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Buddhist Tales of Lü Dongbin

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Abstract

During the early thirteenth century, a story began to appear within texts associated with the Chan 禪 Buddhist movement, which portrays an encounter between the eminent transcendent Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and the Chan monk Huanglong Huiji 黃龍誨機 that results in Lü abandoning his alchemical techniques of self-cultivation and taking up the practice of Chan. This article traces the development of this tale across a number of Buddhist sources of the late imperial period, and also examines the ways in which later Buddhist and Daoist authors understood the story and utilized it in advancing their own polemical claims.

Résumé

Au début du treizième siècle apparaît dans les textes du bouddhisme Chan un récit qui met en scène une rencontre entre le célèbre immortel Lü Dongbin et le moine Chan Huanglong Huiji. Au terme de cette rencontre, Lü abandonne ses pratiques alchimiques de perfectionnement de soi et adopte celle de la méditation Chan. Le présent article retrace le développement de ce thème narratif au travers des sources bouddhiques de la fin de l'époque impériale, et examine la manière dont des auteurs bouddhistes et taoïstes ont compris le récit et l'ont manipulé en fonction de leurs propres objectifs polémiques.

Keywords

Buddhism, Daoism, Chan, *neidan*, Lü Dongbin

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Introduction

The Song dynasty (960-1279 CE) witnessed a rapid rise in new forms of religious self-cultivation. The Chan 禪 school of Buddhism, which had begun to gain popularity during the Tang (618-907 CE), was systematized under a scheme of parallel and related lineages of master-disciple affiliation, as described in texts of the "lamp-chronicle" (*denglu* 燈錄) genre; having been thus established as a "separate transmission" (*biechuan* 別傳) of Buddhism within China, the Chan movement attained a special status within Song Buddhism.[1] At the same time, the style of religious practice known as *neidan* 內丹, "internal alchemy," became increasingly widespread. *Neidan* developed from a diverse body of techniques for the cultivation of health, longevity, and transcendence, which were popularized within various Daoist contexts during the Tang.[2] As these techniques became more systematized, practitioners began to organize themselves and their teachings according to models of lineal transmission, and to produce texts that documented and defined these different *neidan* lineages, in ways that paralleled developments in Chan Buddhism.[3]

Relationships between the Chan and *neidan* movements were complex. Both groups sought patronage from the court and the literati, among whom they promoted their teachings.[4] Authors who wrote about *neidan* practice utilized literary tropes, religious terminology, and even hagiographical accounts drawn from Chan Buddhist literature within their own writings, capitalizing on the success of the Chan movement by presenting *neidan* practice as equivalent – even superior – to Chan

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1) See T. Griffith Foulk, "Controversies Concerning the 'Separate Transmission' of Ch'an," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 220-94.

2) On the early history of *neidan*, see Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Inner Alchemy: Notes on the Origin and Use of the Term *Neidan*," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 5 (1989): 163-90.

3) The most complete study of this process is Lowell Skar, "Golden Elixir Alchemy: The Formation of the Southern Lineage and the Transformation of Medieval China" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2003).

4) See 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 (1996-1997): 15-53; Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960-1279* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Asia Center, 2006).

forms of self-cultivation.[5] Chan Buddhist authors, in turn, drew upon Daoist stories and themes to argue that *neidan* practice was ultimately ineffective, and that only Buddhist methods of religious cultivation could lead to true salvation.

In this article, I will examine the development of a tale that began to circulate within Chan Buddhist literature during the early thirteenth century, which describes an encounter between the transcendent Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 and the Tang Chan master Huanglong Huiji 黃龍誨機 (fl. early 10th c.). In this story, Lü engages in a typically Chan-style "encounter dialogue" with Huanglong, who ultimately bests Lü both in debate and in a contest of supernatural powers. Consequently, Lü acknowledges the superiority of Chan Buddhism to Daoism, and "converts" to the practice of Chan. Based upon this story, subsequent collections of Chan lore from the thirteenth century onward often included Lü within genealogies of the orthodox Chan lineages, as a "dharma-heir" (*fasi* 法嗣) of Huanglong Huiji.

This story was re-told in a number of different contexts throughout late imperial China, with many permutations. Later Buddhist authors expanded upon the contents of the original tale, adding dialogue containing long invectives against Daoist practices. Daoist authors refuted the story, or altered its details so as to show Lü emerging as the victor. Within the realm of non-confessional literature, the story developed into the popular myth of "Lü Dongbin beheads Huanglong with his flying sword" 呂洞賓飛劍斬黃龍, which first appeared in Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) dramas, and was later developed within sources such as Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 (1574-1645) *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 (*Stories to Awaken the World*) and the vernacular novel *Lüxian feijian ji* 呂仙飛劍記 (*Record of the Transcendent Lü's Flying Sword*).[6]

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[5] Joshua Capitanio, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism in the Literature of Internal Alchemy," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 43.2 (2015): 1-42.

[6] For a concise review of the transmutations of this story in popular literature, see Wu Guangzheng 吳光正, "Fo Dao zhengheng yu Lü Dongbin feijian zhan Huanglong gushi de bianqian" 佛道爭衡與呂洞賓飛劍斬黃龍故事的變遷, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 2005.4: 101-11. Isabelle Ang has translated Feng Menglong's account of this tale; see Isabelle Ang, "Un conte polémique édité par Feng Menglong: 'l'épée volante de Lü Dongbin décapite le Dragon Jaune' … ou presque!" (M.A. thesis, Université de Paris VII, 1984). Paul Katz has also discussed this story briefly; see Paul R. Katz, "Enlightened Alchemist or Immoral Immortal? The

Previously, scholars such as Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, Isabelle Ang, Stephen Eskildsen, and others have discussed the development of this story in the contexts of Daoism, vernacular literature, and popular religion.[7] In this article, we shall focus on the Buddhist context of the tale, the manner in which it was re-told and elaborated upon within Buddhist hagiographical collections of the Song, Yuan, and Ming (1368-1644) periods, and the ways in which the trope of Lü Dongbin's submission to Huanglong was subsequently utilized in later Buddhist (and Daoist) discourse. On the basis of this tale, Chan historians incorporated Lü within genealogical writings as a full-fledged member of Huanglong's lineage, and portrayed him as an exemplary figure whose story was often used to illustrate the superiority of Buddhism over Daoism, particularly the different forms of *neidan* self-cultivation with which Lü was popularly associated. The history of this story thus illustrates the importance of hagiography and myth in the formation of religious practitioners' self-identity.

During the Song, practitioners of Chan and *neidan* attempted to establish the unique identities of these movements by differentiating their own beliefs and practices from those of both their immediate contemporaries (within Buddhist and Daoist circles, respectively) and of their perceived rivals within the larger sphere of Chinese religions. In service of these goals, authors writing within these traditions produced many literary works of various genres that showcased the unique qualities of their own traditions (often at the expense of disparaging rival traditions). Mythology and hagiography were some of the most subversive tools at such individuals' disposal. When polemical claims are couched within hagiographical narratives, presented as hearsay, the

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Growth of Lü Dongbin's Cult in Late Imperial China," in *Unruly Gods: Divinity and Society in China,* ed. Meir Shahar and Robert P. Weller (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 96-97.

7) See Isabelle Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin des origines jusqu'au début du XIV[e] siècle: Caractéristiques et transformations d'un Saint Immortel dans la Chine pré-moderne" (Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Paris VII, 1993); Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature," *Cahiers d'Extrême Asie* 2 (1986): 133-69; Katz, "Enlightened Alchemist or Immoral Immortal?", 70-104; idem, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1999); Stephen Eskildsen, "Do Immortals Kill? The Controversy Surrounding Lü Dongbin," *Journal of Daoist Studies* 1 (2008): 28-66; Guo Jian 郭健, "'Lü Chunyang feijian zhan Huanglong' gushi tanyuan" 呂純陽飛劍斬黃龍故事探源, *Ming-Qing xiaoshuo yanjiu* 明清小說研究 108 (2013): 216-22.

author's role as the source of these claims is concealed. By putting such claims in the mouths of important mythological and/or historical figures, the author is also able to harness the semiotic weight and cultural cachet of the various symbolic complexes associated with those figures, thereby lending legitimacy to his sectarian claims. Buddhist authors drew upon symbolic elements from the growing body of mythology surrounding Lü Dongbin and refashioned these elements in accordance with standard tropes of Chan Buddhist literature. By doing so, they simultaneously augmented the lineage claims of the Chan school (by including such a prominent figure as Lü Dongbin within an orthodox Chan lineage) and neutralized the polemical arguments of their Daoist rivals.

The Tale of Lü Dongbin

The notion that Lü Dongbin may have engaged in the practice of Chan Buddhism was already in circulation by the twelfth century. The *Hufa lun* 護法論 (*Treatise on Protecting the Dharma*, *T*. no. 2114),[8] written by Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1122), briefly alludes to an association between Lü and Chan practice. While listing a number of eminent Chinese personages who were associated with the practice of Buddhism, Zhang cites the Tang Daoist Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581?-682) and Lü Dongbin as evidence that even non-Buddhists showed an interest in Buddhism, stating that "Sun Simiao copied the *Flower Garland Sutra*, and requested monks to chant the *Lotus Sutra*; Lü Dongbin called on Chan [masters] and made offerings [to them]. They were both divine transcendents; how could they be willing to carelessly perform activities of no benefit?" 孫思邈寫華嚴經，又請僧誦法華經。呂洞賓參禪設供。

8) All Buddhist canonical texts utilized in this article are cited according to the index numbers and pagination of the following collections: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (abbreviated as *T.*) 大正新修大藏經 (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1935); *Xu zangjing* (abbreviated as *X.*) 續藏經 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1977). Sources from the Daoist canon, unless otherwise noted, are cited according to fascicle and page numbers from the *Zhengtong Daozang* (abbreviated as *DZ*) 正統道藏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), and numbered according to the index numbers given in Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds., *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004).

彼神仙也，豈肯妄為無益之事乎？[9] The implication of this statement is that such eminent historical figures' interest in Buddhism is itself evidence of the value of Buddhist teachings and practices, an idea that subsequent commentators on the tale of Lü and Huanglong echoes. Zhang does not mention any of the other salient elements of the tale in question, such as the monk Huanglong or Lü's flying sword, but we find in this quotation at least the suggestion that Lü participated in Chan meditation.

The earliest appearance of the tale of Lü Dongbin and Huanglong within a Buddhist hagiographical collection occurs in the *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 (*Universal Lamp Chronicle of the Jiatai Reign*, *X.* no. 1559) compiled in 1204 by the monk Lei'an Zhengshou 雷庵正受 (1146 - 1208). The twenty-fourth fascicle of that text contains an entry on Lü, which goes as follows:

> **[Encounter with Huanglong]**
> The Perfected Lü Yan 呂巖, styled Dongbin, was from Jingchuan 京川 [in present-day Jiangxi province]. In the late Tang, he took the civil service exam three times, but did not pass. In a wine-shop in Chang'an, he happened to meet Zhongli Quan 鍾離權, who transmitted to him the arts of longevity. From that point onward, his activities were unfathomable. Once, when returning to his ancestral homeland, he traveled to Mt. Lu [in Jiangxi province]. He wrote a verse on the wall of the bell-tower pavilion, which said:
>
> In a day of pure leisure, my body is at ease;
> My six spirits are harmonized, and I am rewarded with peace.
> There is [already] a treasure in my Cinnabar field, so I can cease my seeking;[10]
> Facing the external world, I have no thoughts – what need to ask about Chan?[11]

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9) *Hufa lun* 護法論, *T.* no. 2114, 52:645b2-645b4. Mark Halperin has described the *Hufa lun* as "a vociferous Buddhist apologetic directed against Confucian critics and Taoist adversaries at court"; see Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*, 77.

10) In the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, the last three characters of this line are "cease my seeking" 休尋覓. However, in all other Buddhist and Daoist sources in which this poem is included, the last three characters read "cease searching for the Way" 休尋道.

11) Interestingly, this poem is also quoted (and credited to Lü Dongbin) within a commentary to the Daoist *Scripture on Clarity and Purity* attributed to Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (1194-1229); see *Taishang Laojun shuo chang qingjing jing zhu* 太上老君說常清靜經註, *DZ* 757, 1.6b. Wu Guangzheng has found evidence that Bai, an important figure in the development of inner alchemy during the Southern Song, was aware of (and criticized) the story of Lü and Huanglong; see Wu, "Fo Dao zhengheng," 102.

Not long after, he passed by Mt. Huanglong [in Jiangxi province]. Seeing that it was covered with a canopy of purple clouds, he suspected that an extraordinary person dwelled there, so he entered the mountain to pay a visit. At that time, Huanglong [Huiji] was lecturing in the dharma hall.[12] When Huanglong saw him, he thought, "That must be Master Lü," and he decided to try to lure him in. In a stern voice, he said, "Next to my seat there is someone trying to steal the Dharma." Determinedly, Lü came forth and asked, "'The entire world is contained within a single grain of millet; the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet.' What would you say is the meaning of this?" Huanglong pointed at him and said, "Here is a ghost, keeping watch over a corpse."[13] Lü said, "Then how is it that I have the elixir of longevity and immortality within my pocket?" Huanglong said, "You could live for eighty thousand aeons, but in the end you would still fall into oblivion." Lü, somewhat surprised, launched his flying sword to intimidate Huanglong, but the sword could not pierce him. Lü then bowed twice and asked for guidance. Huanglong admonished him, saying, "I will not ask you about 'the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet.' But how is it that 'the entire world is contained within a single grain of millet'?" Hearing these words, Lü's [understanding] suddenly tallied [with Huanglong's intended meaning].[14] He composed a verse, which went:

I will throw out my gourd-flask and smash my zither;
From now on, I will not seek after the 'metal within water.'[15]
Since upon meeting with Huanglong,
I have begun to realize that I applied my mind incorrectly before.
Huanglong bade him take care.

呂巖真人，字洞賓。京川人也。唐末三舉不第。偶於長安酒肆遇鍾離權，授以延命術。自爾人莫之究。嘗游廬山歸宗。書鍾閣壁曰：一日清閑自在身，六神和合報平安。丹田有寶休尋覓，對境無心莫問禪。未幾，道經黃龍。師覩紫雲成蓋，疑有異人，乃入謁。值龍陞堂。龍見，意必呂公也。欲誘而進。厲聲曰：座傍有竊法者。呂毅然出問：一粒粟中藏世界，半升鐺內煮山河。且道此

12) *Shengtang* 陞堂, literally "to ascend the hall," appears to be a variation on the more common term *shangtang* 上堂; on this important ritual practice see Mario Poceski, "Chan Rituals of the Abbots' Ascending the Dharma Hall to Preach," in *Zen Ritual: Studies of Zen Buddhist Theory in Practice*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008), 83-111.

13) This is most likely a reference to a poem by Hanshan 寒山 describing an encounter with a transcendent whom he also calls a "corpse-watching ghost." See *Hanshanzi shiji* 寒山子詩集, *Jiaxing da zangjing* 嘉興大藏經 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gonsi, 1987), vol. 20, 665c22-666a4.

14) On the metaphor of the matching (*qi* 契) of two sides of a tally, as used in Chan discourse, see Jeffrey Broughton, "Tsung-mi's *Zen Prolegomenon*: Introduction to an Exemplary Zen Canon," in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 16-18.

15) The *Jiatai pudeng lu* gives the last three characters of this poem as "metal within water" 水中金; however, many later sources have "gold within mercury" 汞中金.

意如何？龍指曰：這守屍鬼。呂曰：爭柰囊有長生不死藥。曰：饒經八萬劫，終是落空亡。呂薄訝。飛劒脅之，劒不能入。遂再拜，求指歸。龍詰曰：半升鐺內煑山川即不問你。如何是一粒粟中藏世界？呂於言下頓契。作偈曰：棄却瓢囊摵碎琴，如今不戀水中金。自從一見黃龍後，始覺從前錯用心。龍囑令加護。

[Visit to Chan Master Jue]

Later, Lü went to call on Chan Master [Zu]jue [1087-1150] of the Zhidu monastery in Tanzhou 潭州智度覺禪師.[16] He once said, "I have traveled around Shao[zhou] and Chen[zhou], and east to the Xiang River. Now I have seen Master Jue,[17] and observed the clarity and brilliance of his Chan study and the simplicity and purity of his nature. Kneeling in meditation, he turns his illumination inward. Apart from a single monk's robe, he possesses no other garments; apart from a single bowl, he eats no other food. He has passed beyond the shore of life and death, and smashed the husk of afflictions. Recently, the Buddha's robe has been lost – lost! – without [further] transmission. The principles of Chan are distant – distant! – and near their end. It is up to my teacher to nurture them back to their full flourishing. I have just casually written these verses to offer as a record:

Only by investigating the mind can capable ones deliver beings;
The Dharma transmitted by the sages and worthies does not depart from perfection.
I asked my teacher to explain the meaning of [Bodhidharma's] coming to the West;
At present, one equal to becoming the seventh patriarch has yet to appear."

