



T'ang Studies: The Next Twenty-Five Years

An International Conference to Celebrate the 25th
Anniversary of the T'ang Studies Society

University at Albany
May 9-10, 2009

Program

Friday, May 8th

8:00-8:30 Continental Breakfast

8:30-9:00 Welcome

Dean Edelgard Wulfert, College of Arts and Sciences, University
at Albany

Anthony DeBlasi, Chair, Department of East Asian Studies,
University at Albany

Michael Drompp, President, T'ang Studies Society

9:00-11:05 Panel One

Jonathan Skaff, "Sui-Tang Diplomatic Protocol as Eurasian
Ritual"

David L. McMullen, "Disorder in the ranks: Tang court
assemblies and fault-lines in the Tang governmental structure"

☞ 5 MINUTE BREAK ☞

Norman Harry Rothschild, "Cakravartin, Ceremony and
Conflagration: Wu Zhao and the Pançavarsika of 694"

Michael R. Drompp, "(Re-)Packaging the Past: Assessing the
Huichang Era"

11:05-11:30 Coffee

11:30-1:00 Panel Two

- Patricia Karetzky, "Tang Metropolitan Style in Religious Art"
 Michelle C. Wang, "Of Dhāraṇīs and Maṇḍalas: Mogao Cave 14 and Esoteric Buddhist Art of the Tang Dynasty"
 Suzanne Cahill, "Material Reflections of Identity and Hierarchy: The Essays on Vehicles and Clothing in the Official Histories of the Tang Dynasty"

1:00-2:00 Lunch**2:00-4:05 Panel Three**

- Mark Halperin, "Transcendents for the Rest of Us: The Divine and Prosaic in the *Shenxian ganyu zhuan*"
 Jinhua Jia, "Du Guangting and the Hagiographies of Tang Daoist Priestesses"

☞ 5 MINUTE BREAK ☞

- Sungwu Cho, "Funerary Ritual of Medieval Daoist Priests"
 Mario Poceski, "Hagiographic Representation and Historical Reimagining of Tang Chan"

4:05-4:30 Coffee**4:30-6:00 Panel Four**

- Beverly Bossler, "Entertaining the Elite: Courtesans and their Patrons from the Eighth to Tenth Centuries"
 YAO Ping, "From 'Merry Making' to 'Great Bliss': Sexuality in Tang China"
 WANGLING Jinghua, "The Shaping of Du Mu's *Fengliu* Poetic Personality"

6:00-7:30 Reception: Campus Center 375**Saturday, May 9th****8:00-8:30 Continental Breakfast****8:30-10:35 Panel Five**

- Paul W. Kroll, "On the Study of Tang Literature"
 James M. Hargett, "The Record (Ji 記) Form and its Role in the Development of Prose Travel Literature during the Tang"

☞ 5 MINUTE BREAK ☞

- Luo Manling, "Imagining the Kaiyuan and Tianbao: The Construction of Mosaic Memory in the Post-Rebellion Anecdotes"
 Charles Hartman, "Du Fu in the *Poetry Standards* (*Shige* 詩格) and the Origins of the Earliest Du Fu Commentary"

10:35-11:00 Coffee**11:00-12:30 Panel Six**

- Jack W. Chen, "Social Networks, Ghosts, and the Question of Anyi Ward"
 Oliver Moore, "Flows of Time between Tang City and Province"
 Linda Rui Feng, "Crimes and Criminality in Tang Chang'an"

12:30-1:30 Lunch**1:30-3:35 Panel Seven**

- Alexei Ditter, "The Auto-Inscribed Life: Self-authored *Muzhiming* in the Mid- to Late-Tang"
 Ian Chapman, "One Foot out of the Grave: Inscribing Holy Lives in Tang China"

☞ 5 MINUTE BREAK ☞

Chen Huaiyu, "Tradition and Transformation: An Overview of Recent Chinese and Japanese Scholarship on Tang Epigraphical Materials"

Jessey J. C. Choo, "A Life Inscribed—The Ritualization of Life and Death in Tang *Muzhi*"

3:35-4:00 Coffee

4:00-5:30 Round-Table: Tang Studies in the Next 25 Years

Patricia Ebrey
Graham Sanders
Eugene Wang

Banquet at the Alumni House

Cocktails 6:00-7:00

Dinner 7:00-9:00

Abstracts

(in alphabetical order)

Beverly Bossler

History Department, University of California, Davis

Entertaining the Elite: Courtesans and their Patrons from the Eighth to Tenth Centuries

Scholars of the Late Tang and Five Dynasties have long been aware of the growing importance of entertainment and entertainers in the lives of the literati elite of these periods. With the scattering of Emperor Xuanzong's famous "Pear Garden" entertainers in the wake of the An Lushan rebellion, courtesan quarters came to flourish in the regional capitals (Kishibe 1941-42; 1960; Wagner 1984; Liao 1995; Zheng 1997). This phenomenon had a major impact not only on Chinese literature (especially the development of the song lyric (*ci* 詞) form), but on cultural attitudes and practices as well (Chang 1980; Fusek 1982; Wagner 1984; Owen 1996).

