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Emplacing Dizang Bodhisattva on Mt. Jiuhua with Local Dramas during the Late Imperial and Republican Eras (1368–1949)

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Abstract

This article focuses on local dramas of late imperial China that speak to the conflation of Dizang Bodhisattva and Jin Dizang who is a prince-turned-monk from Silla and identified as the earthly incarnation of Dizang on Mt. Jiuhua. Drawing on local legends of Jin that evolved after the Tang period, the article selects four one-act plays that feature Jin to examine how local legends were adapted into the scripts by looking into the storylines, characters, language styles, and place-names associated with Mt. Jiuhua. It also investigates the similarities between these one-act plays and well-known acts of a typical Mulian drama, while taking into account the performative context of those plays in relation to the Dizang cult. It shows that the playwrights vigorously assimilated local religious dynamics in their creation of an onstage persona of Jin as an ascetic Buddhist monk. Lastly, the article discusses the distinctive strategies by which the four plays promoted the Dizang cult on Mt. Jiuhua, analyzes gender issues in the scripts, and further illustrates the dynamics between religion and performative literatures such as local drama.

Keywords:
local drama, local religion, Dizang Bodhisattva, Mt. Jiuhua, literature and religion

明清至民國時期（1368–1949）地方戲曲中的地藏菩薩與九華山

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摘要

本文考察明清至民國時期，描述地藏菩薩及其在九華山的化身——傳說來自新羅的僧人金地藏，二者相融合的地方戲曲。以源自唐代的金地藏相關地方傳說的演變為基礎，本文選擇四種單折本地方戲曲，通過考察故事主線、人物設置、語言風格和九華山地名，討論戲曲文本對地方傳說的借用和改編。本文也檢視這些地方戲曲與鄭之珍編著的目連戲之間，在文本和演出中的相似性。結果顯示，這些地方戲曲的編劇大力吸收了地方宗教新的發展要素，塑造出金地藏豐滿的舞臺形象。最後，本文討論這四種戲曲在宣傳九華山地藏信仰方面的不同策略，分析文本中展現出的性別問題，並深入探究宗教與地方戲曲這樣的表演文學之間的互動關係。

關鍵詞：
地方戲曲、地方宗教、地藏菩薩、九華山、文學和宗教

Introduction

Local drama figured prominently in everyday life during the Ming and Qing periods, both for their entertaining effects and religious functions.[1] Catering to audiences in various regions, local playwrights consciously or unconsciously adopted and adapted popular religious stories into dramatic scripts and put them on stage. Southern Anhui 安徽, where Mt. Jiuhua 九華山, the holy abode of Dizang Bodhisattva (Dizang pusa 地藏菩薩), is located, was well-known for both the popularity of dramas and the dynamics of religion on the ground during the Ming-Qing periods. By focusing on the interplay between drama and religion in Southern Anhui, this article examines how these dramas assimilated the local legends of Jin Dizang 金地藏 (or Jin Qiaojue 金喬覺), who is a prince-turned-monk from Silla and identified as the earthly incarnation of Dizang Bodhisattva, on Mt. Jiuhua in scripts and how their performance contributed to the growing fame of Mt. Jiuhua as the abode of Dizang Bodhisattva. Specifically, this article investigates individually the scripts of four one-act (*danzheben* 單折本) plays and discusses their performance on religious occasions related to Dizang Bodhisattva and Mt. Jiuhua. In so doing, it explores the role of performative literatures such as drama in disseminating new religious elements at the grassroots.

The local dramas to be discussed show to varying degrees the influence of Mulian drama (Mulian xi 目連戲), either in terms of content or performance. Mulian drama, which revolves around the story, of "Mulian's Deliverance of His Mother" (*Mulian jiumu* 目連救母), originated in the transformation texts (*bianwen* 變文) of the Tang period and Buddhist plays of the Song. By the Ming and Qing periods it became a full-fledged form of local drama, with many regional variants.[2] In southern Anhui and adjacent regions, the diversity of

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1 Mackerras, ed., *Chinese Theater*, 1–6.