後謁潭之智度覺禪師。有曰：余游韶郴，東下湘江。今見覺公，觀其禪學精明，性源淳潔。促膝靜坐，收光內照。一衲之外無餘衣，一鉢之外無餘食。達生死岸，破煩惱殼。方今佛衣寂寂兮無傳。禪理懸懸兮幾絕。扶而興者，其在吾師乎。聊作一絕奉記：達者推心方濟物，聖賢傳法不離真。請師開說西來意，七祖如今未有人。

[Visit to Chan Master Yuanzhao]

During the Huangyou period [1049-1053], he went to the Jingci temple near West Lake, which was the home of Chan Master Yuanzhao [Zong]ben 圓照本禪師 [1020-1100]. When Zhao saw him, he remarked, "This is one who follows the Way of Huanglong." Lü said, "Old Qian, no need to trouble your tongue," and left. ([Inter-

16) The only biographical text in which this figure is identified with the Zhidu monastery in Tanzhou is in the *Luohu yelu* 羅湖野錄, *X.* no. 1577, 83:388b5-388c2, but the details of this biography correspond with the biography of Huayan Zujue of Zhongyan monastery in Meizhou 眉州中嚴華嚴祖覺禪師, which can be found in the *Jiatai pudeng lu, X.* no. 1559, 79:378a1-379c14, and later texts.

17) The *Jiatai pudeng lu* reads 令見覺公; I have here followed the *Wudeng huiyuan* reading of 今見覺公. See *Wudeng huiyuan*, *X.* no. 1565, 80: 179c12-179c13.

linear note:] Yuanzhao was the reincarnation of King Qian [Yuanguan] 錢元瓘; see Yang Wuwei's "Eulogy to Yuanzhao").[18] At that time, he traveled back and forth, guiding and teaching people in the capital, but few people encountered him. There was a verse that said:

Traveling along, sitting alone;
The multitude of worldly people do not recognize me.
Only the old tree spirit of Qiaodong
Knew clearly that a divine transcendent had passed.[19]

([Interlinear note:] There was an elder monk who, seeing this verse, asked a Chan practitioner: "Since he was a divine transcendent, how is it that he was discovered by a tree-spirit?")

皇祐間，至西湖淨慈，即圓照本禪師室。照見之，乃曰：黃龍道底。呂曰：錢大不要饒舌。便出 (圓照乃錢王後身也見楊無為圓照贊) 。時往來接化京華，而人鮮遇。有偈曰：獨自行來獨自坐，無限世人不識我。唯有橋東老樹精，分明知道神仙過 (有老宿見此偈，問禪者曰：既是神仙，為甚麼却被樹精覷破？)

[Visit to Jin'e Temple]

During the Xuanhe period [1119-1125], he visited the Jin'e Temple at Mt. Siming. He looked in the abbot's room, but it was deserted. Shortly after, a young boy emerged. Lü asked, "Why is it so desolate here?" The boy said, "Don't say it is desolate. One should not grasp even at empty space." Lü was delighted by these words, and wrote a poem on the wall, which said:

The abbot has left his quarters, leaving the door unlocked.
I saw a barefoot mountain boy,
And asked him why the abbot's quarters are so desolate;
He said 'One should not grasp even at empty space.'
Hearing these words,
How delighted I was!
Certainly, the master here is no ordinary man.
I came to pay my respects, but was not able to see him.
My thirsting mind is troubled, producing the dust of distraction.
Now I will return,
To drift on the vast waves.
For the traveler on the road, the mountains of Penglai are distant and obscure;
I think back to when I ascended the stone tower,[20]
And as the snow cleared, a thousand peaks dawned over the vast ocean.

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18) This story also appears in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, *T.* no. 2035, 49:416a14-18.

19) This poem also appears in a number of non-Buddhist sources, where it is related to a popular tale describing the origin of a shrine to Lü Dongbin in the city of Yueyang 岳陽; the encounter with the "old tree spirit of Qiaodong" is a part of that story. See Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," 155-60.

20) This is possibly a reference to the various legends associating Lü Dongbin with the tower of Yueyang 岳陽樓; see Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature."

> 宣和中，抵四明金鵝寺，顧方丈蕭然。頃有童子出。呂問：此何寥寥？童云：莫道寥寥！虛空也不著。嘉其言，題詩於壁曰：方丈有門出不鑰，見箇山童赤雙脚。問伊方丈何寥寥，報道虛空也不著。聞此語，何欣欣。主翁豈是尋常人？我來謁見不得見。渴心耿耿生埃。歸去也，波浩渺。路入蓬萊山杳杳。相思為上石樓時。雪晴海闊千峰曉。[21]

I have divided this account into four parts, which constitute four separate stories: the encounter with Huanglong, the visit to Master Jue, the visit to Master Zhao, and the visit to the Jin'e temple. The second account contains no actual dialogue, just Lü's praise of Master Jue. The first story, describing Lü's debate with Huanglong, is the longest of the four, and the one most frequently reproduced in later texts; thus, it will be the primary focus of this study.

The meeting between Lü and Huanglong, as described in the *Jiatai pudeng lu* and later texts, adheres closely to a characteristic format of Chan Buddhist literature known as "encounter dialogue," in which Chan masters exchange witty (and often obscure) repartee with various interlocutors. John McRae, who has written extensively on the subject of encounter dialogue, has identified three main features of this format:

1. It is a type of dialogue that is recorded in a specific genre of texts associated with this format, including lamp-chronicles (*denglu* 燈錄) and "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語錄).
2. It is presented as a factual record of actual conversations between historical personages; this air of historicity is often bolstered by specific information on when and where the encounter occurred, and by the use of vernacular language that lends an air of realism to the recorded conversation.
3. Encounter dialogue "eschews the straightforward exchange of ideas; it is characterized by various types of logical disjunctions, inexplicable and iconoclastic pronouncements, gestures and physical demonstrations, and even assaultive behavior such as shouts and blows with hand, foot, or stick."[22]

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21) *X.* no. 1559, 79:436c3-437a9.

22) John R. McRae, *Seeing Through Zen* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003), 77-78.

As a narrative device utilized in Chan hagiographical accounts, encounter dialogues serve to demonstrate eminent Chan practitioners' level of realization by providing the details of purportedly historical events in which such realization was "performed" in dialogue with others (a secondary function of encounter dialogues was their role as objects of contemplation, in the form of "public cases" [*gong'an* 公案] or "critical phrases" [*huatou* 話頭]). The term "encounter dialogue" itself is an invention of Western scholars; in Chan literature, such encounters are usually simply called "question and answer" (*wenda* 問答), or, occasionally, "Dharma-combat" (*fazhan* 法戰). As the latter term suggests, such encounters almost always end with one party emerging as the "winner," and the other party as the "loser" (although occasionally we see such debates end in a draw). In the story of Lü and Huanglong, Lü's inability to reply to Huanglong's statement pointing out the deficiencies of Daoist practice marks him as the "loser" of this encounter; subsequently, after Huanglong foils the attack of Lü's flying sword, Lü admits defeat and "requests teachings."

McRae has shown that, in late Tang and Song hagiographical collections, we often see individuals portrayed in two different scenarios: first as students who attain enlightenment after being on the "losing side" of an encounter dialogue with a master of greater realization, and then as masters themselves, dispensing enlightened wisdom as the victor in various encounters.[23] Thus, as in the case of the tale of Lü and Huanglong, encounter dialogues can also serve a genealogical function, documenting the fact that a student attained enlightenment through encounter with another master, and thereby certifying for posterity the inclusion of that student within his master's lineage and, by extension, Chan orthodoxy. The notion that Lü could be considered a member of Huanglong's lineage is implied within the story of his encounter with Yuanzhao, who greets Lü by remarking that he is "one who follows the Way of Huanglong."

The account in the *Jiatai pudeng lu* thus places Lü Dongbin within a position from which an experienced reader, familiar with the

23) McRae, "The Antecedents of Encounter Dialogue in Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," in *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 46-74.

conventions of Chan literature, would understand implicitly that he would be unable to emerge victorious. The *Jiatai pudeng lu* is, after all, a Chan composition, and although Huanglong accords Lü some respect as an accomplished transcendent, we would not expect to see a Daoist beating a well-known Chan master at his own game within such a text. Not only does the basic structure of the encounter dialogue genre work against Lü in this account, but we also see a number of important symbols associated with the mythology of Lü Dongbin turned against him.

The first of these symbolic elements is Lü's poetry. The composition of poems, especially poems written on walls, figures prominently in the various tales of Lü's activities that circulated during the Song, and both Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein and Isabelle Ang have noted that the earliest depictions of Lü in Song literature present him as a poet.[24] Lü composes at least one poem to commemorate each of the four encounters that are described in the *Jiatai pudeng lu*. The verse that Lü quotes in his first address to Huanglong ("The entire world is contained within a single grain of millet;/ the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet") was, in fact, already in popular circulation by the tenth century.[25] Lü's poem plays an important role in the narrative: the encounter dialogue begins with Lü quoting his verse, which the unimpressed Huanglong summarily dismisses, and it is only when Huanglong quotes one of these lines back to Lü that he achieves his sudden realization, which he also expresses in verse form. In this final part of the tale, we see the fortunate confluence of two separate narrative elements: Lü's penchant for composing verses, as seen in mythological accounts of his exploits, and the common convention of Chan encounter dialogue narratives, wherein the "loser" of the debate expresses his realization in verse form. Thus, the poem that Lü brings to Huanglong, which describes the numinous powers of transformation associated with *neidan* practice, is refuted; only the verse in which Lü expresses his intention to discontinue his Daoist practice is sanctioned by the Chan master.

The next elements of the mythology of Lü Dongbin that are negated by this tale are his elixir of immortality and flying sword. According to

24) Ang, "Le culte de Lü Dongbin," 480-82; Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," 137-39.
25) Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," 138.

many accounts, the methods of swordplay and of compounding the elixir of longevity constituted the bulk of the transmission that Lü Dongbin received from his teacher Zhongli Quan.[26] The elixir represents Lü's prowess as an alchemist, and there are several stories in which he performed healing miracles with it.[27] The sword symbolizes his exorcistic abilities,[28] and it is certainly associated with violence in this account; additionally, it was an important symbol in *neidan* literature, where the "forging of the sword" was used as a metaphor for self-cultivation.[29] Huanglong first dismisses the elixir with his claim that, no matter how long it permits Lü to extend his life, it will not save him from death in the end. Then, in even more dramatic fashion, he renders Lü's flying sword ineffective with his own supernatural abilities. Thus, Huanglong nullifies two of the most important mythological symbols of Lü's numinous power and alchemical prowess.

Similarly, in Lü's final verse, he states his intention to discard several more symbolic accoutrements that represent different roles accorded to him in popular tales. First, he states that he will "smash his gourd-flask." Lü was initially said to have met his master Zhongli Quan in a wine-shop, and is portrayed drinking wine (often while composing poetry) in many stories; he was even considered a patron saint of wine-merchants.[30] He also declares that he will "discard his zither"; while the zither (*qin* 琴) does not seem to feature prominently in the mythology or iconography of Lü Dongbin, it is often used as a symbol of the literati, among whom both Chan Buddhism and the cult of Lü enjoyed great popularity during the Song.[31] Finally, and most significantly, Lü announces his intention to stop seeking for the "metal within water," a *neidan* term used to refer to

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26) See, for example, Lü's biography in the mid-thirteenth century *Jinlian zhengzong ji* 金蓮正宗記 (*Record of the Orthodox Lineage of the Golden Lotus*), *DZ* 173, 5b-8a. See also Eskildsen, "Do Immortals Kill?," 30, for further discussion of the origins and symbolism of Lü's sword.

27) Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," 139-40.

28) Ibid., 141-44; Eskildsen, "Do Immortals Kill?," 45-51.

29) Eskildsen, "Do Immortals Kill?," 51-59; see also Robert F. Campany, "The *Sword Scripture:* Recovering and Interpreting a Lost Fourth-Century Daoist Method for Cheating Death," *Daoism: Religion, History and Society* 6 (2014): 33-84.

30) Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," 145-47.

31) For Lü's popularity among literati see Katz, *Images of the Immortal,* 54-59. On the symbolism of the zither, see Kenneth DeWoskin, "Early Chinese Music and the Origins of Aesthetic Terminology," in *Theories of the Arts in China,* ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Prince-

the cultivation of the pure essence (*jing* 精) within the human body.[32] In other words, he will stop practicing Daoist methods of self-cultivation, to which he has "applied his mind incorrectly before," presumably replacing them with some form of Chan practice.

Thus, the tale of Lü's meeting with Huanglong is calibrated to simultaneously evoke and overturn many of the well-known mythological tropes associated with the character of Lü Dongbin (poet, scholar, alchemist, tippler, etc.) during the Song dynasty. The story demonstrates the potential of Chan Buddhist practice to completely and instantaneously transform an individual's spiritual capacity. It does so by subverting all of these well-known aspects of Lü's character in portraying his "conversion" to Chan. On one hand, this account, like many similar stories found in Chan lamp-chronicles, utilizes the framework of encounter dialogue to demonstrate the transformative power of the kind of sudden realization associated with the practice of Chan. On the other hand, since the protagonist in the story is Lü Dongbin, a figure closely associated with Daoism and *neidan*, and because the content of the dialogue itself revolves around the inefficacy of Daoist techniques, there is also a clear polemic slant to the tale. Chan is effective, we are told, and its effectiveness is made all the more clear when we see it acknowledged by Lü, already an accomplished adept who has attained transcendence through alchemical practice.

Both of these concerns – demonstrating the effectiveness of Chan, and showing its superiority to Daoism – are reflected in the way that the story is presented in the *Jiatai pudeng lu* itself. Rather than giving Lü's biography in a section of the text devoted to a particular Chan lineage (as seen in later collections), the *Jiatai pudeng lu* presents the tale within a section entitled "Sages and Worthies who Manifested in Response" 應化聖賢. Of the eight entries included within this section, the first five

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ton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983), 192. For a discussion of Song literati involvement in Chan Buddhism, see Halperin, *Out of the Cloister*.

32) The term "metal within water" can be found in a number of *neidan* texts, including works associated with the Zhong-Lü 種呂 school (discussed below). One explanation of these terms is given as follows: "Water is a code name of the Essence; since Metal generates Water, Metal stands for the Original Essence, and Water stands for the postcelestial Essence." See Wang Mu, *Foundations of Internal Alchemy: The Taoist Practice of Neidan*, trans. Fabrizio Pregadio (Mountain View, Calif.: Golden Elixir Press, 2011), 41.

are stories of obscure or even nameless Buddhists performing miraculous feats or appearing under extraordinary circumstances. The sixth entry is a biography of Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635-730), a Tang dynasty layman who was known for writing an influential commentary to the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*.[33] The last two entries concern figures associated with Daoism, Lü Dongbin and Zhang Boduan 張伯端 (984? – 1082). Zhang was the author of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇 (*Chapters on Awakening to Reality*),[34] one of the most important texts for the development of *neidan* in the Song. He claimed to have studied and practiced Chan, elements of which he incorporated within his *neidan* practice under the name of "cultivating the nature" (*xiuxing* 修性). Thus, the stories of Lü and Zhang share a common theme in that they both highlight individuals, held in high regard among Daoists, who demonstrated their appreciation for Chan Buddhism.

