Revisiting the Yingshe Mode of Representation in *Supplement to Jiang Zong's Biography of a White Ape*

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One of the three masterpieces of early Tang dynasty *chuanqi* 傳奇, *Supplement to Jiang Zong's Biography of a White Ape* (Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan 補江總白猿傳), has long been regarded as an example of *yingshe* 影射 stories, which have been labeled by some critics as the Chinese version of *roman à clef*, produced in the medieval period. The author of this *chuanqi* story remains anonymous.

A sketch of the story is as follows. Under the Liang dynasty 梁 (502–557), Ouyang He 欧陽纥 (538–570) went on an expedition, led by Lin Qin 藍欽, to pacify the southern *Man* 羅 minority rebels during the final years of the Datong reign 大同 (535–546). In the mountainous deep south, a white ape that had magic powers kidnapped Ouyang He’s wife. When she was eventually recovered, Ouyang’s wife was pregnant. A year later she gave birth to a son. After a few years, Ouyang He was executed by the emperor, and his son was adopted by Jiang Zong 江總 (519–594), an influential literatus and politician of the time. When the boy grew up, he became a renowned calligrapher, and his fame brought much prestige to his family. The name of Ouyang He’s son, either accidentally or deliberately, is not mentioned in the story.

The main point of the story is to insinuate that this boy was in fact not Ouyang He’s son, but the son of Ouyang He’s wife and a white ape.

History and fiction meet in the above account. Some details are historically true. Ouyang He, the protagonist, was indeed a historical figure of minor importance. His son, Ouyang Xun 欧陽詢 (557–641), was one of the greatest calligraphers of the early Tang period (618–712). Some of the information, however, is only partially true. Lin Qin, for instance, is most likely a name miswritten for Lan Qin 藍欽, who led a southern expedition during the Datong reign. But at that time Ouyang He was a child of less than ten years old and could thus not have taken part in Lan Qin’s expedition. In history, the person who accompanied Lan Qin was Ouyang Wei 欧陽𬀩 (498–563), Ouyang He’s father.

The title itself, *Supplement to Jiang Zong’s Biography of a White Ape*, implies that Jiang Zong had written a *Biography of a White Ape*, and that the current story was written as a supplement to that original work. This strongly suggests that Jiang Zong, as the adoptive father and guardian of Ouyang Xun, knew who the boy’s real father was and wrote a work

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to record the fact. However, historians believe that Jiang Zong’s so-called Biography of a White Ape never existed. This would mean the anonymous author of Supplement had created the whole thing.

Rather than recording historical facts, the author’s purpose was obviously to launch a personal attack on Ouyang Xun, implying that his biological father was an animal. In order to achieve this he has distorted and manipulated events. The center of these distortions and manipulations is the image of the white ape, which has a strong Taoist flavor. The story’s backdrop and the ape’s behavior indicate that he was in fact a Taoist practitioner in animal form.

This paper will focus on the image of this white ape, and analyze the relationship between this image and the real life story of Ouyang Xun. Based on this analysis, I will then revisit the yinghe mode of representation illustrated in Supplement to Jiang Zong’s Biography of a White Ape in terms of the political and cultural environment of the late seventh century.

I. The Taoist Mountain Utopia

Very few literary critics have observed that the residence of the white ape resembles a typical Taoist mountain utopia. In the story, the place where the white ape lives is described as follows:

南望一山，葱秀迥出。至其下，有深溪环之……其上，则嘉树列植，間以名花；其下綠英，豐軟如毯。清邁各寂，杳然殊境。東向石門……入其門，以木扉。中寬麗若堂者三。……此山後絕，未嘗有人至，上高而望，絕不見樵者。下多虎而怪獸。

[A] magnificent mountain to the south which was so richly verdant that it distinguished itself from other mountains … [The foot of the mountain] was surrounded by a deep brook … The top of the peak] was lined with fine trees and ornamented with rare kinds of beautiful flowers. The green lawn underfoot was as rich and soft as a carpet. Everything was fresh, quiet, and different. The place was just like another world.3 To the east, there was a stone arch … when Ouyang Hé] went through the wooden gate of the arch … there were three huge places resembling halls in the human world. … This mountain is a very exclusive place where no human being has ever come. Looking upward, one never sees any woodcutters; looking downward, one sees lots of tigers, wolves, and other monstrous beasts.6

5 Uchiyama Chinri 内山知理 insightfully points out that one of the basic linguistic patterns in Bu Jiang Zong bujiaowu zhouan is the use of four-character phrases (sifu 四字句), see Uchiyama Chinri, Zui Tó shibetsu kenkyús 極唐小説研究 (Tokyo: Kikuragasa, 1977), p. 160. I would further argue that this is especially true in the passage that describes the utopia where the white ape lives – the four-character phrase structure serves as a linguistic backbone here (gashudachi jumominjutsu 格式化しち物語技法). I also strongly suspect that the use of this four-character linguistic pattern in describing a Taoist utopia is derived from Taoist classics, because the same pattern is so frequently seen in these classics when a utopia is described. For instance, in Huangjizhou shiyun sandan baoding 黃精洲十洲三島拔度經 from Hunyue shangzhen Zhengyou Dazang 涣岳上真正覆大藏 (hereafter DZ), in order to give a full description of the island utopia of shiyun 十洲 and sandan 三島, a similar four-character pattern is used (gashudachi jumominjutsu 格式化しち物語技法). In this sense we can even say that the overall linguistic structure of the story here is derivational.

6 Translations of Bu Jiang Zong bujiaowu zhouan throughout the paper are all mine. For a complete translation, see Jue Chen (trans), “A Supplement to Jiang Zong’s Biography of a White Ape,” Rendaiwai 49 (1998): 76-85. The Chinese text was preserved in Taiping yungu 太平異鬼, and the version I based my translation upon was taken from Wang Pijiang’s “Jue Chen” Tangde yuanshu 唐代源流 (Shanghái: Shenzhou guoxueguan, 1932), pp. 19-23.
Everything in the backdrop of this fictitious world – the mountain, the brook, the fine trees, the rare flowers, the freshness, the quietness, and especially the stone chamber (zhiqu 重室) – suggests that this is a typical “immortal’s domain” (xiangjing 仙境) from accounts of anomalies (zhiguai 贊怪), which was shared by both literati and Taoists in the Six Dynasties (222–589). Typically, an immortal’s domain was uncovered by chance by an outsider (like Ouyang He in this story), who eventually made its existence known to human society.

The backdrop of our story not only resembles a typical situation of xiangjing in the Six Dynasties’ accounts of anomalies, but also carries a strong flavor of a typical Taoist mountain-grotto utopia (dongtian fudi 洞天福地). The latter concept was developed during the Six Dynasties (especially during the Liang) and fully established in the early Tang, whose upper limit roughly parallels our story’s historical span, while its lower limit corresponds to the date of the story’s composition.

A typical Taoist mountain utopia was usually located near a brook or a stream. In the heart of the mountain there was often a cave with stone chambers. Around this cave were generally medicinal gardens, fruit plantations, fine trees, strange and potent herbs, clear ponds, and fragrant flowers. Inside the cave were stone beds (zhichuang 重床), stone tables...
and chairs and sometimes a treasure hall (tang 堂),\textsuperscript{16} as in the Linwu cave (linwudong 林屋洞), the ninth grotto-heaven in the Taoist sacred geographical system.\textsuperscript{17}

The mountain-grotto utopia provided a special environment for Taoists to practise the principles contained in their secret manuals of longevity. The design of this environment duly reflected a sophisticated Taoist theory of the three-layer universe, which was formed in the Six Dynasties in general and during the Liang dynasty in particular.\textsuperscript{18} According to this theory, the universe is a huge cave, the mountain-grotto utopia is a smaller cave, and the human body the smallest cave.\textsuperscript{19} These three cave universes constitute a triple-layer world of interdependence and "by manipulating one of these realities, the adept can reach and influence an analogous reality in another realm."\textsuperscript{20} This theory served as a core idea in the mountain-grotto utopia ideology.\textsuperscript{21}

During the formative period of this core idea (between the Datong 大通 and Datong 大同 reigns of Emperor Wu 梁武帝 of the Liang dynasty),\textsuperscript{22} the "Canopy Heaven" theory (gaitian shuo 蓋天說) of the universe briefly prevailed over the "Enveloping Sky" theory (buntian shuo 蓋天說).\textsuperscript{23} Its dominance roughly corresponded to the period in which Lan Qin's southern expeditions took place.