Based on institutional and legal sources, literary collections, anecdotal accounts, and poetry, this paper focuses on the social and cultural effects of the burgeoning entertainment culture from the late Tang (eighth century) through the Five Dynasties and into the early years of the Song. I will examine the ways that entertainment culture was implicated in the shift from a Tang "aristocracy" to a broader and more fluid elite in the Five Dynasties and Song, and explore how the development of entertainment quarters was tied to urbanization and the development of commercial networks. Finally, I will argue that the emergent phenomenon of "household courtesans" (*jia ji* 家妓) helped change ideas of class and morality in this period, as entertainers became mothers of literati men.

Suzanne Cahill

UCSD

Material Reflections of Identity and Hierarchy: The Essays on Vehicles and Clothing in the Official Histories of the Tang Dynasty

This paper will present preliminary results of a new project I am starting on Tang dynasty vehicles and clothing, with the hope of receiving feedback

from my colleagues. The first stage of the project includes annotated translating and annotating the essays on vehicles and clothing (*yufu zhi* 輿服志) from both the Old and New Tang Histories. In the second stage, I will compare and contrast the information and prescriptions in the text with excavated and other material evidence on Tang vehicles and clothing. I will speculate on the causes of differences between the prescriptive textual ideal and the more complex social reality. The third stage will compare and contrast the material from the first two stages with information found in other textual sources: such as the Tang law code, Tang statutes and ritual regulations, Tang literature including poetry and fiction, Tang occasional writings, and other materials yet to be located.

The paper to be presented in Albany first asks why these two subjects, vehicles and clothing, are treated together in the official histories. I speculate that vehicles and clothing are both symbols of wealth and power that carry statements about the identity of their owners. The Chinese state, with its concern for legitimacy and for order achieved through stable social hierarchies, had a great interest in controlling access to such goods. The essays are prescriptive texts that present an ideal world of human and cosmic order and harmony. They also identify some threats to that order, such as appropriation of high status objects by lower status people, gender-bending dressing, and dressing in foreign clothing. In the process of trying to understand the context of the essays, the paper will discuss specific passages.

Ian Chapman
History Department, MIT

One Foot out of the Grave: Inscribing Holy Lives in Tang China

This paper examines ways in which inscribed commemorations physically appropriated model lives to sacred spaces, and vice versa. The focus is on biographic inscriptions commemorating religious adepts. The grave, housing the mortal remains or their surrogates, hosted underground */muzhi/* or above-ground */bei/* Temples bore stelae eulogizing deceased monks or nuns. Family members or disciples even made inscribed shrines from the deceased's body, in the form of "ash body stupas." In each case, narratives confer special status upon the deceased, which then reflects back on those controlling a site of sacred presence. Handwritten or rubbed copies of the inscription reproduce this nexus beyond the site itself, but

only by emphasizing their own derivative status. The paper discusses examples of inscribed religious biographies from various sites and traditions.

Chen Huaiyu
Department of Religious Studies, Arizona State University

Tradition and Transformation: An Overview of Recent Chinese and Japanese Scholarship on Tang Epigraphical Materials

This paper aims to offer an overview of the contributions of Chinese and Japanese scholars to the study of Tang epigraphical materials (*muzhi*) over the past thirty years. It begins by exploring debates among Chinese and Japanese scholars on the origins of *muzhi* in terms of the sources and approaches used by those scholars in formulating their arguments. It continues then by introducing recent reference works—catalogues, indexes, dictionaries, and other references—developed by Chinese and Japanese scholars. Following this, his paper next examines how Chinese and Japanese scholars use *muzhi* materials to study the social, religious, and cultural history of the Tang era, and moreover assesses their contributions and weaknesses within the broader context of East Asian scholarly traditions. It then discuss the contributions of Chinese and Japanese scholars to literary studies, arguing how Chinese and Japanese scholars have moved from traditional textual analysis towards more diverse perspectives in their study of *muzhi* materials, before concluding with some suggestions for prospective directions for future study of *muzhi*.