The *Jiatai pudeng lu*, like many hagiographical anthologies, is a deliberately structured document, and the location of Lü's story within this collection is significant. The first twenty-one fascicles of this work contain the biographies of various Chan masters 禪師, divided among a number of different lineages and sub-lineages. This is followed by a short section chronicling the involvement of certain rulers in the development of Chan, and then two sections containing biographies of eminent lay Buddhists. The section on "Sages and Worthies who Manifested in Response" is the last section of biographies; the remainder of the *Jiatai pudeng lu* consists of different collections of public cases and verse.

Lü's story thus seems rather marginal in this text; it appears that he was not, at this point, considered a part of the formal lineage deriving from Huanglong (described in fascicle six), nor was his biography included among those of eminent lay practitioners of Chan. Rather, the stories of the "Sages and Worthies who Manifested in Response" are more reminiscent of the genre of miracle tales, such as the "numinous proofs" (*lingyan* 靈驗) found in many Chinese Buddhist collections, which, among other things, serve the function of glorifying the Buddhist

33) *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論, *T.* no. 1739. For more on Li, see Robert M. Gimello, "Li T'ung-hsüan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-yen," in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, ed. Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 321-87.

34) Several versions of this text exist within the Daoist canon; the most complete is found in fasc. 126-127 of the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (*Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection*), *DZ* 263.

teachings through descriptions of the miraculous effects that Buddhist practice can produce. In this context, the inclusion of the stories of Lü and Zhang Boduan seems to have been intended primarily to confirm the prestige of Chan Buddhism. Yet Zhengshou, the compiler of the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, must have understood well the polemical import of these stories; this is made clear in an interlinear note that he added just after Zhang's biography:

> Lately, there have been some yellow-capped [Daoists] 黃冠 who claim that, originally, no such story of Master Lü meeting Huanglong existed, but that [it was fabricated by] later Buddhists who desired to add supernatural elements to their Chan teachings. But I believe that, if [we consider] Master Lü's seeking instruction [from Huanglong] together with the story of [Zhang] Pingshu [i.e., Zhang Boduan], then it can be seen that, [although] there have been many gentlemen from antiquity to the present who have taken [longevity] drugs in order to refine their body, only these two masters were still not content to rest in their achievements. They turned their minds to the Way of the [Chan] patriarchs, and may have even attained liberation from the triple world. Alas, what of those who have not reached the level of these two?
> 近有黃冠謂呂公見黃龍。初無是說，乃釋輩欲神其禪宗耳。苟以平叔方之，則呂公參問，可見古今服藥鍊形之士不為不多。獨二公不以功成自居。回心祖道，殆出三界。其下於二公者。為如何哉吁？[35]

This statement suggests that Zhengshou was aware that the story was controversial, particularly among Daoists; nevertheless, he included it in hopes that it would particularly inspire practitioners of Daoist techniques to follow Lü's example and abandon those practices in favor of Chan Buddhism.

The Tale of Lü Dongbin and Buddhist-Daoist Polemics

The *Jiatai pudeng lu* was compiled in 1204; based on this statement, which suggests that this tale had been circulating "recently," we can surmise that the story of Lü's encounter with Huanglong originates from the twelfth century, and perhaps earlier, if indeed Zhang Shangying's reference in the *Hufa lun* to Lü "practicing Chan" is also an allusion to

35) *Jiatai pudeng lu*, *X.* no. 1559, 79:437a20-22.

the Huanglong story. Several scholars have offered hypotheses to explain why the tale might have begun to circulate at this time. Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein has suggested a connection between the emergence of this story and the anti-Buddhist policies instituted under the Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100-1126), which were carried out in part at the instigation of the Daoist Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076-1120).[36] Guo Jian has noted that it was during the twelfth century that texts on internal alchemy attributed to Lü Dongbin began to appear, which contained passages critical of Chan Buddhism.[37] For example, Guo points to a passage from the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji* 鐘呂傳道集 (*Anthology of Zhong*[*li Quan's*] *Transmission of the Way to Lü* [*Dongbin*]), a twelfth-century text included within the *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (*Ten Works on Cultivating Perfection*, *DZ* 263), in which Zhongli Quan tells Lü Dongbin:

> There are those practitioners who initially do not realize the great Way, but desire quick accomplishments. With their bodies like dried wood and their minds like dead ashes, they concentrate their spirit and consciousness within, maintaining a single focus without dissipation, and from within this state of equipoise they emit their *yin*-spirits. They are just ghosts of the clear numen; they are not transcendents of pure *yang*. Since they focus solely on not allowing the *yin* numen to dissipate, they are called "ghostly transcendents." Although [they are called] "transcendents," in reality they are ghosts. Those disciples, ancient and modern, who revere the Buddhist teachings, apply their efforts toward this. And yet, they say that they have attained the Way – truly, this is laughable!
> 修持之人，始也不悟大道，而欲於速成。形如槁木，心若死灰，神識內守，一志不散。定中以出陰神，乃清靈之鬼，非純陽之仙。以其一志，陰靈不散，故曰鬼仙。雖曰仙，其實鬼也。古今崇釋之徒，用功到此，乃曰得道，誠可笑也！[38]

The notion that Buddhism is a *yin* teaching while Daoism focuses on the cultivation of *yang* dates back to the early days of Buddhist-Daoist rivalries. We find this idea articulated in the fifth-century *Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經 (*Scripture of the Inner Explanations of the Three Heav-*

36) Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," 149. On Lin Lingsu and Huizong's anti-Buddhist policies, see Michel Strickmann, "The Longest Taoist Scripture," *History of Religions* 17.3-4 (1978): 331-54.
37) Guo Jian, "'Lü Chunyang feijian zhan Huanglong' gushi tanyuan," 218.
38) *Xiuzhen shishu*, *DZ* 263, 14.3a-3b.

ens, DZ 1205),[39] and a Buddhist refutation can be found within the late sixth-century *Xiaodao lun* 笑道論 (*Treatise on Laughing at the Dao*).[40] This criticism is reproduced in many inner alchemical texts of the Northern Song; Daoist authors even went so far as to claim that prominent Chan patriarchs such as Bodhidharma and Huineng had in fact practiced Daoist techniques of self-cultivation such as inner alchemy. The Song Chan master Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1073-1135), in an essay entitled "Exposing the False Transmission of 'Bodhidharma's Treatise on Embryonic Breathing'" 破妄傳達磨胎息論, included within his recorded sayings, criticized the spread of such claims, saying

> I sigh when I see a certain breed of blind, wild foxes – who themselves could not even dream of meeting the patriarchs – who have falsely spread the claim that Bodhidharma transmitted [techniques of] embryonic breathing, and call this 'transmitting the dharma to save deluded sentient beings.' They go so far as to bring in eminent masters from the past, such as National Preceptor An[41] and Zhaozhou,[42] [claiming] that they all practiced these [methods of cultivating] pneuma. And they boast that the First Patriarch [Bodhidharma's] single sandal[43] and Puhua's empty coffin[44] are all demonstrations of the efficacy of these arts....[45]

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39) *Santian neijie jing* 三天內解經, *DZ* 1205, 1.9b. Translated in Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997), 222-23.

40) Included within the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, *T.* no. 2103, 52: 143c20-152c17. The passage in question occurs at 146c2-146c29; it has been translated in Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Dao: Debates among Buddhists and Daoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1995), 79-82.

41) Probably a reference to Songyue Huian 嵩嶽慧安 (582-709), also known as Laoan 老安. I have not yet found any mention of this figure in a Daoist text.

42) Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778-897), an important figure in late Tang Chan. As Yuanwu later mentions, there appears to have been a text entitled *Zhaozhou shier shi biege* 趙州十二時別歌 in circulation, which associated Zhaozhou with Daoist practices. The Yuan-era Daoist Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 (b. 1290) also mentions the existence of this text in the *Shangyangzi jindan dayao* 上陽子金丹大要, *DZ* 1067, 1.5b.

43) A reference to the legend that, after his death, Bodhidharma was seen traveling West carrying a single sandal over his shoulder; subsequently, his grave was exhumed and the other sandal was found within his otherwise empty coffin. See *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *T.* no. 2076, 51: 220b4-220b10.

44) Puhua 普化 was a Chan contemporary of Linji Yixuan, who also died and left behind an empty coffin in an episode similar to that of Bodhidharma; see *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *T.* no. 2076, 51: 280b11-c12. See also the discussion of Puhua in Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991), 119-21.

45) The mythological trope of a seemingly deceased person leaving behind an empty coffin (and often later discovered to still be alive), recalls a type of longevity practice known as "corpse deliverance" (*shijie* 尸解), described in medieval Daoist texts, whereby an individual

> There is also another type who makes false claims about the First Patriarch's discourses on embryonic breathing, "Zhaozhou's Alternate Songs of the Twelve Periods," or "Layman Pang's[46] *Gāthā* on Revolving the River-Cart." They spread among themselves these secretly transmitted practices, aiming to extend their lifespans, and to attain complete release from the body, or to live to be three or five hundred years of age. Little do they know that this is truly deluded thinking [based on] a view of attachment. From what was originally a virtuous cause, they have unknowingly fallen into the wilderness. And yet distinguished and intelligent gentlemen, who look down on the patriarchal masters in their lofty and eloquent discourses, regularly believe in such things. How can they know that, having failed to tread carefully, they are 'painting a tiger to look like a raccoon dog?'
> 嗟見一流拍盲野狐種族，自不曾夢見祖師，却妄傳達磨以胎息傳人，謂之傳法救迷情。以至引從上最年高宗師，如安國師，趙州之類，皆行此氣。及誇初祖隻履，普化空棺，皆謂此術有驗。... 復有一等，假託初祖胎息說，趙州十二時別歌，龐居士轉河車頌，遞互指授密傳行持，以圖長年，及全身脫去，或希三五百歲。殊不知，此真是妄想愛見。本是善因，不覺墮在荒草。而豪傑俊穎之士，高談大辯下視祖師者，往往信之。豈知失顧步畫虎成狸？[47]

We can see from this passage that, around the time that the story of Lü Dongbin's encounter with Huanglong emerged, certain individuals associated with practices such as *neidan* (Yuanwu does not mention Daoists by name in this essay, although the specific nature of his criticisms suggests that he is targeting practitioners and proponents of *neidan*) were involved in circulating stories and texts in which well-known affiliates of the Chan movement were said to have practiced alchemical techniques. Moreover, Yuanwu was concerned that the idea of Chan patriarchs practicing methods for attaining longevity appears to have gained significant currency among Song intellectuals, who may have been initially drawn to such techniques out of an interest in Chan practice, but have instead been led astray into heterodox methods. Given such concerns, it perhaps would have made sense for Chan Buddhists

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attains immortality by feigning their own death. See Ursula-Angelika Cedzich, "Corpse Deliverance, Substitute Bodies, Name Change, and Feigned Death: Aspects of Metamorphosis and Immortality in Early Medieval China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 1-68.

46) Layman Pang 龐居士 (Pang Yun 龐蘊, 740-803) was another well-known figure in Tang Chan. A collection of recorded sayings attributed to him has survived (*Pang jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄, *X*. no. 1336); see Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Yoshitaka Iraya, and Dana R. Fraser, *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang, a Ninth Century Zen Classic* (New York: John Weatherhill, 1971).

47) *Yuanwu foguo chanshi yulu* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄, *T*. no. 1997, p. 809, c24- a10.

to fabricate and circulate a story portraying Lü Dongbin's conversion, as a way of winning back those patrons who had turned away from Chan practice to pursue the cultivation of *neidan*.

We can find a further clue regarding the polemical context of the tale of Lü's encounter with Huanglong in two thirteenth-century collections within which the story is reproduced. Both the *Rentian baojian* 人天寶鑑 (*Precious Mirror of Humans and Gods*, *X.* no. 1612), compiled in 1230 by Tanxiu 曇秀, and the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (*Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and Patriarchs*, *T.* no. 2035), compiled in 1269 by Zhipan 志磐 (1220-1275), which contain versions of this account,[48] credit another text as the source of this story, the *Xianyuan yishi* 仙苑遺事 (*Leftover Tales from the Garden of Transcendents*). I have been unable to find a text of this name in any of the extant Buddhist or Daoist canons, nor is it cited within the bibliographies of the *Songshi* 宋史. The title, referring as it does to the "garden of transcendents," sounds like that of a Daoist text;[49] however, on closer examination, this assumption turns out to be problematic. Certainly, the tale of Lü and Huanglong does little justice to Daoism, and as we will see, several later Daoists were vocal in their opposition to the circulation of this story.

Although the *Xianyuan yishi* is no longer extant, the *Rentian baojian* does contain one other story credited to that same source, which also displays a strong anti-Daoist polemical slant. This account also concerns a Daoist, by the name of Wu Qichu 吳契初:

> The Daoist Wu Qichu was a native of Zhuyang 朱陽 in the Guo 虢 region, where he served as the magistrate of Heqing [district] 河清令. Because he came under investigation by the court, he hid himself at Mt. Song. There, he encountered Master Shi Tai 石泰 (?-1158). Wu asked him, "May I hear about the Way of empty nothingness?" Shi said, "The realized ones of former ages had the method of the 'five non-outflows' 五無漏法: when the eyes do not see, then the *hun*-soul 魂 is in the liver; when the ears do not hear, then the essence (*jing* 精) is in the kidneys; when the tongue does not sound, then the spirit (*shen* 神) is in the heart; when the nose does not smell, then the *po*-soul 魄 is in the lungs; when the four limbs do not move, then the intent (*yi* 意) is in the spleen. When these five are mutually blended to-

48) *Rentian baojian*, *X.* no. 1612, 87:12a18-12c9; *Fozu tongji*, *T.* no. 2035, 49:390b2-390b14.

49) And, in fact, within the *Fozu tongji* it is cited among other well-known Daoist works as one of the "various works of the Daoist school" 道門諸書; see *Fozu tongji*, *T.* no. 2035, 49:132a2-132a28.

gether, then they transform into a single pneuma. When [this pneuma] collects at the Three Passes 三關,[50] it is called 'lead and mercury' (*qiangong* 鉛汞). One need only seek this within one's body; there is no need to seek it elsewhere." Wu received the oral formula from him, and after long practice he attained its result. Once, when traveling along the Western Marchmount [Mt. Hua], he chanced across Master Ziyang 紫陽 [Zhang Boduan], who said to him, "Sir, what you have attained is certainly praiseworthy. But if you do not understand the Way of the nature 性道, then you will waste your efforts to no avail." Wu said, "I can follow the two pneumas back into the Yellow Path 黃道, and gather the three natures within the Primal Palace 元宮. I can face external objects without thoughts, not wavering from suchness. What is this talk of the 'Way of nature?'" Ziyang explained to him the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 [*Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, *T.* no. 842], saying, "This is the mind-school of the Buddhists 釋氏心宗; you should familiarize yourself with it. Later, you will understand where you should go. Trust me, these are not empty words." Wu received it reverently. One day as he was reciting it, he came to the line, "Because of quiescence, the minds of all the Tathāgatas in all worlds within the ten directions directly manifest within, like an image in a mirror,"[51] which produced a sudden reaction in him. Sighing, he said, "In the past, I was simply 'laboring behind closed doors'; today, I have finally set out to traverse the Great Way." From then on, he traveled around to various Chan assemblies in order to resolve his doubts. Later, he went to see Master Dongchan Cong in Danzhou [present-day Shandong] 單州東禪悰和尚.[52] Wu asked him,

> The Buddha-nature manifests in awe-inspiring presence,
> But its abiding aspect is difficult for sentient beings to observe.
> If one realizes that, originally, there is no self,
> Then how is one's own face like the Buddha's face?[53]
> When the student has a realization and realizes himself,
> Why does he not see the Buddha's face?

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50) This refers to three energetic nodes (at the coccyx, the upper back, and the base of the skull), that are given great importance in *neidan* practice. See Monica Esposito, "Sanguan," in the *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (New York: Routledge, 2008), 835-36.

51) *Da fangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經, *T.* no. 842, 17:917c17-917c18.

52) The monk's name is given as Cong 悰和尚; I have been unable to find any further information on this person, but a "Monk Dongchan of Danzhou" 單州東禪和尚 is listed in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* as a sixth-generation disciple of Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思. See *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *T.* no. 2076, 51: 361b19.