In contrast to its counterpart, the "Enveloping Sky" theory, the "Canopy Heaven" theory took the universe as a self-contained cave.\textsuperscript{24} This "grottofication" of the universe produced the belief that the cave was "the heart of the mountain, the very fountain of the qi [氣, pneuma] energies of the earth," from which many Taoists "nourished their vital essence" for longevity.\textsuperscript{25} It also produced an imaginative anatomical theory asserting that

\textsuperscript{16} There are stone beds and halls in Bu Jiang Zong baizhen zhou, see the above quote.
\textsuperscript{17} The Linwu cave was a typical Tang dynasty mountain-grotto utopia. The treasure hall in Linwu cave was called Gefandong 陝東.\textsuperscript{30} For details, see Thomas Hahn, p. 152. For a more elaborate discussion about the grotto-heaven concept exemplified by the Linwu cave, see Stephen Bokenkamp, "The Peach Flower Font and the Grotto Passage," Journal of American Oriental Society, 106.1 (1986), pp. 65-77.
\textsuperscript{18} Miura Kunio, pp. 8-15.
\textsuperscript{19} For a detailed description of this theory and its relevance to the Liang dynasty intellectual atmosphere, see Miura Kunio, pp. 12-17.
\textsuperscript{21} "Man and world," asserted Henri Maspéro, "for the Chinese, are absolutely identical, not only as a whole but also in every detail. Man's head is round like heaven, his feet are rectangular like the earth; his Five Viscera correspond to the Five Elements, his twenty-four vertebrae to the twenty-four solar half-months of the year; and the twelve segments of the tracheal artery to the twelve lunar months; his 365 bones to the 365 days of the year; his veins and the blood they contain to rivers and streams; and so on." See Henri Maspéro, Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), pp. 373-374; and its English translation, Taoism and Chinese Religion (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), pp. 339-340 (Hereafter, I will cite only from the English translation, by F. A. Kienast, Jr.).
\textsuperscript{22} See Yamada Keji, 田野慶二, "Ryô Bu no gaitensetsu" 梁武の蓋天説, Tōdō Gakukan 東方学報 (1975), pp. 123-125.
\textsuperscript{23} The translations of gaitian and buntian are borrowed from Edward Schafer; see his Peas in the Void: Tang Approaches to the State (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 35. For a detailed discussion about the success of the gaitian theory during the Liang dynasty, see Yamada Keji, pp. 98-134. For general discussions of the gaitian and buntian theories, see Liu Zhaoxin 劉昭信, Zhenghua tianwen xue fazhan shi 中華天文學發展史 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1985), pp. 445-471; Chen Zanggai 陳遵戒, Zhenghua tianwen xue shi 中華天文學史 vol. 6 (Taipei: Minwen shuju, 1990), pp. 1827-1845; and Xuan Huan Breaking, Tianwen xue shi 中文學史 (Beijing: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), pp. 64-78.
\textsuperscript{24} Miura Kunio, pp. 12-14.
\textsuperscript{25} Thomas Hahn, p. 147.
the qi traveled in the human body through some predetermined routes in the same way it travels in a cave. This theory matured during the Six Dynasties, crystallizing in Tao Hongjing’s Dengzhemyinjue 亦真陰訣, also written during Emperor Wu’s reign in the Liang dynasty.27 This analysis tries to put the backdrop of Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan in its due intellectual context.

II. The Theory of Three Cinnabar Fields and the Practice of Qigong

In the story, the white ape’s body is as hard as iron and weapons cannot hurt him. However, he has one point, several cun (Chinese inches) below his navel,28 where he is vulnerable to knives and swords (bianti jie tie weiqi xia shu chang hubi zheng ni) 脫體皆鐵，唯膝下數寸，常護此，此必不能御兵刃). This phenomenon reflects a key concept in the age-old tradition of Chinese qigong 氣功29 (especially in its martial arts branch), which is called lianmen 練門 (the gate of exercise).30 A qigong master can make his entire body as hard as iron by training his inner breath to circulate around an internal route (jing/uo 經絡). But there always remains one vulnerable point serving as the "opening" of the breathing exercise (qikou 氣口) that is necessary for the qigong practice.31 No master can fill this gap until he becomes an immortal.

The location of the white ape’s lianmen is related to another important concept in the Six Dynasties Highest Clarity Taoism (shangqing pai 上清派) – the concept of Three Cinnabar Fields (dantian 丹田).32 This was established in the Jin dynasty (265–420) when Huangtingjing 黃庭經33 (The Book of the Yellow Court) first appeared.34 According to Huangtingjing, Cinnabar Fields are places of generation, and various kinds of micro-gods (zhenren zhi ri 真人赤子) reside

27 See also Miura Kunio, pp. 14-15.
28 See also notes 32 and 36.
29 One possible translation of qigong is “the work of the qi,” see The Taoist Body (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 132 (this is Karen C. Duval’s English translation of Schipper’s Le corps taoïste, 1982).
30 Since I have found no satisfactory translation for lianmen, the one I have used here is offered only tentatively. I have not yet been able to locate the earliest documentation of lianmen in Chinese sources. However, lianmen appears so frequently in later Chinese novels of martial arts (wu shi xia shuo 武術小說) that it becomes a commonplace for the Chinese audience.
31 In traditional Chinese novels of martial arts, lianmen can be almost any part of the body, for instance, top of the head, throat, or underside of the foot.
32 The translation here is borrowed from F. A. Kierman’s translation of Henri Maspero, who has also offered a concise explanation of the concept: “The body is divided into three sections: the upper section (head and arms), the middle section (chest), lower section (belly and legs). Each of these has its vital center, a sort of command post; these are the three Cinnabar Fields, (so called because cinnabar is the essential ingredient for the drug of immortality): the first, the Palace of Ni-huan (a term derived from the Sanskrit word Nirvana) is in the brain; the second, the Scarlet Palace, is near the heart; the third, the Lower Cinnabar Field, is below the navel.” See Maspero, 1981, p. 268.
33 The translation is borrowed from Maspero, 1981, p. 341.
there. For these pre-Tang Taoist practitioners, the circulation of breath was “the technique of immortality,” and the Lower Cinnabar Field served as the most crucial spot. The breath “descends from the nose (the Long Valley) to the kidneys (the Dark District) and traverses the Five Viscera (the Suburbs) and the Six Receptacles (the Countryside)” and then goes through the Origin of the Barrier (guanyuan 閣院) down to the Lower Cinnabar, from where the qi begins to travel back to the Upper Cinnabar. The above concept is important for our understanding of the story. In addition to other signs—such as the white ape’s age and his human abilities—the position of his lianmen alone confirms that the white ape in *Bu Jiang Zong haiyuan zhuan* is a Taoist qigong practitioner of longevity.

From the Six Dynasties through to the Tang, Taoists also engaged in the technique of “Avoiding Cereals” (bing 奉) to achieve longevity. In this theory, there are Three Worms or Corpses (sanshi 三尸) residing in everyone’s Three Cinnabar Fields. Not only do these Worms “directly cause decrepitude and death by attacking the Cinnabar Fields, but they also try to shorten the time of life allotted to the man in whom they lodge,” because as soon as the man dies, these Worms are freed. It is “with the Essence of Cereals that the Three Worms are born and nourished.” When the cereals were cut off, these Worms would be gradually destroyed. This served as the main reason for the practice of Taoist fasting, which complemented other Taoist longevity practices.

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35 For Cinnabar Fields as places of generation, see Kristofer Schipper, 1993, p. 133. In addition to the *Huangting jing* sources, Ge Hong’s *Buqi* also confirms that there are gods residing in Cinnabar Fields, see Wang Ming, *Buqi qicheng*《步樁起成》 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p. 296. Henri Maspero offers a concise description of this belief as follows: “The human body is indeed a world (microcosm) like the exterior world, that of Heaven and Earth as the Chinese say (macrocoss). And it too is peopled with divinities.” See Maspero, 1981, p. 268.

36 According to the most popular theory supported by *Huangting jing*, the Lower Cinnabar is three cm under the navel. However, there are other theories claiming that the place is either one cm or two cm or two cm and four fen (one cm equals ten fen), respectively, under the navel. For instance, Ge Hong believes that the Lower Cinnabar is two cm and four fen under the navel, see Wang Ming, 1980, p. 296.

37 According to *Huangting jing*: “(The area situated) three inches below the Cinnabar Field (is) the dwelling of a god” (tianxia sanzun tianmuju 天下三十神所居), cited in Maspero, 1981, p. 493. According to the Taoist multi-level logic, one may take the white ape’s body as a universe. By killing the god dwelling in the ape’s Lower Cinnabar Field, one certainly killed the ape. One may also take the mountain-grotto utopia as a universe, in which case the god who dwelled in the cave-cinnabar field was in turn the white ape. Ouyang He’s killing of the white ape therefore gains an allegorical layer of meaning.


39 Ibid., pp. 341-342.

40 The white ape was one thousand years old and he learned to speak human language as well as to read Taoist talismanic texts. Transforming into human shape and gaining human abilities such as speaking and reading were important stages for an animal Taoist practising longevity principles. Many interesting examples can be seen in later masterworks of Chinese fiction, for instance, *Xiyuan ji 西遊記* (The Journey to the West).


42 Maspero, 1981, p. 269. It is also possible to reason that when Ouyang He stabbed the white ape under his Lower Cinnabar, its Worm was freed.
In the story, the white ape loves “fruits and nuts” (xiadan guo 果果) but does not drink and eat regularly” (yingshi weichang 饮食无常), which could be interpreted as signs of practicing “Avoidance of Cereals.” However, the fact that the white ape especially likes to eat dogs (youzi quan 尤嗜犬) seems to contradict this theory, since dogs were probably considered delicacies in the human diet at the time.