2 Mulian drama as a generic term refers to the drama focusing on the story of "Mulian Saving His Mother," which includes the original stories of Mulian saving his mother from the underworld, the stories of Mulian's previous rebirths, the anecdotal stories of Mulian, and puppetry-form and masked performances, among others. In English scholarship, for the regional differences of Mulian drama and features of Mulian drama performance, see Johnson and Grant, eds., *Ritual Opera, Operatic Ritual*; for the impact of Confucian thoughts and commercial culture on Mulian drama in Huizhou, see Guo, *Ritual Opera and Mercantile Lineage*; for a summary of variant forms of Mulian drama and research in Chinese scholarship, see Hou, "Mulian Drama," 23–48. Also, in Chinese scholarship, for the complicated

extant Mulian dramas speaks to that flourishing of Mulian drama performance in late imperial China.[3] Despite their internal diversity, the most acclaimed version has been the *Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen* 新編目連救母勸善戲文 (The New Version of Mulian Saving His Mother and Exhorting the Goodness), ascribed to Zheng Zhizhen 鄭之珍 (1518–1595), a local man of letters hailing from Qimen 祁門 in southern Anhui.[4] As the most popular version, Zheng's Mulian drama shaped the contents of other local dramas concerning different local cults, such as the Jin Dizang cult.

In terms of performance, the localized vocalization style used for performing the last two of the four plays in question can be classified as belonging to the Qingyang qiang 青陽腔, or "Qingyang vocalization style." Drama in the Qingyang vocalization style originated in Qingyang County 青陽縣, where Mt. Jiuhua is located. This particular vocalization style spread from its place of origin to other areas due to the innovative technique of the so-called *gun* 滾, the practice of interpolating spoken words into performance to make it more easily understood.[5] Qingyang qiang drama was once well received all

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relationship between Mulian drama and other local dramas, as well as the interaction between Mulian drama and popular culture, see Zhu, *Mulian xi yanjiu*; Wang, ed., *Minsu quyi*, vol. 77 & 78 (1992, *Special Issue on Mulian Drama*). In Japanese scholarship, on the social functions of Mulian drama and the relationships among distinct regional versions, see Tanaka, *Chūgoku chinkon engeki kenkyū*.

3 The versions include *Anhui Chizhou Qingyang qiang Mulian xiwen da huiben* 安徽池州青陽腔目連戲文大會本 (The Great-Assembly Script of Mulian Drama in Qingyang Vocalization Style from Chizhou, Anhui), *Anhui Chizhou Dongzhi Sucun gaoqiang Mulian xiwen chuan huiben* 安徽池州東至蘇村高腔目連戲文穿會本 (The Abridged Script of Mulian Drama in High-Pitched Vocalization Style from Su Village, Dongzhi, Chizhou, Anhui), *Wannan gaoqiang Mulian juan* 皖南高腔目連卷 (The Volume of Mulian Drama in High-Pitched Vocalization Style in Southern Anhui), *Jiangsu Gaochun Mulian xi Liangtouhong taiben* 江蘇高淳目連戲兩頭紅臺本 (The Playscript of the-Red-at-Both-Ends Mulian Drama in Gaochun Jiangsu), and *Langxi Mulian xi* 郎溪目連戲 (Mulian Drama in Langxi), to name a few.

4 See Zheng and Zhu, *Wanren xiqu xuankan, Zheng Zhizhen juan: Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen* (hereafter, *Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen*).

5 The origin of Qingyang qiang vocalization style is controversial. It remains a point of debate as to whether (1) Qingyang qiang developed exclusively

over China, as evidenced by newly discovered scripts in Yuexi 岳西 in northern Anhui, Hukou 湖口 in Jiangxi 江西, and Shanxi 山西 in northern China.[6] Although Qingyang qiang has almost died out, traces of Jin's local legends are still visible in the scripts that were performed in this vocalization style.