53) These four lines present a slight variation on a verse attributed to Nanquan 南泉 within the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, *T.* no. 2076, 51: 275b29-275c1. The last two lines in the original verse are slightly different: "If one realizes that there is no self among sentient beings / Then how is one's own face different from the Buddha's face?" 若悟眾生無我。我面何殊佛面。

Dongchan picked up his staff and drove him off with a blow. Just as Wu opened the door, he suddenly experienced a [realization] that tallied [with the teacher's intent], and uttered this verse:

> Suddenly seeing through the pivotal point of the patriarchs' [teachings],
> Opening my eyes returns me to the same state as when they were closed.
> Form this point onward, sages and common people are all equally destroyed;
> There is not the slightest separation between [me] and the origin of the universe.

道士吳契初，號之朱陽人，為河清令。以部使者所劾，隱于嵩山，尋遇石泰先生。吳問曰：虛無之道可得聞乎？石曰：先覺有五無漏法。眼不視，魂在肝。耳不聞，精在腎。舌不聲，神在心。鼻不香，魄在肺。四肢不動，意在脾。五者相與混融，化為一氣。聚于三關，名曰鉛汞。但身中求之，不必求於他也。吳稟受訣，久之功成。偶遊西岳邂逅紫陽先生。謂曰：子之所得固可佳。若不明性道，徒勞無益。吳曰：予能追二氣於黃道，會三性於元宮，對境無心如如不動。復何性道之說邪？紫陽以圓覺經示之曰：此是釋氏心宗，宜熟味之。他日知所趨嚮，信吾不食言也。吳乃信受。一日誦至：由寂靜故，十方世界諸如來心於中顯現如鏡中像。俄感歎曰：從前閉門作活，今日掉臂行大道。由是徧歷禪會咨決。之後謁單州東禪悰和尚。吳問曰：佛性堂堂顯見，住相有情難見。若悟本來無我，我面何如佛面？學人悟則悟己，為甚不見佛面？東禪拈拄杖打出。吳方開門豁然有契，頌曰：驀然覷破祖師機，開眼還同合眼時。從此聖凡俱喪盡，大千元不隔毫 。[54]

This story has much in common with the tale of Lü Dongbin's meeting with Huanglong: a protagonist receives teachings in Daoist self-cultivation from a prominent teacher, but later experiences a sudden realization during an encounter with a Chan master. The story of Wu Qichu is all the more interesting in that his initial introduction to Chan Buddhism comes at the hands of none other than Zhang Boduan, a figure who, as we have seen, often appears alongside Lü Dongbin in Buddhist sources as both are held up as examples of prominent Daoists who took up Chan practice. In fact, Zhang Boduan was the teacher of Shi Tai, who in this story first introduces Wu Qichu to *neidan* cultivation. By showing Shi Tai's master questioning the value of *neidan* practice and insisting that Wu take up Chan meditation, the narrative of this story thus presents Chan as a higher form of practice than *neidan*.

Although Zhang Boduan wrote favorably of Chan practice in some of his works, later Daoists went to great pains to downplay his connection

54) *Rentian baojian*, *X.* no. 1612, 87: 8b14-8c7.

to Buddhism.[55] Therefore, the fact that Zhang is portrayed here as an advocate of Chan suggests all the more that this story, and perhaps the entire *Xianyuan yishi*, did not come from Daoist sources; rather, the evidence from the two tales presented here suggests that it may have been a work of Buddhist polemics disguised as a collection of Daoist hagiographies. Although both the *Rentian baojian* and the *Fozu tongji* cite the *Xianyuan yishi* as their source for the tale of Lü Dongbin, this does not necessarily mean that the *Jiatai pudeng lu* account is also derived from this source; the *Jiatai pudeng lu* account is much longer, containing four different stories, whereas the *Rentian baojian* and *Fozu tongji* only provide the tale of Lü's meeting with Huanglong. If the *Xianyuan yishi* was indeed a Buddhist polemical work, its compiler(s) may have simply incorporated the tale from the *Jiatai pudeng lu* or another contemporaneous source.

Thus, when we examine the religious climate during the Song, and especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the tale of Lü Dongbin turning to Chan seems to have emerged, we can find a number of circumstances that may have contributed to the fabrication of this story: Huizong's anti-Buddhist policies, initiated at the instigation of his Daoist minister; the appearance of texts associated with Lü Dongbin that critique Chan methods of cultivation; the claims of superiority over Buddhism found within inner alchemical literature; and Daoist attempts to portray Chan patriarchs as practitioners of *neidan*. These circumstances reveal an atmosphere of sometimes fierce rivalry between some partisans of Chan Buddhism and Daoism (including proponents of the burgeoning *neidan* movement), who attempted to advance their causes through various means ranging from political machinations to literary arguments.[56] The circulation of stories such as the tale of Lü and Huanglong, or the account of Wu Qichu, represents a particularly subversive form of polemics; instead of directly criticizing *neidan* techniques, these stories weave the Buddhist critiques into the fabric of convincing narratives, employing various literary tropes and mythological

55) See Capitanio, "Portrayals of Chan Buddhism."

56) It should be noted, however, that the scale of such a rivalry may have been exaggerated within (or indeed, largely limited to) literary sources; certainly, as much internal competition existed between different Buddhist lineages and Daoist traditions themselves as did between Buddhists and Daoists in general.

themes to show, rather than simply explain, the superiority of Chan over *neidan*.

Later Versions of the Tale

We have seen that the story of Lü Dongbin's encounter with Huanglong likely emerged in the twelfth century, during a period when rivalries between proponents of Chan Buddhism and Daoist *neidan* were escalating. The tale was clearly significant for Buddhists of the time, as it was subsequently included within a number of Buddhist texts (mostly works associated with Chan) of the Song and later periods. After the *Jiatai pudeng lu* of 1204, the next appearance of the story occurs within the *Rentian baojian*, discussed above, which was compiled in 1230. The *Rentian baojian* is a collection of biographies and short anecdotes concerning eminent practitioners of earlier times, which, as the compiler Tanxiu states, are intended to provide models to inspire people of his age to practice accordingly. As in the *Jiatai pudeng lu,* the *Rentian baojian* places the story of Lü's encounter with Huanglong adjacent to a short biography of Zhang Boduan. The entry itself roughly corresponds to that found in the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, with some minor differences: the *Rentian baojian* biography contains a short section describing Lü's apprenticeship with Zhongli Quan and some of his other exploits, prior to the account of his meeting with Huanglong, but of the four different stories told in the *Jiatai pudeng lu,* only the encounter with Huanglong is related in the *Rentian baojian*.

The inclusion of the tale of Lü Dongbin's encounter with Huanglong in the *Rentian baojian*, as in the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, seems to be intended as a general proof of the efficacy of Buddhist practice, its broad appeal within Chinese culture, and its superiority over *neidan*. Lü's story appears in the *Rentian baojian* alongside accounts of other individuals such as the Tang Daoist Sun Simiao, who is depicted as advising Tang Taizong to read the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*; the Song literatus Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101), who had recurring dreams of a mysterious monk; and the aforementioned Zhang Boduan. By interspersing stories that highlight these individuals' interest in Buddhism among the biographies of such influential Chinese Buddhist luminaries as Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顗 (538-597) and Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334-416), Tanxiu seems to be

pointing out that Buddhism, and especially Chan, enjoyed broad support among a wide range of intellectuals and eminent practitioners of different backgrounds. At the same time, the juxtaposition of Lü's story with the biography of Zhang Boduan seems intended to highlight the polemical implications of both stories.

After the *Rentian baojian*, we begin to see a subtle shift in the way that later collections present the tale. The next text in which the story appears is the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (*Compendium of the Five Lamps*, *X.* no. 1565), compiled in 1252 by Puji 普濟 (1179-1253). This entry is nearly identical to the version found within the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, but only the meetings with Huanglong and Master Jue are included; Lü's visits to Zongben and the Jin'e temple are omitted. Unlike the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, however, the *Wudeng huiyuan* does not place Lü's biography within a miscellaneous category alongside accounts of other Daoists. Rather, for the first time we find Lü included within the section of the text devoted to the Qingyuan 青原 lineage (named after Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 [d. 740]), as an eighth-generation member of that lineage and a dharma-heir of Huanglong.[57]

The *Wudeng huiyuan* entry was reproduced in a number of later Chan transmission texts of the Ming and Qing 清 (1644-1912) periods: the *Zhiyue lu* 指月錄 (*Record of Pointing at the Moon*, *X.* no. 1578),[58] compiled in 1602; the *Chanzong zhengmai* 禪宗正脈 (*Orthodox Line of the Chan School*, *X.* no. 1593),[59] compiled in 1605; the *Jushi fendeng lu* 居士分燈錄 (*Record of the Householders' Division of the Lamp*, *X.* no. 1607),[60] compiled in 1631; the *Jiaowai biechuan* 教外別傳 (*Separate Transmission Outside the Teaching*, *X.* no. 1580),[61] compiled in 1633; the *Fozu gangmu* 佛祖綱目 (*Compendium of the Buddhas and Patriarchs, X.* no. 1594),[62] the *Wudeng yantong* 五燈嚴統 (*Strict Tradition of the Five Lamps*, *X.* no. 1568),[63] compiled in 1654; the *Wudeng quanshu* 五燈全書 (*Complete*

57) It should be noted that the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, which mostly focuses on Chan lineages during the Song, only describes the tenth and later generations of the Qingyuan lineage.
58) *X.* no. 1578, 83:639c12-639c24.
59) *X.* no. 1593, 85:443b23-443c1.
60) *X.* no. 1607, 86:612a6-612b3.
61) *X.* no. 1580, 84:245a2-245a16.
62) *X.* no. 1594, 85:677a17-677b3.
63) *X.* no. 1568, 80:729a10-729b5.

Book of the Five Lamps, *X.* no. 1571),[64] compiled in 1697; and the *Xianjue zongcheng* 先覺宗乘 (*Ancestral Succession of Previously Enlightened Ones, X.* no. 1620),[65] also compiled during the seventeenth century. All of these texts present approximately the same account as found in the *Wudeng huiyuan* (most of them also include the encounter with Master Jue), and follow that text in classifying Lü Dongbin as a dharma-heir of Huanglong.

While the *Wudeng huiyuan* version of the account and its inclusion of Lü within Huanglong's lineage were taken up by many of the late imperial texts in which the story was included, the tale still continued to evolve after the Song. One of the more interesting variations appears in a Yuan-era text, the *Lichao shishi zijian* 歷朝釋氏資鑑 (*Supporting Mirror of the Śākya Clan*, X. no. 1517), compiled in 1336 by the monk Xizhong 熙仲. This version of the story, while maintaining the same basic narrative structure, contains a great deal of additional dialogue, which includes even more pointed criticisms of Daoist methods of self-cultivation than seen in earlier accounts. The story begins with a long conversation between Lü and a nameless elder 老人 who convinces him to visit Huanglong for further teachings:

> Dongbin is the name of Lü Yan 呂巖, a divine transcendent. One day, as he was passing below Mt. Huanglong, he encountered an old man coming from the south. Bowing to him, he asked, "Where is the drum-sound coming from?" The elder said, "Chan Master Huanglong is preaching the Dharma to the assembly, expounding on *prajñā*." Lü asked, "What is *prajñā*?" The elder said, "Those who have thoroughly contemplated it will attain penetrative understanding and instantly pass beyond the ten *bhūmi*s. Having forever accomplished the Buddha's Way, they will never again fall into cyclic existence." Lü asked, "How does one thoroughly contemplate it?"
>
> The elder said, "When one point is penetrated, a hundred points, a thousand points are penetrated. This is called the wisdom lamp that dispels darkness, the precious sword that beheads all wrong views, the boat that ferries one across the ocean of suffering. It can completely eliminate miserable rebirths upon the three paths. The six sense faculties are non-existent; the four great elements are originally empty. Do not be angered by slander; do not be pleased by praise. Do not cultivate virtue; do not do evil. The Way is originally without substance; it is named

64) *X.* no. 1571, 81:556a18-556b12.
65) *X.* no. 1620, 87:197b12-197c9.

when spoken of. The Way is originally nameless; it is established through names. By contemplating all phenomena, one becomes truly awakened to their clear numinosity; this is called 'thoroughly contemplating it.'"

Lü said, "Have you not heard of the wondrousness of Lord Lao, the Mystic Prime? One can transform the body by augmenting its nourishment, refine the nature by cultivating perfection, preserve the lifespan and make the body whole, swallow the sun and moon before the mountains and forests, subdue the dragon and tiger beneath the emerald cliffs, pass beyond the mundane and enter into sagehood, transform *yang* and attain *yin*. This is the gateway of everlasting longevity, the method of ascending on feathered wings. Since I left Zhongli [Quan], for over a hundred years I have nurtured my lifespan with essence and spirit, and my longevity is equal to that of the root of Heaven. The Green Citadel and the Purple Court are originally my home. The mulberry fields may transform, but I will constantly remain; the sun and moon may depart, but I will live forever. Is the Way of Lord Lao not wondrous?"

The elder said, "Regarding what you have said, sir, everyone has their own opinion. The way that I see it, it is still not quite perfect yet. Moreover, another name for the Great Way is what the Buddhists call *prajñā*. When we speak about the Great Way, then it has nature but no corporeality; it has a transmission but is not transmitted; it has form but no shape; it can be seen but not obtained. Fundamentally it has no root, but it is eternally enduring and eternally steadfast. Heaven and Earth have their phases of creation and destruction but, in true awakening, the principle of cycling through existence is absent. It does not increase or decrease; it has no beginning or end. It cannot be constrained within the triple world, and it cannot be defiled by the six dusts. Sir, the Way that you speak of is like a hill; the Way of *prajñā* is like Mt. Tai. They are as far apart as Heaven and Earth. Sir, as for your arts of living long and extending life, I have heard that whatever is created must be destroyed, whatever has a beginning must come to an end, and wherever there is happiness there must be suffering. Generally speaking, this is the natural principle of Heaven and Earth. Sir, with your techniques, though you may live through ten billion eons, in the end you will perish in obscurity."

Lü said, "If the disciple is already like this, what about his teacher!" The elder said, "My ignorant understanding has not yet penetrated the subtle and wondrous point. Please call on Huanglong; only then will you be able to resolve the mystery. I myself do not know how."

洞賓呂岩，乃神仙人也。一日從黃龍山下過，逢一老人自南而來，遂揖之曰：甚處皷響？老人曰：黃龍禪師謂眾說法舉揚般若。賓曰：何謂般若？老人曰：參得透者，通達了然，頓超十地，永為佛道，不墮輪回。賓曰：如何是參得透者？老人曰：一處透，百處，千處透。謂之破黑闇之慧炬，斬羣邪之寶劒，渡苦海之舟航。滅三塗之惡趣。六根非有，四大本空。不以謗為嗔，不以讚為喜。善亦不修，惡亦不作。道本無體，因道而名。道本無名，因名而立。觀一切法，明靈真覺。此謂之參得透也。賓曰：豈不聞，老君玄元神妙，滋養化身，修真煉性，保命全軀。吞日月於山林之前，伏龍虎於翠岩之下。超凡入

聖，變陽成陰。長生久視之門，羽化飛昇之法。吾自鐘離之後，百有餘載，精神養命，壽等天根。青城紫府，本是吾家。桑田變兮我常在，日月去兮我長生。老君之道，豈不妙乎？老人曰：先生之說，各立門風。據老夫之見，未為盡善。且大道之異名。釋氏謂般若，凡言謂之大道。然有性而無形，有傳而不授，有色而無形，無得而可見。本自無根，永堅永固。天地有成壞之時，真覺無輪回之理。不增不減，無始無終。不被三界之所拘，不著六塵之所染。先生之道，如丘墟。般若之道，如泰山。天地相繚遠之遠矣。先生久視延年之術，吾聞有成必有壞，有始必有終，有樂必有苦。略而喻之，天地自然之理也。先生之法，縱經千萬劫，終是落空亡。賓曰：弟子尚如此。何況其師乎！老人曰：愚之所見，玄妙之處，變通未盡。請見黃龍，方決其妙。未審如何。[66]

Following this, the elder agrees to introduce Lü to Huanglong. When they reach the temple, before Lü's interview with Huanglong, the *Lichao shishi zijian* version of the story also has Huanglong give a public talk in which he further contrasts Buddhist and Daoist methods:

> The master, already aware that Dongbin was in the audience, said as an introduction, "There is no Way apart from the Way, but confused people have themselves set up their own sects. There is no teaching 門 apart from the teaching, but deluded ones have themselves created distinctions between 'this' and 'that.' The Green Citadel and the Purple Court, the gateway of the Mystic Prime that permeates transformation, the isle of Peng[lai] and the Grotto-Heavens – these are just teachings given in response to the listeners' capabilities. Unfortunately, ordinary people with preposterous ideas, who do not understand the fundamental principle of the Great Way, have probed and manipulated this body with its five desires, and they falsely call this the 'transcendent arts of the Nine Empyreans.' The dragon is just an animal that gathers in flocks, and the crane is just a bird with an ordinary body. Ingesting pneumas and swallowing mist are just heterodox worldly methods; drawing in fire and refining the body are just the wicked arts of those who have 'entered the marketplace' [of mundane existence]. How muddled, how vague! What are the true arts? How obscure, how dim! What is the true Way? I'm afraid that those who seek the Way by means of 'the Way' have missed the mark by just a hair, but fallen short by ten thousand aeons. Within this realm of defilement, it is rare to hear the taming tones [of the Buddha]. Those who have reached the extremity of florid superficies should stop and listen to his majestic speech. Guard the mystic pivot beneath the surface of the Way, and recognize deluded thoughts within the mind-field. In brief, when one wants to 'mount the crane' [and ascend to transcendence], one should listen carefully to the teachings on true emptiness."
> 師已知賓在座下，提綱云：道無別道，迷人自立宗徒。門無別門，惑者自生彼此。青城紫府，玄元透化之門。蓬鳥洞天，應變隨機之處。恐乃悠悠之凡輩，

66) *X.* no. 1517, p. 214, a5-b7.

