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Physicians, Quanzhen Daoists, and Folk Cult of the Sage of Medicine in Nanyang, 1540s–1950s*

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Abstract

This article investigates the close interaction among the physicians' guild, Daoists, patients, and devotees of Zhang Ji (*z.* Zhongjing, 150–211) at the Shrines of the Sage of Medicine and the Three Sovereigns in the city of Nanyang, Henan, from the late Ming to the early Republican period. Using previously untapped local temple steles, extant textual sources, and other evidences developed from fieldwork, the author shows that Daoist clerics of the Quanzhen Nanwu lineage played a vitally important role not only in the physical upkeep and daily operations of the shrines, but also in the local physicians' annual sacrifices and worship of the medical pantheon that featured the Three Sovereigns and the Prominent Physicians, especially,

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Zhang Ji. In addition, these Quanzhen Daoist clerics also provided service at the physicians' annual social and professional gatherings at the shrines where the guild members discussed their healing craft and practice. The author demonstrates that by using their privileged positions as the shrine keepers, the Quanzhen clerics managed to have cultivated long-term ties with the physicians and local elite. Drawing on these close ties and on the organizational strength of their fictive kinship as a religious lineage, these Quanzhen clerics exercised considerable agency and influence in dealing with their physician clients, in shaping the local cult of the Lord Sage of Medicine centered on Zhang Ji, and in hosting and disseminating folk, rather than orthodox, healing beliefs and practices such as the divinatory slips of prescriptive recipes at the Sage of Medicine Shrine in Nanyang.

Keywords: Quanzhen Nanwu Daoist clerics, shrine keepers, the physicians' guild, Zhang Ji (Zhongjing), Sage of Medicine, divinatory slips of prescription

I. Introduction

Even though Chinese medicine had undergone a gradual and continuous process of de-deification and professionalization since the Song, gods of medicine, religious specialists who managed the worship of these gods, and the shrines that housed them continued to play an important role in China's late imperium. While these aspects of Chinese medicine have drawn scholarly attention in the past few decades, the focus has tended to be either on the functions

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of the deities of medicine and the state in the formation of official medical education and knowledge production as shown in Reiko Shinno's doctoral thesis and Zheng Jinsheng's monograph, or on the roles of local medical elite and physicians in the formation of regional healing tradition and medical culture, as evidenced in the studies by Angela K. Leung and Chao Yüan-ling.[1]

Building on these earlier works, I focus in this study on the roles and activities by religious specialists in the maintenance and dissemination of gods, cults and shrines devoted to healing and medicine in the late imperial period. Based on evidence gathered in Nanyang 南陽, a prefectural seat in the southwestern corner of the present Henan 河南 province, this study reconstructs and investigates the roles played from the late Ming to the early Republic periods by the Quanzhen 全真 Daoist shrine keepers (*miaozhu* 廟祝) in their management of the cult of the medicine gods and sages at the two local shrines: Three Sovereigns Shrine (Sanhuang miao 三皇廟) and the Shrine of the Sage of Medicine (Yisheng ci 醫聖祠). In their capacity as the shrine keepers, these Daoists were entrusted by local physicians and herbal merchants with the management and care of their guild's shrines and the ritual services to be rendered to the gods and sages within. In the process, the Quanzhen Daoist clerics also became actively involved in local economy, culture, religion and society through a variety of roles: as monastic landlords, investors in local businesses, and patrons and managers of local folk cults (see Figure 1).

Built near each other, these two shrines in Nanyang's east gate neighborhoods were, by the early 1700s, combined into one temple

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[1] For recent studies on the state patronage of the Three Sovereigns cult and medicine in the late imperial period, see Angela K. C. Leung, "Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region," *Late Imperial China* 81 (1987): 134–166; Reiko Shinno 秦玲子, "Medical Schools and the Temples of the Three Progenitors in Yuan China: A Case of Cross-Cultural Interactions," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67.1 (2007): 89–133; and Chao Yüan-ling, "Patronizing Medicine: The *Sanhuang miao* (Temple of the Three Emperors) in Late Imperial China" (paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, New York City, NY, January 2–5 1997), and her *Medicine and Society in Late Imperial China: A Study of Physicians in Suzhou, 1600–1850* (New York: Peter Lang Publications, 2009); and also, Zheng Jinsheng 鄭金生, *Yaolin waishi* 藥林外史 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007).

complex. From the late Ming to the 1950s, the shrines also housed the local guild of physicians (Yilin huiguan 醫林會館) made up of Nanyang physicians, herbal merchants, and drugstore owners. As such, the shrines were the venue where the local physicians and herbal store owners gathered with local officials each spring and fall to render sacrifices to gods and sages of medicine. Local physicians and herbal store owners sponsored these rites of sacrifice to renew their bonds with these gods and sages, and to ensure their continued success and profit. In addition, the shrines functioned as the site where local physicians and their disciples met to discuss and transmit the craft and learning of healing.

Despite the fact that the physicians and herbal trade merchants owned these shrines, they were by no means the exclusive patrons there. Indeed, the shrines also attracted large numbers of devotees and patients from all walks of life in and beyond Nanyang, mostly because of their association with Zhang Ji 張機 (*z.* Zhongjing 仲景, 150?–211?)—a Nanyang native, and one of the most revered deities of medicine honored at the shrines. These followers flocked to the shrines, and especially to Zhang's tomb, to pray and seek healing and health from the Lord Sage of Medicine (Yisheng ye 醫聖爺), as Zhang Ji was known in the local folk cult. To them, the Lord Sage of Medicine, like many other popular local gods, was a personal deity with magical healing power rather than an orthodox paragon of canonical medicine. But with their obviously different perceptions and interests, how did the Nanyang physicians and the folk devotees managed to coexist at the same site?

Part of the answer can be found with the Quanzhen Daoist clerics who lived at and managed the shrine complex. These Quanzhen shrine keepers played a crucial role in ensuring the smooth operation of the complex and often complicated web of ritual, social, and business relationships. As part of their routine duties, the Daoist clerics were in charge of taking physical care of the buildings and grounds at the shrine complex, assisting its daily visitors with their ritual needs, supervising its land tenants, planning its annual fairs, overseeing its finances, and raising the funds necessary for the overall upkeep and operations of the shrines. Even as they serviced the elite orthodox ritual worship of Zhang Ji—the sage of canonical medicine worshipped by local physicians and

herbalists—the Quanzhen Daoist shrine keepers also fostered the local folk healing rituals centered on the Lord Sage of Medicine and practiced by his faithful devotees. The Quanzhen Daoists thus became a key institutional and ritual linchpin which enabled the coexistence of folk healing practices alongside elite canonical medicine at the shrines. As such, the Daoist clerical presence proved to be invaluable to the continued existence and operations of the shrine from the Ming-Qing transition to the early Republican period. More importantly, their involvement as the shrine managers also reveals how deeply and intimately the Quanzhen Daoist clerics had pervaded the social, ritual, and economic fabric of Nanyang since the late sixteenth century.

This study also pays close attention to the Daoist shrine keepers' interactions with their physician and literati clients over time. The dynamic between temple owners and their Daoist managers, and the social and ritual functions of these clerical managers have both been ably investigated by Vincent Goossaert among others. Based on evidence from Peking and other places, Goossaert has shown that Daoist temple managers were employed primarily by two types of organizations: those of a religious lineage, or a lay temple community. While religious lineage groups seldom interfered with the duties of the temple residents and their managers, more strongly organized local lay temple communities—such as a lay devotional society or a professional guild—typically maintained much stricter control over the clerical residents and managers at the temple. They often held onto the temple's land deeds and funds. Goossaert finds that with the intrusive modernizing Republican state often siding with the lay communities, Daoist clerical managers at the temples which they did not own outright found it increasingly difficult, if not entirely impossible, to assert even a limited measure of autonomy and exercise power.[2] In some respects, the interactive dynamic of the

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[2] See Vincent Goossaert, "The Taoist Temple Clergy," in his *Taoists of Peking, 1800–1949: A Social History of Urban Clerics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center and Harvard University Press, 2007), 83–133; and "Resident Specialists and Temple Managers in Late Imperial China," in *Min-su ch'ü-i* 民俗曲藝 153 (Special Issue on Religious Specialists and Local Communities Part I, co-edited by Vincent Goossaert and Paul Katz, 2006): 25–68.

Quanzhen clerics at the Sage of Medicine Shrine is quite similar to that discussed by Goossaert from other places in China.

But in other aspects, the Nanyang case shows a more complex and even somewhat counterintuitive pattern of interaction wherein the Daoist shrine keepers were able to assert some measure of autonomy and exercise power vis-à-vis their physician employers. Indeed, the evidence from Nanyang will show that while these Daoist clerics played an important role in maintaining and even proliferating the cult and vision of Zhang Ji as the orthodox deity of medicine, they also accommodated and even supported the rise of the local folk alternative beliefs and practices centered on the medical sage. This poses the question: what enabled the Quanzhen clerics to hold onto their agency and power?

By reconstructing the history of the shrines of the Three Sovereigns and the Sage of Medicine, and concentrating on the life of the Quanzhen shrine keepers and their complex relationship with the Nanyang physicians and the devotees of local cults, I hope that I will be able to reveal the factors that empowered the Quanzhen clerics at the shrines and in local society in Nanyang. In addition, I would also like to highlight the various important functions that the Quanzhen Daoist clerics played in managing the ritual life of the local physicians and in shaping the shrine as a social, religious, and cultural space that accommodated different, even conflicting, visions about divinity and efficacy, a space wherein the Qing and modern states, elite physicians, and commoner devotees and patients were able to coexist as well as compete in promoting their respective visions and interests.

II. The Background

Up until the early 1980s, any visitor to the neighborhoods of eastern Nanyang could not but notice a stately shrine located off the main road leading into the eastern gate of the city. Though quite decrepit and out of repair by then, the main hall of the shrine still presented an imposing front facing south, as if to remind the visitor of its past glory as the Three Sovereigns Shrine honoring Fuxi 伏羲, Shennong 神農, and Huangdi 黃帝, the three founders of Chinese culture and medicine who, together with ten prominent

physicians (*mingyi* 名醫), were the innovators of Chinese medicine. Less than a hundred yards or so northward, behind the shrine, was a tomb in honor of Zhang Ji, and about twenty yards behind the tomb was the Sage of Medicine Shrine, also in honor of Zhang. On a north and south axis, the Three Sovereigns Shrine in the front, the tomb in the middle, and the Sage of Medicine Shrine in the backcourt form an integrated shrine complex with a series of side-halls and verandas aligned on their east and west wings. But such a physical layout—with Zhang's tomb and the main shrine in his honor occupying the much weightier and prominent central and rear quarters of the complex—highlights the central importance and prestige of the Sage of Medicine in the mind of the locals throughout the Qing period. As if to accommodate this local cult of Zhang Zhongjing, the contemporary Nanyang authorities chose to raze the decrepit Three Sovereigns Shrine in the mid-1980s and erected a pair of faux-Han style twin towers as the new entrance to the Sage of Medicine Shrine compound. From then on, no traces of the old Three Sovereigns Shrine were left at the site, as the elevation of Zhang Zhongjing, the Sage of Medicine, reached its zenith. Symbolically, the mid-1980s architectural reconfiguration of the shrine compound represented a culmination of a long and evolving trend that began in the late Ming and early Qing era, when the historical trajectories of the two shrines were first being set forth by local physicians, officials, and Daoist clerics, as well as local devotees and ordinary patients.

The history of the Three Sovereigns Shrine in Nanyang begins much earlier than that of the Sage of Medicine Shrine. It was constructed anew in 1546 by local physicians with backing of the Ming princedom, presumably at the old site of a Yuan shrine,[3] and

[3] The pre-Ming history of the Three Sovereigns Shrine remains poorly understood. While the 1546 stele inscription penned by the Ming prince to commemorate the building of the shrine makes no mention of any pre-Ming predecessor of the shrine, the prince did however describe the shrine built in the late Ming as a "newly built" (*xinjian* 新建) shrine, a phrasing that insinuates the existence of an old version of the shrine in Nanyang, if not at the same site. Additionally, we know that in early 1295, under Chengzong's reign, the Yuan court issued an empire-wide edict ordering all of its prefectures and counties to establish their own Three Sovereigns Shrines as part of the state sacrifice officiated by the local medical officials twice a year—in the spring and fall. See "Junxian Sanhuang

housed the worship of a pantheon of patron gods of medicine, with Fuxi, Shennong and Huangdi as its primary deities, and the ten prominent physicians as their attendant deities (*congsi* 從祀).[4] Though we know little about the circumstances under which the Nanyang Three Sovereigns Shrine came to be built anew in 1546, its construction in Nanyang seemed to have coincided with the renewed Ming imperial patronage of the cult under Zhu Houcong 朱厚熜 during the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1522–1566). After Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the Ming founder, initially put an end to the Yuan state worship of the Three Sovereigns in the local prefectures and counties, and re-appropriated the worship as part of the Ming cult of the emperors in the spring of 1371, the Jiajing emperor began to patronize the cult. Probably as part of his overall efforts at "revising and rectifying the orthodox rites of sacrifice" (*lizheng sidian* 釐正祀典) of the Ming court, the Shizong emperor ordered a major renovation of the imperial Shrine of Three Sovereigns at the capital in the winter of 1542. Upon the completion of the renovation, the emperor named the main hall of the shrine as "Brilliant Benefit" (Jinghui 景惠), and the entrance gate to the shrine as "Universal Aid" (Xianji 咸濟). In addition to the Three Sovereigns, their four attending cohorts Goumang 勾芒, Zhurong 祝融, Feng Hou 風后 and Limu 力牧, and the ten prominent physicians Jiudaiji 僦貸季, Qi Bo 岐伯, Bogao 伯高, Gui Yuqu 鬼臾區, Yu Fu 俞跗, Shaoyu 少俞, Shaoshi 少師, Tongjun 桐君, Taiyi Leigong 太乙雷公, and Ma Shihuang 馬師皇, a group of an additional eighteen physicians from the pre-Ming era were added to the east and west wings of the main shrine to share the worship. The emperor would send his ministers to make supreme sacrifices to the sovereigns and the

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miao" 郡縣三皇廟, in *Yuan shi* 元史, *j.* 76, "Jisi zhi" 祭祀志 27, "Jisi" 祭祀 5, *Ershiwu shi* 二十五史 ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe and Shanghai shudian, 1986), 9:7453. Thus, it is hard to imagine Nanyang, which was an important prefecture (*fu* 府) under the circuit of Henan jiangbei dao 河南江北道 and composed of 2 counties (*xian* 縣) and 5 subprefectures (*zhou* 州), as never having built its own Three Sovereigns Shrine in line with the 1295 Yuan edict. For the general history of Sanhuang miao under the Mongols, see Reiko Shinno, "Promoting Medicine in the Yuan Dynasty (1206–1368): An Aspect of Mongol Rule in China" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2002), 124–158.

[4] For recent studies on the state patronage of the Three Sovereigns cult and medicine in the late imperial period, see the works cited above in note 1.

attendant physicians in the second months of spring and winter.[5]

But from the early Qing, beginning with the construction of the Sage of Medicine Shrine behind the Three Sovereigns Shrine in Nanyang, the focus of worship at the Nanyang shrine began to shift to Zhang Zhongjing, who had been just one of the attendant prominent physicians in the Three Sovereigns Shrine throughout much of the Ming era. The construction of the Sage of Medicine Shrine and the cult of Zhang Zhongjing in early Qing Nanyang are best understood in the context of the gradual ascendance of Zhang's *Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders* (*Shanghan lun* 傷寒論) in the medical philology and canonically based medicine of the Ming and Qing eras.[6] As Ben Elman and others have shown, the revaluation of Zhang Zhongjing and his medical classic was part of the late Ming and Qing medical revivalism that called for a return to ancient medicine and other forms of ancient learning.[7]

While the newly constructed Sage of Medicine Shrine may be seen as a celebration of Zhang Zhongjing as the sage and patron god of medicine, especially in the eyes of local physicians during the Qing, it did not remain a venue of worship patronized exclusively

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[5] See entry "Jiajing ershiyi nian shi'er yue" 嘉靖二十一年十二月, "Daming Shizong Su Huangdi shilu" 大明世宗肅皇帝實錄, 269.4, in *Ming shilu: Fu jiaokan ji* 明實錄：附校勘記 (Nangang: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu suo, 1968), 83:5307. The eighteen physicians added to the 1543 shrine for worship are Yi Yin 伊尹, Qin Yueren 秦越人, Chunyu Yi 淳于意, Zhang Ji, Hua Tuo 華佗, Wang Shuhe 王叔和, Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐, Ge Hong 葛洪, Chao Yuanfang 巢元方, Sun Simiao 孫思邈, Wei Cicang 韋慈藏, Wang Bing 王冰, Qian Yi 錢乙, Zhu Gong 朱肱, Liu Wansu 劉完素, Zhang Yuansu 張元素, Li Gao 李杲, and Zhu Yanxiu 朱彥修.