Jack W. Chen
UCLA

Social Networks, Ghosts, and the Question of Anyi Ward

The *Quan Tang shi* may indeed claim to be *quan* insofar as it includes a section on poems composed by Tang ghosts (*gui* 鬼). One of these poems is attributed to "A girl of Anyi Ward" 安邑坊女, a ghost who appeared to a presented scholar staying overnight in a haunted house. While this anecdote, now attached to the poem in the *Quan Tang shi*, is of interest in its own right, raising not least of all ontological questions of poetic authorship, I would like to consider the anecdote (and its poem) in relationship to its urban setting — Anyi Ward, which was located directly

to the south of East Market. There are a number of references to Anyi Ward in the surviving anecdotal and literary materials from the Tang. Anyi Ward is, for example, one of the key locations in the famous “Li Wa zhuan” 李娃傳. It also is the setting both for weird anecdotes involving a ghostly Buddhist monk and a deadly snake-woman and for anecdotes relating to prominent officials (whose mansions stood in Anyi Ward and the other desirable neighborhoods around East Market). This paper will take up questions not only relating to the ward’s prominent social networks, but also how tales of the supernatural intersect with these networks.

Sungwu Cho

Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge

Funerary Ritual of Medieval Daoist Priests

This paper examines “Daoists’ Protocols for Auspicious and Ill-omened Occasions” (*Daoshi jixiong yi* 道士吉凶儀) by Zhu Junxu 朱君緒 (d.720), included in his monastic manual, *Excerpts of Rituals and Precepts That Are Important to Practise* (*Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔, DZ 463/HY 463). This text will be analysed first in the context of the medieval *shuyi* 書儀 genre: in prescribing written forms and ritual actions, its purpose is similar to contemporary *shuyi* found in Dunhuang manuscripts. Close examination reveals that ritual components of a Daoist nature fold into an overarching ritual framework that does not fundamentally deviate from the prescriptions found in Confucian ritual classics such as *Liji* 禮記 and *Yili* 儀禮. In his detailed discussions of the five mourning grades, Zhu Junxu even makes identifiable efforts to make it correspond to the traditional Confucian scheme as much as possible. This paper will analyse how Zhu defined mourning grades, and what his mourning scheme tells us about the quasi-family of celibate Daoists that was based on the bonds between the master and disciple and sustained by the transmission of religious texts. The complex Daoist version of the five mourning grades not only shows how medieval Daoists viewed relationships among their co-religionists; it also testifies to the Daoist ordination hierarchy of the time, which achieved its completion by the seventh century.

Jessey J.C. Choo

Department of History, University of Missouri—Kansas City

A Life Inscribed—The Ritualization of Life and Death in Tang *Muzhi*

While the studies of *muzhi* has thus far been concentrating on the biographical and socio-political information it as a genre provides, this paper focuses on the immediate context of its production—the burial and reburial of the dead. People in the Tang practiced multiple burials. Each time when the dead was buried, his or her *muzhi* would contain vital information regarding the time and situation under which s/he is to be buried and reburied, as well as, the information on those who attended to the matters of burial. These information are intended not only for those like us who accidentally tread on the *muzhi* so we learn upon whose tombstone we are stepping, but are also served as instruction for those of the family to carry out future reburials. This paper examines these little studied details and compares them with that proscribed in ritual manuals such as the *Yi li*, *Da Tang Kaiyuan li* and *Tong dian*. In undertaking this study, I seek to understand the degree to which the Tang burial practices as represented in *muzhi* corroborate the rituals as described in these supposedly normative ritual manuals. More importantly, I also seek to answer how certain practices, such as the burial of summoned souls and separated burial of a married couple, could be performed and interpreted through a discursive adaptation of normative proscription and to what ends. Finally, the paper reflects on how might we as scholars utilize these information to study death rituals, religious beliefs and practices, family lives, and individual agency vis-a-vis family and society in medieval China.

Alexei Ditter

Chinese Department, Reed College

The Auto-Inscribed Life: Self-authored *Muzhiming* in the Mid- to Late-Tang

This paper examines one unusual sub-genre of *muzhiming*, those authored by the subjects of the tomb inscription prior to their death. It focuses in particular on three self-authored *muzhiming* from the ninth century: Bai

Juyi's (772-846) "The *Muzhiming* of Master Drunken Chanting," Han Chang's (799-855) "A *Muzhiming* Written for Myself," and Du Mu's (803-852) "Self-Authored *Muming*." In what ways, this paper inquires, do these autobiographical accounts differ from more conventional examples of the genre? For what audiences were they written? What objectives did they hope to achieve? Finally, how might we contextualize these attempts to construct and control one's memory within broader literary and social concerns of the Tang dynasty?

Michael R. Drompp
Department of History, Rhodes College

(Re-)Packaging the Past: Assessing the Huichang Era

In many cultures those who hold positions of power are greatly concerned with their legacies and seek to influence the historical interpretation of their actions. This has been particularly true in China, a culture well-known for its high level of attention to the analysis of the past. The past could be viewed as a commodity, with events "packaged" in different modes of analysis, depending on the desired goal. China's political leaders were highly sensitive to this.