My interpretation of this ambiguous situation is that the white ape follows the practice of “Avoidance of Cereals” only partially, revealing the inner struggle between the nature of an animal and the principles of a Taoist practitioner.

There were four main Taoist longevity practices popular from the Six Dynasties through to the Tang: the “Taking Drugs” (fuji 服食), the “Avoidance of Cereals,” the “Guiding of Breath” (xingqi 行气, or dayin 導引) and the “Inner Chamber” (fangzhong 房中). The first one was later regarded as the “Outer Alchemy” (waidan 外丹) tradition while the other three were considered to be mainly in the “Inner Alchemy” (neidan 内丹) tradition. In Bu Jiang Zang haiyuan zhuang the white ape practised all methods except the first one. Therefore, I suspect he was an early practitioner of Taoist “Inner Alchemy.”

III. The Secret of Taoist Inner Chamber Arts of Longevity

The white ape in the story is one thousand years old and has sexual intercourse with some thirty women every night. All the evidence points to the fact that he is practicing the Taoist secret inner chamber arts (fangzhong shu 房中術) for longevity rather than simply indulging in sensual gratification.

We read from the story that the ape “had enjoyed the women in the practice of bucai to benefit only himself and had no accomplices” (bucai weizhi qishen geng wu danglei 採採唯止其身更無黨類). Bucai is a critical term in the Taoist inner chamber arts of longevity, signifying the

44 Fuji was the only practice of the major four that the white ape did not follow.
45 The translation is borrowed from Henri Maspéro, 1981, p. 283. Xingqi is a kind of Taoist Qigong.
46 The next section will be devoted to a detailed discussion of fangzhong. Scholars distinguish among three groups of fangzhong 丹術 (esoteric arts) of the pre-Qin period (before 221 BC), namely xingqi, fuji and fangzhong. The xingqi group was represented by Peng Zu 彭祖, Wang Qiao 王韶 and Chiang Zi 蕭鉋子, and flourished in the areas of Ba and Shu. The fuji group, headed by An Qiheng 安期生, was popular in the areas of Qi and Lu. The fangzhong group was led by Rongchen Zi 容成子, and active in the central Qin area. The later Taoist longevity principles followed these categories of fangzhong to a certain extent, see Wang Ming, 1980, p. 103. We should also notice that there are interactions among these categories, for instance, Peng Zu is regarded as a master of the dange tradition and is also taken to be the patriarch of the fangzhong tradition. See Sakade Yoshinobu 阮出祥伸, Dakei to yoji shi 聲道と養生思想 (Tokyo: Penkansha, 1992), pp. 23-105.
47 Henri Maspéro's translator uses "Interior Cinnabar" to translate neidan, see Henri Maspéro, 1981, p. 345. Here I follow the more popular translation of "inner alchemy."
48 According to the Tang dynasty Taoist ideology the neidan practitioner gained longevity while the waidan practitioner ascended to the heaven (youmianzhe qiyuanyanzhan dao waidan zhe qiyishouzhan 有内丹者可以延年得外丹者可以昇天), see Jilong xuanzai jinghuo 上清心丹煉訣, which was supposed to be produced under the Tang dynasty. See DZ 66:600.
50 Bucai or saifu 根固 or caijun 池君, is frequently used in Taoist writings as well as Chinese fictional writings after the Song dynasty. Cf. Catherine Despeux’s Immortelles de la Chine ancienne (Puisseux: Parisel, 1990), pp. 225-226. But because no pre-Tang sources are readily available, I am unable to provide detailed information on the early history of the term.

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male partner’s use of a series of complicated techniques to extract the Essence of Life from the female partner so as to prolong his life span.\(^{51}\) This method can be practised either alone or with accompaniments (you友).\(^{52}\)

From the pre-Qin to the Western Han dynasty (206 BC–24 AD), the inner chamber arts were a kind of *fangshu*. Beginning with the establishment of Celestial Master Taoism (known also as *wundouni dao* 五斗米道) during the reign of Emperor Shun 順帝 (r. 125–144) of the Eastern Han dynasty,\(^{53}\) the inner chamber arts were incorporated into Taoism. During the Six Dynasties, Taoist inner chamber arts developed in most of the major Taoist sects, especially Highest Clarity Taoism.\(^{54}\) Before this, the inner chamber arts were mainly transmitted orally from the master to the disciple, but from this time it began to be recorded officially in Taoist writings for more people to share.\(^{55}\) *Bu Jiang Zong baiyun zhan* was first set in Emperor Wu’s reign of the Liang dynasty, when the inner chamber arts were promoted by Highest Clarity Taoism.

During the early-Tang period, in which *Bu Jiang Zong baiyun zhan* was probably written,\(^{56}\) the inner chamber arts were practised not only by Taoists but also more extensively among doctors, literati, and officials.

Sun Simiao’s 《抱樸子》 (581–682) monumental works on Chinese medicine,\(^{57}\) *Qianjin yuafang 千金要方* and *Qianjin yifang 千金翼方*, both devoted considerable space to the inner chamber arts in the section on Nourishing the Vital Principle (*yangxing* 養性).\(^{58}\) In the hands of eminent early Tang dynasty doctors the Taoist secret chamber practice of longevity became a special

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51 It is important to understand that 1) *caibu* is part of the Taoist *fangzhang shu* but not all Taoist *fangzhang shu* are involved in the technique of *caibu*; 2) Taoist *fangzhang shu* is part of *fangshu* but not all *fangshu* are necessarily Taoist; 3) *caibu* is a special technique that may or may not exist in the pre-Taoist *fangzhang shu* but it definitely exists in Taoist *fangzhang shu*.

52 For instance, according to Chen Tuan’s 陳端 (r. 788) *Fangshu caibu 房術交補* (Taiwan photographic edition with no dates of publication available), the fifth requirement of inner chamber arts is choosing accompaniments (you友), see p. 4.


54 Tao Hongjing’s “Yunü sunyipian” chapter in *Yangxing yanzhuan* 養性延年錄《養性延命録》 (御女延年篇) serves as one of the earliest written treatments of the Taoist inner chamber arts in Tao’s time. See DZ 62:572.

55 Oral transmission as the only way of passing the secrets of inner chamber arts from one generation to another was described by Ge Hong in *Baiji zhi* (qījuān ní zhezhu shuāng shuāng yào qīngyīng yáng yōng yīng shēng huāng yünfēng) 此法乃真人口口相傳本不書也雖名名義而實不知此書名亦不生長也), see Wang Ming, 1980, p. 137. The Celestial Master Taoism also does not have any extant written manual for chamber arts.

56 Most *zhuanqi* critics believe that *Bu Jiang Zong baiyun zhan* was written during the early Tang. Personally, I suspect that it was done under the reigns of Empress Wu (r. 684–704). My reasons will be given later in this paper.

57 In addition to Sun’s monumental works, the Tang Dynasty Wang Tao’s 王泰的 *Waiyi miyao* 外養秘要, completed in 752, also deals with the chamber arts. See *Waiyi miyao* (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1955) pp. 459–460.

58 In Sun Simiao’s "Yangxing" section of *Qianjin yuafang* 《千金要方》 (養性·房中第八), see DZ, 87:89:800–820. The translation of *yangxing* is borrowed from Henri Maspero, 1981, p. 36.
medical treatment (yangsheng fa 養生法), helping to prolong the natural life-spans of their patients and patrons. 59

Bo Xingjian’s 白行簡 (776–826) Tiandi yinyang jiaohuan dalefu 天地陰陽交歡大樂賦, which was preserved in the Dunhuang 敦煌 caves and remained undiscovered for many centuries, is a persuasive illustration of the popularity of inner chamber arts within the circle of Tang dynasty literati. 60 Under these circumstances it is quite possible that the anonymous author of Bu Jiang Zong haiyuan zhuan could have gained enough knowledge of Taoist inner chamber arts to deal with them accurately in the story without belonging to any of the known Taoist orders.

The description of inner chamber arts in Bu Jiang Zong haiyuan zhuan is remarkably close to the Six Dynasties Taoist rules of practice. According to Yufang mijue 玉房秘訣, 61 the female partner of a Taoist inner chamber arts practitioner should be “young,” 62 with smooth skin and black hair, and have a soft voice. 63 In the story, after the white ape is killed, Ouyang He searches the ape’s treasures and finds “three dozen women, all extraordinarily beautiful” (furen sanshibei jiejiugise 婦人三十輩，皆絕其色). These women tell Ouyang He that whenever one of them becomes old she is taken away to a place none of them knows. This is identical to the fate of female partners in the Taoist sources described above.