[6] On the ascendance of Zhang's *Shanghan lun* and related medical texts during the late Ming and Qing, see Ren Yingqiu 任應秋, "Shilun gudai zhi 'Shanghan xue' de gaikuang ji qi liupai de xingcheng (1)" 試論古代治「傷寒學」的概況及其流派的形成(一), and "Shilun gudai zhi 'Shanghan xue' de gaikuang ji qi liupai de xingcheng (2)" 試論古代治「傷寒學」的概況及其流派的形成(二), *Shanghai zhongyiyao zazhi* 上海中醫藥雜誌 7 (1962): 5–10, and 8 (1962): 21–24. See also Cao Bingzhang 曹炳章, "Zhongguo lidai Shanghan shu yan'ge lueshi" 中國歷代傷寒書沿革略史, *Zhongguo chuban yuekan* 中國出版月刊 4 (1934): 66–70, and Chen Bangxian 陳邦賢, "Lidai duiyu Shanghan xue yanjiu de gaishu" 歷代對於傷寒學研究的概述, *Kexueshi jikan* 科學史集刊 1 (1958): 59–67. See also Ma Jixing 馬繼興, *Zhongyi wenxian xue* 中醫文獻學 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 2005), 110–135.

[7] See Benjamin Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 228–244.

by local physicians. Both Zhang's tomb and the shrine also held a special appeal for commoners and patients alike from Nanyang and beyond during the late imperial period. As a demi-god believed to confer miraculous cures, the Lord Sage of Medicine, as he was known to the local commoners, also drew many faithful devotees and patients who flocked to the shrine to pay their homage and seek cures through a variety of healing practices, including the divinatory healing which involves the use of the Sage of Medicine's Efficacious Slips of Recipes (Yisheng lingqian 醫聖靈簽).

For several centuries leading up to the early 1950s, the real or perceived efficacy of these medicinal recipes brought not only a faithful following to the Lord Sage of Medicine, but also prestige and income to the physicians and herbal merchants in Nanyang, who in turn often chose to express their own piety and gratitude to the Sage of Medicine by donating cash and farmlands to the shrine. Over time, these land donations maintained and expanded the physical grandeur of the shrine. To ensure the success of this mutually beneficial enterprise, local physicians and literati in Nanyang often retained Daoist (and occasionally Buddhist) clerics to help them manage the shrine and its vast landholdings. While these clerics are barely visible in the transmitted records, they played a crucially vital role in sustaining the operations of the shrine for their physician patrons and visiting patients alike.

So both the Three Sovereigns Shrine and the Sage of Medicine Shrine functioned as venues wherein physicians and patients, herbal merchants and members of the literati, Daoist shrine managers, and Buddhist monks, along with local commoners, all converged to engage in social, cultural, professional, ritual, and political transactions with the gods and the Sage of Medicine, as well as with one another, for both practical benefits and symbolic meanings.

Therefore, in addition to the larger background of the late Ming and Qing philological revivalism of ancient medicine and medical classics, the rising local cult of Zhang Zhongjing as a sage of medicine and a healing god in Nanyang must also be understood in these local contexts. The cult in Nanyang had its own particular trajectory of formative development. Indeed, it arose from a complex interplay among several local developments: a late Ming literatus' miraculous cure, the early Qing conquest and local

politics, Quanzhen clerical interaction with their physician clients, and the rising folk healing practices centered on the sage's tomb on the shrine compound—all of which make up the subject matter of this study.

III. The Changing Cult of the Three Sovereigns during the Ming

While the early Chinese dynasties down to the Song all venerated the Three Sovereigns as creators of civilization and founders of medicine at various times and in different configurations, the Three Sovereigns' cult really came to flourish with the growth of systemic state support under the Mongol Yuan era when the court actively supported the cult. As shown by Reiko Shinno, the Yuan Central Secretariat, under the influence of Khubilai's key Confucian advisors and the Mongols' own interest in medicine, issued a decree in 1295 which called for the construction of Three Sovereigns shrines as part of its national and regional state-funded medical school system. The 1295 decree also stipulated when, how, and with what level of sacrifices the Three Sovereigns had to be worshipped. It is significant that the Yuan edict also stipulated that each shrine not only serve as the venue where the state medical officials and instructors led local practitioners of medicine in their annual collective worship of and sacrifices to the sovereigns, but also as the place where they promoted professional discourse among the local physicians, and even administered governance and guidance to them.[8]

But by the Ming the cult of the Three Sovereigns had undergone a fundamental change. At the beginning of the Ming era, the Hongwu 洪武 emperor and his court initially kept the Yuan system intact, and maintained the cult's status as an empire-wide worship (*tongsi* 通祀). Later that same year, however, the Hongwu emperor ordered that the cult was to be elevated and that the Three Sovereigns be worshipped with the bovine sacrifice (*tailao* 太牢), the highest ritual sacrifice to be carried out by the throne alone.

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[8] See Reiko Shinno, "Medical Schools and the Temples of the Three Progenitors in Yuan China: A Case of Cross-Cultural Interactions," 106–123.

The following year, he ordered a standardization of the pantheon in the Three Sovereigns shrine. Flanking the Three Sovereigns were now to be the four legendary sage officials: Goumang, Zhurong, Feng Hou, and Limu. In addition, ten legendary physician-officials from antiquity were added to the pantheon: Yu Fu, Tongjun, Jiudaiji, Shaoshi, Leigong, Gui Yuqu, Bogao, Qi Bo, Shaoyu, Ma Shihuang. Together, the emperors decreed that they were to enjoy the same supreme sacrifice and ritual dance as Confucius would. Then, in 1372, arguing that the nationwide worship of the Sovereigns at the local prefectures and counties had become excessive and vulgar, the Hongwu emperor rejected the existing practice of allowing local medical officials and physicians to preside over the worship of the Sovereigns. He warned all local prefects and county magistrates that they must not vulgarize the cult (*wu de xiesi* 毋得褻祀).[9] While these measures by the founding Ming emperor may have aimed only at elevating the cult and restricting its highest observance to the throne exclusively, they also produced an inhibiting effect on both the regional and the popular practice of the cult throughout the realm. As a result, the cult became increasingly an imperial monopoly after the first emperor appropriated it into the larger imperial cult of ancient sovereigns and sagely kings.

After the early Ming injunction, several later Ming thrones all tried cautiously to revise or loosen the imperial grip on the cult. In 1516, the Zhengde 正德 emperor approved a petition by the governor of Shandong 山東 to allow the construction of the Fuxi shrine in Tai'an 泰安, and the subsequent ritual sacrifice to the Sovereign there. Under his reign, the Jiajing emperor showed a particular interest in the cult. He paid for the construction of a new shrine in honor of the Three Sovereigns just north of the Imperial Academy of Medicine (Taiyi yuan 太醫院), and greatly expanded the membership of accompanying physicians at the new shrine. The main hall of the new shrine housed the images of the Three Sovereigns and their four attending officials. Flanking them, in the east side-shrine, were Jiudaiji, Qi Bo, Bogao, Gui Yuqu, Yu Fu, Shaoshi, Tongjun, Leigong, Ma Shihuang, Yi Yin, Bianque 扁鵲 (Qin

[9] See "Lizhi" 禮志, "Li" 禮 4, in *Mingshi* 明史, *j.* 50, *Ershiwu shi* ed., 10:7914.

Yueren 秦越人), Chunyu Yi and Zhang Ji, while in the west side-shrine were Hua Tuo, Wang Shuhe, Huangfu Mi, Ge Hong, Chao Yuanfang, Sun Simiao, Wei Cicang, Wang Bing, Qian Yi, Zhu Gong, Li Gao, Liu Wansu, Zhang Yuansu, and Zhu Yanxiu. According to the Jiajing emperor's edict, the leading officials on the Board of Rites were to render homage at the shrine in the spring and autumn. In addition, the presidents of the Imperial Academy of Medicine were to offer the Minor Sacrifice (*shaolao* 少牢, with sheep or swine) to the deities at the new shrine. As part of the newly-built shrine, the Jiajing emperor also ordered the construction of the Shrine of the Sagely Benevolence (Shengji dian 聖濟殿) in the Forbidden City to commemorate all Ancient Physicians (*xianyi* 先醫). The chief of the Imperial Academy of Medicine was charged with rendering the sacrificial rites to these ancient physicians. In 1542, citing the crowded pantheon at the imperial shrine, the Jiajing emperor ordered a major expansion. The pantheon of medical gods at the expanded shrine now included more actual prominent physicians from the late Zhou to the Song and Jin periods than ancient legendary healers.[10]

The Jiajing emperor's expansion of the imperial cult of the Sovereigns at the Imperial Academy of Medicine did not go unchallenged. In 1570, Wang Xilie 王希烈, an official on the Board of Rites, questioned the logic and wisdom of the separate worship of the Sovereigns at the Imperial Academy of Medicine away from the Hall of the Former Emperors (Diwang miao 帝王廟), and petitioned for a halt to the separate sacrifice at the Academy's shrine. But Wang's petition was soundly rejected by the Longqing 隆慶 emperor, the son and successor to the Jiajing emperor.[11]

In her study of the changing state role in organizing and delivering public medicine during the Ming and the Qing eras,

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[10] Ibid. Under the reign of Shizong (1507–1566), Yan Song 嚴嵩 (1480–1567) had also called for a "restoration" of the early Ming system of sacrifice to the Three Sovereigns at the Imperial Academy of Medicine. See Yan Song, "Xiuzheng Sanhuang sidian yi fu zuzhi" 修正三皇祀典以復祖制, in his *Nangong zouyi* 南宮奏議, 15.12a–15b, *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 476:378–380.

[11] See "Sanhuang miao," in Sun Chengze 孫承澤, *Chunming mengyu lu* 春明夢餘錄, 22.1a–3b, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ed. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 868:253–254.

Angela Leung has shown that the cult of the Three Sovereigns declined in the larger context of the state withdrawal from public medicine. She also shows that the state withdrawal from the local worship of the Three Sovereigns, especially its retreat from public medicine, was accompanied by the continued expansion of local elite patronage and activism in organizing and delivering public medicine throughout the Ming and the Qing periods.[12]

In Nanyang, this trend of expanding local activism in medicine can be seen in several landmark events, from the Ming princely sponsorship of the construction of the local Three Sovereigns Shrine in 1546 to the ascendance and evolution of the cult of Zhang Zhongjing as the Sage of Medicine, from the Qing conquest in the 1640s through the early Republican period. Several groups of patrons such as the local Ming prince, the Qing state officials, the Nanyang physicians' guild, local merchants, and the Quanzhen Daoist clerics all actively participated in this process of local medical activism.

IV. The Three Sovereigns Shrine: The Prince and the Guild of Physicians in Nanyang

The Three Sovereigns Shrine in Nanyang was situated in the old commercial district outside the east gate of the prefectural city. The main street in front of the shrine extended from the old Ming city gate farther eastward across the Bridge of Benevolent Aid over the southward-flowing Warm and Cold Brook (Wenliang he 溫涼河), connecting the prefectural city with the villages in its eastern and southeastern suburbs. For several centuries before Nanyang's new defensive ramparts wall enclosed this district into the prefectural town proper in 1865, the neighborhoods outside the old Ming city wall had already been inhabited by resident merchants of medicinal herbs, apothecary owners, and physicians who managed their business alongside the main street, by local salt, grain, and oil merchants, and by local farmers and peddlers who sold their produce and grain at the markets in this busy commercial district

[12] See Angela Leung, "Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region."

of the city.[13] Extending farther eastward and southward, the bustling main street in front of the shrine and its side-streets brought in both human and commercial traffic from the villages and towns on Nanyang's eastern suburbs, and the ports of calls on the west bank of the White River (Bai he 白河), which encircled the city on its southeast side to flow southward to join the mighty Han River (Han shui 漢水).

It is not surprising that, given its advantageous location and its high concentration of medicinal herbalists, healers, and physicians, the location was chosen as the site of the new Three Sovereigns Shrine in 1546. The construction of the shrine was underwritten by local physicians who were led by Shen Jin 沈津, a learned staff physician who served in the Nanyang principality (*fuyi zhi ruzhe* 府醫之儒者), and Yue Kui 越夔, a local stipendiary (*shengyuan* 生員) and physician (*ru zhi yizhe* 儒之醫者). Their efforts in building the shrine were enthusiastically endorsed by Zhu Yuwen 朱宇溫 (1490–1560), the Reverential Prince of the Tang (Tang Jingwang 唐敬王), and his Principality (Tang wangfu 唐王府) in Nanyang. The prince was the nephew of Zhu Miti 朱彌鍗, the Accomplished Prince (Chengwang 成王, r. 1487–1523) whose two sons had died young. As a result, Zhu Yuwen was selected to inherit the title and principality of Tang at Nanyang in 1525, after his uncle had passed away two years earlier.[14]

Until his own death in 1560, the Reverential Prince seemed to have followed the principality's tradition of patronizing local temples, and even adopted for himself a Daoist-sounding style name, Sicheng zi 思誠子. He took a great interest in sponsoring the building of the shrine, and wrote an inscription to commemorate its completion. According to the prince, the construction began in the third moon of 1545, and was finished in the tenth moon of the same year. The new shrine consisted of a main hall of worship made up of four chambers, an east and a west shrine, each of four chambers, and an entrance hall. The main hall housed the statues

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[13] Even today, the main street and neighborhoods east of the shrine are known for their concentration of medicinal herbal traders, drugstores, traditional healers, and clinics.

[14] For Zhu Yuwen's life, see "Zhu wang shibiao" 諸王世表, in *Ming shi* 明史, *j.* 102, *Ershiwu shi* ed., 10:8072.

of the Three Sovereigns. Flanking the three sages were ten prominent physicians: Qi Bo, — — (Leigong?), — — (Bianque?), Chunyu Yi, Zhang Ji, Hua Tuo, Wang Shuhe, Huangfu Mi, Ge Hong, and Sun Simiao.[15]

While the local physicians seemed to be inspired by their piety toward the Three Sovereigns and the prominent physicians, the prince of Tang saw the establishment of the shrine in political and moral terms. He wrote that the medical skills and spirit of benevolence as embodied in the Three Sovereigns was of vital assistance to government, and that proper ritual worship of the Three Sovereigns would generate endless fortune to the Ming state by perpetuating its principalities for eternity and by bringing benevolence and longevity to all, both those above and those below, throughout the realm and beyond.[16]

After its completion, the shrine seems to have become the focal venue of various ritual activities by local physicians. In 1573, a group of local physicians who identified themselves as "fellow physicians of Nanyang" (Nanyang yijie tongren 南陽醫界同仁) presented the shrine with a commemorative wooden plaque inscribed with the adulatory title for the Sovereigns and prominent physicians: "Patriarchs of Medicine for Ten Thousands of Generations" (Wanshi yizong 萬世醫宗).[17] Local physicians continued to patronize the shrine

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[15] This part of the stele inscription by the Ming prince is too worn to permit a clear reading of the missing names.

[16] The inscription was carved and erected by Zhu Chaoyong 朱朝用, a ranking supervisory attendant 提點承奉 of the Court of State Ceremonies (Honglu si 鴻臚寺). Zhu was most likely dispatched to serve at the Nanyang principality and to handle all its ceremonial and ritual affairs during the Jiajing reign. See Sicheng zi 思誠子, "Xinjian Sanhuang miao ji" 新建三皇廟記, transcription from digital image taken of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Archives, summer of 2007; see also Wang Xinchang 王新昌 and Tang Minghua 唐明華, eds., *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua* 醫聖張仲景與醫聖祠文化 (Beijing: Huayi chubanshe, 1994), 1:108–109.

[17] The 1573 plaque has survived, and now hangs over the Zhang Zhongjing tomb. But according to Tang Minghua, who oversaw the post-Cultural Revolution renovation of the Sage of Medicine Shrine in the early 1980s, the 1573 plaque used to hang inside the main hall of the old Three Sovereigns Shrine. But after the shrine was razed in order to build the new faux-Han entrance towers in 1984, the plaque was preserved and affixed to the arch over the tomb located behind the old Three Sovereigns Shrine site. See my field interview notes with Tang, January, 2010.

and funded its care and upkeep. In 1608, a group of local physicians paid for the renovation of the shrine, especially the addition of an anterior sub-hall (*juanpeng* 捲棚) to the front of the existing main hall of the shrine.[18]

It is significant to note that when the shrine was first built in the fall of 1546, Zhang Zhongjing was simply one of the ten attendant prominent physicians to the Three Sovereigns who were the focus of the worship at the shrine despite the fact that the Ming shrine was built right in front of Zhang's tomb. Indeed, in his enthusiastic endorsement of the shrine, the Ming prince did not make any mention of the physical proximity of the newly constructed shrine to the site of the tomb. That fact seems to suggest at least two things: the prince was either not aware of or not interested in the tomb or the tomb had yet to attract official attention in the late Ming Nanyang region as a site of any significance.