This paper examines the ways in which the most powerful men of the short but important era of Huichang – the reign title of the Tang Emperor Wuzong (r. 840-846) – set forth their own versions of their accomplishments in the hopes of encouraging a positive assessment by their successors (and, by implication, the historians who would one day compose the official record of the era). While the emperor's reign was brief, its short span encompassed many significant events, including the collapse of the Uighur Empire, an internal rebellion, and the government's suppression of foreign religions. How those events were "packaged" reveals how Huichang leaders hoped posterity would view their actions. The sources which provide a lens through which to view this process are chiefly the public pronouncements issued by the Emperor Wuzong (most of which were actually written by his chief minister Li Deyu), and especially his valedictory edict. This paper also considers Li Deyu's own summation of his career in the poem "Composed While Leaving Pingquan on Horseback."

Linda Rui Feng
Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto

Crimes and Criminality in Tang Chang'an

Even though the enclosed city wards and night curfew of Chang'an were designed to improve security by facilitating the apprehension of criminals, Tang narratives and anecdotes nonetheless attest to the variety and inventiveness of crimes in the city of one-million denizens, and often in spite of the generative principles of urban design. Such crimes range from creative trespassing, petty theft, grand larceny to murders and assassinations, and often take place with vivid detail with respect to the wards, lanes and streets of Chang'an. The ways in which crimes are described in such narratives give us insights to the urban ecology of Tang Chang'an, such as 1) how spatial and social boundaries are enforced and in turn transgressed, and 2) the uniquely urban paradox of dwellers who share close living quarters with others while simultaneously enjoying a great degree of anonymity, and how both the anonymity and social contiguity play crucial roles in illicit acts. In this paper I will discuss two kinds of crime narratives. The first is written from the perspective of those who maintain social order and might be called successful detective stories wherein acts of deception or intrigue are unravelled, while the second kind might be called successful perpetrations in which the narrative describes—and even takes pleasure in—ways transgressive acts can be actualized. Both cases contribute to our understanding of the social networks and urban matrix in which intrigue operate.

Mark Halperin
Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, University of California, Davis

Transcendents for the Rest of Us: The Divine and Prosaic in the *Shenxian ganyu zhuan*

The *Shenxian ganyu zhuan* (*Traditions of moving encounters with divine transcendents*) compiled at the end of the Tang by the Taoist polymath and Shu official Du Guangting (850-933), constitutes perhaps the best-known collection of Taoist "hagiographies" of the late medieval era. The stories relate chance meetings between obscure figures and immortals, which occur largely on the Tang empire's southern and southwestern

periphery. This paper situates this collection in the historical context of the Tang-Song transition. It argues that, taken as a whole, the tales represent part of the process of a shift away from the sacred mountain, court-centered sacerdotal Daoism, which typified the early medieval and high Tang eras, to a more localized clergy. Instead, we see meritorious peasants, scions of great families punished for their arrogance, alchemist-eunuchs able to revive the dead. High-born wastrels wed transcendent brides, in what resembles almost a parody of Tang *chuanqi* romances. State and transcendent coexist uneasily in an antagonistic relationship, and while Daoist paradises appear, but they do so only in markedly generic descriptions. In their mundane yet sometimes humorous qualities, they presage the treatment of Daoists found later in Song dynasty collections of random notes, or *biji*, which report frustration almost as often as they do revelation in the encounter between the worldly and the divine.

James M. Hargett

Department of East Asian Studies, The University at Albany, SUNY

The Record (Ji 記) Form and its Role in the Development of Prose Travel Literature during the Tang

The purpose of this paper is to present a detailed treatment of one aspect of the development of travel literature during the Tang, focusing on prose texts written in the *ji* 記, or “record” form.

Judging by the rich contents of extant collections of Six Dynasties and Tang literature, such as the *Choice Flowers from the Garden of Literature* (*Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華), as well as later repositories such as the *Complete Tang Prose* (*Quan Tangwen* 全唐文), use of the *ji* form proliferated during the Tang. Although the early years of the dynasty produced a relatively small number of *ji* works that chronicle excursions to and/or descriptions of scenic landscapes, this situation changed in the mid-eighth and early ninth centuries with the appearance of two influential writers: Yuan Jie 元結 (719-772) and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819).