In the field of Chinese drama, the symbiotic relationship between Chinese religion and Chinese drama has long been the focus of scholarly debate concerning the religious applications and significations of Chinese drama, the interaction between religious rituals and dramatic performance, and the extent to which religion originated from drama or the other way around.[7] Specifically, it is the diversity and vitality of Mulian drama that have most attracted scholarly

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from either "Yuyao vocalization style" (Yuyao qiang 餘姚腔) or "Yiyang vocalization style" (Yiyang qiang 弋陽腔), or (2) it derived jointly from both. However, it is believed that Yuexi high-pitched vocalization style (Yuexi gaoqiang 岳西高腔) is a local variant of Qingyang. The scripts of Yuexi gaoqiang drama have preserved much of Qingyang qiang drama scripts. See Ban, "Mingdai Qingyang," 84–89; Ban, "Mingdai Qingyang (xu)," 101–107. Also see the entries of "Qingyang Style," "Gao Style," and "Gao Style System" in Ye, *Historical Dictionary*, 244, 110–111.

6 In Hukou, the performance has been well preserved. See Ban, "Mingdai Qingyang," 84.

7 Piet van der Loon questions "how" drama originated rather than "when" drama originated in Chinese history, and hence problematizes the linear development of drama in previous scholarship; see van der Loon, "Les origines rituelles du théâtre chinois," 142–168. Kang Baocheng investigates the development of dramas and their relationship with various forms of religions in Chinese history; see Kang, *Zhongguo gudai xiju xingtai yu fojiao*. Tanaka Issei argues drama originated from ritual and analyzes Mulian drama's primary function of appeasing ghosts; see Tanaka, *Chūgoku chinkon engeki kenkyū*. Yung Saishing discusses the interpenetration relationship between popular religion and drama based on anthropological fieldwork in Singapore; see Yung, *Xiqu renleixue chutan*. Regina Llamas revisits the argument that Chinese theatre originated in Shamanism and emphasizes the primacy of theatre over ritual; see Llamas, "A Reassessment of the Place of Shamanism in the Origins of Chinese Theater," 93–109. Other scholars discuss the impact of Daoist practices on Chinese drama; see Zhan, *Daojiao yu xiju*; Zhang, "The Relationship between Daoist Rituals and Theatrical Performance," 1001–1006.

attention.[8] Meanwhile, with the recently enhanced effectiveness and feasibility of fieldwork in China, more and more scholars have taken notice of the importance of using fieldwork investigations to discuss dramatic performance. Since the 1980s, scholars from Taiwan and mainland China have collected different versions of drama scripts, conducted fieldwork about performance, and interviewed experienced performance artists. That collaboration culminated in the compilation of a series titled *Minsu quyi congshu* 民俗曲藝叢書 (The Series of Chinese Folklore and Drama) in the 1990s.[9] Building on existing studies, this article will deepen the understanding of the intersection between local drama and the emerging Jin Dizang cult on Mt. Jiuhua, a relatively neglected overlap between religion and drama.[10]

In the pages below, we will examine the textual adaptations and ritual performance of four one-act plays. Drawing on historical records dating from the Tang-Song to Ming-Qing periods, the first part summarizes the evolution of the legends concerning Jin Dizang on Mt. Jiuhua. The second part analyzes the attempts to incorporate Jin's legends into the four scripts. The first two scripts

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8 Liu Zhen studies the relationships between Mulian drama and regional dramas in different areas; see Liu, *Zhongguo minjian Mulian wenhua*, 159–208. Hao Yuxiang discusses the roles of Minor Dramas (Xiaoxi 小戲) in Mulian drama performance; see Hao, *Minjian Mulian xi*, 1–23. Lin Zhili notices that in Chenhe 辰河, Hunan 湖南, Mulian drama performance adopted local customs; see Lin, *Mingdai zongjiao xiqu yanjiu*, 323–324. Liao Tengye discusses the relationship among different episodes in Zheng Zhizhen's Mulian drama and local variants; see Liao, *Mulian bianwen yu Mulian xi*, 147–233.