Yet, the fact that the Three Sovereigns Shrine was built at the site of Zhang Zhongjing's tomb was by no means insignificant. The shrine and the tomb together may have created a sacred site with multiple and even divergent meanings for different groups. Indeed, even as early as the late Ming, the shrine in honor of the Three Sovereigns seemed to have already attracted a mixed following with clearly distinct interests. While the Ming prince who patronized the shrine saw the worship of the Three Sovereigns and the attending prominent physicians as vital to sustaining the political stability and prosperity of the Ming realm and his own principality, the local physicians who paid for the construction of the shrine venerated the Sovereigns and prominent physicians as the "patriarchs" of medicine and their profession. Yet even while the focus of worship at the shrine was focused on the Three Sovereigns and the prominent physicians, Zhang's tomb was already attracting its own habitués who were understandably absent from the local

[18] See Shui Zili 水子立, "Yisheng ci mingsheng zhi huiyi" 醫聖祠名勝之回憶, in *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:128–129. Shui himself came from a well-respected local medical lineage. His father was a prominent physician and an active patron of the Sage of Medicine Shrine during the late Qing period. But his mention here of the 1608 addition to the Three Sovereigns Shrine contains no reference to any specific stele or source of his information.

written records or shrine steles of the time. Local patients and devotees may have already begun to visit Zhang's tomb for the famously efficacious slips of medicinal recipes (*yaoqian* 藥簽) that they obtained from the Daoist shrine keepers after praying and offering incense for healing at the tomb. Though the origin of these slips of medicinal recipes remains somewhat sketchy, contemporary Daoist clerics and local historians in Nanyang insist that they had been transmitted during the Ming by Daoist clerics from Mount Hua 華山, located north of Nanyang in western Shaanxi 陝西. Indeed, it was one late Ming scholar-official's tale of his miraculous cure that helped shift the focus of worship from the Three Sovereigns to the Sage of Medicine, and led to the ascendance of the Zhang Zhongjing cult among the officials, physicians, and ordinary devotees during the Ming-Qing transition.

V. The Rise of the Sage of Medicine Shrine in Early Qing Nanyang

In early fourth moon of 1628, a young scholar by the name of Feng Ying'ao 馮應鰲 (*z.* Guangwen 廣文, fl. 1630s–1650s) living in Lanyang 蘭陽,[19] nearly five hundred kilometers northeast of Nanyang, fell gravely ill. Feng was suffering from a severe case of the cold-damage disorder (*shanghan* 傷寒), a condition for which Zhang Zhongjing was well-known for having developed a systemic pathological understanding and a host of therapeutic strategies. For days, he lapsed in and out of a semi-coma, and began to lose touch with the world of the living. He recalled that on the midnight of the 12th day of that month, he saw in a dream a divine man clad in yellow robe and wearing a golden crown (*you shenren huangyi jin guan* 有神人黃衣金冠) appear all of a sudden out of nowhere. As the divine man gently stroked his body, Feng felt the hundreds of

[19] The county seat of Lanyang was located about 35 kilometers east of Kaifeng 開封. It was a county under Kaifeng prefecture during the Ming and most of the Qing dynasty. In December 1824, Lanyang was combined with the adjacent Yifeng 儀封 to form a new county renamed Lanyi 蘭儀. The name was changed again in 1908 to Lankao 蘭考 in deference to the name of the last emperor Puyi 溥儀. See entry "Daoguang si nian shieryue shang" 道光四年十二月上, "Xuanzong Chenghuangdi shilu" 宣宗成皇帝實錄, 76.15b, in *Qing shilu* 清實錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985–1987), 34:233.

passes and channels within his body coming back to life (*baijie ju huo* 百節俱活). When Feng asked the apparition who he was, the man informed him that he was none other than Zhang Zhongjing of Nanyang, and asked a favor of Feng in return for his cure. In his instructions to Feng, Zhang told Feng that a shrine in his honor was located about 4 *li* east of the Nanyang prefectural seat and that about 77 steps behind it was his tomb, which had fallen into disrepair. Having been razed to the ground, the tomb now faced the threat of being dug into by a well digger. Zhang asked Feng to locate the tomb and recover it with soil before it could be dug open. With these words Zhang suddenly disappeared as Feng came to.

Profoundly moved by his miraculous cure and dream encounter, Feng then set out on a southwestward journey of over a thousand *li* across the vast central plains toward Nanyang in the late fall of 1628. Upon his arrival at the Bridge of Benevolent Aid over the Warm and Cold Brook near the east gate, Feng spotted the shrine, which he described as "a shrine honoring his patriarch master" (Zushi miao 祖師廟) just as he had imagined.[20] Inside the shrine, he was even more astonished to see that one statue among those of the prominent physicians looked exactly like the divine man in his dream, down to such details as the robe, the crown, and even the eyebrows. To be certain, Feng asked the resident Daoist shrine keeper for the figure's name. He was told to look for it on the wall behind the statue. Brushing the dust off the wall, Feng saw it was indeed Zhang Zhongjing. He then set about tracking down the tomb. Local physicians informed him that Zhang was known for his masterpiece, *Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders*, and other medical classics, and he was revered as the Second Sage of medicine (*yi zhong yasheng* 醫中亞聖). He learned from local elders that there used to be a stele bearing an inscription at the back of the shrine, but that Commander Guo Yun 郭雲 (*z.* Shengbo 昇波, ?–1378), the

[20] It should be noted that Feng did not make clear if the shrine he spotted near Nanyang's east gate was in honor of Zhang exclusively, but the narrative that follows clearly suggests that this was actually the Three Sovereigns Shrine which also housed Zhang's statue as one of the famous physicians. See Feng Ying'ao, "Zhang Zhongjing lingying beiji" 張仲景靈應碑記 (1628) and "Zhang Zhongjing xiansheng cimu ji" 張仲景先生祠墓記 (1656), in *Nanyang xiangxian yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu zhi* 南陽鄉賢醫聖張仲景祠墓志, ed. Cao Deyu 曹德宇 and Shui Zili (1884; reprint, Nanyang: Nanyang yixue hui, 1936), 11a–15a.

early Ming general who was entrusted with constructing the Ming principality in Nanyang, had confiscated the stele for use as construction materials for the Ming princely palace in the city.[21]

As he went to survey the area behind the shrine, Feng found out to his dismay that it had been turned into a vegetable garden by its present owner. Following the divine man's instructions, Feng measured out exactly 77 yards from the back of the Three Sovereigns shrine, and located the spot where Zhang's tomb was supposed to be. Feng then sought out the owner of the vegetable garden, and told the latter about his miraculous cure. He then offered to buy the small patch of the vegetable garden surrounding the spot where Zhang's tomb was. Feng told the owner that he intended to lay fallow the vegetable plot after he bought it. Annoyed by Feng's purchase request, the owner, Zhu 祝, who also happened to be the vice magistrate of Nanyang (*xiancheng* 縣丞) through purchase, angrily rejected Feng's proposition. Zhu accused of Feng intending to destroy his vegetable garden, and countered Feng's request by insisting that Feng had to purchase the whole vegetable garden if he was genuinely interested. Unable to persuade Zhu, Feng then erected a stele both to mark the spot and to prevent it from being further disturbed. On the stele Feng inscribed an account of his miraculous encounter and appealed for other benevolent gentry members (*shanshi* 善士) of Nanyang to join him in fulfilling the vow he had made to the divine man to repair the tomb. Disappointed, Feng left Nanyang in the late fall of 1628.[22]

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[21] Guo came from Nanyang. He rose to the rank of manager of governmental affairs in Hu-Guang province (Hu-Guang xingsheng pingzhang zhengshi 湖廣行省平章政事) during the late Yuan because of his efforts in organizing local resistance to the advancing rebel forces in southern Henan. He refused to surrender to Xu Da 徐達 after being captured and won the admiration of Zhu Yuanzhang for his upright character and loyalty to the Yuan. His life was spared and he was appointed to serve as the magistrate of Lishui 溧水 county. After winning popular approval there, Guo was promoted to serve as the assistant commander of the Nanyang Guard (Nanyang wei zhihui qianshi 南陽衛指揮僉事). For his life and career, see *Ming shi* 明史, *j.* 134, *Ershiwu shi* ed., 10:8180.

[22] Feng Ying'ao, "Zhang Zhongjing lingying beiji", transcription of digital image taken of the rubbing of the re-carved stele held at Nanyang Archive, summer 2007. And see also *Nanyang xiangxian yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu zhi*, 11a–15a; and *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:86.

Five years later in 1633, while he was taking part in the metropolitan examination in Beijing, Feng ran into some examinees from Nanyang. He was told by these Nanyang examinees that, since he left in 1628, there had been several mysterious happenings at the Zhang Zhongjing tomb site that were now the subject of a widely circulated story told among the residents in Nanyang. According to Feng, in the course of the two years after he left, the stele he had erected was smashed by some locals who found it impeding their access to the vegetable garden. Then two years after that, when a local vegetable gardener attempted to dig a well just a few steps west of the tomb site, the well collapsed, trapping the well-digger inside it. It took a whole day of digging to rescue him. The digger then moved to a new location a few yards further away from the tomb and started to dig again. This time, the digging unearthed the long-lost tombstone to Zhang's tomb. The hole that the digger dug in the ground appeared to be bottomless. One could almost hear wind howling underneath. The distance from the hole to the back of the shrine matched exactly the number of steps Feng had told the locals while he was searching for the tomb site behind the Three Sovereigns Shrine in the fall of 1628. Frightened, the digger quickly filled in the hole. But the story about the incident soon gained foot and spread far and wide as the locals in Nanyang recounted the weird happening (*yishi* 異事). Many who had initially doubted the veracity of Feng's tale of his miraculous cure came to believe him. Many began to understand that the virtue and glory of the dead and the divine must not and could not be concealed. Feng himself returned that year to Nanyang to visit the Three Sovereigns Shrine and Zhang's tomb. He wanted to purchase the land around it and build a special hall in honor of Zhang Zhongjing. But he was also worried that he still did not have sufficient funds and the social stature to carry out the project. He hoped that once he succeeded in the civil service examination, he could then properly repay the sage. But in the successive examinations in 1643 and 1646, Feng failed. Meanwhile, rampant banditry had arisen to dominate the whole North China plain, and blocked all the roads to travel throughout the region. Feng fell deeply ashamed that he might never be able to honor his vow to repay the sage in Nanyang.

A few years after the Qing conquest of the Central Plain, Feng took the newly restored civil service examination in 1648 and succeeded, taking a degree in the classics (*mingjing* 明經). In 1654, he was appointed to the post of the sub-director of education (*xundao* 訓導) at Ye county 葉縣, east of Nanyang.[23] At the time, the Ye county, also known as Kunyang 昆陽, had been ravaged by the incessant warfare of the late Ming period. Its population was decimated, and most of its villages and farm fields were laid to waste. Many fellow officials considered the region as "uninhabitable" (*buke ju* 不可居), and advised Feng against accepting the assignment. But Feng had a very different idea. For him, as an affiliate county, Ye county was close to Nanyang. As the wars had idled agriculture and ruined many of the farmlands there, they would be cheap enough for him to purchase. He was buoyant about achieving his plans for purchasing the vegetable garden to repair Zhang's tomb in Nanyang. As soon as he settled in the Ye county seat, Feng traveled to Nanyang where he was relieved to find the Three Sovereign Shrine, which housed the statue of Zhang, unharmed by the war. But while the Zhang tomb had also survived the late Ming wars, it remained hemmed in by irrigation ditches and vegetable patches. Many of inscriptions on the steles had faded beyond recognition as a result of exposure, and the tombstone was broken and buried among overgrown thickets of wild grass. Since his first visit in 1628, the vegetable plot surrounding the tomb behind the Three Sovereigns Shrine had changed ownership three times, and the shrine itself had also been taken over by Buddhist monks who seemed to have either joined or replaced the Daoists as its resident managers.

Dismayed at the dilapidated condition of the tomb, Feng immediately set about the task of restoration. He first collected all the broken pieces of the steles, and tried to retrieve their inscriptions by reassembling them. In this nearly impossible task of jigsaw puzzle, Feng was fortunate enough to get help from a Buddhist monk at the shrine. It turned out that Hongqiu 洪秋, who lived at the shrine, had managed to recover some of the stele

[23] See "Zhiguan" 秩官, in Zhu Lin 朱璘, *Nanyang fuzhi* 南陽府志, *j.* 4 (1694; reprint, Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1968), 3:891.

inscriptions by collecting and reassembling broken stele pieces scattered in the vegetable plot. The transcriptions—which Hongqiu had copied and preserved—were later corroborated on the basis of broken pieces of steles dug up by a local craftsman named Wang 王. Based on this evidence, Feng was able to reconstruct the history of the tomb, and ascertain the identities of the various owners of the vegetable plots surrounding it.

Next, Feng tried to purchase the vegetable garden and convert it into a permanent memorial ground. Feng sought help from a Nanyang local literatus Dong Guangwen 董廣文, asking him to approach the current owner Yang 楊 for the purchase. Yang first promised to give up his portions of the garden near the tomb and the pathway to it, but in the end was unable to follow through on his promise. He later reverted the ownership of the whole garden back to a Mr. Bao 包, the previous owner. Bao was a prominent resident of Nanyang and held the court-granted title of "Filial and Incorrupt" (*xiaolian* 孝廉), evidence of his good reputation and public standing in Nanyang. When approached by Feng, Bao and his nephew expressed their shared desire to donate the vegetable garden.

Meanwhile, Feng's story of his miraculous cure and his efforts to repair Zhang's tomb found strong support among ranking officials of the post-conquest Qing regime in Nanyang. Hailing from of Hanyang 漢陽, Zhang Sanyi 張三異 (*z*. Luru 魯如, *h*. Yumu 禹木), the co-prefect (*tongzhi* 同知) of Nanyang, took an intense interest in Zhang Zhongjing because of his own personal encounter at the old Three Sovereigns Shrine.[24] Prefect Zhang first arrived in Nanyang to take office in 1655. One day when he rode out to the eastern gate of Nanyang to inspect the city gate and walls there, Zhang spotted the old Ming shrine, still imposing and magnificent among the thicket of overgrown bushes and grass. As he entered the shrine, Zhang was informed by an old man (*yesou* 野叟) there that it housed the statues of prominent physicians from various dynasties, and that behind each of the statues he could find some

[24] Zhang Sanyi was a native of Hanyang, and earned his *jinshi* 進士 degree in 1649. He rose to serve as the prefect of Shaoxing 紹興 and was the author of *Nianyi shi tanci zhu* 廿一史彈詞註 and *Ming ji tanci* 明紀彈詞. His anthology entitled *Laiqing yuan ji* 來青園集 has already survived.

relevant inscriptions. The co-prefect began to perform worship to the prominent physicians one by one inside the main shrine hall. When he came to the statue of Zhang Zhongjing, prefect Zhang was immediately astonished by the statue's resemblance to the portrait of the Sage of Medicine contained in his family genealogy. "How can this be?" he exclaimed. The prefect was at that moment informed by the old man he had met that Zhang's tomb was located several scores of yards behind the shrine. Looking at the statue, the old man then told the prefect about the widely circulated story of Feng's miraculous cure by the Sage of Medicine. Moved by both Feng's miraculous story of healing and his own encounter at the shrine, prefect Zhang revered Zhang Zhongjing as his own ancestor, and identified himself as a "son of the lineage" (*zongzi* 宗子) to the sage. He composed a special memorial in the fall of 1656, and circulated it among his superiors, fellow officials, subordinates, and the literati community throughout the Nanyang region to raise the necessary funds for the renovation of Zhang's tomb.[25]

Fellow officials and literati in Nanyang responded enthusiastically to prefect Zhang's call for contributions. Feng alone contributed 20 taels of silver. Bao and his nephew contributed their vegetable garden which came to 40 *mu* in area. To ensure these donated lands would become a permanent memorial ground, Wang Yian 王亦安, the head of the Nanyang transport command (Nanyang wei 南陽衛) normally in charge of collecting and transporting annual grain tax on such private lands, arranged for a tax exemption status for the donated vegetable plot (*huo qi zu* 豁其租). With the cash donations from both fellow officials and local literati, prefect Zhang not only completed the repair and renovation of the tomb, but also built a new shrine dedicated exclusively to Zhang Zhongjing. Located right behind the tomb site, the new Sage of Medicine Shrine consisted of three chambers. Flanking the main shrine were two roofed verandas or side halls (*liangwu jubei* 兩廡俱備). In front of the tomb, an entrance with double gates was

[25] See Zhang Sanyi, "Mujian Zhang yisheng ci xu" 募建張醫聖祠序 (1656), transcription of the digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archives; and see also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:92–93.

capped with a tall pavilion (*guan yi gaoting* 冠以高亭). Steles were erected in front of the tomb and the shrine, and the trees were planted along the paths leading up to them. The newly completed tomb and shrine now formed the backcourt to the old Ming Three Sovereigns Shrine.