Yuan Jie’s contributions to the development of travel literature are significant, and can be summarized as follows: his prose accounts of scenic locations depart from the parallel prose style that dominated landscape description in the Six Dynasties and early Tang. Moreover, Yuan generously mixes descriptive and expressive (or lyrical) modes of language, resulting in an “objective description-subjective commentary” approach to scenic description rarely seen in Chinese letters before the eighth century. Several

of Yuan’s *ji* will be discussed in my paper, with particular attention to his influential anthology piece “Record of Rightside Creek” (*Youxi ji* 右溪記).

Liu Zongyuan’s “Eight Records of Yong County” (*Yongzhou baji* 永州八記) are the first, lyrical travel records produced in Chinese literature, for they not only include objective description of landscape and the personal commentary from the author, but also include narrative of a physical journey. What is most significant is that Liu was the first author of the traditional period to make accounts of travel an integral part of *ji* writing. The structure and diction of his travel records—in particular, the various animated language modes he employs to create spontaneous and dynamic word pictures of landscape, will be discussed in detail. This is extremely important, for the form and language style employed in Liu Zongyuan’s “Eight Records of Yong County” were later emulated by almost all writers of the lyrical travel record.

Charles Hartman

Department of East Asian Studies, The University at Albany, SUNY

Du Fu in the *Poetry Standards* (*Shige* 詩格) and the Origins of the Earliest Du Fu Commentary

The earliest interlinear commentary on the poetry of Du Fu dates from the last quarter of the eleventh century. Although this commentary does not survive intact, major portions comprise the existing “pseudo Wang Zhu” 偽王洙 commentary in the Du Fu editions from the late twelfth century. However, the surviving *Poetry Standards* (*Shige* 詩格) from the Five Dynasties and early Song contain evidence to document an early, proto-commentarial tradition of Du Fu interlinear exegesis that predates and influenced the “pseudo Wang Zhu” commentary. Specifically, fragments of Du Fu exegesis attributed to Yin Shu 尹洙 (1001-1046), to Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002-1060), to Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043-1121), and to the Buddhist monk Hui-hung 慧洪 (1071-1128) all show a common exegetical approach that draws direct metaphorical equations between physical phenomena and political philosophy. This paper will examine this exegesis, relate it to on-going developments in Song political life, and suggest its importance for the Song image of Du Fu as an engaged actor in Tang politics.

Jinhua Jia

Department of Chinese, University of Macau

Du Guangting and the Hagiographies of Tang Daoist Priestesses

The Daoist master Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850-933) compiled the *Records of the Assembled Immortals of the Walled City* (*Yongcheng jixian lu* 壙城集仙錄) in the early tenth century. This text originally contained 10 *juan* and 109 hagiographies of goddesses, female immortals, and Daoist priestesses. Although it does not pass on to us in complete shape, from its fragments preserved in the *Daoist Canon* and several Song-dynasty encyclopedias we can reconstruct the text with a total of 85 hagiographies, of which 16 are hagiographies of Daoist priestesses of Tang dynasty.

These hagiographies have been used by scholars to study the historical, actual lives of Tang Daoist priestesses and their contributions to Daoist and cultural tradition. A careful examination of these hagiographies, however, reveals that many of them are not in accordance with historical reality. For example, in the hagiography of Wang Fengxian who lived in late ninth century, Du relates how she helped save people with her Daoist practices and teachings amid the bloody chaos upon the collapse of the Tang dynasty. According to this account, some scholars have regarded Wang as a Daoist female saint. However, this portrait depicted by Du is far away from historical facts. According to historical records such as *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑, and *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, Wang Fengxian was worshipped by the rebel generals Bi Shiduo (d. 888) and Qin Yan (d. 888) as a female shaman in Yangzhou, and she even instructed the two generals to kill the former governor Gao Pian (d. 887) and his whole family with a total of several hundred people.

Du Guangting was one of the most important figures in the Highest Clarity tradition, but he was also appointed as a high official at the court of the state of Shu during the chaos period of the late Tang to early Five Dynasties. This twofold identity greatly influenced his reflection on the roles of women in Tang Daoist tradition. Through a careful examination of the 16 hagiographies of Tang priestesses, this paper shows how Du Guangting modified or recreated their images according to his own opinion of the roles and images proper to Daoist priestesses, which combined Daoist self-cultivation with Confucian ethics and later actually became models for Daoist women.