9 Among the eighty-six volumes of the collection published from 1993 to 2007, scripts of local dramas collected from diverse places, including Anhui, Zhejiang 浙江, Sichuan 四川, Hunan, and Fujian 福建, occupy a predominant proportion. See *Minsu quyi congshu*, vol. 1–86. See a summary of these efforts in Lin, *Mingdai zongjiao xiqu yanjiu*, 31–36.

10 Yin Fu examines the images of Dizang Bodhisattva in a Yuan drama *Dizangwang zheng dongchuang shifa* 地藏王證東窗事發 (*The Affair of the Eastern Window Exposed*) and the allusions to Mt. Jiuhua in its later editions; he also mentions briefly a one-act Peking Opera, *Jiushi tu* 九世圖 (*Diagram of Nine Generations*) and the story of Jin on Mt. Jiuhua; see Yin, *Zhongguo Dizang xinyang yanjiu*, 400–403, 406–407. Another local scholar from Mt. Jiuhua argues that the development of Jiuhua Buddhism facilitated the spread of Qingyang vocalization style drama without much evidence; see Tao, "Jiuhua shan yu Qingyang qiang," 41–42.

are referred to, respectively, as the *Jiushi tu* 九世圖 (*Diagram of Nine Generations*; hereafter *Diagram*) and the *Jiushi tu zongjiang* 九世圖總講 (*Digest of the Diagram of Nine Generations*; hereafter *Digest*); the remaining two bear the titles *Dadu danghu* 大度擋狐 (*Main Deliverance of Warding Off the Fox*; hereafter *Main Deliverance*) and the *Longnü xiaodu* 龍女小度 (*Lesser Deliverance of the Dragon Princess*; hereafter *Lesser Deliverance*). After analyzing their contents, the performative context of the four plays is discussed, as sources permit. In conclusion the symbiotic relationship between the local dramas concerning Jin and the growing prominence of Mt. Jiuhua as a sacred mountain is discussed.

The Local Legends of Jin Dizang on Mt. Jiuhua

The earliest source concerning a Buddhist monk named Jin Dizang on Mt. Jiuhua is traced to the essay *Jiuhua shan Huacheng si ji* 九華山化城寺記 (Record of Huacheng Monastery on Mt. Jiuhua) by Fei Guanqing 費冠卿 (fl. ninth century).[11] Having lived as a recluse at the foot of Mt. Jiuhua, Fei recorded anecdotes about Jin that circulated in the region during the late Tang. Fei's flowery essay, however, is eclipsed by Zanning's 贊寧 (919–1001) historical records of Jin Dizang composed in the early Song Dynasty. Even though Zanning may have been familiar with Fei's work, here we will draw principally on Zanning's historical narratives for analysis.

In the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Hagiographies of Eminent Monks) by Zanning, a hagiographical entry concerning Shi Dizang 釋地藏 provides the core source for local stories of Jin Dizang.[12] In this text, Shi Dizang is portrayed as a Buddhist monk of unusual appearance who bore the royal family surname Jin 金 (aka Jin Dizang) and hailed from the Korean kingdom of Silla (Xinluo 新羅). Jin Dizang crossed the sea to seek the Dharma in China and was taken with the environs of Mt. Jiuhua, which is located in Chizhou 池州. Jin eventually settled down on Mt. Jiuhua and applied himself to Buddhist practice day and night.

At one point, the goddess of Mt. Jiuhua transformed herself into a scorpion and stung Jin Dizang seriously. Nonetheless, Jin remained unaffected and continued his practice without interruption. Touched by his perseverance and religious piety, the goddess finally manifested herself, apologized to Jin Dizang,

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11 Fei, *Jiuhua shan Huacheng si ji*, 4313–4314.

12 Zanning, *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T 2061, 50: 838c16–839a19.

and provided him with a medicinal antidote and fresh spring water for his use. This mysterious encounter between Jin Dizang and a supernatural female figure becomes an enduring trope in later adaptations.