Feng Ying'ao took an active part in the renovation and construction project. In addition to donating 20 taels of silver, Feng used the back of an old Ming stele which recorded the construction of an old shrine to inscribe the commemorative name of the renovated tomb and the new shrine: "The Shrine and the Tomb of Zhang Zhongjing, the Han Prefect of Changsha and the Sage of Medicine" (Han Changsha taishou yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu 漢長沙太守醫聖張仲景祠墓). In addition, Feng collected copies of several classics by Zhang such as *On Reviving* (*Huoren shu* 活人書) and installed them at the new shrine for easy access and use by visitors.[26]

But ancestral piety aside, co-prefect Zhang and many of his fellow-ranking officials in Nanyang also viewed the construction of the Sage of Medicine Shrine as something that could legitimize the new Qing regime in Nanyang. To the prefect and his colleagues, the sage's craft and skills in healing and caring for the physical body carried direct implications for their own governing of the body politic in Nanyang, as they became deeply involved in reconstruction of the city after the Qing conquest of the central plains. Sacked several times by the late Ming rebel forces led by Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645), the town of Nanyang and its surrounding regions had become desolate with local markets closed, roads blocked, and villages and neighborhoods destroyed. As the new Qing regime began to pacify the region by suppressing bandits, rebuilding the city walls, opening the roads and markets, and repopulating the local villages, they became keenly aware that it was crucial to project an image of benevolence and compassion to the people in Nanyang. Who could better serve as such a model of

[26] See Feng Ying'ao, "Han Changsha taishou yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu beiji fuji" 漢長沙太守醫聖張仲景祠墓碑記附記, transcription of the digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archives; and see also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:95–97.

benevolent and compassionate governance than the erstwhile Han governor of Changsha and the Sage of Medicine himself? Indeed, nobody understood and made the point more clearly than Sang Yun 桑芸, the powerful investigating censor of the Ru[yang]-Nan[yang] circuit (Ru-Nan dao jiancha yushi 汝南道監察御史) and highest-ranking Qing official in Nanyang. In his inscription commemorating the construction of the shrine and renovation of the tomb in 1656, Sang Yun expounded on both the motive and the significance of official patronage of the new shrine in Nanyang:

> As the lord of the [Nanyang] domain, prefect Zhang could not help but marvel at the story when he first heard it. Since the sage once held the court in Changsha as judiciously as the Duke of Shao had ruled from his bench under the cherry-apple tree in Luo, and since the prefect came of the same lineage and now served as the master of the domain, it was naturally his duties to repair the sage's tomb and build his shrine. . . . Whereas the sage lived at a time when nothing could be accomplished, and so he had to embed his recipes for governing the world in the principles of medicine, prefect Zhang now lives at a time when great things can be accomplished. He will follow the sage's heart in lengthening life in the world, and apply it to his governance. The two of them are truly bosom friends who have transcended a thousand-year gap beyond the shrine.
>
> 宛府丞張君三異聞其事，為地主而奇之。以長沙棠憩孔邇，而姓本支淵源，仕於宛為地主，表墓修祠，職也。……先生處不可為之際，以治世之譜，寓之於醫理；張丞值大有為之時，法壽世之心，用之於治理。千古知己，又不止疆疆祠宇間也。

Thus, by likening Zhang Zhongjing to the sagely ruler Duke of Shao of the Zhou dynasty, and by vaunting the Sage of Medicine as model for benevolent governance, Sang Yun clearly aimed to project the new Qing regime in Nanyang as both benevolent and compassionate toward the local population. It is clearly for achieving that public image that Sang Yun, Zhang Sanyi, and a dozen or so co-prefectural judges, sub-prefectural and county magistrates and officials under the Nanyang regime all donated cash out of their purses toward the shrine construction and tomb repair in 1656.[27]

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[27] See Sang Yun, "Han Changsha taishou yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu beiji"

VI. The Physicians' Guild: Ritual Worship, Patronage, and Endowment Lands

The construction of the Sage of Medicine Shrine and the repair of Zhang Zhongjing's tomb in 1656 both expanded and reconfigured the ritual space at the old Ming Three Sovereigns Shrine. Spatially, the Three Sovereigns Shrine in the front, Zhang's tomb in the middle, and the new Sage of Medicine Shrine at the back now formeda south-to-north axis (see Figure 2). Together, this architecturally integrated new shrine compound constituted the focal venue for ritual worship, professional activities, and philanthropic work by local physicians, merchants in the herb trade, and drugstore owners in Nanyang.

As we have noted, the earliest recorded instance of local physicians' ritual activities dates to 1573 when a group of local physicians dedicated an adulatory plaque in honor of the Sovereigns and prominent physicians. After that, the integrated shrine complex continued to function as a sacred space where the local physicians paid their homage to the patron gods and sages of their profession. In addition, it also served as a place where the Nanyang physicians socialized with each other, and discussed and exchanged their respective professional learning and skills. As such, the shrines functioned as a vital venue for forging and maintaining the professional and cultural identity of local physicians from the late Ming throughout the Qing period.

The early history of the Nanyang guild of physicians remains sketchy. According to Cao Guangren 曹廣仁, a late Qing physician from a prominent Nanyang medical lineage, the local guild of physicians was formed and already in existence when the Three Sovereigns Shrine was built in 1546. The guild was housed and operated in the two side-halls of the shrine's main hall of worship.[28]

漢長沙太守醫聖張仲景祠墓碑記, transcription of the digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archives; and see also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1: 94-95.

[28] If Cao's account of the origin and history of the guild of physicians in Nanyang can be further substantiated, then Nanyang's guild of physicians would be among the earliest such professional guilds in China, even earlier than the "Yiti tang zhairen yihui" 一體堂宅仁醫會, a society of physicians organized by the famous late Ming physician Xu Chunfu 徐春甫 (*z.* Ruyuan 如元, ca. 1513–1596)

Yet apart from Cao's account, we have little direct evidence to prove the existence of the guild.

But we do have evidence that consistently reveals how the local physicians in Nanyang acted collectively as a group or separate coteries in achieving their goals. In the extant stele inscriptions from the late Ming and early Qing period, local physicians often referred themselves as either part of the local "grove or rank of physicians or medicine" (*yilin* 醫林) or "circle or coterie of physicians" (*yijie* 醫界), organizational names that suggest a sense of collectiveness and self-identity. We know from the 1546 stele that a group of local literati physicians (*ruyi* 儒醫) acted collectively and in conjunction with a staff physician of the Tang princedom in sponsoring the construction of the Three Sovereigns Shrine. Then in 1573, these local physicians seem to have formed a self-conscious community as they identified themselves collectively as "a community of fellow physicians of Nanyang" in their commemorative plaque presented to the Sovereigns and prominent physicians (see Figure 3), but we are told little of its membership then. From that time on, the local physicians consistently identified themselves as leaders or members of the local "grove of physicians" and acted as representatives or members of that body from 1688 to late nineteenth century.

Throughout much of the Qing, Nanyang county magistrates seemed to have consistently recognized the legal status of the local coterie of physicians and its members in major legal disputes over the ownership rights to the estates and farmlands owned by the guild and its shrines from late eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries. By the 1880s, the extant stele inscriptions reveal that the local Nanyang physicians referred to their community unequivocally and straightforwardly as a "guild of physicians."[29] In an 1883 stele

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in 1568 in Beijing. See Cao Guangren, "Yilin huiguan zuzhi zhi jingguo" 醫林會館組織之經過 (1883), in *Nanyang xiangxian yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu zhi*, 28b–29b. For details of Xu's society of physicians, see his *Yixue rumen jiejing liushu* 醫學入門捷徑六書. For a recent study of the history of the society, see Xiang Changsheng 項長生, "Woguo zuizao de yixue tuanji: Yiti tang zhairen yihui" 我國最早的醫學團體：一體堂宅仁醫會, *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 中國科技史料 12.3 (1991): 61–69.

[29] See Cao Guangren, "Yilin huiguan zuzhi zhi jingguo."

inscription, the head of the guild of physicians and several leading members reaffirmed their ownership rights over the estate lands which the guild members had previously donated to the guild's shrines, and stipulated rules of their management by the Daoist shrine keepers. It is noteworthy that the guild's affirmative inscription enjoyed the endorsement of the Nanyang magistrate.[30]

By late nineteenth century, the nature of the constitutive membership of the local guild of physicians became much clearer. An 1883 memoir written by Cao Guangren identified twelve physicians (*yishi* 醫士) and twelve apothecaries (*yaodian* 藥店) as the guild's elite constitutive members (*shoushi* 首事). In addition to naming their clinics with style names highly invocative of their moral values and erudition in classics, almost all of the listed elite physicians of the guild were also identified by their literary titles. Four of the twelve physicians were national university students (*jiansheng* 監生), probably by purchase. One of them had the title of licentiate (*xiangsheng* 庠生). Four others were identified as prefecture or county school students (*wensheng* 文生). One had sat for the *xiucai* 秀才 examination (*wentong* 文童), and one earned his status by military feats (*jungong* 軍功). The guild's leading physician members are:

姓名 Names	身份 Status	診所名稱 Titles of Clinics
曹鴻恩	監生	慶春堂
賈橘泉	文童	橘泉堂
陸逢春	監生	希仙堂
楊春誦	文生	德仁堂
李鴻鈞	文生	仁德堂
水應龍	庠生	化育堂
呂振東	文生	中和堂
王敬安	文生	仁育堂
邢如堂	監生	生春堂
王金堂	監生	萬春堂
陳封南	軍功	萬壽堂
曹鴻儒	醫士	人和堂

[30] See Huangfu Liang 皇甫良, "Erci shudi beiwen" 二次贖地碑文 (1829), stele

The guild also includes twelve local apothecary shops. Judging from their names, some of these may very well be owned by the listed physicians:

萬興東藥店	榮春堂藥店	橘泉堂藥店
東太和藥店	壽春堂藥店	西太和藥店
萬齡堂藥店	萬全堂藥店	魁聖堂藥店
榮壽堂藥店	裕恩堂藥店	人和堂藥店[31]

Stele inscriptions surviving in Nanyang also give us a sense of the activities the guild was involved with. Writing in the spring of 1883, Cao Hongen 曹鴻恩 (*z.* Guangren 廣仁), then head of the guild, a national university student and a scion of a long lineage of local physicians, revealed that the guild was formed by local physicians when they first built the Three Sovereigns Shrine in 1546. From its very beginning, the shrine had housed the guild in its two side-halls and functioned as both a place of worship and a venue of socialization for the local physicians. Cao wrote:

> When the ancients built a temple, they also installed a guildhall therein (*guren jianmiao sheguan* 古人建廟設館). They built the temple so that they could offer incense [to their gods] (*miao yi jian xinxiang* 廟以薦馨香). They installed the guildhalls so that they could conduct the affairs of their association (*guan yi wei huishi ye* 館以為會事也). When the Ming physician first built the main hall of the Three Sovereigns Shrine, and sculptured the sacred statues of the Sovereigns therein, they also constructed and set aside the two wings as the guildhalls for the physicians (*Mingdai yijia chuangxiu Sanhuang miao zhengdian, su Sanhuang shengxiang, liangwu wei Yilin huiguan* 明代醫

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rubbing in my collection. Citing the ruling by magistrate Zhuang 莊, Huangfu Liang, then the head of the guild (*Yilin huiguan shoushi* 醫林會館首事), and two other leading members jointly affirmed the guild's ownership rights to the reclaimed estate lands for the Sage of Medicine Shrine.

[31] For instance, Shui Yinglong 水應龍, a local licentiate and a Hui 回 Muslim physician entitled his clinic "The studio that transforms and fosters" (Huayu tang 化育堂). See Cao Guangren, "Yilin huiguan zuzhi zhi jingguo." At least one of the twelve apothecary shops, Wanxingdong 萬興東, has weathered the tumultuous changes since. After undergoing collectivization in the 1950s, it has continued its operations as a leading pharmacy chain with more than a score of branch drugstores in Nanyang today.

> 家創修三皇廟正殿，塑三皇聖像，兩廡為醫林會館). These side-halls had no other purposes. While the rear hall was used as a place for young students to render ritual homage and repay the grace of the medical ancestry (*houdian wei jisi baoben zhi di* 後殿為祭祀報本之地), the guildhalls were reserved for physicians and literati to gather and engage in discourse on the principles of medicine (*huiguan wei zhong yishi jutan yili zhi suo* 會館為眾醫士聚談醫理之所).

According to Cao's recollection, local physicians had operated the shrine both as a communal space for their own social and ritual activities, and as a shared venue of worship and healing for the public. As part of their ritual worship, the guild of physicians in Nanyang made annual sacrifices to honor the Three Sovereigns and the Prominent Physicians as the founders and innovators of medicine, and as discoverers and developers of various curative formulas that saved lives. For many, their gods' divine efficacy derived directly from their innovation in medicine. Writing on behalf of a dozen fellow physicians and an equal number of local apothecaries, Cao Hongen invoked a familiar refrain in recounting the wondrous innovations and discoveries of the patriarchs of the medicine and related these medical gods to his profession as a physician:

> Fuxi drew the Eight Epigrams to divide and dissect the Yin and the Yang Energies of the cosmos; Shennong, the Divine Farmer sampled myriads of plants to record and describe their pharmaceutical properties; and the Yellow Emperor, the sovereign, engaged in a discourse with his ministers Qi Bo and the Lord of Thunder to produce the *Numinous Nexus* (*Lingshu* 靈樞) and the *Pure Inquiry* (*Suwen* 素問). Thus the Three Sovereigns are the ancestors of medicine (*gu Sanhuang wei yidao zhi zu* 故三皇為醫道之祖).

Alongside the Sovereigns, the prominent physicians were revered as pathfinders and innovators of medicine whose discoveries not only saved lives, but also shaped medicine and medical practice as these physicians knew them. Cao wrote:

> At the time [of the Three Sovereigns], though there were healing techniques, formulae did not exist yet, until the Han era when Zhang Zhongjing of our Nanyang emerged. He inherited the Way of the Three Sovereigns (*cheng Sanhuang zhi dao* 承三皇之道), and established and made all the recipes public to all under the realm (*li*

> *zhongfang gongzhi tianxia* 立眾方公之天下). Thus he was truly the patriarch who established recipes in medicine, and brought forth the synthesis of all great medical schools (*cheng wei lifang zhi bizu, yijia zhi dacheng* 誠為立方之鼻祖，醫家之大成). That's why he was in attendance to the Sovereigns to share their worship (*peixiang* 配享). Also in attendance in two ranks were the other prominent physicians who produced masterpieces since the Jin and the Tang dynasties.[32]

But except for Cao's memoir, little evidence else has survived today to provide us with more details of the ritual rites at the Nanyang shrines. While the 1564 stele inscription gives us an incomplete pantheon at the Three Sovereigns Shrine in Nanyang, we can gain a fuller picture by looking at the standard lineup of the Sovereigns and the prominent physicians outlined in a late Ming source on the Imperial Court of Sacrifices (Taichang si 太常寺, see Figure 4).

While we can never be certain of the specific layout of the medical pantheon within the late Ming shrine in Nanyang, the standard lineup as stipulated by the Ming Imperial Court of Sacrifices source does give us a sense of the spatial placement of the sovereigns and prominent physicians in the medical pantheon at the Three Sovereigns Shrine of the late Ming period. Undoubtedly, this configuration of the medical pantheon, which received annual sacrifices by the local physicians in Nanyang, celebrated the Three Sovereigns and prominent physicians collectively as founders, innovators, and patrons of medicine and healing arts. But the construction of the Sage of Medicine Shrine in 1656 began to highlight Zhang Zhongjing as the new other focus of the physicians' annual ritual worship. Indeed, Zhang Zhongjing, now vaulted from his previous status as one of the prominent physicians, was re-consecrated as the sage or demigod of medicine. As the main deity in the new shrine located in the backcourt, Zhang now received exclusive sacrifice and worship from the local physicians and his devotees, a status that rivaled, if not surpassed, those of the Three Sovereigns.

The Physicians' Guild's main ritual activities throughout the year at the shrines also provided occasions for its members to

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[32] See Cao Guangren, "Yilin huiguan zuzhi zhi jingguo," and also in *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:129–31.

socialize, and to renew and strengthen both the personal and professional ties among themselves. Each spring and autumn, local physicians, their students and disciples, and herbal store owners and apprentices would converge on the shrine to participate in the official rites. After the official ritual ceremonies and sacrifices were over, members of the Nanyang guild of physicians would convene their annual gatherings at the shrine. At these gatherings, senior physicians would often speak to fellow physicians about the "subtle and wondrous" of their practice (*ge yan aomiao* 各言奧妙), and consulted each other on the strange cases and odd pulses they encountered. When they acquired any fine ancient recipes, they would also share and pass along among themselves. When found, extraordinary formulae and wondrous healing techniques would be circulated and transmitted far and wide, forever to aid the world and provide cures for patients.

For Cao and other members of the guild, the shrine was a place that transmitted medical learning, and created and reinforced professional identity among the physicians. By providing for the sharing and transmission of medical knowledge and skills among them, the shrine also added to the physicians' social cohesion and contributed toward building a professional community among the guild members. Many also came to view such ritual services and social gatherings at the shrine as means for inculcating the younger fellow physicians with traditional medical ethics and philosophy. As Cao wrote:

> We sacrifice here, meet here, and discuss medical principles here. This is because medicine is the practice of benevolence (*yi nai renshu* 醫乃仁術). We must always hold reviving patients in our heart; and entertain the way of salvaging the world. As we observe an illness, we must exercise exhaustive care and caution so that we miss nothing of the illness. Only this way, we live up to the title as a hand that cures the nation (*fang cheng yiguo zhi shou* 方稱醫國之手), and preserve the reputation of having the skills to save the world (*cun jiushi zhi neng* 存救世之能). As we diagnose illnesses, we must strive to revive the dying and bring them to life. Only this way is to entertain the heart of reviving patients, and to establish the practice for eternity. As we take the pulse without any negligence, we must understand that the rich and the poor exhibit no distinction (*xuzhi pinfu wu yitai* 須知貧富無異態). Only this way, can one avoid being ridiculed for being

> discriminatory. We must entertain an all-embracive heart without any discriminatory bias, and imagine the myriad of things and humans as one. This way, we will not incur any criticism of discrimination. If all physicians are like this, we will then have conformed to the Way of the Benevolent Art (*fang he renshu zhi dao* 方合仁術之道), and will not have failed the original mission of establishing the Guild. We can then be equal to a good prime minister (*shuke yu liangxiang bingzhi* 庶可與良相並峙). This is our profound expectation.[33]

These social, ritual, and professional functions of the shrines were made possible only through continued patronage by local physicians and drugstore owners in Nanyang. From the late Ming throughout the Qing, the patronage took the form of land donations which formed the economic basis for the daily routine operations of the shrines. Local physicians were among the most enthusiastic backers of the shrines. Their persistent worship of the medical pantheon at the shrines not only embodied their own piety, but it also ensured the continued success of their practice and business.

