuyin qiu guo Dongxiao” 戊寅秋過洞霄 (Passing Dongxiao in the Autumn of Wuyin Year), “Ji Dongxiao Chongmiao Gong xiansheng” 寄洞霄沖妙龔先生 (Sent to Dongxiao Chongmiao Master Gong) by Zhao Rutan 趙汝談 (d. 1237) and “Cuijiao ting” 翠蛟亭 (Cuijiao Pavilion) by Zheng Sun 鄭損.[509]

In the fifth *juan* of the Zhida edition, Zhao Rushi’s 趙汝湜 (ca. early 13th century) set verse “Jinghe Jiusuo buxu ci” 敬和九鎖步虛詞 (Respectfully Rhyming Stanzas on Pacing the Void of Mount Nine Lock) titles the verse “Feiluan suo” 飛鸞鎖 (Flying Simurgh Lock) after “Cangyun suo” 藏云鎖 (Concealing Cloud Lock). Yet the two Qing editions replaced the “Flying Simurgh Lock” with “Lingxu suo” 凌虛鎖 (Soaring Void Lock). They then attach another poem, “Flying Simurgh Lock,” to the end of the poem series with an annotation: “the Yuan printed edition lost this poem, which is supplemented based on Gao Yimo’s edition” 元刻脫此篇，今據明高以謨本補錄.[510] This suggests two possibilities: either the Qing compilers relied chiefly on a Yuan printed version and Gao’s version was available by then, or the bookstore manuscript includes the above annotation, which was copied by the Qing compilers. It is also worth noting that neither the Seikadō edition nor the Zhida edition missed “Flying Simurgh Lock.” This means that “the Yuan printed edition,” which the Qing compiler used and Gao’s version, still differed from the Seikadō edition, even though they looked similar.

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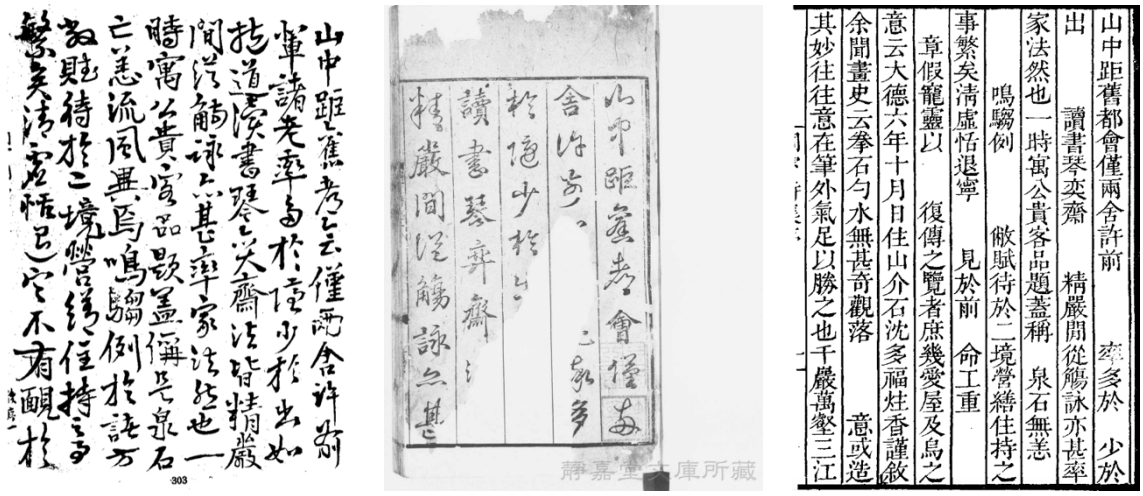
509 *DXSJ*, 4.266-267.

510 See *Dongxiao shiji*, *Wanwei biecang* ed., pp.96-98. Also see *Dongxiao tuzhi*, 1983, pp. 98-100.

In the sixth *juan*, the lost poems appear after the title “Recalling the Nine Lock Mountains in a Summer Day” in the Qing versions and the Seikadō edition (see Image 3). The Zhida edition was likely in transmission through a different lineage, with none of its versions available to the Qing compilers. Additionally, the prefaces by Shen Duofu and Deng Mu in the Seikadō edition and the Qing versions, which omit similar lines, serve as postscripts in the Zhida with the missing characters refilled in the Qing versions (see Figure 12). Finally, Wu Xiu’s postscript comes after Shen’s and Deng’s writings.[511]



Zhida edition　　Seikadō edition　　*Zhibuzu* edition

Figure 12　Comparison of three editions

This study, therefore, concludes that Bao Tingbo either consulted the Yuan manuscript from the bookstore that carried paratexts about other Yuan and Ming versions or he reviewed Gao Yimo’s edition and a Yuan printed version that was slightly different from the Seikadō edition. Even so, all these versions were lost, and it is unlikely that Bao and Ruan would have deleted the three poems by Zhao Rutan and Zheng Sun had they seen them. Nor is it likely

[511] *Dongxiao tuzhi*, 1983, pp. 303-307.

that they would have kept the missing characters had they seen the Zhida edition or a copy of it. Therefore, the Qing compilers did not receive a Zhida edition or its later copies.