According to Tao Hongjing, if an inner chamber arts practitioner was able to have intercourse with twelve women in one night, he would look very young even when he became an old man. And if he could have intercourse with ninety-three women in one night, he would live for ten thousand years. 64 The white ape has “three dozen women,” and he goes to “all the beds making love with the women every night” (yejin zhushuangniaoxi yixiejizhou 夜就諸床鴛鴦，一夕皆周). As a result, he has lived for one thousand years. This is a vivid illustration of Tao Hongjing’s rule: three dozen falls between twelve and ninety-three, and the ape’s age, one thousand, falls between one hundred and ten thousand. 65

“Trying to have a son” (qiùzi 求子) was an important component of Taoist inner chamber arts from the Six Dynasties through to the Tang. In order to produce a clever son who would enjoy good luck, the male practitioner had to ejaculate on a certain day (yinexu 月宿), according to the Taoist theory of inner chamber arts. Tao Hongjing cited a relatively short list of these

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59 I believe that this phenomenon – yangsheng shu as medical treatment – existed mainly from the Han through the Tang. After the Tang, the inner chamber arts were not discussed much as a means of medical treatment in the history of Chinese medicine.


61 Yufang mijue is recorded in “Jingji zhi” of Saihu (霞書) (絳籍志) as “medical prescriptions” (yifang 薪方), see Saihu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973, and hereafter SS) 4.34:1043.

62 The best age for female partners is between fourteen and nineteen, and no older than thirty.

63 See Yufang mijue (Taiwan photographic edition with not dates of publication available), p. 7.

64 See DZ 62:572.

65 From the wording of Huangjing jing, it seems that the following is a common belief of the time: intercourse with twelve women makes an old man look young. The upper limit of the life-span of ordinary people is approximately one hundred years.

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days, while Sun Simiao offered a very long list, including all the yuexiu days in each month. In the story the white ape eventually has a son conceived by Ouyang He’s wife, and he is sure this boy will “meet a sage emperor and honour his family and ancestors” (jiangfeng shengdi bida qizong将逢聖帝，必大其宗). I strongly suspect that the white ape makes sure he has his son conceived on one of these yuexiu days.

The Taoist inner chamber arts, especially during the Six Dynasties, were regarded as esoteric techniques. They were often practised together with other longevity methods, especially the xingqi method, in a Taoist mountain utopia. In the story the white ape practised the inner chamber arts as well as xingqi in his mountain utopia, and he “often read books made of wooden slips.” The characters in these books look like “Taoist talisman seal characters, and none of us [his women] could recognize them” (ziwojufuan liawukuishi字若符篆，了不可識). I suspect that some of the ape’s books may well be secret manuals for Taoist chamber arts.

IV. The Critical Moment of Noon

In the story the white ape always leaves home a few minutes after noon (rizhong 日中 or wushi 午時):  
日始過午，即歴而逝，半晝往返數千里，及晚必歸。After the hour of twelve noon, the white ape would suddenly disappear. Each afternoon, he would journey several thousand but would return just as dusk was falling.

Why is noon so important? This is a question that chuansi critics have not yet explored.

Generally speaking, noon was a critical moment in the ancient Chinese mind, especially in Buddhism and Taoism from the Six Dynasties to the Tang dynasty. Yoshikawa Tadao’s study on the general meaning of noon provides us with a springboard. According to Yoshikawa Tadao, the issue of noon was first seriously raised under the Liu Song dynasty (420–479), which sponsored a debate about whether Buddhism or Taoism was superior and whether India or China was the center of the world. The group arguing for India presented the following evidence: in India, at noon on the Summer Solstice, there exists no shadow. This was offered as a sign of a superior culture.

66 See DZ 62:572.  
67 See DZ 87-89:800-820.  
68 To select the right place for practising the inner chamber arts is extremely significant for Taoists. The Taoist mountain utopia is of course the best place. Tao Hongjing listed many places that are improper and warned all practitioners to avoid these forbidden areas (di地).  
69 See analysis above.  
71 Ibid.  
72 The Summer Solstice is the tenth of the Twenty-four Solar Terms. For a famous dialogue concerning this topic between the Buddhist Hui Yan 慧嚴 and the scholar He Chengtian 何承天, see Hui Jiao’s 慧皎 (497–554) Gaoweng zhuàn 高僧傳, in Gaoweng zhuàn hui 高僧傳合集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), 1:47.
Through Yoshikawa Tadao’s analysis, it becomes clear that, in Ge Hong’s Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳, noon was the preferred time for Taoist adepts to perform Deliverance of the Corpse (shijie 釋解). For instance, famous adepts such as Wang Fangping 王方平, Ji Zixun 菊子訓, Dong Feng 唐奉, and Ge Xuan 葛玄 all “departed to Heaven at noon” (rìzhōng dànfā 日中大斬) and left their body as a useless “shell” (quke 去可) in this world.

Thus noon was the critical moment for Taoist adepts to become immortals, and Yoshikawa Tadao explored other aspects of noon in Taoism also. For instance, it was cited as the critical moment for taking drugs, for performing rituals, the critical moment for immortals to descend to our world (jiangzhen 鄉鎮), for conferring Heavenly Documents (shōu tiānshū 收天書), and for practicing various kinds of Taoist magic arts, among other things.

Most of Yoshikawa Tadao’s examples are from Six Dynasties sources, especially from the Liu Song and Liang dynasties, again corresponding to the historical backdrop of Bu jiang Zong ba!Juan zhuan. None of the characters in the story knows why the white ape always leaves his mountain home after noon, nor what he does when he is away, and of course we remain ignorant today. However, given that the sources make specific mention of the time, it is only reasonable, I believe, to interpret the white ape’s timing as being in keeping with the intellectual atmosphere of the age.

V. The Sword, Incense and the Practice of Divination in Taoist Ideology

In our story the white ape has a pair of treasured swords (bāqjian 寶劍), collects several hu 香 of various kinds of incense (名香) and reads books made of wooden slips (mùjuàn 木簡). These three seemingly ornamental features help to form the Taoist ideological background that we have been discussing and reconstructing.

73 Yoshikawa Tadao’s excellent study is extensively used in this paragraph. For details, see Yoshikawa Tadao, pp. 181-185.
74 This translation is borrowed from Henri Maspero, 1981, p. 32. Kristofer Schipper’s definition of shijie is slightly different. To him shijie means that “the sage himself had escaped from the world by means of his corpse”, and obtained immortality,” 1993, p. 182.
75 In Shenxian zhuan, see Yingsin wengyao shiéquando 譯印文選四庫全書 (Taiwan photographic edition), 1059:209-272; also Taipingguanji 太平廣記 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1959, and hereafter TPGJ), 1:7:45-48.
76 Ibid., 1059:293-295; also TPGJ 1:12:82-83.
77 Ibid., 1059:307-308; also TPGJ 1:12:83-85.
78 Ibid., 1059:290-296; also TPGJ 1:7:441-444.
79 The examples Yoshikawa Tadao uses are from Tao Hongjing, Zhenshi mingmingqi 周氏冥冥記, see DZ 16:152; and Wang Xuanhe 王玄河, Sandong zhuangang 等洞殊覺, see DZ 77:704.
80 Here, Yoshikawa Tadao’s example is from Liu Dabin 呂道彬, Maoshan zhi 茅山志, see DZ 17:153-158.
81 Yoshikawa Tadao uses an example from Li Shu zhenshi tianqi tongjian, see DZ 15-16:139-148.
82 The example Yoshikawa Tadao uses is from Zhu Fa 朱法, Yaowu keyi jiedu cai 要修科儀施律，see DZ 22:204-207.
83 Yoshikawa Tadao uses many examples from different sources, see pp. 207-210.
84 Here I would like to add one aspect not covered by Yoshikawa Tadao: sword-casting (shǐqí 天綴). In his Baopu zhi, Ge Hong quoted from Jiujian 齊簡 indicating that Taoist swords should be cast on a certain day in the fifth month exactly at noon, see Wang Ming, 1980, pp. 281-282.
The sword played an important role in the development of Taoist thought from the Six Dynasties to the Tang. In his 1973 essay, Fukunaga Mitsujji reviewed the role of the sword in detail.85

From the pre-Qin to the Han period, the sword enjoyed an important position in Chinese culture.86 Starting from the Three Kingdoms (220–280), according to Fukunaga Mitsujji, the sword began to acquire a divine power.87 In the Jin dynasty, Ge Hong developed the concept of a Taoist treasured sword (baojian 宝剑).88 A Taoist treasured sword with an astrological talisman (tianwenzhifu 天文之符) on it could repel harmful spiritual forces such as ghosts.89 Ge Hong also quoted from Jinjian ji about techniques for casting a pair of Taoist swords—one male and one female (cixiong jian 雌雄剑)—that had the power to conquer water demons (shuijing 水精).90 In the Liu Song dynasty, the concept of the treasured sword seemed to be even more widely accepted.91

In the Liang dynasty, which is our story’s historical backdrop, Tao Hongjing wrote Gujin daojian lu and cast thirteen divine swords (shetian shisan kou 仙剑十三口) for Emperor Wu,92 serving as a sign that the sword was further incorporated into Taoist ideology. This line of development reached a new stage under the early-Tang dynasty, again corresponding to the time the story was written. A landmark of this period was the composition of the great Tang dynasty Taoist Sima Chengzhen’s Shangqing hanxiangjian tu xu.93 This piece became a court phenomenon, eliciting a personal response from Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712–755) himself.94

In our story, in addition to swords, the white ape collects various kinds of incense, which also played an important role in ancient Chinese society in general and in Taoist ideology in particular. Fukatsu Tanefusa 深津圀房 provides us with a systematic investigation on functions of incense in Chinese culture.95 Many major ancient Chinese philosophical and literary classics...
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- for instance, Shang shu 尚書, Shi jing 詩經, Analects (Lunyu 論語), Meng zi 孟子, Guan zi 莊子, Hanfei ji 韓非子, Huainan ji 淮南子, Chu ci 楚辭, and Shanhui jing 山海經 - all cite incense as an important means of purification against evil spirits.97 Most of the types of incense mentioned - never fancy or exotic - were based on plants,98 such as ginger (jiang 賅), fragrant thoroughwort (lan 蓮), Chinese onion (cong 葱) and Chinese mugwort (ai 艾).