不知大道之本宗，擬將五慾之形軀，詐稱九霄之仙術。龍是群隊之獸，鶴乃負體之禽。服氣吞霞，終是世間之邪法。納火煉形，皆是入鏖之妖術。恍兮忽兮，如何是真術？杳兮冥兮，如何是真道？恐乃以道求道，差之一毫，失之萬劫。塵寰之裏，罕聞調御之音。華表之端，休聽令威之說。鎮玄機於道表，知妄想於心田。略茲控鶴之時，諦聽真空之教。[67]

At this point in the story, Lü shows himself and proceeds to engage in a spirited dialogue with Huanglong, somewhat embellished from the rather terse conversation found in earlier versions such as the *Jiatai pudeng lu*:

> Dongbin emerged from the assembly and said, "'The entire world is contained within a single grain of millet; the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet.' What would you say is the meaning of this?" The master replied, "You can stop at 'the entire world is contained within a single grain of millet.' What is 'the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet?'" Lü stepped back, saying nothing. The master said, "You can only boil what is within the skillet; you cannot boil what is outside the skillet." Then, he got down from his platform and, holding up a fist, he said, "If you say that you can, you will get hit; if you say that you cannot, you will get hit." Lü departed angrily. The master told the assembly, "Return to the hall for meditation. Tonight the flying sword will definitely come to take this old monk's head." When the assembly heard this, they were shocked. The master took his seat and entered into meditation.
>
> At the third watch, the flying sword ultimately arrived. It flew in circles, seeking for the master, and then arrived right in front of his seat. With a single shout from the master, the sword immediately entered into the floor. The next day, Dongbin came to see the master. Huanglong clenched his fist and said, "'The entire world is contained within a single grain of millet; the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet.' Speak quickly, speak quickly!" Lü suddenly broke into a sweat. Then, bowing at the master's feet, he presented a verse, saying:
>
> "I will trample my gourd-flask and break my zither.
> The tip of my sword has fallen into the ground – a rare end!
> Since upon seeing Huanglong now,
> I have come to realize that I used my mind vainly before."
>
> Also,
>
> "An iron ox plows the field, planting golden coins;
> A carved stone child threads them into strings.
> The entire world is contained within a single grain of millet;
> The mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet.
> White-whiskered Laozi's eyebrows hang down to the ground;

67) *X.* no. 1517, p. 214, b7-b17.

The green-eyed barbarian monk's hand points to the heavens.
Between these two, if you wish to attain some understanding,
You must be more subtle than the subtlest of subtle points."[68]

The master said, "Good verse, but one word is not set." Dongbin said, "I do not know which word." The master said, "The word 'within' should be changed to 'outside.'" Lü bowed and left.

洞賓於眾中出云：一粒粟中藏世界，半升鐺內煮山川。此意如何？師曰：一粒粟中藏世界即且止。如何是半升鐺內煮山川？賓退無語。師曰：汝只煮得鐺裏底，且煮鐺外底不得。遂下禪床，把定拳頭云：道得也打，道不得也打。賓怒而去。師告眾：歸堂禪寂，今夜必飛劒來，取老僧頭。眾聞驚訝。師騎坐入定。至三更，果飛劒來，周回尋師。劒至座前，被師一喝，劒即入地。翌日賓來見師，師把定云：一粒粟中藏世界，半升鐺內煮山川。速道速道。賓當時汗下。遂禮師足，呈頌云：踏破葫蘆折却琴，劒鋒落地卒難尋。而今一見黃龍後，始覺從前枉用心。又：銕牛畊地種金錢，刻石兒童把貫穿。一粒粟中藏世界，半升鐺內煮山川。白鬚老子眉垂地，碧眼胡僧手指天。欲向箇中還會得，玄玄玄處更須玄。師云：好頌，即是一字不穩。賓云：未審何字？師云。內字為外字。賓乃作禮而去。[69]

This version of the story as included within the *Lichao shishi zijian* is interesting in that it provides a considerably more detailed and pointed critique of Daoist self-cultivation than what is seen in earlier accounts. Lü's capitulation to Huanglong is now set within the context of the Chan master's wholesale repudiation of Daoist teachings and his revelation that the "true Way" is not to be sought as the "Way" (i.e., the Dao), but rather in the Buddhist teachings on *prajñā*. A great deal of additional dialogue has also been added. First, we see a conversation between Lü and the nameless elder, who explains some of the basic teachings of Buddhism to the transcendent, and then provides an initial contrast between Buddhist and Daoist doctrines and practices. The argument presented here is essentially the same as found in earlier sources: nothing can ever be permanent, so even if one could augment his lifespan, it will eventually end, and if one has not paid attention to higher forms of spiritual cultivation, then one's efforts will have been in vain. Huanglong makes similar arguments in his sermon, describing Daoist methods of self-cultivation as inferior worldly techniques that are only taught to

68) This poem, with slight variations, can also be found in Daoist sources, from which it was likely extrapolated; see for example the *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* 純陽真人渾成集, *DZ* 1055, 2.12a, compiled in 1251 by He Zhiyuan 何志淵 (1189-1279).

69) X76, no. 1517, p. 214b17-c7.

those who lack the capacity for higher forms of religious practice. And the conversation between Lü and Huanglong is much more lively in this version (though largely at Lü's expense), with Huanglong's witty criticisms of Lü's verse and his threats of physical violence.

Lü's "flying sword" attack on Huanglong is also presented in a much more dramatic fashion. It is possible that the *Lichao shishi zijian* entry may have incorporated elements from vernacular versions of this story already in circulation; Wu Guangzheng has mentioned that several plays and novels describing Lü's encounter with Huanglong existed during the Yuan, which were generally favorable to Buddhism. Most of these are no longer extant, but we do know that in at least one of them, Lü was also portrayed as sending his flying sword after Huanglong during the middle of the night.[70] The nighttime attack also occurs in the greatly altered version of the story of Lü and Huanglong included within the Ming collection of vernacular tales *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 (*Stories to Awaken the World*) by Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574-1645).[71] The *Lichao shishi zijian* tale appears to be the only version of this story within Buddhist canonical sources that contains these additional dialogues and plot details. However, some of these elements do appear in a pro-Daoist account of Lü's meeting with Huanglong, the "Record of the Divine Stele of Lü the Perfected," discussed further below.

It is unclear why the *Lichao shishi zijian* account contains more overt anti-Daoist criticisms than earlier versions, and the text provides few clues as to the sources of this additional content. However, just as the first version of this story appears to have emerged during a time of heightened rivalry between Buddhists and Daoists, as discussed above, similar circumstances may have informed the revisions of the story found in the *Lichao shishi zijian*. Tensions between Buddhists and Daoists were again on the rise during the thirteenth century, which saw the emergence of a new Daoist movement, the Complete Perfection (Quanzhen 全真) monastic order. Complete Perfection Daoists quarreled with Buddhists over issues related to temple management, government patronage, and the Daoists' circulation of a text entitled *Laozi bashiyi hua*

70) Wu, "Fo Dao zhengheng," 101.
71) Feng Menglong, *Xingshi hengyan* 醒世恆言 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1956), 435-47.

tu (*Pictures of the Eighty-One Transformations of Laozi* 老子八十一化圖), which resurrected the old Daoist polemical motif of the "conversion of the barbarians" (*huahu* 化胡), claiming that the Buddha Śākyamuni was really an incarnation of Laozi.[72] These disputes were brought before the Mongol rulers, who sponsored several debates between Buddhists and Daoists in the years 1254, 1258, and 1281. The Buddhists emerged victorious in the court's eye, and as a result, a number of disputed temples were returned to Buddhist control, punishments were issued to Daoists who were involved in the circulation of "false scriptures" or the desecration of Buddhist property, and an edict was released ordering the burning of all Daoist scriptures other than the *Daodejing*.[73] Thus, it is possible that the increased anti-Daoist tone of the *Lichao shishi zijian* reflects the general animosity between Buddhists and Daoists that resulted from these disputes.[74]

Apart from the *Lichao shishi zijian*, which presents a version of the tale that is drastically altered from the original, the only other significant change to this story within Ming and Qing Buddhist sources is an additional exchange of dialogue added to the account of Lü's initial

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72) On these issues, see Anning Jing, "Buddhist-Daoist Struggle and a Pair of 'Daoist' Murals," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 66 (1994): 119-81. For more on *huahu*, see Anna Seidel, "Le Sūtra merveilleux du Ling-pao Suprême, traitant de Lao tseu qui convertit les barbares (le manuscript S. 2081) – Contribution à l'étude du Bouddho-taoïsme des Six Dynasties," in *Contributions aux études de Touen-houang*, vol. 3, ed. Michel Soymié (Paris: Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), 305-352.

73) The content of the debates, and the circumstances surrounding them, were recorded (from the Buddhists' perspective) in a text called the *Record of Disputing the False* (*Bianwei lu* 辯偽錄, *T.* no. 2116). See also Sechin Jagchid, "Chinese Buddhism and Taoism During the Mongolian Rule of China," *Mongolian Studies* 6 (1980): 61-98; and Jan Yun-hua, "Chinese Buddhism in Ta-tu: The New Situation and New Problems," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1982), 375-417. Vincent Goossaert has pointed out that the effect of these anti-Daoist measures was actually far more limited than Buddhist texts suggest; see Vincent Goossaert, "The Invention of an Order: Collective Identity in Thirteenth-Century Quanzhen Taoism," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 29 (2001): 112.

74) I have, however, been unable to find any clear evidence that the anti-Daoist rhetoric added to this story in the *Lichao shishi zijian* was specifically intended to target Complete Perfection Daoism; that is, none of the technical terms or concepts used in either the elder's speech or Huanglong's sermon are particular to Complete Perfection literature. The only connection that I have found with Complete Perfection is the fact that the final verse spoken by Lü in the *Lichao shishi zijian* account also appears in a Complete Perfection work, the *Chunyang zhenren huncheng ji* (see above, note 67).

meeting with Huanglong, as in the following excerpt from the *Jushi fendeng lu*. Lü encounters Huanglong as he is ascending his seat in the hall, and as before Huanglong recognizes Lü and decides to entice him into a debate:

> In a stern voice, he said, "Next to my seat there is someone trying to steal the Dharma." Determinedly, Lü came forth and said, "A Daoist of the clouds and water."[75] Huiji said, "When suddenly the clouds are gone and the water has dried up, what will you do then?" Lü had no response. Seeking a substitute answer 代語, Lü posed the question to Huiji, who replied, "The yellow dragon will emerge." Lü then asked, "The entire world is contained within a single grain of millet; the mountains and rivers are boiled within a half-liter skillet. What would you say is the meaning of this?"
> 厲聲曰：座傍有竊法者。巖毅然出曰：雲水道人。機曰：忽遇雲盡水乾時如何？巖無對。求代語，巖如前問。機曰：黃龍出現。巖曰：一粒粟中藏世界，半升鐺內煲山川。且道此意如何？[76]

In this version, Lü responds to Huanglong's query by calling himself a "Daoist of the clouds and water," prompting Huanglong's further questioning, to which Lü is unable to reply. This story is also paraphrased in the works of the Ming monk Zhuhong 袾宏 (1535-1615), who tells the story in order to refute "popular" versions of the tale that have Lü coming out the victor (discussed further below):

> Daoists say that Dongbin subdued Chan Master Huanglong with his flying sword; this is an exaggeration. One day when the master was lecturing, Dongbin mixed in with the crowd, but the master spotted him with his divine eye, saying "There is someone in the assembly who is here to steal the Dharma." Lü emerged, introducing himself as a Daoist of the clouds and water. The master said, "What will you do when the clouds have scattered and the water has dried up?" Lü was unable to reply, so the master answered for him: "The yellow dragon will emerge." Lü was angry, and in the night he sent his flying sword to menace the master. The master pointed at the sword and it stuck into the ground, unable to leave. When the next day arrived, [Lü] pulled on the sword but could not remove it. They exchanged a few questions and answers, and [Lü] suddenly had a realization. Thus, he became a

75) I.e., an itinerant Daoist.
76) *Jushi fendeng lu*, X86, no. 1607, 612a12-16. The "Daoist of the clouds and water" dialogue also occurs in *Xianjue zongcheng* and *Fozu gangmu*.

> [Dharma-]descendant of Huanglong. This is recorded in the lamp-chronicles, which differ from popular accounts.
> 道流謂洞賓以飛劍伏黃龍禪師，此訛也。師一日陞座，洞賓雜稠人中。師以天眼燭之，遂云：會中有竊法者。賓出眾，自稱雲水道人。師云：雲盡水乾時如何？賓不能對。師代云：黃龍出現。賓怒，夜飛劍脅師。師指劍插地不得去。明至，拔劍不起。問答數語，脫然有省，因嗣黃龍。此載傳燈，與俗傳異。[77]

Interestingly, other late imperial non-Buddhist sources have elaborated upon this particular part of the dialogue to portray the conversation in a more favorable light. One example is found in an account described within the *Lingying shiji* 靈應事跡 (*Traces of the Deeds of Numinous Response*), a summary of various episodes from Lü's career that forms part of the Qing-era *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書 (*Complete Writings of Patriarch Lü*), compiled in 1742-1743 by Liu Tishu 劉體恕, also known as Wuwozi 無我子:

> Patriarch Lü arrived at Mt. Huanglong in Wuchang when Chan Master Huiji was lecturing, so he ascended the drum platform to listen to the lecture. The master asked who he was, and Lü replied, "A Daoist of the clouds and water." The master said, "When the clouds are gone and the water has dried up, what then?" Lü replied, "The drought will kill the monk." The master said, "The yellow dragon will emerge." Lü said, "My flying sword will behead it." The master laughed greatly, saying "Well! Of course we cannot debate with mouth and tongue." Then he gave him some guidance on the great Way.
> 呂祖至武昌黃龍山，值誨機禪師升座，祖登擂鼓臺聽講。師詰座下何人，祖曰：雲水道人。師曰：雲盡水乾何如？祖曰：曠殺和尚。師曰：黃龍出現。祖曰：飛劍斬之。師大笑曰：咄，固不可以口舌爭也。遂與指明大道。[78]

Following this, Lü presents his verse to Huanglong. The compiler adds an interlinear note just after Lü's statement that "My flying sword will behead it," writing that "People of the world, on account of these words, have spread the fantastic tale of 'beheading Huanglong with a flying sword'; formerly, the Perfected Liu 柳真人 disputed this story,[79] and

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77) *Zheng'e ji* 正訛集, *Jiaxing da zangjing*, vol. 33, 78b2-78b8.

78) Liu Tishu, ed., *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書, 2.43b, in *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1992), vol. 7, 97.