Meanwhile, Ruan mentioned in the preface of the *Wanwei* edition that:

> During the Ming, there was Gao Yimo's edition. It is not available nowadays.
> 明有高以謨本，進亦不可見。

However, *the Wanwei* edition records the same "Flying Simurgh Lock" annotation credited to Gao's edition. Although it is unknown whether Ruan copied the sentence from Bao's *Zhibuzu* edition, it is known that both Bao's and Ruan's versions descended from Gao Yimo's edition. The Zhida edition collected by Wu Xiu was passed down via a different path (see Chart 3).

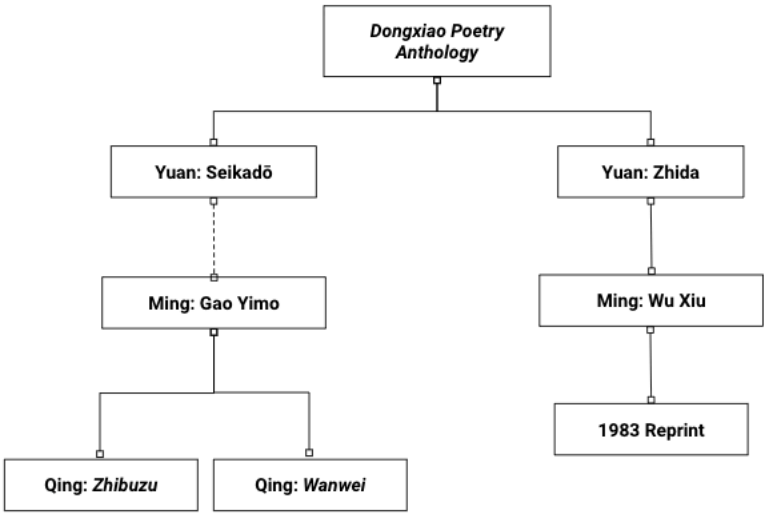


Chart 3 Genealogy of *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology*

Dongxiao Poetry Anthology and its Independency

We should also consider the possibility of the *Poetry Anthology* and the *Illustrated Gazetteer* being published together in the original edition. Ruan Yuan regarded Deng as the only compiler of the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and the *Poetry Anthology* to be Meng's solo work.

Although he suspected that they might have originally formed a set because "the preface (of the *Dadi* gazetteer written by Wu Quanjie) has Meng Zongbao as its co-author," Wang Zongyu states in his article that the *Illustrated Gazetteer* was co-edited by Deng and Meng, so it is not surprising to see Meng's preface attached.[512] It is also possible that the abridgment of the *Dadi* gazetteer mentioned in *Siku weishoushu tiyao* refers only to the deletion of the significant figures section and the revision of other sections and that the *Dongxiao Anthology* might not have been part of it from the beginning. However, the above examples cannot serve as evidence to support the hypothesis that the two works were originally attached.

A summary of a rough timeline of this project based on the available prefaces and postfaces provides further clues to the mystery. In the 1290s, recognizing the necessity to assemble and preserve the outstanding writings by previous prestigious visitors, the temple abbot Shen Duofu entrusted the compiling work to Deng Mu and Meng Zongbao. During this preparation, the compilers discovered records about a lost mid-Song work *Zhenjing lu* 真境錄 (Record of the Perfected Realm) that told of the grandness of the Dongxiao temple. This inspired them to cast their work as a similar one. By 1302, the poetry anthology was complete, and their project expanded to a six-volume book titled the *Dongxiao Illustrated Gazetteer*. It seems that the editorial team did not finalize their work but continued to revise it. In 1306, Deng Mu died, leaving Meng to continue the project alone. In 1310, the Daoist

[512] Wang, "*Dongxiao tuzhi* de banben," pp. 397-398.

priest Wu Quanjie 吳全節 (1269–1346) read the completed version of the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and wrote a preface to commemorate the event.

The timeline reveals several key facts. First, although Shen Duofu and Deng Mu initially visualized the project as a literature anthology, their idea changed in mid-compilation and they finished the project as a gazetteer. Therefore, the *Gazetteer* developed from the *Anthology*. Second, Deng Mu died before the collection was finished, and Meng Zongbao, initially entrusted with the literature anthology, completed the final revisions of the *Gazetteer* alone. Thus, the compilation of the two works was conducted separately. It is important to emphasize that Wu Quanjie in his preface mentions the six volumes of the *Illustrated Gazetteer* without citing the *Dongxiao Anthology*. Thus, although Meng Zongbao might have overseen the finalization of both the *Dongxiao Anthology* and the *Illustrated Gazetteer*, he was more likely to have presented them as separate works.