Though little is known of the size of the Three Sovereigns Shrine's initial estate lands when it was first built, it did receive a major land donation from one of the leading physicians in Nanyang in the early Qing era. According to a 1688 stele inscription transcribed by Shui Zili, a local physician, and a scion of a prominent Hui 回 lineage active from the early twentieth century to the 1980s, Zhou Jingfu 周景福 (*z.* Jie'er 介爾, fl. 1688), a member of the local guild of medicine and a licentiate, made a large land donation to the shrines as its permanent estate. Zhou was a descendant of Zhou Yuji 周遇吉 (?–1644), one of the late Ming generals who died in 1644 during a valiant stand at Ningwu Pass 寧武關 against a superior rebel siege force led by Li Zicheng the Dashing Prince (Chuang wang 闖王). Some of the Ming general's descendants later resettled at Nanyang and became one of the prominent lineages there. Born and growing up in Nanyang, Zhou Jingfu initially pursued the study of Confucian classics. He attained the tribute student status (*gongsheng* 貢生) and obtained the position of assistant prefect (*tongpan* 通判) of Nanyang by purchase

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[33] See Cao Guangren, "Yilin huiguan zuzhi zhi jingguo."

in the early Qing era. But Zhou chose to make a living by practicing medicine and ranked as one of the most famous physicians in Nanyang. Widely known for his generosity, Zhou bought the 480 *mu* of premium farmlands at Yao Village 姚莊 on the eastern outskirts of Nanyang City and donated them to the shrines as endowment lands.[34]

Twenty-two years later, in 1710, the shrines received another major land donation. That year, Jiang Dacheng 姜大成, a resident physician from Zhejiang, and Wu Guoshi 吳國士 of Nanyang jointly bought and donated 50 *mu* of farmlands at Chai Village 柴莊 to generate "incense proceeds" (*xianghuo zhi zi* 香火之資) for the shrines. We know little about Jiang's background. But during the Kangxi 康熙 reign (1662–1722), under Qing state policies that encouraged resettlement and reduced local taxes, Nanyang saw a huge influx of immigrants and sojourners from the Jiangnan 江南, Huguang 湖廣, and Guanzhong 關中 regions. As these new immigrants settled in Nanyang, they either reclaimed war-ravaged lands, or conducted business for a living there. Many merchants from the Jiangnan region also sojourned in Nanyang to carry out long-distance trade with their native places. By late nineteenth century, the Guild of Compatriots from Jiangxi-Zhejiang Provinces (Jiang-Zhe huiguan 江浙會館) had become one of the most prominent commercial and native-place associations and guilds, along with those from the Shaanxi-Shanxi 山西 and Fujian 福建 regions in Nanyang. Jiang Dacheng may have been among those early settlers from the Jiangnan region. The fact that Jiang worked with Wu Guoshi, a local physician, in purchasing and donating the estate lands to the shrines suggests that Jiang was well integrated into the local community. Further, by early eighteenth century, the shrines in Nanyang already had both local as well as sojourning physicians among their patrons. To ensure that the donated estate farmlands would be exempt from the grain tax, Jiang and Wu enlisted help

[34] According to Shui Zili, there were two steles recording the donation by Zhou. One was erected in front of the Sage of Medicine Shrine, but it was destroyed by a blast set off by accident by some Qing Green Standards soldiers stationed at the shrine in 1876. The other stele, erected at Yao Village, survived. See *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:124; and see also "Erci shudi beiwen," in *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:126–127.

from Wang Zixiu 王自修 and Dong Mingyi 董明義, clerks at the local Grain Transport Command. Wang and Dong secured the necessary paperwork for them.[35]

In that same year, after the death of the Daoist resident prior at the Temple of the Dark Lord (Xuandi miao 玄帝廟) located on the northeastern suburbs of Nanyang, the Sage of Medicine Shrine was entrusted with the management of that temple's 130-*mu* endowment lands. These new additions brought the shrine's total endowment lands to nearly 670 *mu*.[36] The combined endowment lands for both shrines increased to about 700 *mu* by 1883, and remained at that level until the early Republican era.[37]

The annual rents generated from these endowment lands in turn supported the physicians' annual worship and sacrifices to their patron gods honored at the shrines. The birthdates of the gods and the prominent physicians were celebrated each spring and autumn. In Nanyang, these occasions were also part of the official ritual services at which the Nanyang prefects and magistrates were appointed to officiate, and offer sacrifice to the deities. On the third day of the third moon (Shangsi 上巳) in the spring, the magistrate and the prefect and their deputies would come to the shrines where they offered sacrifices to the Three Sovereigns. On the ninth day of the ninth moon, also known as the "Chongyang" 重陽 day in the fall, they would make sacrifices to Lord Ge Hong and other prominent physicians.

During the mid-eighteenth century, when official support for the annual rite of worship and sacrifice had become somewhat lax, Li Changgan 李昌淦, the prefectural educator (*sixun* 司訓) of Nanyang, rallied support among local physicians and licentiates, and successfully petitioned prefect Cui 崔 and his *yamen* 衙門 to restore the official rite of worship of the Sage of Medicine each spring and fall. Cui even petitioned to have the annual

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[35] See "Yisheng ci xianghuo di beiji" 醫聖祠香火地碑記 (1710), stele rubbing in my possession. See also the same stele inscription in *Nanyang xiangxian yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu zhi*, 20a–21b.

[36] See "Yisheng ci xianghuo di beiji," stele rubbing in my collection; and also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:125.

[37] See Shui Zili, "Sanci shudi jilue" 三次贖地記略, in *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:127–128.

sacrificial ceremony integrated into the prefecture's official rites (*sidian* 祀典).[38]

The logistic details of the official sacrifice—procuring and preparing the sacrificial offerings, from the meats to incenses; officiating at the ritual and ceremonial steps; and organizing and carrying out the celebrations at the shrines for the community—were all entrusted to the Daoist resident clerics whom the physicians retained to serve as the shrine keepers and managers as early as the late Ming.

VII. The Quanzhen Daoist Clerics and Their Management of the Shrine

While the local physicians and literati in Nanyang were the primary patrons of the shrines, the daily operations of the shrines and the long-term caretaking and supervision of the estate lands fell on the shoulders of the Quanzhen Daoist clerics whom the physicians retained as shrine keepers from the late Ming to the early Republican eras.

Since as early as 1546, Daoist clerics had inhabited and managed the Three Sovereigns Shrine. Yet we know very little about the identity of these early Daoist shrine keepers, as they were often elliptically referred to as merely "Daoists" (*daoren* 道人 or *daoshi* 道士) in the local sources. But their presence as the shrine's keepers was an established fact. In his bench ruling on the land donation and ownership of the two shrines, Yuan Shu 袁樹, the magistrate of Nanyang unequivocally stated:

> The Three Sovereigns Shrine used to have Buddhist monks, while the Sage of Medicine Shrine has been inhabited by Daoist clerics. Finding it difficult to combine both into one, the shrine donors (i.e. physicians) have now petitioned me for a decision. I hereby say: People have given lands to support the shrines, not the Buddhists or the Daoists. If the Buddhist monks are good shrine keepers, they should serve as the resident keepers. If the Daoists are good, then they should manage the shrines. After all, the estate lands were donated by the physicians, not

[38] See Li Changgan, "Xianyi ci sidian ji" 先醫祠祀典記 (1749), stele rubbing in my collection.

> purchased by the Buddhist monks. Further, I have carefully perused all the steles and [have determined that] from the time the Ming prince first built the shrine, those who have continuously served as the resident keepers have been Daoists.[39]

Despite the fact that Daoists were the first resident keepers at the Three Sovereigns Shrine since 1546, magistrate Yuan's ruling reveals that Buddhist monks had also been at the shrine for some time up to 1770 when the magistrate ordered that the two shrines be combined into one, and that Daoist resident clerics be installed as the shrine keepers. We learn from Feng Ying'ao, who first visited the shrine in Nanyang in the late summer of 1628, that it was the resident Daoists (*shoumiao daoshi* 守廟道士) there who instructed him on how to locate the name of the Zhang Zhongjing statue on the wall of the main hall.[40] But 25 years later in 1653 when Feng came back to Nanyang, he mentioned that the shrine had fallen into severe disrepair, and that he ran into a Buddhist monk by the name of Hongqiu who had once resided at the shrine (*xi zhuoxi ci di* 昔卓錫此地). Tantalizing as these details are, we still cannot determine from Feng's account whether monk Hongqiu stayed there as an itinerant visitor to the shrine while it was still under the charge of the Daoist shrine keepers, or whether he was serving as one of the regular Buddhist shrine keepers who may have managed to wrest control of the shrine from the Daoists before Feng's second visit in 1653. Either way, Feng's recollection, however, does offer some circumstantial evidence of a plausible Buddhist residency at the shrine at some time between 1628 and 1656. It may also hint at intense competition among various local religious lineages for access to and control of the shrines as economic and social resources at the time.[41]

Regardless, it is clear from the extant local steles and textual sources that Daoists, especially the Quanzhen Daoist clerics, edged out their Buddhist rivals in gaining control of the shrines. For most of the time from 1546 to 1950s, they maintained a continuous

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[39] For details see Yuan Shu, "Juanshu dimu heshan Sanhuang miao Yisheng ci beiji" 蠲贖地畝合贍三皇廟醫聖祠碑記 (1770), stele rubbing in my collection.

[40] See Feng, "Zhang Zhongjing lingying beiji," stele rubbing in my collection.

[41] See Feng, "Zhang Zhongjing xiansheng cimu ji."

institutional presence at the shrines, and exerted control and management of the shrines as keepers and managers, despite their lack of relative economic resources and their sometimes rather tenuous employment by their physician patrons. They were able to do so due to several factors. Their close collaboration with their physician-patrons was key to their earning the latter's trust and confidence. We are afforded a glimpse of this close working relationship between the Quanzhen Daoist shrine keepers and their physician patrons in the 1710 land donation by the local physicians.

According to a 1710 stele inscription, while the Sage of Medicine Shrine enjoyed wide following in Nanyang and was well-kept by the Daoist shrine keepers, it did lack sufficient funds. As a result, the Daoist shrine keepers often had to leave their posts at the shrine, and beg for food and clothing in the streets. To ensure a livelihood for the resident Daoist clergy and to secure a stable source of funding for the shrine, Jiang Dacheng of Zhejiang and Wu Guoshi led a group of local physicians in making a land donation to the shrine, totaling 50 *mu*. But the donated land came with an annual land tax of 1.2 taels of silver, an amount the resident Daoists could ill afford. To solve the problem, Liu Shangxin 劉尚信 and Liang Shangyou 梁尚有, co-priors at the shrine, led fellow Daoists in working closely with local government clerks and donors in taking over the annual tax burden. Impressed by the Daoist priors' uprightness, leadership, and willingness to shoulder the annual land tax for the donated estate, Jiang, Wu and their fellow local physicians retained Prior Liu and his fellow clerics and installed them as the keepers at the shrines.[42]

While close cooperation with the physicians and donors earned the Daoists trust and respect, their lineage structure and monastic community constituted another source of their power and influence. The extant stele records show that from 1710 to 1883, the Daoist shrine keepers and managers who lived at and managed the two shrines all belonged to the Quanzhen Nanwu lineage (Nanwu

[42] See Li Long 李隆, "Xianghuo dimu beiji" 香火地畝碑記, stele inscription transcribed from digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archives, summer 2007, and also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:107.

pai 南無派) whose founding patriarch was Tan Chuduan 譚處端 (*z*. Boyu 伯玉, *h*. Changzhen 長真, 1123–1187), one of the earliest disciples to Wang Zhe 王嚞 (*z*. Chongyang 重陽, 1112–1169), the founder of the Quanzhen Daoism of the Jin era. According to Liu Mingrui 劉名瑞 (*z*. Xiufeng 琇峰, *h*. Panchan zi 盼蟾子, 1839–1933), a Nanwu lineage master of the late Qing period, the lineage was founded by Tan during the early Yuan period. It remained active primarily in North China. Like other Quanzhen lineages such as the Longmen 龍門 and Huashan 華山, the Nanwu lineage had also evolved its own unique genealogical poem as early as the mid-Ming period. Ever since then, the genealogy poem had been routinely employed by the lineage masters as a means towards institutional propagation and internal organization. After a disciple was accepted into the Nanwu lineage, his master would assign him a lineage or dharma name (*faming* 法名). The dharma name almost invariably contains the character from the genealogy poem which immediately follows the character in the master's own lineage name, also selected from the same lineage poem. Thus the disciple's dharma name expressly indicates his subordination to his lineage master, and his solidarity with fellow disciples who shared the same character from the lineage poem in their names. Though there are minor variations in some of the characters, the Nanwu genealogy poem was composed of eight five-character lines, consisting of a total of forty characters. It runs thus:

> 道本崇真理，玄微至妙仙。立去青雲上，功成必有名。
> 大教明清靜，宏演往惟良。悟元光體性，一志復圓融。

According to Liu, the Nanwu lineage was transmitted directly from Tan for five generations (*dao* 道 / *ben* 本 / *chong* 崇 / *zhen* 真 / *li* 理)—from the early Yuan down to the early Ming era. Its transmission then continued for another seven generations (*xuan* 玄 / *wei* 微 / *zhi* 至 / *miao* 妙 / *xian* 仙 / *li* 立 / *qu* 去) to its twelfth-generation lineage master towards the end of the Ming.[43] So far, we have not

[43] For a brief history of the Nanwu lineage, see "Nanwu daopai zongpu" 南無道派宗譜 in Liu Mingrui, "Daoyuan jingwei ge" 道源精微歌 in his *Panchan zi daoshu sanzhong* 盼蟾子道書三種. The character "尚" in Liu's name 劉尚信 is interchangeable with the 15th character "上" in the Nanwu genealogical poem.

found evidence of the Nanwu lineage presence and transmission at the Nanyang shrines before the fourteenth generation, on the basis of the Nanwu genealogy poem. But during a span of 170 years from 1710 to 1883, at least seven generations of the Nanwu lineage clerics whose dharma names matched the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twenty-first characters (*shang* 上 *or* 尚 / *gong* 功 / *cheng* 成 / *bi* 必 / *you* 有 / *ming* 名 / *da* 大) of the Nanwu genealogy poem appearing in the stele records at the shrines with remarkable predictability and consistency. The number of the Nanwu clerics living and working at the shrines at any one time during this period also gradually increased. Indeed, stele records suggest that until 1883, when the control and care of the shrine was wrested from the Nanwu Daoist clerics and handed over to the large public Quanzhen Monastery of the Dark Mystery (Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀), the Nanwu clerics lived and operated as a private monastic coterie at the shrines. Within the monastic coterie, the senior clerics of the Nanwu lineage at the shrines could adopt disciples in order to propagate their respective lines. They could also transfer their control and management duties at the shrines down to their disciples, much as a father might pass his possessions and properties to his sons. For this reason, such shrines and temples where the temple properties, their management, or ownership were privately held and transmitted from a master to his disciple(s) were also known as the sons' and grandsons' shrine or temple (*zisun miao* 子孫廟). At these family-like private Daoist shrines, it was common for senior clerics to live with more than one, up to as many as two and three generations of their disciples.[44] Such fictive kinship among the Nanwu coterie means that the shrines keepers were not individual employees of their physician patrons, but rather members of a coherent and tight-knit kinship or family with shared values, habits, and interests. It is this internally coherent and well-organized kinship structure that added both stability and strength to the Quanzhen clerical operations and presence at the shrines over time.

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[44] For a discussion of the small and private Daoist temples and their transmission, see Vincent Goossaert, *Taoists of Peking*, 1800–1949, 83–133; and his "Resident Specialists and Temple Managers in Late Imperial China."

But due to their status as retained shrine keepers, the names of Daoist clerics rarely appear in the shrines' transmitted records, with only a few exceptions. Yet in these exceptions, we are afforded a rare view of their vital roles in the daily operations of the shrine. After the completion of the renovation of Zhang Zhongjing's Tomb and the construction of the Sage of Medicine Shrine in 1656, the integrated shrine compound consisted of two parts: the main hall of the Three Sovereigns Shrine in the forecourt and the Sage of Medicine Shrine in the backcourt, with the tomb in the center between the two shrines. With their newly renovated main halls, roofed verandas, and tree-lined walkways, the reconfigured Shrines of the Three Sovereigns and the Sage of Medicine soon came to rival in both attractiveness and following the established Cloister of the Martial Marquise (Wuhou ci 武侯祠) located outside the western gate, and the magnificent Monastery of the Dark Mystery lying just northwest outside the northern gate of the Nanyang prefectural seat. As many visitors and locals frequented the integrated shrines' main halls of worship, scenic verandas, and sprawling compound, the care and management of the shrines became the daily task of the resident Quanzhen clerics who were retained by the physicians and other sponsors of the shrines.