79) The "Perfected Liu" referred to here may be Liu Qi 柳棨, regarded within some of the late imperial spirit-writing cults devoted to Lü Dongbin as Lü's successor; see Monica Esposito, "The Invention of a Quanzhen Canon: The Wondrous Fate of the *Daozang jiyao*," in *Quanzhen Daoists in Chinese Society and Culture, 1500-2010*, ed. Vincent Goossaert and Liu Xun

explained [this statement] as [simply] an opportune reply 答機鋒.[80] This [explanation] is trustworthy" 世因此語。作為傳奇。有飛劍斬黃龍之事。昔柳真人曾辨此事。謂答機鋒。信然。[81] In Buddhist versions of the story, the "Daoist of the clouds and water" comment serves as just another of Lü's statements to be critiqued and dismantled by Huanglong. However, in this telling of the story we see Lü giving an apparently satisfactory retort, and Huanglong's response seems to suggest that the debate ends in a draw, rather than a victory for Huanglong (although it is interesting that, nevertheless, Huanglong proceeds to give Lü instruction).

Daoist Responses to the Tale

As the above example shows, Daoists were aware of the story of Lü's encounter with Huanglong, and several Daoist authors took exception to the manner in which Buddhist texts portrayed Lü Dongbin. Wu Guangzheng and Stephen Eskildsen have both discussed the Daoists' responses to the circulation of this tale;[82] I will briefly summarize their findings here. Several Daoist authors were either unaware of the story, or chose deliberately not to re-tell it; no mention of an encounter with Huanglong is made within the biography of Lü included in the late thirteenth-century *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (*Comprehensive Mirror of Successive Generations of Perfected and Transcendents who Realized the Way*, *DZ* 296), nor in the hagiographical materials contained within the sixteenth-century *Lüzu zhi* 呂祖志 (*Annals of Patriarch Lü*, *DZ* 1484). The episode is also not included in the *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 (*Record of the Wondrous Powers of Divine Transformation of the Imperial Lord of Pure Yang*, *DZ* 305), compiled in 1310 by Miao Shanshi 苗善時 (fl. 1324),

(Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2013), 60-61. I thank Vincent Goossaert for pointing out this figure's identity.

80) The term *jifeng* 機鋒, which I have translated as "opportune reply," literally means "pivotal point," and refers to the manner in which Chan masters are able to deliver the right words (metaphorically referred to as a sharp point 鋒) at the pivotal moment 機 in order to directly lead a disciple to enlightenment.

81) *Zangwai daoshu*, vol. 7, 97.

82) Wu, "Fo Dao zhengheng," 101-9; Eskildsen, "Do Immmortals Kill?," 36-45.

although Miao does make mention of the story in his own comments within the text, discussed below.

Wu has noted that those Daoist authors who did acknowledge the story tended toward two strategies: to question the veracity of the tale, or to rework the story so as to portray Lü in a more favorable light. As Eskildsen has described, Miao Shanshi was among those who employed the former strategy. Within the third of 108 episodes described within Miao's *Miaotong ji*, Lü is shown composing a poem that is quite similar to the verse attributed to him in the Buddhist tale. The last two lines of the verse given in Buddhist sources read, "Since upon meeting with Huanglong / I have begun to realize that I applied my mind incorrectly before" 自從一見黃龍後，始覺從前錯用心. The last two lines of the poem in Miao's *Miaotong ji* read, "Since upon awakening from the [dream of the] yellow millet/ I have begun to believe that I applied my mind in vain before" 自從一覺黃粱後，始信從前枉用心.[83] The "dream of the yellow millet" refers to a previous episode in Lü's life, in which he falls asleep while cooking a bowl of millet and sees his entire lifetime pass by within a dream (notably dramatized in Ma Zhiyuan's 馬致遠 [c. 1250-1321] *zaju* play, *Huangliang meng*). In Miao's commentary to this story, he writes that the verse given in the *Miaotong ji* is the correct one, while Buddhists have changed it and concocted the story about Huanglong for their own self-serving purposes:

> Regrettably, those who are attached to a view of selfhood have removed four lines from this verse[84] and altered it, changing "upon awakening" 一覺 to "upon meeting" 一見, and "yellow millet" 黃粱 to "yellow dragon" [Huanglong] 黃龍. In this fashion, [they claim that Lü and Huanglong] exchanged multiple questions and responses, and that Lü decapitated Huanglong with his flying sword – how stupid! … In the *Perfected's Record of Divine Transformation* 真人神化記,[85] it says, "My sword of wisdom beheads the three corpse-demons, the six thieves, and the obstructions of greed, anger, desire, and affliction; how would I be willing to cut off a human head? Moreover, what quarrel does Chan Master Chao have with me?[86]

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83) *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*, *DZ* 305, 1.5b.

84) The verse given in Buddhist sources is four lines long; the verse found in Miao's *Record* is eight lines long.

85) It is unclear what Miao is referring to here; this seems like an abbreviated title of Miao's *Record* itself, but the lines quoted here do not appear anywhere else in the text.

86) Huanglong Huiji was also known as Chaohui 超慧.

> Thus, Zhu Wengong [Zhu Xi 朱熹] said, 'A noble man can control himself with benevolence and compassion; how could a divine transcendent be willing to cut off a human head?'" This is indeed trustworthy! On account of the thirty-odd sections of true accounts contained within our teaching's *Scripture on the Conversion of the West* 西化經,[87] Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023-1064) of the Song said in praise, "In the East, [Laozi] instructed Confucius; in the West, he transformed into the golden transcendent [i.e., the Buddha]." Also, the Perfected Han 韓真人 converted Chan Master Hui 慧禪師 to Daoism, and he became the Perfected Feng Zunshi 馮尊師真人; the Perfected Ziyang 紫陽真人 [Zhang Boduan] converted Chan Master Daoguang [Xue Daoguang 薛道光] to Daoism, and he became the Perfected Zixian 紫賢. Moreover, Ancestral Teacher Lü converted over ten virtuous monks; these are all true matters. We do not propagate our teachings by showing off or bragging; because of this, those attached to a view of selfhood have written clever compositions to obscure [the truth]. Their idea that the master [Lü] once visited the monk [Huanglong] is laughable.
>
> 可憐人我之徒，將此詩除四句，改一覺為一見，黃粱為黃龍。似此問答不一，以帝君飛劍斬黃龍，蠢哉。…故真人神化記云：吾之慧劍斬三尸六賊，責瞋愛慾煩惱障，豈肯取人頭？況超禪師與吾何仇？故朱文公云：君子仁慈猶克己，神仙安肯取人頭。信哉。吾教西化經所載三十餘段事實，故宋仁宗贊云：東訓尼父，西化金仙。又韓真人度慧禪師入道為馮尊師真人，紫陽真人度道光禪師入道為紫賢真人。又呂祖師度有德僧十餘人，皆實事。傳吾教並不彰耀誇矜，因此人我之徒，巧撰遮掩，其先生亦有參和尚者呵呵。[88]

Miao thus refashions the verse given in earlier Buddhist tales, claims the rewritten verse as the original, and then accuses Buddhists of editing the original verse in order to promote their own teachings – a level to which, he claims, Daoists would never stoop. In fact, he claims, it is Buddhists who commonly convert to Daoism, and not the other way around.

While Miao utterly denied the possibility of an encounter between Lü Dongbin and Huanglong, other authors constructed alternate accounts of the meeting. One of the most interesting of these accounts appears within a stele inscription housed at the Yuxu gong 玉虛宮 in Cangzhou, entitled the "Record of the Divine Stele of Lü the Perfected" 呂真人神碑記, reproduced within the *Wanli Cangzhou zhi* 萬曆滄州

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87) This scripture is unknown. Based on the quotation given, it appears to belong to the *huahu* genre; Miao may have been referring to the *Xisheng jing* 西昇經 (*DZ* 666), which contains thirty-nine chapters.

88) *Chunyang dijun shenhua miaotong ji*, *DZ* 305, 1.6b-7b. This passage is also discussed and translated in Eskildsen, "Do Immortals Kill?," 39-44.

志 (*Cangzhou Gazetteer of the Wanli Period*), compiled in 1603.[89] This version of the story incorporates some elements also found within the *Lichao shishi zijian* tale, such as Lü's encounter with an old man prior to visiting Huanglong, and Huanglong's critique of Lü's verse, "you cannot boil what is outside the skillet":

> On the third day of the third month in the seventh year of the Xianchun 咸淳 period [13 April, 1271 CE], Lü Yan, following his teacher's instructions, was letting his spirit roam, riding upon the clouds, when he arrived at the Huanglong Monastery south of the Zhongnan mountains. Observing auspicious pneumas connecting up to the heavens, Master Lü said, "There must be a good man living in this place." Then, he saw an old man, and he asked him, "What is the name of this mountain?" The old man replied, "This mountain is Mt. Huanglong. Chan Master Huanglong lives within the monastery; he has just gathered the assembly of monks, and has ascended the hall to preach the Dharma and deliver beings."
>
> Lü went directly to the gate of the monastery, where he saw a placard on which was written, "Those who would hear the Dharma and listen to the scriptures should enter through the western corridor. Those who would practice meditation and inquire about the Way should ascend through the eastern corridor." Lü transformed into the guise of a Daoist and, accordingly, ascended through the eastern corridor. He did not go to practice meditation or ask about the Way; he just sat below the corridor amusing himself with poems. When Huanglong saw him, he shouted loudly, "Who are you?" Without giving his name or surname, Lü went directly before him, sat down, and said,
>
> "Shining through, shining through!
> The phoenix has come into the flock of crows,
> Penetrating the sky with a thunderclap,
> And scattering the Buddhists with their perverse explanations."
>
> Before he had finished reciting, Huanglong angrily said, "I have pitched my camp here; who dares to invade my territory?" Lü replied, "This Daoist has always been bold; now I have come to clear your barracks and raid your camp. Swinging my golden hammer a single time into space, I will obliterate the entire great chiliocosm." Huanglong said, "Who are you?" He replied, "A Daoist of the clouds and water." Huanglong said, "What are the clouds and water?" Lü replied, "My body is like the white clouds, constantly at ease; my mind is like flowing water, spreading to the east and west." Huanglong said, "What if the clouds disperse and the water dries up – where will you go then?" He replied, "When the clouds disperse, the brilliant moon shines in the sky; when the water dries up, the bright pearl shows itself."

89) This stele inscription is also discussed in Wu, "Fo Dao zhengheng," 108-9.

Huanglong asked, "What is a Daoist [a 'man of the Way']?" Lü replied, "That which contains the ten thousand forms is called 'the Way'; one whose body is like empty space is called 'a man.' In the Way there is originally no inquiring; to inquire about it is not the Way. If it must be given a name, it should be called 'inexhaustible.' Since you have asked me, I will tell you; all you assembled monks, listen carefully to my words. The Way produces one; one produces two; two produces three; three produce the ten thousand things; [the ten thousand things] are all produced from the Way. The Way is the substance of the myriad wonders and the mother of the ten thousand things. Among the ten thousand things, humans are the most numinous and most noble."

Huanglong said, "What special qualities do you possess?" He replied, "I can contain the entire world within a single grain of millet, and boil heaven and earth 乾坤 within a half-liter skillet." Huanglong said, "You can only boil what is within the skillet; how can you boil what is outside it?" Lü replied,

"I can cause a single grain of millet to flip over,
And make well-forged steel as soft as silk.
Flipping and overturning as I desire,
How many people can realize the mystery within this wonder?
With my two hands I part the marrow of heaven and earth,
Within nothingness I forge the great foundation."

Huanglong was unable to open his mouth.

After a short while, he asked, "Sir, what is it that you wear at your waist?" Lü replied, "This is my divine sword for beheading demons." Huanglong asked, "I am here expounding the wondrous Dharma of the Great Vehicle; what demons would dare to come here? What use is a sword?" He replied, "This sword has come especially for beheading you." Huanglong said, "What crime have I committed?" Lü replied, "You possess the three poisons." Huanglong said, "Which three poisons do I possess?" He replied, "You have sat long here at Mt. Huanglong without leaving, full of food, with warm clothes, and still you claim poverty. Is this not greed?" Huanglong said, "What anger do I possess?" He replied, "When one enters through the western corridor to hear the Dharma and listen to the scriptures, you are happy. When one ascends the eastern corridor to practice meditation and inquire about the Way, you are angry. And, when you saw that I was amusing myself with poems, and did not enter the room to call on you, you shouted at me. Is this not anger?" "What ignorance do I possess?" Lü replied, "You have not mastered your own body, and still you try to save others. You just seek fame and fortune in the present, and do not repair the bridges of the past. How is this not ignorance? All three poisons are complete within you; you cannot be saved."

When Master Lü finished talking, he shook his sleeves and turned to leave. Huanglong hastily descended from his couch and hurried forward, bowing and saying, "Today happens to be the day of the Buddha-assembly; why leave so quickly? Sir, please come to my quarters for some tea."

時咸淳七年三月三日，呂嚴承師法旨，神遊雲駕，直至終南山黃龍寺。觀見瑞氣連天，呂公曰：此處必有好人在此。遂見一老人，呂公問曰：此山名為何？老人答曰：此山乃黃龍山。寺內有黃龍禪師，正聚集僧眾，升堂說法度人。呂公直至山門，見置牌一面，上書曰：聽法聞經者，西廊而入。參禪問道者，東廊而上。呂公遂化一道人，依此東廊而上，不去參禪訪道，故於廊下玩戲題詩。黃龍一見，大喝一聲：汝乃何人？呂公不通名性，直至面前，坐下言曰：爍爍開，爍爍開，烏鴉隊裡鳳凰來。空中一楔雷聲響，振散浮屠闡戾乖。呂公口念未絕，黃龍怒曰：吾在此扎寨，何人侵吾境界？對曰：道人從來膽大，時來除營劫寨。空中下一金錘，打破大千世界。黃龍曰：汝乃何人？答曰：雲水道人。黃龍曰：何為雲水？答曰：身似白雲常自在，意如流水任東西。黃龍曰：假若雲散水枯，還歸何處？曰：雲散則皓月當空，水枯則明珠自現。黃龍曰：何為道人？答曰：包含萬象謂之道，體若虛空謂之人。道本無問，問之無道，既而有名，名之無窮也。汝既問吾，吾乃告汝。汝乃眾僧，諦聽吾言。道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。皆從道而生。道乃種妙之體，萬物之母。萬物之中最靈最貴者人也。黃龍曰：如有何異奇？答曰：吾一粒粟中藏世界，半升鐺內煮乾坤。黃龍曰：但煮鐺內物，鐺外物如何煮得？答曰：能使一粟翻轉過，善調鋼鐵軟如綿。翻來覆去隨吾使，幾人悟得妙中玄。兩手拔開天地髓，虛無鍛煉大根源。黃龍不能張口，少頃曰：先生佩帶者何物也？答曰：是吾斬妖神劍也。黃龍問曰：吾在此說大乘妙法，有何妖邪敢至？有劍何用？答曰：此劍特來斬汝。黃龍曰：吾有何罪？答曰：汝有三毒。黃龍曰：吾有何三毒？答曰：你久坐黃龍不起身，衣食飽暖更言貧。豈不是貪？吾有何嗔？答曰：西廊而入聽法聞經者，喜。東廊而上參禪問道者，怒。又見吾玩戲題詩，不來房內參訪，汝大喝一聲。豈不是嗔？吾有何癡？答曰：汝一身未了，更度他人。你只求見今名利，不修過去津梁。豈不是癡？汝貪嗔癡三毒全備，不可度也。呂公言畢，拂袖而回。黃龍急下禪椅，向前問訊，言曰：今日正是佛聚會之日，如何速往？請先生方丈待茶。[90]

After this exchange, Lü and Huanglong return to the abbot's quarters for tea. The story then shifts: the senior monk arrives and informs them that the viburnum flowers are currently blossoming in Yangzhou, and remarks on how wonderful it would be if both Lü and Huanglong could go to see them. Huanglong goes into his room, sits down with his eyes closed, and enters into meditation, while Lü amuses himself among the assembly. After some time, Huanglong emerges, and the senior monk asks him about the flowers, which Huanglong praises. The senior monk then asks Huanglong if he has brought one back, but Huanglong has

90) Gu Zhenyu 顧震宇 et al., ed., *Wanli Cangzhou zhi* 萬曆滄州志, in *Beijing daxue tushuguan cang xijian fangzhi congkan* 北京大學圖書館藏稀見方志叢刊 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2013), vol. 7, 60-64. The stele inscription is also transcribed in Sun Kaidi 孫楷第, *Xiaoshuo pangzheng* 小說旁證 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000), 177-78.

not. Lü laughs and produces a flower himself, and the monks all marvel at this display of supernatural powers. Huanglong admits that his powers are inferior to Lü's, and asks Lü to become his teacher. Lü then explains:

> "I saw that, while your renown is substantial, you are not yet a great sage, and so I came to save you. The spirit that you have sent out is a *yin* spirit. The *yin* spirit can only see others, but others cannot see you. You were only able to attend the flower festival; you could not bring items back. You can only take in pneuma; you cannot eat. You had thus become a ghost of *yin* numen, a fellow of the other ghosts. The spirit that I sent out was a *yang* spirit. I could easily see others, and others could easily see me. I could attend the festival, and I could also eat. I could gather into a corporeal body, and disperse into the wind – such supernatural transformations are truly unfathomable."
> 吾見汝名利且重，未有大聖，吾故來度汝。汝出神者陰神也。陰神只能見人，人不能見汝。汝只能赴會，不能帶物。止能受氣，不能食用。汝乃是陰靈之鬼，乃鬼家之活計也。吾出神者乃是陽神也。吾易能見人，人易能見吾。吾亦能赴會，又能食用。吾乃聚則成形，散則成風，神通變化，不可測也。[91]

Finally, Huanglong receives teachings on inner alchemy from Lü, who then reveals his identity as he flies off on a cloud.