Patricia Karetzky

Art History Program, Bard College

Tang Metropolitan Style in Religious Art

After four hundred years of political division and the rise of regional cultures, China experienced political unity with the establishment of the Tang. Because of the imperial system of government, this political union was accompanied by the imposition of cultural unity. Artists supported by the government created works in an imperial style, often at the behest of and under the direction of imperial patrons. As a result over the few hundred years of Tang rule, an artistic style emerged that was disseminated throughout the metropolitan centers of the country: the Tang style in painting, both figurative and landscape, is readily identifiable. Similarly, in the realm of religious art, emperors commissioned the founding of Buddhist and Daoist temples in the capitals and in provincial centers throughout the empire. These architectural entitles were replete with Tang style murals and sculptural decorations. In addition different types of Buddhist art emerged in response to the introduction of new schools of Buddhism favored at court, resulting in innovations in iconography, formats and style. Though little Tang Daoist art has survived, there is ample evidence of Buddhist art at the well known sites of Dunhuang, Tianlongshan, and Longmen to mention a few, and new archaeological discoveries share with these the styles and characteristics of the metropolitan style. This paper will examine the creation of the Tang style and its presence in new finds in China.

Paul Kroll

Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Colorado, Boulder

On the Study of Tang Literature

Beginning with consideration of both terms of the phrase “Tang literature,” which is hardly a transparent or trouble-free notion and deserves scrutiny, a brief survey of our present progress as explorers of the Tang world is offered. Discussion follows of the aims and requirements of textual research across disciplines, with focus on significant challenges both in subject matter and scholarly method that currently face us. The general problem has to do with issues of inclusivity and instability, and involves

questions relating variously to the use of official and unofficial documents, anecdotal histories, and epigraphy, with special attention to poetry and the constant imperatives as well as the inevitable limits of both philology and our “hundred years of care.”

Manling Luo

Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Indiana University

Imagining the Kaiyuan and Tianbao: The Construction of Mosaic Memory in the Post-Rebellion Anecdotes

After the catastrophic rebellions (755-762), the fascination in mid- and late Tang with the bygone era of the Kaiyuan (713-741) and Tianbao (742-756) resulted in a large number of writings in poetry and narrative. Because of their fragmentary nature and dubious origins, anecdotal narratives are usually taken much less seriously, if not dismissed altogether. As a vibrant component of the contemporary trends of exchanging and recording interesting tales, however, these anecdotes actually played a unique role in constructing the memory of the Kaiyuan and Tianbao during the post-rebellion period.

Focusing on collections of anecdotes including the *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄, *Kai Tian chuanxin ji* 開天傳信記, and *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事, my paper aims to investigate the particular ways in which these anecdotes patch together a complex mosaic picture that creates imaginary links to the past and further, to examine the significance of this mosaic memory in light of the broad historical context in general and the literati culture of casual storytelling and writing in particular. Analyzing how the unique form of anecdotal narration serves the multi-facet cultural commemoration defining the popular imagination of the Kaiyuan and Tianbao, I would also like to explore the fundamental hermeneutical issues surrounding anecdotal narratives, which challenge our modern assumptions of reading with their problematic authorship, debatable dating, unstable text, as well as the seemingly chaotic, trivial, and often apocryphal contents.

David L. McMullen

Department of East Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

Disorder in the ranks: Tang court assemblies and fault-lines in the Tang governmental structure

Plenary assemblies of the Tang court attended by metropolitan officials took place on a regular basis and on special occasions. They were frequently marked by disorderly conduct and absenteeism. Yet they were subject to strict protocols, and succession of prominent scholar officials argued their ideological importance. Controversies reflect some of the fault lines in the Tang political structure. The place of imperial princes in relation to the senior officials; the rules for court mourning, the dress appropriate for court assemblies for differing ranks; and place of the palace eunuchs were all controverted in the seventh and early eighth centuries. The enormous changes in the balance of power between court and provinces after the An Lushan rebellion were also reflected in issues of court protocol and court assemblies.

This paper argues that there was a conservative element in the metropolitan bureaucracy that resented the loss of influence of the traditional bureaucratic structure, as prescribed by the *Tang liu dian*, and its displacement by the proliferating commissioner system. The evidence for this is mostly indirect and scattered; it was not politic to criticize too directly a system involving some of the most powerful officials in the land. But the court assemblies were seen by some as the preserve of the traditional administrative structure in which position should be determined primarily by basic offices.

Identifying a conservative element in the metropolitan scholarly bureaucracy that had views on the court assemblies helps understanding the political climate especially of the post-rebellion decades. This element had control over the documentation, and that in turn may help explain why the documentation for institutional change in the Tang is presented as it is.

Oliver Moore

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen, Talen en culturen van China, Leiden University

Flows of Time between Tang City and Province

Tang writings record their society's experiences of time via the asymmetry of city and provincial life, and few circumstances articulate better the

varied consciousness of time than conflict between judicial authorities and infringers of the law. In texts analyzed in this paper, Chang'an and other Tang cities accommodate police forces struggling with gangs/families who loot tombs in the city's surroundings. Visible in these events is a quality of time defined by its apparent sovereign subjects, namely the officers of Tang government. Yet, time has another quality when the same events are described by the troublesome objects of judicial efforts to control a world also populated by robbers, vagrants and the ghosts of the dead.