As shown in the 1710 stele inscription composed by Li Long, a local stipendiary student, Prior Liu Shangxin and his fellow shrine keepers often worked closely with the local elite and community in tackling the range of challenges inherent in taking care of the shrine. While major renovations did not occur often, the daily upkeep duties at the shrine—from cleaning the various halls of worship and sweeping of the shrine compound, to routine and minor repairs of shrine buildings, annual rent collection, and tenant maintenance and supervision—certainly required the Quanzhen clerics' constant attention and care. To ensure that they fulfilled these duties, and to ensure their own coterie's survival and prosperity, the leading shrine managers like Prior Liu often brought in their own clerical staff, usually made up of their own disciples, or fellow clerics of the Nanwu lineage. In 1710 when Liu took charge of the integrated shrines and their estate lands, his management staff consisted of a co-prior, Liang Shangyou, a fellow fifteenth-generation Nanwu lineage cleric, seven sixteenth-generation disciples whose dharma

names all began with the character "*gong*" 功, and three seventeenth-generation grand-disciples whose dharma names began with the character "*cheng*" 成.[45]

These Nanwu Daoist shrine keepers under Prior Liu's charge took active care of the shrines' various halls of worship, and other building structures. We learn that in the fall of 1730 when Liu's disciple Yong Gongfu became the prior at the shrine, the entrance tower (*menlou* 門樓) in front of the Sage of Medicine Shrine had fallen into disrepair. Like his predecessor Prior Liu, Yong worked closely with several scholar-officials and members of the local literati of Nanyang in raising the necessary funds to repair the entrance tower.[46]

This pattern of close collaboration with members of the local elite and community is also visible in the major reorganization and integration of the Sage of Medicine and the Three Sovereigns Shrines in 1770. In his bench ruling inscribed on a 1770 shrine stele, the magistrate Yuan Shu reported that under the previous care by the Buddhist monks the Three Sovereigns Shrine had fallen into disrepair, and many of its estate lands were either pawned off or squandered away. Appalled by the decline in the shrine's forecourt and its main hall of worship, Cao Zhenxiang 曹楨祥, a leading local physician, and Fang Dao'ao 方道鰲, a local literatus, led a group of fellow physicians and stipendiary students in raising a total of 241.3 taels of silver which they used to redeem the original 480 *mu* of the shrine's estate earlier pawned off by the Buddhist monks.[47]

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[45] See Li Long, "Xianghuo dimu beiji." There are seven Daoists who were of the "*gong*" character generation disciples: Zhang Gongyuan 張**功**願, Yong Gongfu 勇**功**福, Zhou Gongmi 周**功**彌, Zhang Gongsheng 張**功**生, Zhang Gongmin 張**功**民, Yang Gongzhi 楊**功**志, Zheng Gonglu 鄭**功**祿; and the three "*cheng*" character generation disciples were — Chengshao □**成**少, — Chengkun □**成**坤, and Zhang Cheng — 張**成**□.

[46] See Zhu Wanzhang 祝萬章, "Chongxiu Yisheng ci menlou beiji" 重修醫聖祠門樓碑記 (1730), stele transcription based on digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archives, summer 2007; and see also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:102.

[47] According to an 1829 stele, the group of physicians redeemed a total of 36 *mu* of the endowment lands which were pawned off by the Buddhists. See "Erci shudi beiwen."

In addition, Cao, Fang and their fellow physicians and students petitioned magistrate Yuan to remove the Buddhist clerics from the shrine and reintegrate the forecourt and the Three Sovereigns Shrine there with the Sage of Medicine Shrine at the backcourt into a single shrine complex. Having worked with Daoist Prior Li Chengxun 李**成**訓 and his disciple Kong Bihui 孔**必**輝, they found them to be frugal and diligent in their care of the Sage of Medicine Shrine, and they wanted to invite the master-disciple duo to take over the care of the reorganized shrines. Cao, Fang and their fellow physicians' petition won the magistrate's approval. Subsequently, the two shrines and their halls of worship were formally integrated into a single shrine complex, and Prior Li and his disciple Kong were installed by the physicians as the new managers of the reintegrated shrines.[48] By the late Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1736–1795), one of the shrines' pavilions, the Spring Terrace Pavilion (Chuntai ting 春臺亭), with a vista onto the surrounding fields, had fallen into disrepair since its renovation in 1730 under Prior Yong's tenure. The 1730 renovation was undertaken with the contribution made by Li Boxun 李伯遜, a local literatus. Saddened at the sight of the decrepit pavilion, Li Tianru 李天如, the grandson of Li Boxun led a campaign to raise funds from fellow literati for the renovation in 1794. But Li died before he could raise the required funds for the renovation. Like his predecessor Prior Yong, Prior Li Chengxun at the shrine stepped in to take over the fundraising efforts. But he, too, passed away before he could complete the renovation. The job now fell to the shoulders of Prior Li's disciple, Kong Bihui. Kong soon rallied the support of local literati and physicians, and was able to complete the renovation of the pavilion in the spring of 1794.[49]

Indeed, the Nanwu clerics' service had become so crucial to the shrines' daily operations, and their presence so deeply entrenched at

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[48] See Yuan Shu, "*Chuci shudi beiwen*" 初次贖地碑文, stele inscription transcribed from digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archives, summer, 2007; and also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:25–26.

[49] See Fang Ce 方策 (*z.* Congzhi 從直), "Jixiu Yisheng ci Chuntai ting beiji" 繼修醫聖祠春臺亭碑記, stele transcription from digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at the Nanyang Archives, summer 2007; and see also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:103–104.

the shrines that it was often difficult to remove them even when they had clearly violated the terms of their employment as shrine keepers. Their physician clients often found themselves having to make special allowances for such clerical transgressions.

In the decades leading up to 1829, two leading clerics, Shang Youhe 尚有和 and Fan Mingtong 范名通 ran afoul with their physician patrons. Perhaps pressed by clerical poverty as their Buddhist predecessors had been, they pawned 60 *mu* of the shrine endowment lands in order to sustain themselves and their fellow shrine keepers. But this illegal transaction was discovered by Zhou Jing 周景, a member of the guild of physicians. Zhou reported it to the Nanyang magistrate. Through some negotiations, Zhou was able to retrieve the pawn contract of the shrine endowment lands, and he reduced the pawn lease term to 10 years. After consulting among themselves, the guild members erected a stele wherein they stipulated that the Daoist clerics were prohibited from any future pawning or sale of the shrine endowment lands, that litigation would be brought against those who arranged and accepted pawned lands, and that the pawn proceeds would be confiscated, and the pawn contracts rendered null and void.[50] But despite the incident reported above, Prior Shang seemed not to have been left alone by the physicians. He remained trusted by their physician patrons, and continued to perform his duties at the shrine. In 1837, Prior Shang and his disciple Li Dalu 李大祿 even presided over a major renovation of the shrine.[51]

In 1883, another scandal involving illegal land pawning by the Nanwu shrine keepers broke, and this finally resulted in the dismissal of all the Nanwu lineage clerics from the shrines. That scandal needs to be understood in the context of the deepening political crisis of the post-Taiping and Nian rebellion, especially the extensive temple destruction and clerical poverty brought on by the war. In the thirty years leading up to 1883, Nanyang, like many other places in the Qing China, suffered severe and extensive

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[50] See *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:125–126.

[51] See Shang Youhe, "Buxiu Yisheng ci — — jinzhuang Foye" 補修醫聖祠□□金裝佛爺, transcription based on digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archive, summer 2007.

infrastructural and socio-economic devastation due to the anti-Qing rebellions. Between the 1850s and the end of the anti-Taiping wars, the city was under siege several times by the Taiping and Nian rebel forces. Though Nanyang was never taken by the rebels during these sieges, the city's surrounding suburbs and countryside—where most of the shrines' endowment lands were located—were laid waste. Though we lack details, the war and its social and economic aftermath framed the 1883 scandal. It is quite possible that the Nanwu Daoist clerics at the shrines resorted to pawning the shrine's endowment lands simply to survive. Whatever the case, most of the lands were either pawned or sold under the tenure of Prior Zhou Mingran 周名苒. By the fourth moon of 1883, Cao Hongen, a stipend student and head of the guild of physicians led a group of fellow physicians in conducting an investigation of the situation at the shrines. They found that Zhou and his cohorts had "squandered away" all the endowment lands, most of which could not even be traced because of the passage of time and the chaos and tumults during the war. As they met to discuss the financial crisis at the shrine, they decided to expel Prior Zhou and his fellow clerics from the shrine. While pointing to the wars and crop failures as the obvious contributing causes which had led to mismanagement and loss of the shrine endowment lands, Cao and his fellow physicians also attributed these clerical failures to the fact that the Nanwu clerics all belonged to one single lineage. They argued that the Nanwu clerics formed a private monastic coterie and managed the shrines as their own private lineage temple, instead of a public or universal temple (*conglin* 叢林) which was open to members of all Daoist lineages and sects and did not allow personal discipleship. Cao wrote:

> We reached a consensus: instead of retaining the prior to care for the shrine, why don't we hire a public universal temple which does not allow the admission of personal disciples? Why? The private son-grandson cloisters cling to the emotional ties among the masters and their disciples. As they tend not to enforce discipline, shrine estates are open to squander and loss. [If we continued to hire the clerics from only one lineage,] how can we not then repeat our earlier mistakes? With the rules and stipulations of a public temple, each cleric is in charge of only one duty or office. Once found to have committed a

> fraud, he will be expelled. Even when an abbot is found to have erred by the cleric on duty, he won't be tolerated. With these strict rules and regulations, temple properties can be preserved in perpetuity.[52]

To remedy the situation, Cao and fellow members of the Physicians Guild then decided to retain Abbot Zhang Zongxuan 張宗璿 and his Monastery of the Dark Mystery, a public temple, to oversee and manage the shrines and their remaining properties. With Abbot Zhang at the helms, the Nanyang physicians began to raise donations among themselves in order to buy back the pawned lands. But their efforts fell short. Abbot Zhang then stepped in to lend a hand and played an important role in raising extra needed funds from his personal network of friends and patrons that included the ranking Qing local civil and military officials, rich families and merchants (*wenwu dayuan fuhu jushang* 文武大員富戶巨商). In a few months, with the extra funds raised by the abbot and donations from the physicians, Cao and the guild of physicians not only succeeded in redeeming most of the pawned and sold lands, but they also renovated and expanded the shrines, adding a few verandas and roofed pavilions to the west wing. From then onward, the Quanzhen Daoist clerics assigned by the Monastery of the Dark Mystery managed the daily operations at the shrines.

The shrines remained under the care of the Monastery and its Quanzhen clerics until the early Republican period when many of the shrines' endowment lands and other properties were expropriated by the Republican regime as part of the Monastery's temple properties to fund new schools in Nanyang. In 1928, General Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1882–1948), the military governor of Henan, launched a campaign to "smash temples to establish schools" (*damiao xingxue* 打廟興學). His campaign dealt another blow to the already enervated shrines. Shi Yousan 石友三 (1891–1940), one of Feng's generals stationed in Nanyang, auctioned off some of the shrines' remaining estate at severely depressed prices to Xian Jishi 先及時 and Xian Dengyun 先登雲, two local hegemons

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[52] See Cao Hongen, "Sanci shudi jilue" 三次贖地記略, in *Nanyang xiangxian yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu zhi*, 24b–26a. See also Shui Zili, "Sanci shudi jilue."

and land speculators in Nanyang. After the shrine keepers assigned by the Monastery were driven out, the shrines fell into disrepair.[53]

By the early 1930s, the shrines were under the care of Prior Li Zhixiang 李智祥, a senior cleric of the Quanzhen Huashan lineage.[54] By then, the Republican government's policy of expropriating religious estates to fund local education was in full swing. The intensified questioning of the viability of traditional Chinese medicine (*zhongyi* 中醫) culminated in legislation to abolish Chinese medicine backed by Yu Xiuyun 余岫雲 (1879–1954) and others in 1929. Physicians of Chinese medicine throughout the country felt besieged.[55] In Nanyang, the clout and influence of the physicians' guild also waned significantly. Its leading members encountered nearly insurmountable difficulties in their efforts to reclaim the confiscated endowment lands seized by the Nanyang regime.[56]

Under such worsened conditions, Prior Li had to subsist by begging, yet he persisted in taking care of the much dilapidated shrines with many of their halls leaking, doors and windows broken, and walls exposed to the elements. Prior Li and his disciple Gao Xinqing 高信慶 vowed to stage an overall repair, and began a

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[53] Shang Zhen 商震 (1888–1978), "Di san ci cheng shengzhengfu wen ji pifu" 第三次呈省政府文及批覆 (1936), in *Nanyang xiangxian yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu zhi*, 35b–41a.

[54] The Huashan lineage was allegedly founded by Hao Datong 郝大通 (*z.* Taigu 太古, 1149–1212), one of the early patriarchs of the Quanzhen Daoism of the Jin-Yuan period. According to a late Qing Longmen scripture, *Zhu zhen zongpai zongbu* 諸真宗派總簿, it first spread in North China. During the early Qing, a major lineage of the sect transmitted itself on the basis of its genealogy poem and settled primarily in the Jiangnan region. But its early history remains shrouded in mystery. See Qi Xianghai 齊祥海, comp., *Nan tianmen zongjuan* 南天門宗卷 (1946), digital images taken of an unpublished and handwritten genealogy book. I am indebted to Professor Fan Guangchun 樊光春 for access to his digital pictures of the original manuscript. The first 20 generations of the Huashan sect's genealogy poem runs as follows: "至一元上道，崇教演全真，冲和德正本，仁義禮**智信**." Accordingly, Li and his disciple Gao belonged respectively to the 19th and the 20th generations of the Huashan lineage.

[55] See Hao Xianzhong 郝先中, "1929 nian Shanghai yijie weirao zhongyi cunfei wenti de lunzhan" 1929年上海醫界圍繞中醫存廢問題的論戰, *Zhongyi wenxian zazhi* 中醫文獻雜誌 4(2006): 46–48.

[56] Huang Weihan 黃維翰, "Zhi Nanyang xian xianzhang Wang Youqiao han" 致南陽縣縣長王幼僑函, digital image of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives; and in Huang Weihan, *Yishi congkan* 醫事叢刊 (Nanyang: privately printed, 1939), 19b–23b.

fundraising drive to achieve their goal. In the spring of 1934, their resolve to raise a renovation found support among several local physicians and members of the educational elite. Led by Yao Chongbang 姚重邦, a leading merchant and literatus, a group of the local elite made up of Ying Chen 應辰, Xie Cen 謝岑, Liu Jiting 劉記亭, Zhu Rentang 朱忍堂, and Yang Fulian 楊父廉 donated cash to the renovation project. Meanwhile, Li and his disciple staged their own fundraising campaign in the local community. With the cash donation by the local elite and the money they had raised, priors Li and Gao were able to renovate the two main shrine halls: repairing the leaky roofs and broken doors, white-washing the walls, and repainting all the posts and pillars. In addition, they managed to renovate two side-halls on the west wing of the shrine. The 1934 renovation led by the Daoists and aided by the local physicians, gentry, and merchants rescued the shrines from the brink of total dilapidation, and restored the shrines to their former glory in the eyes of the local community.[57]

As we have seen, the Quanzhen Daoists consistently cooperated with the local physicians, literati, and business community in carrying out their various roles as the managers and keepers of the Shrines of Three Sovereigns and the Sage of Medicine in Nanyang from the late Ming to the early Republican period. Their presence at the shrines was not only crucial to the shrines' physical upkeep, but also vital to their ritual and symbolic operation as the sacred site of orthodox medicine and its pantheon. In their roles as the shrine keepers, and as the ritual specialists who officiated the spring and autumn sacrifices to the Three Sovereigns (and the prominent physicians), and especially those to the Sage of Medicine, the Quanzhen Daoist clerics played a key role in preserving the orthodox medical tradition which, by the Ming and Qing era, had come to stress canonical texts, empirical evidence, and rational humanism. In that sense, the Quanzhen clerics were close allies and partners with the local physicians and the literati community in

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[57] See Li Fu 李馥, "Chongxiu Yisheng ci beiji" 重修醫聖祠碑記, stele transcription based on the digital image taken of the stele rubbings held at Nanyang Archive, summer 2007; and see also *Yisheng Zhang Zhongjing yu Yisheng ci wenhua*, 1:98–99.

Nanyang. Indeed, for nearly four centuries from 1546 to 1940s, except during times of deep financial crisis induced by either alleged clerical abuse, or by unforeseen events such as war and natural disasters, the Nanyang guild of physicians along with the local literati and the commercial elite viewed the Quanzhen shrine keepers as trustworthy and dependable employees, and left them with a remarkable level of autonomy and power in operating the shrines and managing their endowment lands. In many ways, the Quanzhen Daoist shrine keepers played a key role as the intermediaries among various patron and devotee groups to ensure the smooth operations of the shrines.

VIII. Mixed Pantheon and Divinatory Healing Practices at the Shrines

Obvious clerical corruption aside, the 1883 scandal also reveals the tension and divergent interests among the different followings at the shrines. By then the shrines had become a sacred venue patronized by different groups whose gods, values, and practices often differed, and sometimes even clashed with one another.