Jin Dizang continued his practice on Mt. Jiuhua, enjoying the isolation brought by the deep mountains and subsisting on nothing more than meager rice and edible white earth for his daily fare. The locals were so impressed by his austerity that they joined together to build a monastery for him. Eventually his fame also spread to his home country, Silla, and over time, he attracted a large group of his compatriots to Mt. Jiuhua as fellow practitioners. They lived on white earth as their staple and became famous for their asceticism in southern China. Following his death, Jin Dizang's body was preserved intact and enshrined as a sacred mummy, which allegedly remains on Mt. Jiuhua today.

Jin Dizang did not attract much attention until Jiuhua locals in the late-Ming period began creatively to identify the monk as the earthly incarnation of Dizang Bodhisattva. This identification came about largely because of the namesake of "Dizang" and the stories surrounding Jin Dizang. Due to that connection people began to regard Mt. Jiuhua itself as the divine abode of Dizang Bodhisattva. Thus, with the arrival of the Ming and Qing periods local legends started to transform and expand, resulting in the incorporation of new elements that cannot be found in the earlier primary sources. These new secondary elements include, among others, the identification of Jin Dizang's first name as Qiaojue 喬覺, the elevation of Jin Dizang's status as a prince of Silla, and the donation of land to Jin Dizang by the local elite Honorable Min 閔公 for the purpose of building monasteries.[13]

One recurring secondary plot that emerged in the late imperial period features two natives of Silla who traveled all the way to Mt. Jiuhua to persuade Jin Dizang to return home with them. Two different accounts are offered of the identities of the two travelers. According to the first account, which appears in a stele inscription that was erected at the Ancestral Temple of the Local Wu 吳 family at the foot of Mt. Jiuhua in 1488, the two individuals were official ministers of the Silla court with the surnames Tan 譚 and Zeng 曾.[14] After

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13 For details of the development of the plots, see Ouyang, "Localizing a Bodhisattva in Late Imperial China," 195–219.

14 In the inscription, the local Wu family is said to have helped Jin Dizang settle on Mt. Jiuhua. The stele inscription is named *Chongjian Jiuhua xingci shibi miaoji* 重建九華行祠石壁廟記 (Record of the Rebuilding of the Stone Walled Shrine [Hall] of the Jiuhua Temporary Ancestral Temple),

their attempts to bring Jin back to Silla proved futile, they descended Mt. Jiuhua and lived out the remainder of their years at the foot of the mountain. Just as Jin Dizang was worshipped by the locals after his death, the two ex-ministers were deified as well.

The second account can be found in a local gazetteer dating from the late-nineteenth century.[15] Two ministers from Xianluo 暹羅 (Silla mistakenly transcribed), with the names Zhao You 昭佑 and Zhao Pu 昭普, followed Jin Dizang to Mt. Jiuhua and at a certain point attempted to bring him home. Unable to change Jin's mind, the two remained on Mt. Jiuhua, built a temple, and became Buddhist ascetics. The legends of Jin's two foreign compatriots finally crystallized in the establishment of the Er'sheng Temple 二聖廟 (literally meaning "Temple of the Two Saints or Sages," also called Jiuhua (Nine Lotuses) Temple 九華廟), which still stands at Er'sheng Village 二聖村 on the northern pilgrimage route of Mt. Jiuhua.[16]

In sum, since the Tang-Song periods, local residents of the Jiuhua region have created many a legend to magnify Jin Dizang's image and to commend him as the earthly incarnation of Dizang Bodhisattva. The secondary plots of these legends particularly emphasize his exotic background and designate the entire Mt. Jiuhua as his sacred place.