This paper uses the perceptions of disputing social groups to pursue two points. Firstly, borrowing theoretical insights on time from Lévi-Strauss and Kracauer, stories based essentially on courtroom confessions reveal how time in the Tang world works through multiple and asynchronous flows. The flow of time may be irrational to one group, but logical to another, while each group may make its own sense of time palpable through preferred ritual acts or the enchantment of particular material objects. Secondly, compiling and circulating these stories reflect Tang historians' interest in time as counterpart to their fascination with magic and the supernatural. Attention to the larger mass of such stories makes official and popular conceptions of time a strong cultural dimension in the modern project of re-imagining urban and provincial existence in the Tang world.

Mario Poceski

Religion Department, University of Florida

Hagiographic Representation and Historical Reimagining of Tang Chan

Critical examination of the hagiographic representations of leading Chan teachers from the Tang era (618–907), such as Mazu Daoyi (709–788) and Baizhang Huaihai (749–814), provides us with valuable insights about the Chan school's larger historical trajectories, including the socioreligious predicaments and cultural constraints that shaped its growth and diffusion in Tang and Song China. That helps us go beyond traditionalist and homogenizing discourses that highlight the mythos of Chan's uniqueness. Instead, the various sources reveal great diversity and historical complexity, a *mélange* of elements that span the popular and the elitist, the court-oriented and the localized. In this paper I explore the broader issue of historical remembrance and representation within the Chan tradition by looking at key hagiographic images of Baizhang, as revealed in various Chan texts and other pertinent sources.

Baizhang's high standing in the pantheon of Chan worthies was primarily based on broad appreciation of his roles as the putative originator of Chan monasticism and exemplar of an iconoclastic ethos celebrated in traditional Chan lore. As subsequent generations of Chan/Zen writers and adherents formulated their visions of Chan orthodoxy, they imputed aspects of their ideological agendas and religious sentiments back to Baizhang, thereby refashioning his image in light of changing religious, institutional, and historical circumstances. The paper is a study of those changing perceptions and images, with a focus on three key hagiographic transmutations of Baizhang's religious persona: paradigmatic Chan iconoclast, patron saint of Chan monasticism, and sophisticated teacher of Buddhist doctrine and contemplative practice.

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Cakravartin, Ceremony and Conflagration: Wu Zhao and the Pañçavarsika of 694

The late Antonino Forte describes the Pañçavarsika, a massive communal vegetarian feast known as the *wu zhe hui* “festival without barriers” in Chinese sources, a rite with origins dating back to the famous Indian king Asoka, as “the most important feast in the whole of Buddhist Asia, a feast that, when run by Buddhist kings, represented the unity between subject and king.” In 694, as her ambition to style herself a Cakravartin—a wheel-turning, universal Buddhist monarch—reached its zenith, Wu Zhao, China's first and only woman emperor, sponsored a Pañçavarsika. With characteristic panache, she reinvented the rite in her own image, staging a staggering spectacle that featured levitating Buddhas, a grand thanksgiving feast, and munificent distribution of cash to the common people. The ceremony ended, however, with a massive conflagration that polarized the court, igniting both a literal and figurative firestorm. Building on the work of Forte and Max Deeg, and utilizing further material from the Taisho Tripitika and other sources, this essay will demonstrate both that the Pañçavarsika marked the zenith of Wu Zhao's aspirations to create herself as a universal Buddhist monarch, and that in the aftermath of the rite, her rule underwent a clearly discernable ideological shift. This essay will situate her Pañçavarsika both in the historical context of the rite and in the wider framework of the female sovereign's concerted efforts to buttress her political legitimacy her sovereignty using Buddhist rites and ceremonies.

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Sui-Tang Diplomatic Protocol as Eurasian Ritual

Studies of imperial Chinese diplomacy conventionally assume that Confucian rites had indigenous origins isolated from Eurasian practices, and that a major purpose of ritual was to distinguish Han from non-Han. This paper seeks to question these assumptions in regard to Sui-Tang diplomatic ceremonies by comparing Sui to mid-Tang diplomatic protocols with those of contemporary Turko-Mongol nomads and other Eurasian peoples. The paper demonstrates that Sui-Tang diplomatic rituals incorporated patrimonial elements that were customary throughout Eurasia, such as pageantry, status ranking, displays of obeisance, gift exchanges and feasting. The patrimonial aspects formed a foundational semiotic code for diplomatic ceremonies while particular choices in decorations, music or symbols distinguished polities from each other, creating symbolic political boundaries. Confucian state rituals always had incorporated patrimonial aspects, but Sui and early Tang emperors placed an even greater emphasis on patrimonially inspired diplomatic ceremonies.