As we have shown, despite their dominant influence, neither the Ming and Qing officials nor the Nanyang physicians and apothecary owners were exclusive patrons of the shrines. The shrines and their gods and saints did not always mean the same thing to the physicians as they did to the ordinary patients and devotees. Indeed, Feng Ying'ao was among the first to have noticed the divergent imaginaries of Zhang Zhongjing, and the local folk cult of Zhang as an immortal, both of which differed from the orthodox image of Zhang as the sage of medicine envisioned by the Nanyang physicians and the early Qing conquest regime officials.

According to Feng, Chen Cheng 陳誠, a local elder from Nanyang's east gate neighborhoods, had informed him during his first visit to Nanyang that behind the newly constructed Sage of Medicine Shrine, there had used to be a small knoll that was the site of Zhang Zhongjing's home, and the lane behind the knoll was even named after Zhang in the late Ming era. Just west of Zhang Lane, there used to be a Shrine of the Perfected Man Zhang (Zhang zhenren ci 張真人祠) wherein the local people used to worship

Immortal Zhang (Zhang xian 張仙). On hearing Chen's account of the local cult of Zhang Zhongjing as a perfected man or an immortal, Feng dismissed it as caused by a mere confusion or conflation of identities by the illiterate. Feng attributed the local folk imaginaries of Zhang as an immortal to their being inspired by legends of other famous physicians-turned Daoist immortals, such as Sun Simiao and Ge Hong. However, Feng acknowledged that the late Ming local cult did leave a deep impression on prefect Zhang Sanyi who at one time even toyed with the idea of naming the newly constructed shrine in honor of Zhang in 1656 as "Shrine of Dual Immortals" (Erxian ci 二仙祠).[58]

Indeed, Feng's own wildly popular tale of his miraculous cure by Zhang Zhongjing in a dream encounter contains elements that are at odds with the orthodox image of Zhang Zhongjing as an erudite and rationalist sage of medicine envisioned and endorsed by Nanyang's physicians and early Qing conquest regime officials. To them, Zhang was by nature rational, compassionately human, and profoundly erudite, steeped in medical classics. However, Feng's tale projects Zhang Zhongjing primarily as a powerful healing god or divine man. His miraculous efficacy (which Feng experienced) comes directly from his divine body, and not from his rational mastery of medical knowledge or learning. The story of Feng's personal piety thus serves to reinforce the logic of miraculous cures: Feng's cure by Zhang was an act of divine grace conferred only upon those who were faithful devotees. Indeed, Feng's story highlights Zhang's divinity as a magical healer much more than his humanity as a sage physician. These early alternative imaginaries of Zhang Zhongjing persisted from the late Ming throughout the Qing periods. For instance, Zhu Wanzhang, the magistrate of Xuanzhou 宣州and a native of Nanyang, argued in a 1730 stele inscription that the Nanyang locals revered Zhang as a god, because he had obtained prominence for his divine efficacy, which he administered among fellow countrymen.[59] Parallel to these

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[58] Feng, "Han Changsha taishou yisheng Zhang Zhongjing xianshen cimu beiji fuji," transcription of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives.

[59] See Zhu Wanzhang, "Chongxiu Yisheng ci menlou beiji," stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives.

alternative perceptions, the faithful devotees and donors at the shrines had also been quite diversified. In addition to the physicians and local officials, the stele records from 1546 to 1946 consistently listed as patrons and devotees of the shrines local members of the literati, local *yamen* clerks and runners, merchants (especially herbal apothecary shop owners), salt and grain traders, vegetable oil pressers, along with patients and their relatives in Nanyang.[60]

The mixed following at the shrines and the different imaginaries of Zhang Zhongjing led to different perceptions of Zhang Zhongjing, and ultimately gave rise to visible changes in the early orthodox medical pantheon worshipped at the shrines. The most striking signs of these changes were the folk deification of Zhang Zhongjing, and the open display and worship of many less orthodox and non-medical deities at the shrines. An 1837 stele lists the presence of the statues of the Lord Buddha (Foye 佛爺), Zhang Zhongjing, the Dharma statue of the Sage of Medicine administering divine cures (Yisheng xingshen faxiang 醫聖行神法像), the King of Medicine (Yaowang 藥王), the Dragon King (Longwang 龍王), the City God (Chenghuang 城隍), the earth god (Tudi 土地), and the Tablet to the Canon on Cold Damage Disorders (Shanghan lun paiwei 傷寒論牌位). Further, new tablets to each of these deities were also installed. The language of the stele inscription suggests that these statues had been part of the shrine pantheon long before the 1837 repair and repainting by craftsmen. Additionally, the stele also mentions that repair was completed on the walls, doors, and the courtyard walls of the main hall, and specifically on the Yellow Dragon Shrine (Huanglong miao 黃龍廟) at the Sage of Medicine Shrine. The inscription mentioned Prior Shang Youhe and his grand-disciple Li Dalu as having cooperated with a group of local licentiates, herbal and salt merchants, vegetable oil pressers, and commoner patrons in completing the repair and repainting of the

[60] For samples of the listed patrons, see Sang Yun, "Han Changsha taishou yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu beiji," transcription of the stele rubbing in Nanyang Municipal Archives; Li Long, "Xianghuo dimu beiji," transcription of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives; Yuan Shu, "Juanshu dimu heshan Sanhuang miao Yisheng ci beiji," transcription of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives.

statues of the deities at the shrine.[61] The Nanwu lineage shrine keepers were clearly making accommodations to these alternative devotees and donors who had different visions about both the efficacy and functions of the shrines under the Daoists' charge.

These differences are revealed in several fascinating changes in both the shrine pantheon and the constituents of patronage at the Sage of Medicine Shrine by the early 19th century. First, by 1830s, the Sage of Medicine Shrine was definitely not the exclusive ritual and social domain of the Nanyang physicians. Nor did it honor Zhang Zhongjing alone. Indeed, the shrine had long housed much less orthodox local deities of healing and other powers alongside Zhang Zhongjing. This mixed pantheon persisted at the shrine through the rest of the nineteenth century and the early Republican era. In 1933, Huang Weihan 黃維翰, a prominent physician from Xi'an who visited the shrine's main hall described with some indignation the layout therein:

> The Shrine's main hall is composed of three chambers. In the middle chamber, the statue of Zhongjing wearing a golden crown and yellow robe is worshipped. . . . To his left were the statues of the six physicians who annotated Zhang's canonical *Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders*. To his right was the statue of Sun the Perfected Man (Sun zhenren xiang 孫真人像). In the east chamber was the statue of Lord Zhou Jingfu, and in the west chamber was the Divine Physician He the Immortal (Shenyi He xian 神醫何仙). Several other statues of deities were also placed therein. It is a truly dubious and incestuously unorthodox medley (*canhu qijian, bulun bulei* 參乎其間，不倫不類)! These deities have been wantonly and capriciously added in the hall by the locals since the Daoguang 道光 reign (1827–1843). . . .[62]

As shown in the 1837 stele inscription, the introduction and maintenance of the mixed pantheon was clearly carried out with the consent and help of the Nanwu lineage shrine keepers. The Quanzhen Daoist clerical interest in introducing these popular

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[61] See "Buxiu Yisheng ci bei" 補修醫聖祠碑, digital image of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives.

[62] See Huang Weihan, "Ye Nanyang yisheng Zhang Zhongjing cimu ji" 謁南陽醫聖張仲景祠墓記 (1933), digital image of the stele rubbing held at Nanyang Municipal Archives; and in Huang Weihan, *Yishi congkan*, 19b–23b.

deities into the shrine pantheon may have been driven primarily by their desire to accommodate the religious beliefs of the average devotees who frequented their shrines for a variety of reasons. As their illnesses might not be cured by conventional medicine, they would hope for efficacious interventions by gods, however dubious or heterodox they might be. In addition, we can also detect linguistic traces of the popular tendency to deify Zhang Zhongjing as a local healing god, rather than the sage of canonical medicine, in the reverential titles by which local devotees addressed or referred to him. Following the old way, Nanyang locals today still address or refer to Zhang not as "Sage of Medicine," but rather as "Lord or Grandpa Sage of Medicine," or directly as "Lord Patriarch" (Zushi ye 祖師爺). In Nanyang dialects, the suffix "Lord" (*ye* 爺) added to the standard title invokes personal endearment and ancestral reverence at the same time.

There is no doubt that the Quanzhen Daoist clerics at the shrines were beholden to their main patrons: the physicians. They depended on rents from the physicians-donated endowment land for their livelihood, and were chiefly responsible for staging and officiating at the physicians' annual ritual sacrifice to their patron deities at the shrines. But as in other places, the Nanwu shrine keepers were by no means exclusive clients to the physicians alone. As the keepers of the shrines, they were ideally positioned to meet the popular demand for efficacious deities who might be less acceptable to their physician patrons, but who brought in more devotees with incense money.

In addition to the mixed healing pantheon at the shrines, the Quanzhen Daoist clerics may have also been responsible for introducing the practice of divinatory healing to the shrines as well. Though we still lack any corroborating textual evidence, quite a few Daoist clerics I interviewed during my fieldwork in Nanyang claim that the practice of healing by drawing lot-sticks for the divine or efficacious slips (*lingqian* 靈簽) at the Sage of Medicine Shrine was first introduced by the Quanzhen Daoist clerics from Huashan, a known Quanzhen Daoist enclave in western Shaanxi during the Ming and Qing era. They also insist that the efficacious slips of recipes used at the Sage of Medicine Shrine from the Qing down to the 1950s evolved from the early transmission of the

practice and became widely popular among the locals during the early Qing period in Nanyang.[63]

Although we do not know when or how the recipes supposedly based on the recipes developed by Zhang Zhongjing became connected with the divinatory healing practice at the Sage of Medicine Shrine, a total of 370 divinatory slips carrying prescriptive recipes have survived. Entitled "Sage of Medicine's Efficacious Slips of Recipes," they are divided into five therapeutic disciplinary categories: gynecology (*fuke* 婦科), with 100 recipe slips; male disorders (*nanke* 男科), with 100 recipes; pediatrics (*erke* 兒科), with 100 recipes; external medicine (*waike* 外科), with 50 recipes; and ophthalmology (*yanke* 眼科), with 20 recipes. The format of the recipe slips at the Sage of Medicine Shrine is similar to that of some of the medicinal slips collected from temples in North China and South China.[64]

At the top of each divinatory recipe slip is printed the title "Sage of Medicine's Efficacious Slips." The recipe is divided into the right and left parts. The right side of the slip provides the serial number of the recipe and its disciplinary category, and also contains

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[63] My field interviews with Yin Zhongjing 尹忠靜, a Daoist cleric of the Longmen lineage and an erstwhile resident cleric at the Sage of Medicine Shrine who still practices divination healing near the shrine (2009 and 2011); and Yang Jindu 楊金都, a Daoist cleric of the Huashan lineage and the deputy director of Nanyang Daoist Association (2009 and 2011). Yang comes from a family of Daoist physicians. His father and grandfather were Daoists of the Huashan lineage and practiced medicine in Nanyang. Both Yin and Yang claim that the divinatory slips originated from the Quanzhen Daoist monastic network on Mount Hua and were brought to Nanyang during the Ming-Qing period.

[64] See, for instance, "Fude zhengshen qian" 福德正神籤 (159–164), "Tudi shenqian" 土地神籤 (165–174), "Tianxian niangniang miao yaoqian" 天仙娘娘廟藥簽 (175–216), and "Huang daxian liangfang" 黃大仙良方 (377–416) in Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, Imai Usaburō 今井宇三郎 and Yoshimoto Shōji 吉元昭治, comp., *Chūgoku no reisen, Yakusen shūsei* 中國の靈籤藥籤集成 (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 1992). For recent studies of medicinal recipes used in divinatory healing practices, see Sakai Tadao, "*Chūgoku no sen to yakusen*" 中國の籤と藥籤, in *Chūgoku no reisen, Yakusen shūsei*, 525–548; Carol Morgan, "I've Got Your Number: Hong Kong's Medical Prescription Slips," *Sanjiao wenxian* 三教文獻 4(2005):1–83; and Yau Chi-on 游子安, "Qingmo yilai Lingnan diqu xianfang shanshu yu Lüzu xinyang" 清末以來嶺南地區仙方善書與呂祖信仰, in *Shijiu shiji yilai Zhongguo difang daojiao bianqian* 十九世紀以來中國地方道教變遷, ed. Lai Chi-tim 黎志添 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 2013), 251–282.

the prognostication. Typically composed in rhymed verse, the prognostication explains the etiological cause and therapeutic actions for the condition in question. With a few exceptions, the left side of the slip contains a list of prescribed herbal ingredients and their specific dosage. For example, recipe slip #6 under gynecology (*di liu qian fuke* 第六籤婦科) has the following content:

> Sick and dying, you now inquire after the Divine 病至奄奄卻問神,
> But the Efficacious Elixir treats not a person with a heart in chaos
> 靈丹不治亂心人.
> But if you rid yourself of craftiness and jealousy 失卻奸猾與嫉妒,
> Thrice three doses will cure your body 三三可好爾之身.
> Sclerotium Poriae Cocos, 2 ounces 茯苓二錢,
> Rhizoma Pinelliae, 1 ounce 半夏一錢,
> Radix Paeoniae Rubra, 2 ounces 赤芍二錢,
> Cortex Eucommiae, 1 ounce 杜仲一錢,
> Radix Glycyrrhizae, 1 ounce 甘草一錢,
> Medulla Junci with Semen Astragali Complanati and Semen Cuscutae
> 燈心二子 (*shayuanzi* 沙苑子 and *tusizi* 菟絲子),
> 5 potions 五劑.[65]

Though little textual evidence has survived to tell us how healing practice centered on the divinatory slips of recipes worked during the Qing, contemporary Daoist clerics have described and demonstrated to me how it works. When patients or their relatives decided to seek a cure by visiting the shrine, they would offer prayers and burn incenses on their knees to the Lord Sage of Medicine. Then the attending Daoist shrine keepers would offer them a holder of numbered lot-sticks, and told them to shake the holder as they continued to pray. The violent shaking would often cause one of the lot sticks to fall out of the holder to the ground. The lot-stick is then considered drawn. The drawn lot-stick is then presented to the attendant Daoist cleric at the shrine in exchange for the paper slip imprinted with a matching number and the formulaic recipe of medicinal herbs with a confirmatory prognosis

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[65] See *Yisheng lingqian* 醫聖靈簽, 5 *juan*, photocopy in my collection. For a recent study of the recipes at the Sage of Medicine Shrine, see Wang Yongke 王永科, "Yisheng ci qianfang shige chutan" 醫聖祠簽方詩歌初探, *Zhongyiyao wenhua* 中醫藥文化 24.3(2008): 24–26.

in rhymed verse on the cause and treatment of the malady in question. Often the Daoist shrine keepers were consulted on the meanings of the prognostic verse, and the dosage and functions of the prescribed herbs. After ascertaining the precise meanings of the prognostic poem and the prescriptions, many patients would then go to the herbal apothecaries located on the main street outside the shrines and in the city, and fill their Lord Sage-conferred Divine Formulas (*shenfang* 神方) with all the prescribed herbs, and take them faithfully in hope of a cure.[66] Thus, the system of divinatory slips of curative recipes at the shrine connected the patients and their relatives, the Daoist shrine keepers, the local apothecary owners, and groups of physicians who sometimes operated their own drugstores, uniting them into a ritual and economic alliance despite their divergent interests, beliefs, and perceptions about the Sage of Medicine and the shrines (see Figure 5).

In my ongoing fieldwork in Nanyang, I have also encountered a variety of local healing practices centered on Zhang Zhongjing's tomb. Even though written records rarely mention these healing practices and their origins, it is clear that the underlying logic of these contemporary healing practices at the shrine seem to share that of Feng Ying'ao's miraculous cure during the late Ming period, and the divinatory healing method of the Qing period. Devotees whom I have interviewed in Nanyang over the past few years assure me of the "ancient origins" of their faith healing practices. One such contemporary healing practice is the ritual of "begging for medicine" (*qiuyao* 求藥, or *qiuyuo* in Nanyang dialect) which centers on Zhang's tomb as the source of healing efficacy. After offering in front of the tomb incenses and prayers to the Lord Sage of Medicine for efficacious cures, patients or their relatives start to walk around the tomb with their hands touching the bricks and the four large ram heads on the four corners of the tomb. When they come to a stop, they stand close the tomb and carefully fold the yellow incense paper into triangular paper pecks (*yaodou* 藥斗).

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[66] See my field interview notes with Daoists Yin and Yang, 2009 and 2011. For a recent field study of the divinatory healing practice at Huang daxian Temple 黃大仙廟 in Hong Kong, see Carol Morgan, "I've Got Your Number: Hong Kong's Medical Prescription Slips."

They then place them directly on Zhang's tomb. After saying more prayers and even explaining the symptoms of their illnesses to the Lord Sage, they retrieve the folded paper pecks, believing that the Lord has responded to their prayers by depositing his invisible yet potent curatives into these folded paper pecks. Contemporary practitioners in Nanyang explain to me that there are two ways of taking the divine medicine: you can tear off the bottom tip of the paper peck and then let the contents fall into the mouth since they believe the Lord's drugs have settled at the bottom of the paper pecks; or you can swallow the folded paper pecks full of the divine drugs. Another healing practice is more direct and physical. Patients stand close to the tomb and touch the tomb's bricks and the four rams' heads with their hands while murmuring prayers or describing their conditions. They then use their hands to pat or rub gently the body parts that they know or believe to be afflicted with the illness, whether it is a cataract in the eye, an arthritic knee, or a heart condition. Doing so, they believe, they are directly transferring the healing *qi* 氣 of the Lord Sage onto their ailments.[67]

IX. Conclusions

This preliminary look at the history of the Three Sovereigns and the Sage of Medicine Shrines in Nanyang reveals that despite the efforts by Nanyang state officials and the guild of physicians to keep the shrines as the exclusive site for preserving and transmitting rational and canonical medicine, and for worshipping orthodox medical pantheon, the two shrines still evolved into a sacred space of healing with multivalent meanings and functions for a mixed and varied constituency due to the intervention by the resident Quanzhen shrine keepers, and the popular demand for healing and spirituality.