From the Six Dynasties through to the Tang, the importance of incense was incorporated into Taoist ideology. On the one hand, indigenous plant and mineral based incenses such as calamus (changpu 常蒲), chrysanthemum (jihua 菊花) and realgar (xionghuang 雄黃) continued to be used frequently by Taoists as means of purification.99 On the other hand, exotic incenses (anxixiang 元息香, for instance) imported from remote countries were also used and formed a category known as yixiang 異香, usually containing a special protective power for those Taoist practitioners living in mountain grottos. This background information gives rich cultural clues that may help explain why the white ape collects various kinds of incense.

The white ape, who can predict his own death, not only collects incense but also reads books made of wooden slips. Whenever he finishes reading his books, the white ape carefully puts them under the stone stairs, and before his death these books are burned by a mysterious fire emanating from the stairs. While some of the books are perhaps Taoist manuals for inner chamber arts, others, I suspect, are Taoist divination books, since the white ape obviously knows the art of divination.100

From the omen of the crescent moon and the mysterious fire under the stone stairs, the white ape knows in advance that a stranger will soon come from the outside world and kill him. This suggests that the white ape knows the secrets of astrological divination, in addition to other methods. Taoist astrological divination was popular during the Tang dynasty, as exemplified by the high Tang product Kaiyuan zhanjing 開元占鏡.101

The white ape also knows that his son will become famous in a sage king's court a few decades hence. It is likely that he knows the art of Taoist calendarology (lihua 立占) and the "selection of days" (yi 置) method, which gradually matured through the Six Dynasties up to the high Tang.102 Through these divination activities a Taoist practitioner would certainly be able to tell the destiny of a newborn child.

In short, around the white ape protagonist we find Taoist flavors on various levels of Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan. Therefore, I would venture to argue here that this fictional white ape was created based on the model of a Taoist.

Based on the above explorations, it is now time to examine the relationship between Ouyang Xun's life and the story of the son in Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan. Such a synthesis will show how the concept of "historical referentiality" works in this particular text.103

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97 Ibid., pp. 41-52.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 Generally speaking, the secret of chamber arts was transmitted from the master to the disciple orally. Surviving written manuals were very terse. An inner chamber arts practitioner did not have to often read the manual. A practitioner of divination, however, had to consult the books more frequently.
102 Cf. Marc Kalinowski, pp. 91-103.
103 For a detailed discussion on the concept "historical referentiality," see Jue Chen, 1997, pp. 1-64.

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VI. The Geographical Location of Ouyang Xun’s Home town

Ouyang Xun’s home town was in Linxiang County 嶺瀆 of the Tanzhou Autonomous Prefecture 潭州 during the Tang dynasty, which today is part of Hunan Province. During the Liang dynasty, Linxiang was the capital of Changsha Prefecture 長沙郡, and concurrently that of Xiangzhou Autonomous Prefecture 湘州.

The genealogy of Ouyang Xun’s family is as follows: his father was Ouyang He, and his grandfather was Ouyang Jingda 歐陽景達. Ouyang Wei’s father was Ouyang Sengbao 歐陽僧寶 and his grandfather was Ouyang Jingda 歐陽景達. Both were minor autonomous prefecture officials of the Liang dynasty. At that time the Ouyang family belonged to a powerful clan of the Changsha Prefecture (weijun haozú 爲郡豪族).

Since antiquity the Changsha Prefecture had been the center for Changshaman 長沙蠻, one of the four major southern Man minorities in medieval China. Changshaman spread throughout the vast triangle of Changsha, Lingling 零陵 and Guiyang 桂陽 Prefectures. This area fell within XiangzhouAutonomous Prefecture of the Liang dynasty and is today in the southern part of Hunan Province. In a north-south direction on the map, this larger triangle of prefectures in Xiangzhou geographically parallels that smaller triangle of counties — Guiyang, Yangshan, and Qujiang 曲江 (the capital of Shixing 希興 Prefecture) — in Hengzhou 衡州, where Lan Qin made his first southern expedition to pacify the Man minority. Ouyang Wei’s own similar expedition after Lan Qin’s death was to an area that happens to be the intersection of these two triangles: the border between Xiangzhou and Hengzhou of the Liang dynasty.

Changshaman was the predominant ethnic minority occupying the area of these two triangles from the Southern Dynasties (420–589) to the Tang. The legendary ancestor of Changshaman is a divine dog called Pan Hu 柏鴆, the fullest version of whose story is in “Nanman xinanyi liezhuan” 南蠻西南夷列傳 of Hou Han shu 后漢書, compiled by the Liu

104 Linxiang County was located roughly in the suburbs of today’s Changsha City 長沙市. See Hou Han shu 漢書, 1972, and hereafter CS 19:157–160; and Nan sui sui (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, and hereafter NS) 566:1613–1614.
105 Here I tentatively translate jùn as “prefecture” and chuán as “autonomous prefecture.”
106 For both Ouyang Sengbao and Ouyang Jingda, no detailed biographical information is available from any of the pertinent dynastic histories.
108 The other three major kinds were Wúshú 湖上, living in the area of Wuxi 温溪 (Five Brooks) — Xiongzi 雄溪, Wuxi 武溪, Youxi 餘溪, and Yuanxi 漢溪 and Chenxi 陳溪 — corresponding to today’s Hunan Province; Lingjū 定居, living in the area of Nanchen 南郡, Bajun 北郡 and Jiangxia 江夏, corresponding to today’s Sichuan 四川 and Hubei 湖北 Provinces; and Banhumin 柏檣民, living in Bajun. For a discussion of these four major types, see Jiang Yingliang’s 江應梁 Zhongguo minzu zhi 中國民族志 (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 262–267.
109 Guli Prefecture of the Liang dynasty was in today’s southern part of Hunan Province, while Guli County, part of the prefecture, is now in the northern part of Guangdong Province. The former belongs to the traditional geographical category of Xiang 湘 and the latter to that of Yue 越.
110 For details, see Jue Chen, 1996, pp. 83–89.
111 This statement is supported by both ancient records and the research of modern anthropologists.
112 In addition to Changshaman, Pan Hu has other kinds of Man minority descendants such as Wúshú, see below.

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Song dynasty historian Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445) only a few decades earlier.113 The story reads as follows:

普高辛氏有犬戎之寇，帝患其侵暴，而征伐不效。乃访募天下，有能得犬戎之吳將軍頭者，賜黃金千鋡，邑萬家，又妻以少女。時帝有畜虍，其毛五采，名曰槃格力。下詔之後，槃格力嘜嘜人頭逐聞下，群臣怪而詰之，乃吳將軍首也。帝大喜，而計槃格力不可妻之以女，又無封爵之道，議欲有報而未知所宜。女聞之，以為帝喜下令，不可違信，因請行。帝不得已，乃以女配槃格力。槃格力得女，負而走入南山，至石室中。所處險絕，人跡不至。於是女解去衣裳，為槃格力結，著髑髏之衣。帝悲念之，遣使尋求，都遇風雨震電，使者不得往。經三年，生一二十二人，六男六女。槃格力死後，因自相夫婦。織績木皮，染以草實，好五色衣服，繒緞皆有足形。其母後歸，以狀白帝，於是使迎致諸子。……今長沙武陵蠻是也。”114

In the past, Gaoxin Shi was invaded by Quanrong. The king was disturbed by the violent invasion but could not overcome it. The king made the following edict known to the whole world: Anyone who could behead General Wu of Quanrong would be awarded one thousand jī of gold, be given territories with ten thousand families, and be married to the young Princess. At that time, the king owned a dog called Pan Hu whose coat was made of five different colours.

After the edict was publicized, Pan Hu came to the Palace holding a person's head in its mouth. The subjects were surprised and on examining the head, found that it was General Wu's. The king was overwhelmed with joy. But obviously a dog was not supposed to be married to a Princess or given a substantial parcel of land. The king wanted to reward Pan Hu for his contribution but did not know what the reward should be. Then, the Princess heard the whole story: she felt that her father should not break a king's promise and she asked to be married to Pan Hu. The king had no choice and had his daughter marry Pan Hu.