External influences on Sui-Tang China conventionally are explained as a legacy of Xianbei rule during the Northern Dynasties. This paper argues that we also need to consider the legitimization requirements of expansive empires, like the Sui and Tang. Rulers who had a deep reservoir of symbols at their disposal were more likely to impress a wide variety of visitors from inside and outside of their realms. Patrimonial aspects of diplomatic ceremonies waxed with the expansion of the Sui and Tang into Inner Asia, but waned as the empire contracted after the An Lushan rebellion.

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Of Dhāraṇīs and Maṇḍalas: Mogao Cave 14 and Esoteric Buddhist Art of the Tang Dynasty

Previous studies of the Buddhist maṇḍalas of East Asia have generally focused on the paradigmatic Two Realms Maṇḍala of Japan, often overlooking the unique circumstances of esoteric Buddhist art and

maṇḍalas in China during the Tang Dynasty. This paper proposes a re-evaluation of the methodology which has been applied to the study of East Asian maṇḍalas by focusing on the ceiling and wall paintings of the late 9th – early 10th century Mogao Cave 14, located in Dunhuang, Gansu Province. Particular emphasis will be placed upon the role of the Buddhist verbal incantations called dhāraṇīs as subject matter for visual representation and maṇḍalic imagery, and on the introduction of maṇḍalas into the ritual manuals attached to some of the most popular dhāraṇīs of the Tang Dynasty. The supporting evidence comes not only from the received Buddhist canon, but also from the Buddhist manuscripts recovered from Dunhuang.

In my paper, I argue that dhāraṇīs and maṇḍalas, the paradigmatic verbal and visual forms related to esoteric Buddhism, served as the main conceptual and organizational principles for the iconographic program of Mogao Cave 14. As this cave represents the most comprehensive esoteric Buddhist program of the Tang Dynasty caves at this site, it serves as an important case study for the ways in which Buddhist doctrine and Buddhist art were activated within a specific religious context and to demonstrate the ways in which the production and functions of maṇḍalas were integrated into the religious life of medieval China.

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The Shaping of Du Mu's *Fengliu* Poetic Personality

With regard to classical Chinese poetry, almost every poet who obtained literary immortality possessed talents in writing poetry as well as a strong poetic personality. Starting from the ninth century, in addition to the traditional poetic personalities which were usually positively or negatively related to state affairs (participation or negation), there appeared a type of *fengliu* poetic personalities, which was romantically oriented and usually related to the connoisseurship of entertainers.

Using Du Mu (803-853) as a study case, this paper discloses how a poet's *fengliu* poetic personality was constructed, accepted, and enriched, overweighing his image as a politically serious poet, and assisting him in achieving literary immortality.

Focusing on the sources, reception, and circulation of the poems on which Du Mu's *fengliu* image was constructed, I would first like to argue that this image resulted from the contradiction and collaboration between the poet's self-image construction and readers' reconstruction.

Moreover, by examining the descriptions of Du Mu's *fengliu* image in poetry, *ci* lyrics, remarks on poetry, anecdotes, dramas, and novels, I propose that this image was not only modeled on but also enriched and stabilized by literati of later periods.

Finally, based on the origins, development, and functions of Du Mu's *fengliu* image, I suggest that the forces helping to shape this image lie in the rising importance of romance and individuality in pre-modern Chinese literature as well as the mutual influences among different literary genres.

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From "Merry Making" to "Great Bliss": Sexuality in Tang China

This paper investigates Tang perception of sexuality and Tang norms of sexual behaviors through a close reading of Zhang Zhuo's "Merry Making in a Fairy Dwelling" (*You xianku*) and Bai Xingjian's "Poetic Essay on Great Bliss of the Sexual Union of Heaven and Earth and Yin and Yang" (*Tiandi yinyang jiaohuan dale fu*), both are considered pioneer works of Chinese erotica. It argues: 1) "Merry Making" and "Great Bliss" bring a new dimension to Chinese attitude toward sexuality: not only is sex natural and pleasurable, it is also central to many aspects of human life such as physical wellbeing, spousal harmony, social and cultural standing, emotional fulfillment, and spiritual enlightenment. 2) The literati elite not only played a key role in defining sexual pleasure and norms of sexual behaviors, but also influenced Tang gender perception through portraying ideal femininity and masculinity. 3) During the Tang, men and women were considered equal partners in bed, at least in the imaginary world. In addition, vampirism, sex battle, and the Femme Fatale do not appear to be central to Tang erotica. 4) The texts reveal that during the Tang, affection between man and woman, especially loving feelings between a husband and a wife, are much celebrated and most cherished.