It also shows that while the Nanyang guild of physicians, local literati and merchants, and state officials remained the powerful

[67] This account is based on my field observation notes and interviews conducted in the spring of 2009 and 2010, and the summer of 2011. The stroking of the ram heads on the corners of the now square-shaped tomb at the shrine is widely believed to bring healing energy to oneself, as the Chinese character for rams (*yang* 羊) rhymes with the character for "cure" or "healed" (*yang* 恙).

owners and patrons at the shrines, the Quanzhen Daoist clerics were not entirely powerless. Through their long-term cooperative relationship with their physician patrons and local elite groups, their years of ritual and other services to their elite clients, and their leadership in fundraising for repairs and renovations at the shrine, as well as through the organizational strength of their family-like coterie, the Daoist shrine keepers earned the respect and trust of their donors and sponsors, providing them with a leverage of power and even autonomy in their relations with their elite patrons. Indeed, monastic poverty brought on by war and natural disasters aside, the shrine keepers' sense of entitlement and autonomy deepened by their generations of service at the shrines may have very well inspired the occasional "illegal" clerical sales or pawns of the shrines' lands.

The agency and power of the Daoist shrine keepers can also be seen in their ability to negotiate and shape the ritual beliefs and practices at the shrines. It was with their backing that the orthodox pantheon of medicine and the related sacrificial and commemorative rites at the shrines became mixed with the folk cult centered on Lord Sage of Medicine and other less orthodox yet efficacious deities. In addition, my field research so far has shown that the Quanzhen Daoist shrine keepers were responsible for introducing and preserving the divinatory healing system of slips of prescriptions at the Sage of Medicine Shrine, a practice that deviates from the rationalist and canonically based orthodox medicine. On the one hand, the presence of these less orthodox deities and practices at the shrines is a reflection of their mixed constituency and patronage. On the other, it also points to the Quanzhen Daoist shrine keepers' agency and abilities as mediators and coordinators among varied and even conflicting interests, beliefs, and perceptions among their patrons and clients at the shrines.

But as evidenced in the three recorded repurchases after illegal land sales, there were limits to such Daoist clerical assertions of power and autonomy at the shrines. Often supported by local magistrates, Nanyang physicians and literati asserted their rights as owners and donors to the shrines and intervened to recover endowment lands sold or pawned by the Daoist shrine keepers. In

a jurisprudence that recognized only the rights of donors and patrons, the Daoist shrine keepers' claim to ownership through decades, even centuries, of sustained investment in the shrines in the form of service, monetary contribution, management, and habitation was not likely to be recognized, not to mention upheld. But their enduring influence in shaping and integrating the orthodox and local folk cults of Zhang Zhongjing at the shrines remains a living legacy, one that we can still palpably feel in the varied folk healing beliefs and practices centered on the Lord Sage of Medicine at the shrine and beyond in Nanyang today.

Figure 1 A 1904 map of Nanyang. Note the Shrines of Three Sovereigns and Sage of Medicine in the east quarter of the city, and the Jiang-Zhe Guild 江浙會館 in the north quarter of the city.

Figure 2 A site sketch of the integrated Three Sovereigns and Sage of Medicine Shrines by Cao Guangde (1884). Note the Three Sovereigns Shrine is not shown, but was located in front of the Great Gate (*damen* 大門); and the building behind the Zhang's tomb is the entrance hall into the Sage of Medicine Shrine.

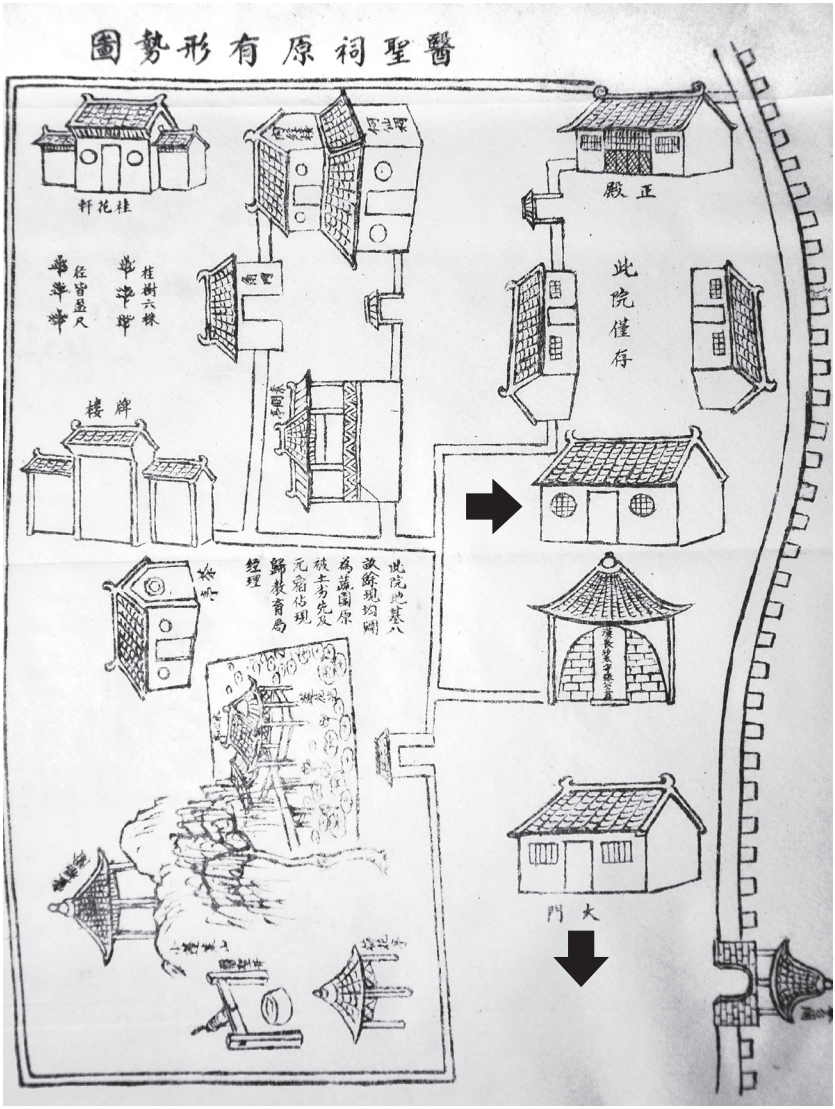


Figure 3 The 1573 plaque presented by Nanyang physicians to the Three Sovereigns and Prominent Physicians, now preserved at the Sage of Medicine Shrine. Photo by author, summer 2007.

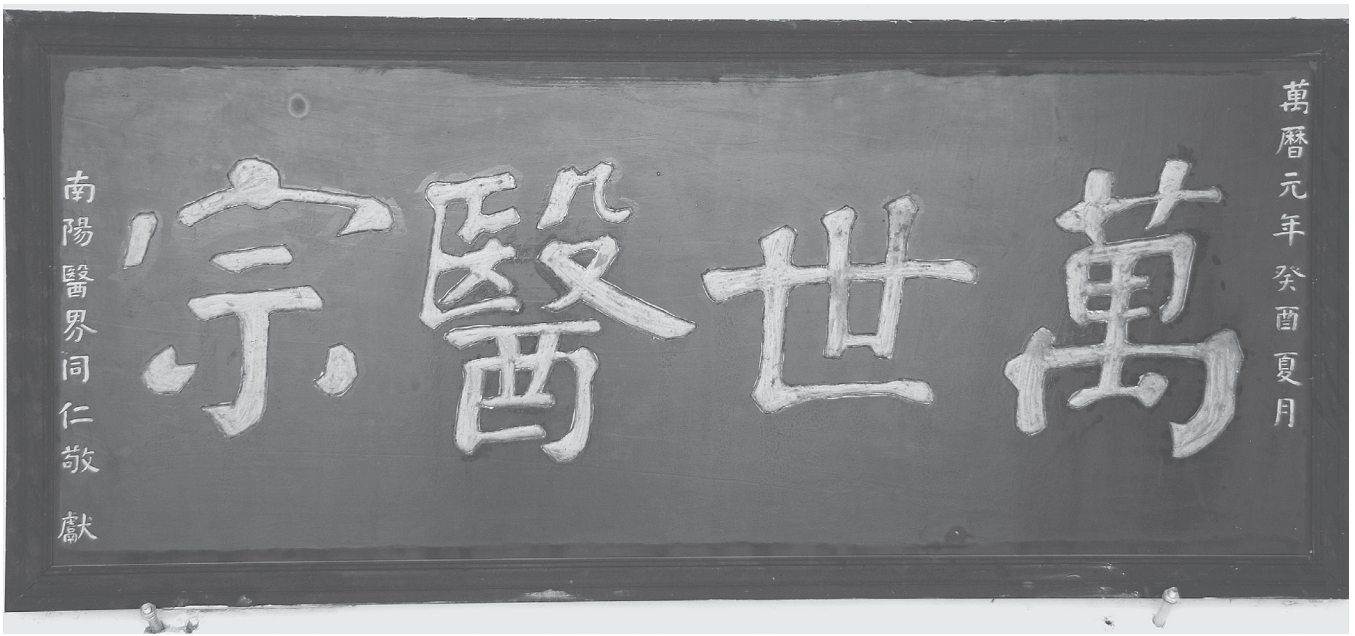


Figure 4 Layout of Sanhuang miao, from anonymous, *Taichang xukao* 太常續考, 6.9a, *Siku quanshu* ed., 599:231.

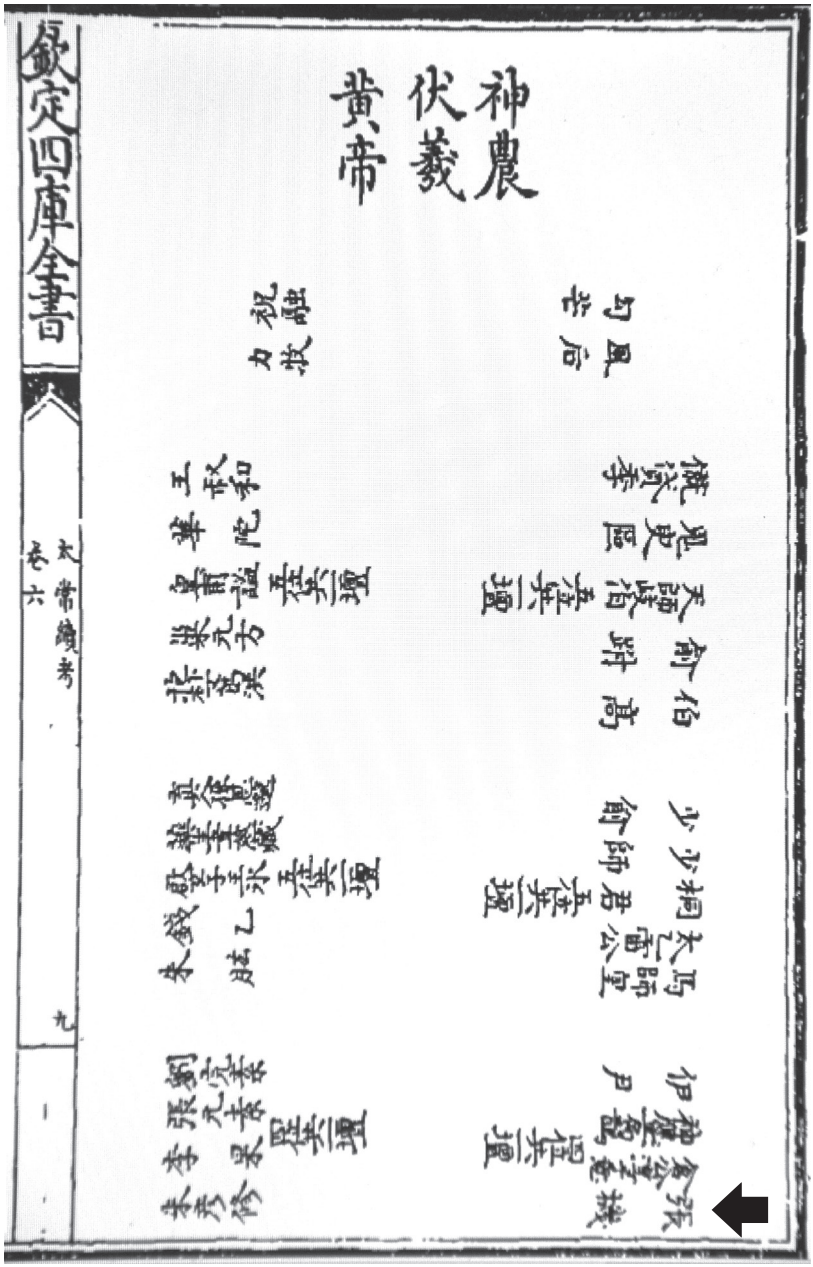
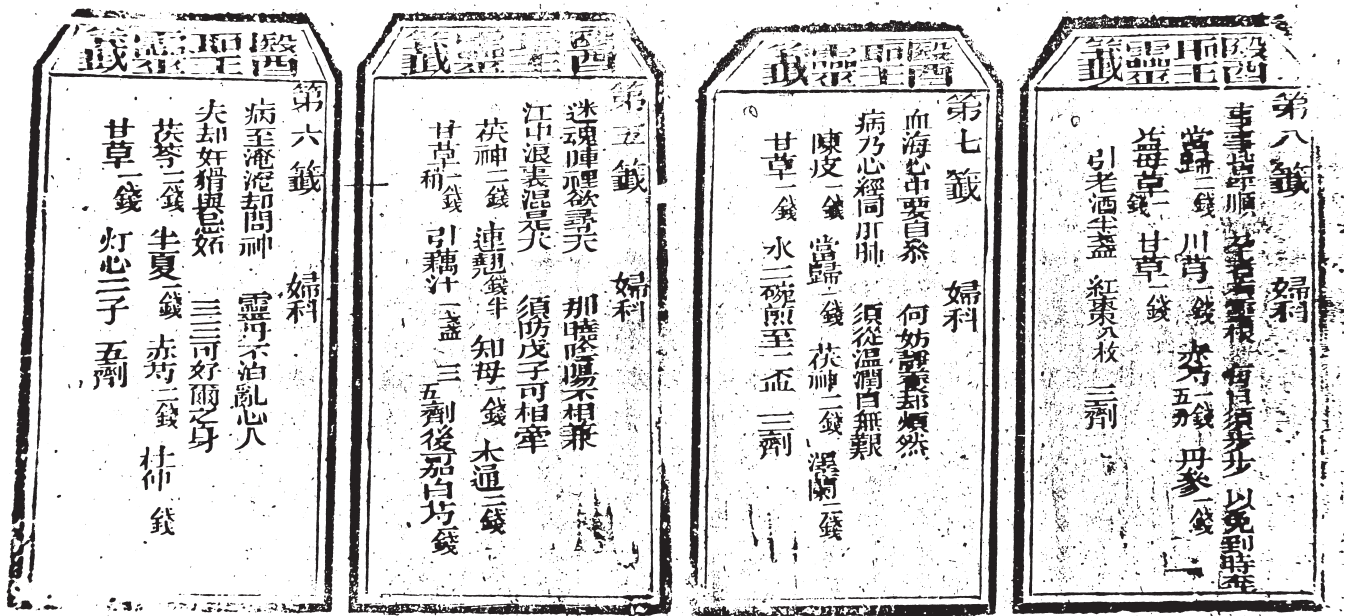


Figure 5 Samples from the *Sage of Medicine's Efficacious Slips*, special courtesy by Mr. Tang Minghua of Nanyang.



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明末至民初南陽的醫林、全真道士以及民間醫聖崇信

劉迅

摘要

本文考察明末至民初南陽醫林、全真道士以及普通病患和張機（仲景，150–211）崇信者在當地三皇廟和醫聖祠密切互動的歷史。作者運用以前從未使用的廟碑、現存文獻以及田野調查所發現的證據，展示了全真南無派廟祝不僅在醫聖祠和三皇廟的維護以及日常活動方面具有關鍵作用，同時他們還在當地醫林祭祀三皇先醫，尤其是醫聖張機的祭獻儀式以及醫林會館談醫論治的聚會中，擔任舉足輕重的角色。全真道士們利用他們作為廟祝的特殊地位，與當地醫林和縉紳精英建立了長期的合作關係。正是憑藉這些關係以及全真宗派集團自身內部結構的強勢，這些全真南無派廟祝在與其醫林僱主的交往中、在形塑當地張機醫聖爺崇拜的過程中，以及在主導並傳布諸如醫聖藥籤之類非正統的民間禁祝療法和信仰的過程中，都具備了非常大的主動性和影響力。

關鍵詞：全真南無派道士、廟祝、醫林會館、張機（仲景）、醫聖、藥籤