The date of composition for this stele inscription is unclear, though it must at least predate 1603, when the gazetteer was compiled. A colophon following the main inscription states that "Chan Master Huanglong's senior monks Wuchan, Wuxing, Wushen, and others, together with an assembly of over a thousand monks, produced the aspiration and erected this stone [stele] on the third day of the third month of the seventh year of the Xianchun period [1271] of the Great Song" 黃龍禪師首座悟禪，悟性，悟沈等，於大宋咸淳七年三月三日，千餘眾僧發心共立石。[92] Based on this, Sun Kaidi has suggested that the Yuxu gong stele could have been a re-engraving based upon a Northern Song stele.[93] However, this seems unlikely. The fact that the events were set in the late Song (several hundred years after the lifetime of Huanglong Huiji) suggests a later date for the stele. Moreover, the inscription contains elements from the *Lichao shishi zijian* story, as noted above, which dates to

91) Gu, *Wanli Cangzhou zhi*, 66.
92) Sun, *Xiaoshuo pangzheng,* 179.
93) Ibid.

the fourteenth century, as well as elements (Lü's "I am a Daoist of the clouds and water") that do not appear in versions of the tale prior to the Ming. Furthermore, the account of Lü and Huanglong projecting their spirits to view the viburnum flowers is actually a re-telling of a story that first appears in a biography of Zhang Boduan, found within the late thirteenth-century *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*.[94] In the original story, it is Zhang and a nameless Chan monk who perform these feats; also in that text, these events provide an occasion for Zhang to deliver a lengthy explanation (similar to the one delivered by Lü in the stele inscription) on the superiority of Daoist techniques over Buddhist ones.[95]

While this story is clearly an amalgam of different versions of the tale of Lü's encounter with Huanglong, it is remarkable in the way in which it successfully reverses the encounter dialogue paradigm – deployed in the original Buddhist story to show Lü succumbing to Huanglong's wit – in order to portray Lü as the victor in their verbal contest. In the version of the story quoted by Liu Tishu, discussed above (which postdates this story by several centuries), Lü is portrayed as more of a match for Huanglong, and their repartee appears to end in a stalemate. However, here it is clear that Lü has the upper hand throughout the dialogue, as we see Huanglong move from anger at Lü's impudence, to grudging acknowledgement of the logic of Lü's arguments, to humility as he ultimately volunteers to become Lü's disciple. Furthermore, although Lü still threatens to behead Huanglong with his sword, the episode where he actually sends the flying sword against Huanglong is missing from this account, since it would not serve the pro-Daoist agenda of the story to show Huanglong avoiding or overcoming Lü's sword. In fact, this account seems to take into consideration Miao Shanshi's critiques, discussed above, that a divine transcendent such as Lü would never commit murder with his sword; instead, in a manner again consistent with Miao's statements, the sword is associated with the symbolic cutting off of the "three poisons."

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94) *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian*, *DZ* 296, 49.7b-8a. The similarity between these two stories is discussed in Wu, "Fo Dao zhengheng," 104.

95) In fact, the explanation given by Zhang in this account is extrapolated from the passage quoted earlier in this article, attributed to Zhongli Quan, from the *Zhong-Lü chuandao ji*.

Thus, just as the original Buddhist account seems to have been precisely calibrated to undercut many of the prominent symbolic features of the mythology of Lü Dongbin, this story, in similar fashion, is told in such a way as to weaken all of the elements in the original story that were written in the Buddhists' favor, turning them around so that they instead demonstrate Lü's superiority. We have already seen that the tale of Lü's meeting with Huanglong attained significant currency among Buddhists of late imperial China, based on the number of texts in which it was retold; the fact that Daoists such as Miao Shanshi and the author(s) of the "Record of the Divine Stele" went to such pains to either discredit the story or alter it in order to portray Lü in a more favorable light, provides further evidence of the tale's influence within late imperial Chinese religious culture.

The Legacy of the Tale

An important effect of the circulation of this story was the inclusion of Lü Dongbin within the lineage of Huanglong Huiji in Chan genealogies of the late imperial period. One of the most distinctive and influential aspects of the Chan movement as it developed during the Tang and Song was the lineage-based, genealogical model of religious networks that Chan Buddhists adopted and developed,[96] which was quickly taken up by other groups, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist.[97] In order to le-

96) For a discussion of this model within the broader context of the Chinese interest in genealogy, see John Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism: The Role of Confucian Ritual and Ancestor Worship in Ch'an's Search for Legitimation in the Mid-T'ang Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 35 (1987): 89-133. T. Griffith Foulk has summarized the history of the notion of Chan "lineages" and their institutionalization in the Tang and Song; see Foulk, "The Ch'an *Tsung* in Medieval China: School, Lineage, or What?," *The Pacific World*, n.s. 8 (1992): 18-31. For a study of the role played by the lamp-chronicles and other forms of Chan literature in the formation of lineages, see Albert Welter, "Lineage and Context in the *Patriarch's Hall Collection* and the *Transmission of the Lamp*," in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, ed. Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 137-79.

97) For example, during the Song, members of the Tiantai school followed a similar model in constructing a patriarchal line for the Pure Land school; see Daniel A. Getz, Jr., "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 477-523. Lowell Skar has also studied the ways in which the Chan lineage model was influ-

gitimize their radical new expression of Buddhist teachings and innovative forms of practice, early Chan Buddhists constructed genealogies linking Chinese masters directly back through an unbroken lineage to the Buddha Śākyamuni, to demonstrate that Chan was firmly rooted in the teachings of the Indian Buddhist masters who served as the standard for authenticity within medieval Chinese Buddhism. Later, these retrospective lineages were carried forward and continued to branch out into increasingly elaborate networks of patriarchs, masters, and disciples. By the Song, the lamp-chronicles became the primary media through which lineal networks were (often retroactively) described, and thereby codified for future generations.[98]

The various relationships of descent that the lamp-chronicles and related hagiographical works describe may, from a historical standpoint, have been "real" (insofar as they can be independently verified on the basis of reliable historical sources) or imaginary (as in the case of Lü Dongbin's apprenticeship with Huanglong). However, once they were codified within texts that contemporaneous or later Chan Buddhists considered to be representative of the "orthodox" Chan position, these networks became real in those readers' minds. And, as evidenced by the tale of Lü Dongbin itself, the range of Chan Buddhist religious networks as imagined by such texts went beyond the confines of Buddhist monasteries to include politicians, literati, and even prominent proponents of rival religious teachings. In fact, neutralizing a religious "other" by incorporating their representatives within one's own networks appears to have been one of the pre-eminent polemical strategies that both Buddhists and Daoists utilized against each other during the Song, as both groups fashioned narratives that framed prominent figures associated with rival traditions as practitioners of their own religion.

Thus, the circulation of the tale of Lü Dongbin's encounter with Huanglong, and his inclusion within subsequent lamp-chronicles as a genuine member of an orthodox Chan lineage, served to incorporate Lü

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ential among Song *neidan* practitioners in the creation of their own tradition; see Skar, "Golden Elixir Alchemy."

98) Two important studies of the role that lineage played in Chan Buddhism of the Song and later periods are Elizabeth Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs: Qisong and Lineage in Chinese Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), and Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008).

within the extended network of late imperial Chan Buddhists. In some ways, this process of incorporation resembles a larger pattern that can be observed within nearly all regional forms of Buddhism: the conversion of local deities to Buddhism. Indian Buddhist literature provides many examples of deities such as the *nāga* or *yakṣa* who, after first opposing the Buddha and his teachings, were ultimately either persuaded by the Buddha's wisdom or cowed by his supernatural powers, converted to Buddhism, and then became staunch guardians of the Buddhist faith.[99] And, a comparable precedent can be found in Chinese Buddhism, with the transformation of the apotheosized warrior Guan Yu 關羽 (later known as Guandi 關帝) into a Buddhist guardian deity.[100] The significance of this similarity is that the portrayal of these deities' conversion to Buddhism constituted a kind of appropriation, whereby the myths, symbols, and powers associated with the deities in their pre-Buddhist context were reinterpreted in service of the Buddhist teachings.

Put another way, through the spread of this tale and the inclusion of Lü Dongbin within the fold of orthodox Chan, he came to be incorporated within the "repertoire" of Chan Buddhism. Robert Campany has described such religious repertoires as "vast arrays of resources (ideas, words, values, images, action patterns, stories, prototypes, persons, texts, strategies, goals, methods, collective memories) created over many generations."[101] On the basis of such a view, Campany argues, we can see religious traditions as "repertoires of resources developed by particular

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99) See, for example, Richard S. Cohen, "Nāga, Yakṣiṇī, Buddha: Local Deities and Local Buddhism at Ajanta," *History of Religions* 37.4 (1998), 360-400; Robert DeCaroli, *Haunting the Buddha: Indian Popular Religions and the Formation of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004).

100) This transformation is described in Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47.4 (1988): 778-95. It should be noted that, while Duara claims that Guandi's role as a Buddhist protector was a widely recognized and central part of his cultic identity from the ninth century onward, Barend ter Haar has recently argued that the worship of Guan Yu as a Buddhist dharma-protector was primarily a local tradition centered around the Yuquan si 玉泉寺 in Hubei, and did not become widespread until the Ming and Qing periods. See Barend J. ter Haar, "The Rise of the Guan Yu Cult: The Taoist Connection," in *Linked Faiths: Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, ed. Jan A. M. de Meyer and Peter M. Engelfriet (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 184-204.

101) Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm: Buddhist Miracle Tales from Early Medieval China* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 30. For more on the notion of cultural reper-

(if to us often obscure) historical agents in pursuit of various goals. Further, each repertoire element can be seen as a response – whether by intention or in effect – to alternative assertions, goals, practices, and priorities."[102] The story of Lü's meeting with Huanglong is a response to both the rising popularity of *neidan* practices during the Song, and to the claims of rival Daoists that *neidan* is superior to Buddhist practice (and that prominent Chan Buddhists also practiced *neidan*). And, it is precisely in service of arguing the opposing position that the tale was usually referenced in later Chan texts.

Once Lü's image and its accompanying mythology were entered into the Chan Buddhist repertoire, they could be altered and reframed to suit the purposes of Chan adherents. When we examine the way that later Chan Buddhists spoke about Lü Dongbin, we see that, as the narrative of his encounter with Huanglong was appended onto his existing mythological representations, the traditional trajectory of his life story was significantly altered. Whereas the earlier narrative of Lü's life centers around such elements as his meeting with Zhongli Quan, his study and practice of alchemical techniques, his attainment of transcendence and subsequent exploits, the Buddhist account adds a final element: his realization of the insufficiency of his prior practices of self-cultivation and his promise to Huanglong that he will abandon those in the future. With the addition of this final narrative, the significance of Lü's earlier engagement with *neidan* cultivation is transformed; it now serves primarily to set up his eventual conversion to Buddhism. Lü's attainment of transcendence is not significant; rather, his abandonment of *neidan* practice for Chan Buddhism is now the culmination of the narrative. Lü's story thus becomes a cautionary tale illustrating the errors of Daoist paradigms of religious practice, and consequently Lü becomes a symbol for Chan Buddhists of the deficiencies of Daoism and an exemplar of Daoist conversion to Buddhism.

One example of such an attitude can be seen in a short note from the *Fozu tongji*, which follows a brief biography of Zhang Boduan:

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toires, see Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51.2 (1986): 273-86.

102) Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm*, 38.

> The types of people who study transcendence are already attached to their attainments; there are not many who understand that the Way of the Buddha is the ultimate. Those such as Zhang Boduan, who comprehended the Buddha-nature, or Lü Dongbin, who realized the principle of Chan, are rarely seen. Daoists of this age do not understand how to study; they say that transcendents become *yang* spirits, while Buddhists become *yin* ghosts, and they spread these claims in order to mislead people of later generations. They are all at fault for not understanding the Buddha-nature and the principle of Chan.
> 學仙之流已執所得，知佛道為究竟者不多有也。如張平叔明佛性，呂洞賓悟禪理，時一見耳。今世道流不知學，謂仙為陽魂，釋為陰鬼，著此說以誤後人。皆不知佛性禪理之過。[103]

Here the names of Zhang and Lü are invoked as examples to demonstrate that Daoists' priorities are misplaced and, as a result, their methods of self-cultivation are flawed; the fact that such eminent practitioners valued Chan Buddhism is proof of its effectiveness. Similar points are made in other texts, such as Zhang Shangying's *Hufa lun*, discussed above, and in another of Zhuhong's writings, the *Jingtu ziliang quanji* 淨土資糧全集 (*Complete Collection of Pure Land Resources*, *X*. no. 1162). In that work, Zhuhong comments on Lü's admission to Huanglong that he had "applied his mind incorrectly" to *neidan* practice, saying, "Alas! Dongbin had already attained transcendence, and yet he still spoke these words. Thus, it can be known that the benefits of the Way of transcendence are not equal to those of the Way of Buddhism; still, people of this age are unable to give up transcendence and seek the Buddha" 嗚呼！洞賓已得僊道者，而其言尚如此。則僊道之不如佛道，益可知矣。而今人猶不能捨僊求佛。[104]

Another comparable example can be seen in the Ming text *Xiaoshi Jin'gang keyi huiyao zhujie* 銷釋金剛科儀會要註解 (*Annotated Commentary on the Collected Essentials of the Liturgy of Explaining the Diamond Sutra*, *X*. no. 467), compiled in 1550 by the monk Juelian 覺連 (fl. mid-16th century). Lü Dongbin's four-line verse ("I will throw out my gourd-flask and smash my zither…") is presented together with the following commentary:

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103) *Fozu tongji*, *T*. no. 2035, 49:417a19-417a23.
104) *Jingtu ziliang quanji* 淨土資糧全集, *X*. no. 1162, 61:551a19-551a24.

> Originally, these four lines were the verse spoken by [Lü] Dongbin when he realized the Way after meeting with Huanglong.... They state that, although Lü had already attained divine transcendence, it was only after visiting Huanglong and developing an understanding of the true nature that he began to realize that the Way of transcendence does not go beyond the triple world. Even if one can live for a thousand years, they will not be able to avoid perishing in the end. Therefore, [Lü] has "thrown out his gourd-flask" and will "no longer seek the metal within mercury."[105] He has realized that the study of the methods of transcendence, which he formerly pursued, was a waste. This demonstrates that, [even though] a divine transcendent has a lifespan equal to that of the gods and can turn iron to gold with a touch, [Lü] has gone beyond the pursuit of the Way and taken refuge in the Chan teachings. How much more is it the case that common people with ordinary lifespans cannot afford to waste such an opportunity!
> 此四句，元是洞賓見黃龍悟道之偈。 ... 言洞賓已得神仙，而參黃龍發明真性，始知仙道，未出三界。縱活千歲，不免沉淪。所以，棄却瓢囊，汞金不戀。自知從前所學仙法，錯用而矣。此述神仙與天齊壽，點銕成金，尚問道而歸禪。何況尋常生死凡夫，豈可錯過者也。[106]

Thus, whatever status Lü had achieved through his cultivation of *neidan*, Juelian suggests that his true spiritual development only began once Huanglong had lead him to a realization of the truth of the Chan teachings.