Pan Hu carried the Princess into the Southern Mountains and arrived at a stone hall on a place so precipitous that no human had ever set foot on it. Then, the Princess took off her robe, made knots of pīlitā and wore clothes of dūlī.115

The king was sad. He missed his daughter and sent out envoys to find her. However, the envoys encountered ghastly winds and dark rains and were not able to proceed. In the course of three years, the Princess gave birth to twelve children, six boys and six girls.

When Pan Hu died, these children married each other. They used bark to make clothes, embellished with grasses and nuts. They liked colourful clothes and always cut them out to suggest the shape of a tail. Years later, the Princess returned home and told the whole story to the king.

Then, the king asked the Princess to bring all her children down to the human world. (…)

The descendents of these children are today's Changzhahan and Wulingman.

113 Ban Gu's 昭明 (52–92) Han shu 漢書 was taken as a model by historians in the Tang Dynasty, see David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 163-168. Although *Han shu* was less prestigious in Tang people's minds, it was seriously studied and annotated. The authoritative commentary of *Han shu* was done by a group of historians during the reign of Emperor Gaozong headed by Li Xian 李賢, the crown prince between 675 and 680, see also McMullen, p. 174.

114 *Han shu* 10:761829–1830. As a legend, the earliest record of the Pan Hu story is found in Fengsu wenji 风俗通义 by Ying Shao 應劭 of the Eastern Han dynasty. In the Eastern Jin dynasty, versions of the legendary Pan Hu story can be found in Guo Pu's Zhuanji (276–324) Shantai jing shu 山海經説 and Xuanzang's 吳質記; and there is also an elaborated version in Gan Bao's 賈寶千家 trajectories, which is very close in wording to the *Han shu* version. As a historical record, an earlier documentation of the Pan Hu story is in Gan Bao's Jin ji 燕紀 before *Han shu*. For details about the textual evolution of this story, see Wu Yongzhang's 魏永章, *Zhengguo minyang miwen wenhuaxu yanjiu* 中國南方民族文化源流史 (Nanning: Guangxi chubanshe, 1991), pp. 334-347.

115 According to Li Xian, the meaning of pīlitā and dūlī here was even not understood by the Tang people. See *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965) 10:861289–1290.
This version of the Pan Hu story was widely accepted by the majority of Tang historians and literati as historical fact.\(^{116}\) It seems that Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan shares many elements with that text, on several narrative levels. First, the Southern Mountain (nanshan 南山) holds an archetypal position here in a series of related texts: in Jiaoshi yejin 佳氏易林 an ape from the Southern Mountain steals a charming concubine;\(^{117}\) in Bowu zhi 博物志 the ape who steals women is from the southwestern mountains of the Shu region;\(^{118}\) in Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan the white ape carries Ouyang He’s wife to a southern mountain; and in Hou Han shu Pan Hu carries the Princess off to the Southern Mountain.

Second, the stone hall here serves as a locus of archetypal power. This concept was closely shared by Man minorities in the Ba and Shu mountainous regions and Zhang Ling’s 張陵 Celestial Master Taoism as early as the Eastern Han dynasty.\(^{119}\) According to the Tang dynasty historian Li Xian,\(^{120}\) the stone hall of Pan Hu was on Wu Mountain 武山, located in the west of Lu Xi 虚溪 in Chenzhou Autonomous Prefecture 萄州 (in today’s Hunan Province).\(^{121}\) The description of the stone hall in Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan has a similar resonance to the Taoist mountain utopia idea discussed earlier, incorporating them both into a new synthetic discourse of conscious fiction.

Third, the motif of children holds a strong position within the tribes of Man minorities in the Ba and Shu regions.\(^{122}\) In ancient sources, the descendants of Pan Hu are thus called Pan Hu zong 半胡種 or wangzong 王種, meaning “offspring of the dog.”

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116 The most enthusiastic opponent of the Pan Hu theory was the Tang dynasty historian Du You 杜佑 (735–812). In Chapter 187 of his Tongkian 通典, Du You provided cogent arguments to the effect that the whole story was a Qin or Han Dynasty forgery, see Yingjin wenwu 關國文武 605:569. Cf. Wu Yongzheng, p. 346.

117 Jiaoshi yejin contains a simplified version of the story, which has only eight characters: Nan Shan de tou shou de 論山的偷手的 (The ape from the Southern Mountain stole his charming concubine). For Jiaoshi yejin’s position in Taoist literature, see Marc Kalinowski, 1989–1990, pp. 86–87.

118 See Fan Ning’s 范寧 Bowu zhi zhetang 博物志校讎 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980).

119 See Miyakawa Hisayuki, pp. 1–22. Although the minorities in the Ba and Shu regions were not Changshaman, they had an association with Wulingman (Pan Hu is the ancestor of both Wulingman and Changshaman). For details, see Miyakawa Hisayuki, pp. 8–9.

120 As we have pointed out earlier, Li Xian was the crown prince as Empress Wu gradually gained power in the court. Therefore it seems likely that there was a substantial connection between Li Xian’s version of the Pan Hu story and the anonymous author’s composition of Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan. For more detailed discussions, see below; and for more information concerning Li Xian’s political career, see R.W.L. Guiso, Wu T’ien-chun and the Politics of Legitimation in Tang China (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1978), pp. 23–24.

121 Hou Han shu 10:86:2830.

122 In ancient sources, the descendants of Pan Hu are thus called Pan Hu zong 半胡種 or wangzong 王種, meaning “offspring of the dog.”
ancient custom of eating dogs among the Han majority was eliminated during the medieval epoch (from the Wei and Jin to the Tang), mainly because of the invasion of “barbarian cultures” (husu 胡俗) and the spread of Buddhism. In short, the historical fact is that people generally did not eat dogs in either the Liang or the Tang dynasties. Given this, it seems incongruous that the white ape in Bu Jiang Zong haiyuan zhuan “was especially crazy for dogs, liking to eat their flesh and drink their blood” (youshiquan ju'et) înqixue Jc: ..“-. In addition, throughout history I have failed to find any examples of apes eating dogs. My theory for this anomaly is that the anonymous author of Bu Jiang Zong haiyuan zhuan likely knew not only the geographical location of Ouyang Xun’s home town and its ethnic implications, but also the Pan Hu story in its cultural context. Driven by the motivation of yingshe, he dyed the white ape protagonist an anti-Pan Hu colour for reasons beyond the grasp of modern readers.

VII. Ouyang Xun’s Career as a Calligrapher

The roots of Ouyang Xun’s calligraphical style go back to the Six Dynasties. In the history of Chinese calligraphy the Six Dynasties was a crucial period during which the three major scripts—caoshu 草書, xingshu 行書, and kaishu 楷書—were fully established. The great Eastern Jin dynasty master Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321–379 or 303–361) was fluent in all three scripts. His influence over Tang calligraphers was such that he became a model. Xu Hao 徐浩 (703–782), in his Shulan 書論, traced the debts of three early Tang master calligraphers to Wang Xizhi: “Those who say that Yu Shih-nan has the muscle [jin 筋] of Wang Hsi-chih, that Ch’u Sui-liang has Wang’s flesh [mu 肉], and that Ou-yang Hsün has Wang’s bone [gu 骨] are perfectly right.”

Of these three styles, the regular script served as the preferred style for Tang classicism. Jean François Billeter summarizes the general development of regular script from Wang Xizhi to the Tang as follows:

The regular script attained an initial perfection in the fourth century, notably with Wang Hsi-chi (321–379, Eastern Chin). It went on developing under the North and South dynasties (420–581), a period when it inspired a remarkable diversity of stylistic variations. (...) After the reunification of the empire under the Sui (581–618), the great early T’ang masters (among others, Ou-yang Hsün, 557–641; Yu Shih-nan, 558–638; Ch’u Sui-liang, 596–658) gave it a durable, classical form. Other well-known T’ang calligraphers (in particular Yen Chen-ch’ing, 709–785, and Liu Kung-ch’üan, 778–865) helped to augment its expressive range, but without modifying its structure. It was the T’ang calligraphers who finally established the classical technique. This codification of the written forms and the writing technique corresponded to the requirements of the imperial administration which attained an unprecedented degree of complexity and centralization under the T’ang. (...) Fixed at the beginning of the T’ang dynasty, the regular remained the standard script

124 Throughout this section, I have comprehensively consulted European sinologists’ points of view. For details, see below.
126 See Jean François Billeter, p. 35.
in China; it was not modified until the introduction of simplified characters in the People's Republic in 1956.\textsuperscript{127}

In the Wang Xizhi tradition, while the cursive script was often used to write letters, the regular script was reserved for more serious works such as "texts with Taoist content or Taoist connotations."\textsuperscript{128} The famous example is Wang's copying of the *Huangting jing* in regular script, which became a model for calligraphers in later centuries.\textsuperscript{129}