Compiling a poetry anthology and attaching it to a Daoist temple gazetteer was not a common practice during the Yuan dynasty. *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏 (1445) collected several Daoist temples and mountain gazetteers dating to the Southern Song and the Yuan dynasties.[513] Among these gazetteers, only *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (Chronicle of Mount Mao, DZ 304) and *Meixian guan ji* 梅仙觀記 (Records of the Temple of the Immortal Mei [Fu 福], DZ 600) have a section of the book recording past poetry dedicated to their respective

[513] For a comprehensive list of entries on sacred mountains and temples in *Daozang*, see Zhu Yueli 朱越利, *Daozang shuolüe* 道藏說略 (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 2009), pp. 320-325.

locations.[514] Yet the poetry collection "Jinxie bian" 金薤編 (Catalog of Gold Scallions) in *Maoshan zhi* was later added by a scholar named Jiang Yongnian 江永年 (ca. 16th century), so poetry compilation in this book was not a Yuan phenomenon. Meanwhile, *Meixian guan ji* was finished sometime during the Xianchun years (1265–1274) and so predates the *Dongxiao Anthology*. However, while the *Dongxiao Anthology* is relatively independent of the *Illustrated Gazetteer,* the small poetry collection in *Meixian guan ji* does not appear to be regarded as separate from the *Gazetteer*. In other words, the *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology* was ground-breaking.

Nevertheless, although the *Illustrated Gazetteer* and the *Dongxiao Anthology* appear to be separate based on the above analysis, Wu Xiu in his edition of the Zhida manuscript places the *Dongxiao Anthology* as an appended work to the *Illustrated Gazetteer.* Not only does he place the two works together, but he also had the four characters *Dongxiao tuzhi* 洞霄圖志 (*Illustrated Gazetteer*) marked on the margin of the *Dongxiao Anthology* pages, signaling that the *Dongxiao Anthology* is part of the *Illustrated Gazetteer.* Unlike the literati collectors, such as Wu Xiu, the Ming Daoist priests seem to have disregarded the *Dongxiao Anthology* as a significant work and refused to add it to the Daoist archives. As we have seen, the Ming celestial master Zhang Yuchu saw the *Record of Dadi Grotto Heaven* directly from the Dongxiao Temple's archives without noticing the *Dongxiao Anthology*. It was also the *Dadi* gazetteer, instead of any other complete edition, that *Zhengtong Daozang* later collected.

[514] See Liu Dabin 劉大彬 (ca. 1317) et al., *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2016), and Yang Zhiyuan 楊智遠 (ca. 11th century), *Meixian guan ji* 梅仙觀記, in *Zhongguo di fang zhi ji cheng: siguan zhi zhuanji* 中国地方志集成：寺觀志專輯. vol. 17 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993).

Similarly, although Jiang Yongnian added the "Catalog of Gold Scallions" to *Maoshan zhi*, *Maoshan zhi* in *Zhengtong Daozang* also excludes its poetry anthology section.[515]

The *Illustrated Gazetteer* and *Dongxiao Anthology* began their transmissions, which mirror the discrepancy in the works' different receptions in their various forms, not long after being finished. While the Ming literati tended to present the Daoist temple as a space to cultivate exquisite literary tastes by including the *Dongxiao Anthology* in the treatise, the Daoist priests played down their influence and emphasized the temple's history and landscape per se. Although this conflict of views might have been caused, in part, by the historical changes that happened between the Yuan and Ming dynasties, interactions between the Daoist priests and the literati were frequent and intimate during the Southern Song. However, after Linan lost its place as the capital, the Dongxiao Temple could no longer maintain its stable literati connections. According to records in the local gazetteers, the temple was destroyed shortly before the Yuan dynasty collapsed and immediately rebuilt in the Hongwu years (1368–1398) and the founding of the Ming dynasty.[516] Although the record was plain, it provided little information about the patronage and the rebuilding procedure, so the Celestial Master Zhang Yuchu might have played a critical role in establishing connections between the temple and the imperial court.

Interestingly, although Zhang, a priest, was known to write excellent poetry, he records his visit to the temple in his preface without mentioning the *Dongxiao Anthology*. As a poet,

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[515] The "Catalog of Gold Scallions" was collected in the Qing Mount Mao priest Da Chongguang's 笪重光 *Maoshan quan zhi* 茅山全志. See Da Chongguang 笪重光 (1623–1692), *Chongxiu maoshan zhi* 重修茅山志 (Taipei: Wenhai, 1975).