A further development of the notion of Lü's conversion to Chan during the late imperial period was the creation and circulation of Chan-inspired texts among the various spirit-writing (*jiangbi* 降筆) cults dedicated to Lü. The earliest of these texts is probably the *Chanzong zhengzhi* 禪宗正指 (*Orthodox Instructions on the Chan School*), dated to the year 1715, which was included as an appendix to Liu Tishu's *Lüzu quanshu*.[107] The main content of the *Chanzong zhengzhi* is a revealed Buddhist scripture entitled *Foshuo chanzong mimi xiuzheng liaoyi jijing*

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105) The poem presented here has "metal within mercury" 汞中金 in the second line instead of "metal within water" 水中金 as found in other versions, such as the *Jiatai pudeng lu*. The variant "metal within mercury" is found within the *Wudeng huiyuan* and reproduced in many subsequent texts.

106) *Xiaoshi Jin'gang keyi huiyao zhujie* 銷釋金剛科儀會要註解, *X.* no. 467, 24:668b8-668b15.

107) This text, however, was not included in the *Zangwai daoshu* edition of Liu's compilation, despite being listed in its table of contents. For more on the history of this text and its inclusion within the various different versions of the *Lüzu quanshu*, see Li Zhitian 黎志添 (Lai Chi-Tim), "Qingdai sizhong *Lüzu quanshu* yu Lüzu fuji daotan de guanxi" 清代四種《呂祖全書》與呂祖扶乩道壇的關係, *Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 42 (2013): 193-94.

佛說禪宗秘密修證了義集經 (*Sūtra Collection Spoken by the Buddha on the Chan School's Secret Realization of the Definitive Meaning*), which relates a sermon given by the Buddha at the summit of Vulture Peak. During the sermon, we are introduced to two bodhisattvas, who are identified as Chinese transcendents:

> At that time, within the assembly, there were two bodhisattvas who had come from the east to Vulture Peak. These two bodhisattvas had previously cultivated [the level of a] *ṛṣi*,[108] and had long been revered in China. Although they had ascended to the level of transcendents, they thought solely of delivering beings out of compassion. They had also formerly studied the Buddha's Dharma teachings, and diligently upheld pure conduct. For countless *kalpa*s, they transformed their bodies to respond to worldly [needs]. They also received predictions from the Tathāgata. The first bodhisattva, named King of Realizing the Fruition of Meditation of Wisdom 證果定慧王菩薩, was predicted by the Buddha to become a Tathāgata called Guarding the Purity of the Śākyas 釋迦梵鎮如來. The other bodhisattva, named Bright Completion and Self-contentment 光圓自在菩薩, was predicted by the Buddha to become a Tathāgata called True Muni of Complete Penetration 圓通文尼真如來.
> 時在會中，有二菩薩，自東方來詣靈鷲山。其二菩薩先曾修習阿斯陀仙，久為震旦之所宗仰。雖登仙果，專以慈悲度人為念，亦曾學佛法門，勤修梵行。自無量劫，化身應世，復為如來之所授記。其一菩薩名曰證果定慧王菩薩，佛復授記為釋迦梵鎮如來。其一名曰光圓自在，佛復授記為圓通文尼真如來。[109]

From the introduction to the *Chanzong zhengzhi*, which describes how these teachings were requested from the Buddha by Wenchang (Wendi 文帝) and Lü Dongbin, we are given to understand that these two bodhisattvas are none other than the two Daoist transcendents, and Muni of Complete Penetration's identity as Lü Dongbin is confirmed in a later passage that alludes to the Huanglong tale:

> At that time, Muni of Complete Penetration also arose from his seat and addressed the Buddha, saying, "Bhagavān, I remember when, long ago, I entered the Zhongnan mountains to cultivate the practices of transcendence. My master taught me how to cause water and fire to ascend and descend, and how to extract and supple-

108) 阿斯陀仙 refers to the *ṛṣi* Asita, who is mentioned within the *Lotus Sūtra*; here, the name seems to be used as a general term for a *ṛṣi*.

109) Shao Zhilin 紹志琳 (1748-1810), ed., *Lüzu quanshu* 呂祖全書, 61.18a-18b, in *Zhonghua Xu Daozang* 中華續道藏, ed. Gong Pengcheng 龔鵬程 and Chen Liao'an 陳廖安, vol. 20 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1999).

ment cinnabar and lead. At that time, I practiced according to these methods, and when my work was complete I was able to ascend to Heaven in broad daylight. Thus, I traveled around to various places, and I encountered the worthy one, the enlightened Huanglong, who explained the Chan teachings to me, and gave me instructions on returning to oneness. At that time, I had a sudden realization of true emptiness upon hearing his words. Thus, I realized that, although the five phases and eight trigrams are established as various names and forms, and though essence, pneuma, and spirit are divided into three categories, these are all my fundamental nature, which can produce the myriad things. Immediately, I saw my fundamental nature, without the slightest bit of obstruction. Since then, I have relied upon the Buddha, and have been fortunate to receive this prophecy. Now, I have realized the fruit of complete penetration. Bhagavān, my practice is not to depart from the self-nature, and to attain the unsurpassed Way."
於是圓通文尼亦從座起，而白佛言：世尊，我憶往昔入終南山，修習仙行。彼導師教我升降水火，丹鉛抽添。我時依法行持，功成白日昇天。因遊方諸路，得遇應真黃龍大覺，示我禪宗，指點歸一。我時言下頓悟真空。因悟五行八卦雖立種種名相，精氣神雖分三種，皆我本性，能生萬法。當下見自本性毫無罣礙。至後親近我佛，得蒙授記，現今證果圓通。世尊，我所修習，不離自性，成無上道。[110]

After the two bodhisattvas are introduced, they request teachings from the Buddha, who gives a discourse on the relative value of *neidan* and Chan forms of cultivation that generally parallels the rhetoric found in the Chan texts discussed above; the pursuit of transcendence is described as a lesser pursuit of mere longevity, which cannot compare to the Chan practice of realizing one's fundamental nature. The *Chanzong zhengzhi* thus differs from the majority of other texts included in the *Lüzu quanshu*, which promote and describe *neidan* practices; Lai Chi-Tim has connected this text to an individual named Huang Chengshu 黃誠恕 (fl. mid-18th century), a contemporary of Liu Tishu who was known as a specialist in Chan doctrine.[111]

Further evidence for such a tradition can be found in the existence of commentaries to the *Heart Sūtra* and *Diamond Sūtra*, also dictated through spirit-writing by Lü Dongbin under his divine title of Fuyou

110) Shao, *Lüzu quanshu*, 61.21b-22a.

111) Lai, "Qingdai sizhong *Lüzu quanshu*," 194. The complex phenomenon of Buddhist involvement in spirit-writing cults has been briefly described in Esposito, "The Invention of a Quanzhen Canon," 55-65 passim; see also the recent discussion in Vincent Goossaert, "Spirit Writing, Canonization, and the Rise of Divine Saviors: Wenchang, Lüzu, and Guandi, 1700-1858," *Late Imperial China* 36.2 (2015): 82-125.

dijun 孚佑帝君, the "Thearch Lord of Faithful Assistance," which are preserved in the *Xuzang jing*.[112] These commentaries present relatively straightforward exegeses of these two texts (which are, of course, two of the most important scriptures for Chan Buddhists); both are written from a Chan Buddhist perspective, and their contents repeatedly praise and recommend the practice of Chan. They contain only a few general references to Daoism, and no discussion of *neidan*; in fact, there is very little in their contents to suggest any direct connection to Lü.[113] And while neither commentary contains any reference to the tale of Lü and Huanglong, we can surmise that their existence depends, to some extent, on the already widespread image of Lü as a Chan practitioner, which as we have seen from Liu Tishu's writings and the *Chanzong zhengzhi*, was known to members of spirit-writing cults.

The appearance of the tale of Lü Dongbin and his conversion at the hands of Huanglong allowed Chan Buddhists to make Lü one of their own, giving him a definite place within the complex network of Chan lineages. Once this had been accomplished, Lü took on a new identity within the context of Chan discourse, and his prior identities as a *neidan* adept, poet, drunkard, etc., were reinterpreted and reframed within the new context of Chan Buddhist rhetoric, where they provided the background for his turn to Chan. This teleological interpretation of the mythological narrative of Lü's life and career became a stock element of the Chan Buddhist repertoire, which could be invoked as a reminder (primarily, it seems, for other Buddhists) of both the value of Buddhist practice and the shortcomings of *neidan* self-cultivation. Moreover, the circulation of the story seems also to have contributed to the involvement of Buddhists within the late imperial spirit-writing cults devoted to Lü Dongbin, and to have stimulated the production of new texts, attributed to Lü, which further describe and promote the practice of Chan Buddhism, and even restate some of the criticisms of *neidan* practice that first appeared in Buddhist polemical hagiographies.

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112) These are the *Jin'gang jing zhujie* 金剛經註解, *X.* no. 503, and the *Bore xinjing zhujie* 般若心經註解, *X.* no. 576. Both contain prefaces dated to the year 1841.

113) However, the commentary to the *Heart Sūtra* does include a long verse praising the Buddhist teachings (and especially the Chan school), which is quoted from another scripture attributed to Lü via spirit-writing, the *Lüzu sanpin jing* 呂祖三品經 (*Patriarch Lü's Scripture in Three Chapters*); see *Bore xinjing zhujie*, *X.* no. 576, 26: 993b19-994b6.

Conclusion

In this article, I have traced the evolution of the story of Lü Dongbin's encounter with the Chan monk Huanglong Huiji, which first appeared in Buddhist texts associated with the Chan school during the twelfth century, and was later included within a number of Buddhist historical and hagiographical texts. Given the importance of hagiographical and genealogical texts (such as the various lamp-chronicles) in shaping subsequent generations' understanding of Chan Buddhism and the different lineal groups that constituted the Chan school, the inclusion of the story of Lü and Huanglong within such texts was significant in that it caused later generations of Chan practitioners to regard Lü Dongbin as a legitimate dharma-descendent within an orthodox Chan lineage.

We have seen that this story emerged in part out of the sectarian rivalry between certain practitioners of Buddhism and Daoism in the Song, and that, as this rivalry continued throughout the late imperial period, the story continued to develop as both Buddhists and Daoists made efforts to claim Lü as one of their own and deny the legitimacy of their rivals' claims. This usage of mythology as an arena within which rival groups articulate and negotiate their positions with respect to one another has been studied by Prasenjit Duara, who referred to such a process as the "superscription of symbols." He writes,

> The process whereby different historical groups write or depict through other cultural practices their own version of an existing story or myth incorporates their interest or establishes their "social charters" in the sense used by Malinowski. In this process, extant versions are not totally wiped out. Rather, images and sequences common to most versions of the myth are preserved, but by adding or "rediscovering" new elements or by giving existing elements a particular slant, the new interpretation is lodged in place.... Superscription thus implies the presence of a lively arena where rival versions jostle, negotiate, and compete for position.[114]

The earliest version of the story, found within the *Jiatai pudeng lu*, incorporated a number of "images and sequences" that were already present in the various tales and works associated with Lü Dongbin that circulated during the early Song, such as the verses attributed to him

114) Duara, "Superscribing Symbols," 780.

("Within a single grain of millet…") and references to other mythical exploits (the tree spirit of Qiaodong). More significantly, within this story, many of the symbolic elements associated with the character of Lü Dongbin as portrayed in different mythical accounts – his poetry, his gourd-flask and zither, the pill of immortality, and most importantly his flying sword – were turned against him in order to reveal Lü's deficiencies, and by extension the deficiencies in the Daoist practices that he represented. Later versions, especially those authored by Daoists, followed closely the process that Duara has described, putting a new slant on existing aspects of the tale (such as reinterpreting the symbolic significance of Lü's sword, or recasting the debate between Lü and Huanglong as witty banter exchanged between equals), rediscovering new elements (such as Miao Shanshi's "discovery" that the Buddhists altered Lü's original poem), or one-upping Chan Buddhists by turning important elements of their narrative against them (as in the "Record of the Divine Stele," where we see Lü defeating Huanglong in Chan-style encounter dialogue).

The story of the tale's development demonstrates the importance of myths and symbols within the competitive religious marketplace of imperial China. Considered just within its Buddhist context, the tale's existence underscores the fact, noted by scholars such as Foulk and others, that the "history" of Chan Buddhism and the lineages that constitute it, as portrayed in texts such as the lamp-chronicles, is so closely interwoven with mythology as to make it nearly impossible to distinguish between the two.[115] Indeed, to paraphrase John McRae, it is the imagined nature of Chan networks that makes them interesting to scholars, insofar as they can be understood to reflect the ideals and aspirations of those who helped to create them.[116] Viewed in this way, the inclusion of Lü Dongbin within the Chan lineage can be seen not only as a polemical move designed to both counter the rise of *neidan* practice and capitalize on the growing success of Lü Dongbin's cult, but also (as later Chan authors understood the tale) as reflecting the sincere belief that Chan, as

115) See T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 147-208.

116) I am referring here to the first of McRae's "Rules of Zen Studies": "It's not true, and therefore it's more important." See McRae, *Seeing Through Zen*, xix.

the culmination of not just Buddhist but all of Chinese religious practice, could offer something to even such an advanced and eminent religious adept as Lü Dongbin. This message, which would perhaps ring hollow if stated simply as such, is vividly concretized in the form of the narrative of Lü's encounter with Huanglong, which subsequently served as both a template within which later writers (such as the author of the *Lichao shishi zijian* version of the tale) could further elaborate their views on the relative merits of Buddhist and Daoist forms of self-cultivation, and a convenient proof for claims of the former's superiority.

When we consider the tale and the roles that it played within the broader context of late imperial Chinese religion, we see that religious myths were not only important in shaping the attitudes of practitioners towards their own religious traditions; they could also serve, as in the case of the mythology of Lü Dongbin, as contested fields within which rival parties asserted their own identities, often at others' expense. The appropriation of representatives of rival traditions within one's own religious myths – whether it be Daoist claims that Bodhidharma practiced embryonic breathing, or Buddhist texts portraying Lü Dongbin as a Chan convert – is a more subtle way of advancing polemical arguments than merely stating them outright. The Buddhist authors' manipulation of the symbolic elements of Lü's well-known mythology, carried out in such a way as to shift the trajectory of his spiritual career so that its climax was only reached upon his meeting with Huanglong, seems to have had a much more powerful effect on Daoists (and Buddhists, as well) than simple pronouncements of Buddhism's superiority did. And, as we have seen, Daoist authors were compelled to address the claims made within the tale, responding in kind with the "Record of the Divine Stele," in which it is Lü, rather than Huanglong, who defeats his opponent in encounter dialogue and demonstrates the deficiencies of his rivals' teachings.

Studies of the relationship between Buddhism and Daoism have tended to focus either on the merging of the two religions (commonly described as "Buddho-Daoism") – primarily within the three areas of scripture, ritual, and iconography (identified in Christine Mollier's recent work on the subject)[117] – or on the disputes between their partisans

117) Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

as recorded in polemical treatises.[118] I have attempted to show in this study that mythology and hagiography were also important arenas within which these two teachings came into contact, and often conflict. As Campany has pointed out, the types of polemical claims that are often implicitly made within such types of writing can be more difficult to tease out, because they are couched within narratives in such a way that requires readers to be familiar with the conventions of these genres as well as the alternative narratives that they argue against.[119] Yet it is precisely the way in which the form of mythological and hagiographical narratives serves to conceal their authors' intentions, and the subtle cumulative effect of the repeated superscription of new symbols and meanings upon existing narrative themes, that makes them such powerful tools for conveying sectarian rhetoric.

118) Such as Kohn, *Laughing at the Dao*.
119) Campany, *Signs from the Unseen Realm*, 38-39.