Lothar Ledderose points out that Taoism had played an important part in Wang's family history, his calligraphy and his life in general.\textsuperscript{130} One clearly sees this connection if one puts Wang Xizhi's calligraphic art in the context of the Mao Shan revelation, which was developed by the mystic Yang Xi 杨羲 (330–?) and systematized by the Taoist master Tao Hongjing in his monumental *Zhen Gao*. According to the legend of the Mao Shan revelation, heavenly maidens visited Yang Xi at night and used his hand to write down the Taoist texts they conferred to our world. The first draft, which Yang Xi wrote in trance, was often in cursive script difficult for ordinary people to recognize. He rewrote the text later in regular script so it could be read more easily. This echoes the Taoist tradition of planchette writing, still alive today, in which the calligrapher serves as a medium communicating between this world and the other.\textsuperscript{131}

Wang Xizhi and Yang Xi were both influential calligraphers during the period when the three types of script achieved their final formulation. The fact that the regular script was obviously more solemn explains why Wang Xizhi copied *Huangting waijing jing* 黄庭外景经 and Yang Xi copied *Huangting neiying jing* 黄庭内景经 in regular script without prior agreement. It also explains why their styles for these two particular pieces were so similar in their strong Taoist flavour. Finally, I would like to emphasize that this period in Chinese calligraphical history falls into the reign of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty—the backdrop for *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan*.\textsuperscript{132}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 76. The perfection of forms produced by the Tang regular script masters reflected the perfection of order that the emperor was supposed to have brought about. For instance, Ouyang Xun's *Jiancheng longming* 九成宫醴泉铭 reflected the perfection of order during the Zhenguan reign of the early Tang (755–757) and Yang Zhengping's *Jiancheng* (709–789) Da Tang qinglong zong 大唐青龙宗 reflected the spirit of the restoration of the Tang house after the An Lushan 叛乱 (755–757) rebellion from 755 to 757, see Billeter, p. 102. Even today, the calligraphical apprenticeship always begins with the regular script done by the Tang masters, among them Ouyang Xun, Yu Shishan 岳世南 (558–638), Chu Suliang 诸滋良 (596–658), Yan Zhengping, and Liu Gongquan 刘公权 (778–865) are the most popular models. Cf. Billeter, pp. 111-112.
\item \textsuperscript{129} Wang Xizhi's three best extant regular script examples are *Yue Yi lin* 楷书林, *Huangting jing* and *Dongfang Shuo huaqun* 东方朔畫譜. The texts of the latter two are either Taoist classics or have a Taoist flavour. For the relevance of *Huangting jing* to our study of *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan*, see Section II above. Under the Tang, the regular script was used to write not only Taoist texts but also Confucian and Buddhist ones.
\item \textsuperscript{130} Ledderose, pp. 248-251.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Rolf A. Stein points out that the practice of planchette writing in China can be found in literary sources as early as in the sixth century. See "Un exemple de relations entre Taoisme et Religion Populaire," in Fukui Kōjun bakase shōju kinen Tōyō bunka ronshū 福井康順博士誕生紀念東洋文化論集 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku, 1969), p. 84. Such a practice can be seen in Chinese communities everywhere in the world, even today.
\item \textsuperscript{132} It was during the Liang dynasty under Emperor Wu's enthusiastic promotion that calligraphy first became an imperially recognized art. Tao Hongjing was regarded by art historians as the earliest connoisseur of calligraphy and Emperor Wu as the first royal collector of calligraphical pieces. This cultural background is crucial to our
Revisiting the Yingshu Mode of Representation

Now let us come back to the early Tang period, when Ouyang Xun lived and worked. As a government-supported religion, Taoism generally predominated over Buddhism in the Tang dynasty, particularly before the reign of Empress Wu, and in the high Tang under Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗. Calligraphy was regarded as an important mode of expression of the time, and it was customary for eminent calligraphers to promote the religious school of their choice (or by an imperial order) by writing or copying favorable essays. Examples are Chu Suiliang’s calligraphy of Emperor Gaozong’s 高宗 (r. 650–683) Shu sanzang shengjiawen ji 送三藏聖教序記,133 promoting Buddhism, and Yan Zhengqing’s composition and calligraphy of Magu xianfan ji 麻姑仙坛記, promoting Taoism, both in regular script.134

As a calligrapher, Ouyang Xun’s contribution to the promotion of Taoism was enormous. However, this fact has not yet caught the attention of chuanshi critics, nor has it been applied to the interpretation of Bu Jiang Zong baijuan zhujuan in a direct way. In the second month of the ninth year of the Wude 武德 reign (626), Ouyang Xun executed in regular script Da Tang Zongshengguan 大唐宗聖觀記, a record of the Taoist temple Zongshengguan 宗聖觀, under the imperial order of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626).

The temple Zongshengguan, also known as Louguan 楼觀, is located at the foot of Zhongnan Mountain 雲南山 in Zhouzhi 周至 County of today’s Shaanxi 陝西 Province. In the Wei and Jin period a school of Taoism arose in Louguan known as the Louguan School.135 According to this school, Louguan was originally the house of Yin 貞史 in the Western Zhou dynasty (1045 BC to 771 BC). This house was recognized as a sacred place because Laozi 老子 had visited Yin Xi there, where he wrote the famous Dao de jing 道德經. Yin Xi was the Officer of the Hangu Pass 函谷關, beyond which lay the uncivilized area of the West, in contrast to the Central Kingdom – China, inhabited by barbarians. After the two men met, Laozi took Yin Xi out through the Hangu Pass to convert the “barbarians” (hu 胡). When they went to India, Buddha was reportedly converted into a Taoist disciple.136

Tang dynasty emperors claimed Lao Zi as their ancestor and thus encouraged worship of him. As an important part of that worship, Emperors Gaozu and Xuanzong in particular enthusiastically promoted the Louguan School. In 619 Emperor Gaozu conferred two hundred qing 青 of land to the Louguan temple, partly in response to the prophecy made by the Louguan Taoist Qi Hui 崔晦 in 618, the last year of the Sui Dynasty, predicting that Li Yuan 李淵, the then Duke of Tang, would become the first emperor of a prosperous new

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133. Emperor Gaozong wrote this essay when he was the crown prince. Chu Suiliang’s calligraphy was executed in 653 and known also as Yanta shengjia xu 雁塔聖教序.

134. Magu xianfan ji was executed in 771 during the Dai reign 大僕 (766–779) of Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 763–779).

135. For a general history of the Louguan School, see Chen Guofu 陳國符, “Louguan kao 楼觀考” in his Daqiang yuandu kao 大揚原流考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), pp. 261-266.

136. This story served as the backdrop for the Taoist “converting the Buddha” or huadu 化度 theory, which was systematized by the Western Jin dynasty Taoist Wang Fu 王誼 when the famous Huadu jing 化度經 was composed. The Louguan School firmly believed in this huadu theory. Of course, this entire pre-Wei and Jin history of Louguan was created and published by Louguan Taoists between the Six Dynasties and the Tang. For a brief pre-Wei and Jin history of Louguan School, see Ren Jiuyu 任繼愈, Zhongguo daqian shi 中國道教史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1990), pp. 219-236.
In 620 Emperor Gaozu renamed the Louguan temple Zongshengguan, the “Temple to Honor our Sage Ancestor Lao Zi,” by giving a tablet to the temple (ci'e 驚額).

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In 624 Emperor Gaozu visited the temple in person. His promotion of the Louguan School reached its climax when a stele of Da Tang Zongshengguan ji, inscribed in the calligraphy of the prestigious Ouyang Xun,138 was established in 626. Due to the renaming of the temple and the establishment of the stele, the Louguan Taoist temple was in a certain sense converted into an imperial family temple of the Tang rulers.139

Although Ouyang Xun was by and large a Confucian scholar official, he was deeply involved in early Tang support for the Louguan School and temple, as part of the imperial promotion of Taoism over Buddhism. This involvement could well have engendered bad feeling among contemporary Buddhists and their allies in the court, and I suspect that the anonymous author of Bu Jiang Zong huaian zhuang was one of these. Such antipathy would help explain why the white ape was portrayed as an animal Taoist.

VIII. The White Ape Animal Lore under the Tang

The first generation of critics of Bu Jiang Zong huaian zhuang was intellectuals of the Song dynasty. From their perspective, an ape was a base animal in Chinese lore. They therefore saw the story as an attack designed to insult the Ouyang family. This view has generally been adopted by critics of later generations also.

However, Ouyang Xun’s early Tang encyclopedia, Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 seems to tell a different story. In Yiwen leiju the category of ape or yuan 猿 is contrasted with that of monkey or mibou 獼獰: the former is portrayed as a lofty gentleman while the latter symbolizes a form of low-life.140 From the Six Dynasties through to the early Tang the ape was considered a good animal, and was even one of the sacred animals in Taoist legends. The ape was often closely associated with the crane (he 鶴): together they were a pair of animals sacred to Taoist adepts.141 In Yiwen leiju, Ouyang Xun quotes from Ge Hong: “During the Zhou dynasty King Mu’s southern expedition, the whole army was transformed: gentlemen transformed into apes and cranes while low-lives transformed into insects and grains of sand” (zhongwang fenzheng yujun jienhuang weiyuan weihe xianren weichong weisha 周穆王南征一軍皆化君子為猿為鶴小人為虫

137 In Xie Shouhao 洛守潮, Huaquangu shengyi 中元聖宴, see DZ.60:553. After Qi Hui made the prophecy he changed his name to Pingding 平定, meaning “peaceful and stable.”