[516] See *Wanli Yuhang xianzhi*.

it was unlikely that Zhang would overlook the *Dongxiao Anthology* had he seen it. It is more likely that the temple priests showed him only the truncated gazetteer. Perhaps for the improvident priests, the *Anthology* could not directly display the temple's religious significance to an honorable inspector who might bring resources from the court—or perhaps the *Anthology*'s several poems dating to the beginning of the Yuan dynasty might have become obstacles preventing the priests from winning the court's favor. Conservatively eliminating the evidence of the temple's connection to the literati from the previous dynasty and emphasizing the temple's glory might have been viewed as the better strategy.

On the other hand, although Ming private collectors managed to keep the *Dongxiao Anthology* in circulation, they could not help with the temple's preservation. Although renovated in the early Ming, the temple was mostly ruined during the Wanli period (1573–1620) due to poor maintenance, when the priests failed to obtain the necessary patronage from the court. The situation was still worse during the Qing dynasty.[517] Therefore, it was not the revival of the temple that inspired the Qing literati to collate the *Dongxiao Anthology* but rather more likely to have been the influence of the *Complete Library in Four Sections* and the widespread book publishing and collection culture that led to the *Anthology*'s revival.

The *Complete Library in Four Sections* is one of the Qianlong Emperor's (1735–1796) exceptional accomplishments. The project led many literati to search for hidden manuscripts for inclusion in the *Four Sections*, and *Dongxiao Anthology* was one of them. Its importance was further elevated as Ruan Yuan presented 175 newly discovered manuscripts, including

[517] See *Jiaqing Yuhang Xianzhi*, 1071a-b.

the *Dongxiao Anthology*, to Jiaqing Emperor (1796–1820). Yet this did not change the fate of the Dongxiao temple, whose few local priests lacked funding for its maintenance. By this point, the transmission of the *Dongxiao Anthology* was almost completely detached from the influence of the Dongxiao temple.

The *Dongxiao Poetry Anthology* is a unique work finished with the cooperation of a Daoist priest and a literatus during the Yuan dynasty. Due to its unique attribution, the text provides space for later readers with different perspectives to decide its affiliation and that led to the diversification of its editions. The various ways of rendering the text provide hints about the readers' understanding of the relationship between the text, the reader, and the Daoist temple. By the time of the Qing dynasty, most of the literati were intrigued by the *Dongxiao Anthology,* with many no longer interested in the temple itself. For their part, the priests of the ruined temple lost control of the *Dongxiao Anthology*, which turned into a convenient lens for aficionados of Daoism among the literati who considered the Daoist legacies without bothering to visit their home, the grotto-heaven.

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DZ 134 *Yin zhenjun huandan ge zhu* 陰真君還丹歌註

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DZ 232 *Huandan mijue yang chizi shenfang* 還丹祕訣養赤子神方

DZ 253.26 *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇

DZ 263.14 *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鐘呂傳道集

DZ 266 *Jinye huandan baiwen jue* 金液還丹百問訣

DZ 275 *Sanji zhiming quanti* 三極至命筌蹄

DZ 296 *Lishi zhenxian daoti tongjian* 曆世真仙體道通鑒

DZ 303 *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳

DZ 304 *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志

DZ 311 *Huangdi yinfu jing* 黃帝陰符經

DZ 318 *Dongxuan lingbao jiutian shengshen zhangjing* 洞玄靈寶九天生神章經

DZ 331 *Taishang Huangting neijing yujing* 太上黃庭內景玉經

DZ 388 *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序

DZ 401-402 *Huangting neijing yujing zhu* 黃庭內景玉經註
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DZ 571 *Lingjianzi yindao ziwuji* 靈劍子引導子午記
DZ 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu shanming ji* 洞天福地岳瀆山銘記
DZ 600 *Meixian guan ji* 梅仙觀記
DZ 614 *Dongxuan lingbao shengxuan buxu zhang xu shu* 洞玄靈寶昇玄步虛章序疏
DZ 666 *Xisheng jing* 西升經
DZ 682 *Daode zhenjing zhu* 道德真經註
DZ 770 *Hunyuan shengji* 混元聖紀
DZ 782 *Dadi dongtian ji* 大滌洞天記
DZ 927 *Taiqing yubei zi* 太清玉碑子
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DZ 1016 *Zhengao* 真誥
DZ 1017 *Daoshu* 道樞
DZ 1018 *Huangdi neijing suwen buzhu shiwen* 黃帝內經素問補註釋文
DZ 1032 *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤
DZ 1044 *Huashu* 化書
DZ 1088 *Huandan fuming pian* 還丹復命篇
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DZ 1168 *Taishang laojun zhongjing* 太上老君中經
DZ 1221 *Shangqing lingbao dafa* 上清靈寶大法
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