138 Ouyang Xun and Yu Shihuan were equally well known as calligraphers to their contemporaries but Ouyang Xun was more highly favored by Emperor Gaozu.

139 For a detailed discussion of these events, see Otagi Hajime 永田八閑, “Tōdai rökankō—Oyō Jun sen DaiTō sōseikankō no hi o tegakari to shite” 唐代樓觀考—鎌倉佛院《大唐宗聖觀記》碑を手掛りとして, in Yoshihawa, 1992, pp. 275-322.

140 Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), 2:95:1652-1654.

The legend of King Mu has an indubitably strong Taoist flavour, though we will never know whether the white ape in *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhijuan* is a descendant of one of these “transformed gentlemen” who participated in King Mu’s southern expedition. The black leopard (*xuanbao* 賞豹) was also frequently paired with the white ape, as indicated in *Yiwen leiju*. In Six Dynasties intellectual history the white crane and the black leopard were both considered divine animals with a Taoist flavour as well.

Monkeys and apes began to be recorded in the writings of men of letters as early as the Han dynasty. From the Han throughout the Six Dynasties to the early Tang a hierarchical distinction was generally made between these two sub-species. I suspect that it was during the latter part of the early Tang period, when *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhijuan* was supposed to have been written, that the distinction began to be blurred in the minds of Chinese literati. In the high Tang encyclopedia *Chucuei ji* 初學記, compiled by Xu Jian 徐堅 in Emperor Xuanzong’s reign, this distinction was no longer as clear as in *Yiwen leiju*, since the compiler put both sub-species under the category of *hou* or monkey. A few decades later, in the mid-Tang encyclopedia *Baishi shiiteji* 白氏六帖事類集, compiled by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), the two sub-species were listed under the category of *yuan* or ape. Of the four great encyclopedias of the Tang dynasty, three deal with animal categories emphatically, and a brief review shows that by the high Tang the concepts of monkey and ape seemed to be treated interchangeably. Given this, I would venture to argue that *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhijuan* was probably composed before the high Tang. In other words, it is very possible that the story was a product of the early-Tang.

Beyond these questions of intellectual history, there also exist real historical connections between the white ape in *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhijuan* and real white apes. In ancient times the white ape was not only regarded as a precious rare species from the southern remote countries but was also seen as a symbol of good fortune. In 508, the seventh year of the Tianjian 天監 reign (502–519) of the Liang dynasty, a white ape was sent as a special tribute to Emperor Wu from Fan Wenzan 范文贇, then King of Linyi State 林邑國 in the remote southern area. This animal was so novel in the Liang court that it occasioned a phenomenal interest, as was recorded in several dynastic histories. The timing of this event was quite close to the Datong reign, the backdrop of *Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhijuan*, and it is not unlikely that the anonymous author of the story incorporated, consciously or unconsciously, this historical event into his

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fiction. In short, the white ape protagonist has significant implications in the history of the Liang dynasty. These implications, I believe, are related to white ape animal lore in medieval China synthesized in Ouyang Xun’s *Yiwen lei.ju*.

In addition to the social and intellectual environment reconstructed above, the Tang rulers’ political attitude towards Taoism is crucial to our understanding of *Bu Jiang Zong haiyuan zhuan*. Generally speaking, Taoism was the state religion under the Tang, holding a position over both Confucianism and Buddhism. The major exception was under the reigns of Empress Wu, whose maternal family had had an association with Buddhism for several generations. Since the Confucian tradition by nature denies the validity of women as rulers, and Lao Zi was regarded as the ancestor of the Tang emperors, Empress Wu was generally alienated from and opposed by the advocates of both Confucianism and Taoism on her road to the throne. In contrast, Buddhists helped her materially in legitimizing her rule of the country by claiming her as the bodhisattva, a cakravartin ruler, and the future Buddha, Maitreya. Among other auspicious omens “discovered” by her supporters (including Buddhist monks), the re-edited *Deyun jing* served as a major justification for Empress Wu to rule China according to the word of Buddha.

In return for the crucial support offered by Buddhists over the years on her path to the throne, Empress Wu promoted Buddhism step by step to the position of state religion to replace Taoism. Her first decisive step was in the eighth month of 674 when “an edict was issued, nominally by Kao-tsung, decreeing that henceforth in all religious ceremonies, both public and private, the Buddhist and Taoist clergies would stand on equal footing, neither taking precedence over the other.” Throughout the entire Tang period, conflicts between Buddhists and Taoists never ceased. The core of these conflicts was the desire to obtain imperial favour, and until 674 Taoists generally won the battle. Bearing in mind this historical context, we can understand the psychological weight an edict might have carried.

The second step taken by Empress Wu was in the fourth month of 691 when “an imperial edict formally ranked Buddhism above Taoism, thereby reversing the policy of the three preceding Tang emperors, and ordered that henceforth Buddhist monks and nuns should take


151 For a general discussion of this aspect, see Chen Jinke 陳寅恪, “Wu Zhao yu fojiao” 武曌與佛教, *Academia Sinica Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 5.2 (1935), pp. 138-144.


154 Weinstein, pp. 41-43.

155 The eighth month of 674 also served as a landmark in Empress Wu’s political career. In that month she “took a major step toward her goal of openly assuming power by adopting the unprecedented title Tien-hou, ‘Heavenly Empress,’ following a serious illness of the Emperor during the preceding year,” see Weinstein, p. 39.

156 Ibid., p. 39.

157 For a brief but reliable account of these conflicts, see Ren Jiyu, 1990, pp. 265-274.
precedence over members of the Taoist clergy." 158 Less than one year before that edict, "a group of ten Buddhist monks in the seventh month of 690" had presented "the Empress with a copy of the Ta-yan ching." 159 The exchange of favors between the Buddhist clergy and the Empress was obvious. This latter edict ended an epoch of fifty-four years in which Taoists had enjoyed a favourable position. 160

This aspect of cultural history is directly relevant to our understanding of Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan. The story was insulting to the Ouyang family for two reasons. First, because it asserts that Ouyang Xun’s father was an ape. Second, because it implies that Ouyang Xun’s father was a Taoist animal. Neither of these assertions need necessarily be defined as insulting per se, but they would have been seen as such in the particular historical period and cultural environment.

If Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan had been written during the Wude reign of Emperor Gaozu, when an ape was not a base animal at all and Taoism was in favor the story would not have been seen as particularly insulting. In this case, the yingshe et roman à clef would certainly have been missed its supposed target. I would therefore venture to speculate that Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan was most likely composed during the reigns of Empress Wu in general and more specifically around 691. This was the period during which the ape became "downgraded" in the Chinese mind, and when Taoism fell from favor in the court as well as in society at large.

In 691, Ouyang Tong 欧陽通, son of Ouyang Xun, was promoted to play a major part in the central administration. Only a month or so later he was falsely charged and executed by Lai Junchen 来俊臣 (651–697). The reason for his downfall was that he firmly disagreed with the proposal to confer the title of Heir Apparent (huangsi 皇嗣) upon Wu Chengsi 吳承嗣 (?–698), Empress Wu’s eldest nephew. 161 I believe this adds further weight to my theory that Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan was possibly composed around this eventful year, 691.

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This analysis reveals an important fact: there exist two hidden centers of information in Bu Jiang Zong baiyuan zhuan. One is the Liang dynasty center of information related to the backdrop of the story; the other is the early Tang dynasty center of information associated with the date the story was written. The process of interaction and combination of information from these two centers has to a large extent shaped the course of our story’s narrative.

158 Weinstein, p. 43. For the text of the edict “Shijiao zai daofa zhi shangzhi” 釋教在道教之上制, see Song Minqiu, 宋敏求 Tang de zhucheng 唐代諸稱 (Shanghai: Xuehui chubanshe, 1992), p. 538; and for the implications of this edict the Tang cultural history, see Chen Yinke, pp. 146-147.

159 Weinstein, p. 41.

160 It was Emperor Taizong’s edict of 637 that officially established the precedence of Taoism over Buddhism. See Chen Yinke, pp. 146-147.


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Yingshe literally means “shooting or casting a shadow.” How to create a shadow to shoot? The question is a primary concern for traditional Chinese fiction writers in this genre. A shadow may not be created on impulse: there are certain principles and methods that must be followed. These principles and methods, in my opinion, are far more complicated than the simple referential formula “A in reality equals B in fiction.” Not only are parallelism and metaphor involved in the process, but there are also calculated anachronisms, textual building blocks, and circumstantial details.

The result of the active participation of these techniques brings circumstantial elements of a certain historical moment vividly into the reader’s vision and therefore gives the story a look of flesh and blood. With the passage of time, the reader of later generations may no longer care about the question of who in history was the target of insinuation. Rather, what attracts the modern audience is the lively self-contained fictive world created and the way its historical analogy echoes in his/her deep memory with the collective unconscious inherited from his/her ancestors.

This is how yingshe works here in our story.

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