Four One-Act Plays

The local legends that flourished around Mt. Jiuhua provided rich material concerning the legendary figure of Jin Dizang with which the creators of local dramas could work. The aforementioned one-act plays featuring Dizang and Mt. Jiuhua, which constitute a selection of local dramas produced during the late imperial period, thereby offer a valuable resource for examining the dynamic interaction between religion and drama in the extended Jiuhua region. We begin here by exploring the plotlines in the four dramatic scripts that feature the identification of Mt. Jiuhua as the abode of Dizang Bodhisattva, as well as the conflation of the figures of Jin Dizang and Dizang Bodhisattva. An examination of the performative contexts of individual dramas will then follow. Given the similarities between the four one-act plays and specific episodes in Zheng

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photographed by the author in fieldwork at Laotian Village 老田村 on Mt. Jiuhua.

15 See Zhou, ed., *Qingyang xian zhi*, vol. 12, 33b.

16 *Jiuhua shan dacidian*, 153–154.

Zhizhen's Mulian drama, this section also inquires into the complex relationship between them in terms of script and performance.

A. *The Diagram of Nine Generations*

The extant *Diagram* is a fifteen-leaf manuscript, copied in 1890.[17] Although the author is unknown, the scribe is identified as a certain Zhang from Virtue and Wisdom Hall (Dezhi tang 德智堂). This short drama script contains both colloquial dialogues among characters and descriptions of stage setting, acts, and forms of performances (singing, elocution, etc.). The script was seemingly once used directly for stage performance.

The script comprises two major scenes: one of them being an encounter between Guanyin 觀音 and Jin and another one between a nine-tailed fox (Jiuwei hu 九尾狐) and Jin. It starts with the Buddha ordering the Bodhisattva of Mercy (i.e., Guanyin) to explain for Jin the cause and effect (*yingguo* 因果) circumstances of Jin's nine prior rebirths.[18] In the first scene, Guanyin manifests herself as an old fortune-teller living in a thatched cottage, where she waits for Jin to pass by. When they meet, Guanyin shows Jin his nine rebirths with a soul-reflecting mirror (*zhaohun jing* 照魂鏡). In the mirror, Jin sees that his first incarnation was as a corrupt official who caused enormous damage to the country because of his dishonesty and carelessness. In his second life, he was born as a female due to his previous bad karma. In his third life, he resumed his male body as a filial young man. Although he had the chance to study at school, he was snobbish and bullied the poor. Eventually, the young man broke the law and died miserably. As a result of his previous bad deeds, in his fourth life he became a beggar. Having suffered a myriad of miseries, the tide of his fortune turns in his next rebirths. In his fifth life, as an upright official in the court, he was framed by treacherous peers and died in prison. But because of his unjust sacrifice, in his ensuing three rebirths (sixth to eighth), he was

17 See *Diagram*,121–139.

18 Although the Bodhisattva's name is not clarified at the beginning of the script, the appearance of the dragon princess (龍女) and Sudhana (善才), two acolytes of Guanyin, suggests that the Bodhisattva is Guanyin. Later in the script, the term "*Avalokiteśvara* from the South Sea" 南海觀世音 also confirms such an assumption.

awarded the First Place Laureate (*zhuangyuan* 狀元) in the highest civil service examinations. In his ninth life, he was reborn as a prince in Siam.[19]

The trajectory of Jin Dizang's nine past lives reminds us of the four past rebirths of Dizang Bodhisattva as described in the *Dizang pusa benyuanjing* 地藏菩薩本願經 (*Sūtra on the Original Vows of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva*), insofar as both are focused on the moralization of karmic retribution.[20] After seeing his past flashing by in the mirror, Jin becomes convinced of the truth of the Buddhist teachings. Guanyin approvingly declares that Jin has relinquished his royal crown and become unwavering in his practice. She thereupon predicts that Jin will become King Dizang (Dizang wang 地藏王) in the future.

A nine-tailed she-fox subsequently appears, her encounter with Jin serving to both test and bear witness to the faithfulness of his religious practice. As a local fox with the experience of more than a millennium of self-cultivation, she has the supernatural power to foresee Jin's awakening and intends to obstruct him. She disguises herself as a feeble damsel trapped in the deep forest and cries out for help. When Jin raises doubts about her reasons for traveling alone, she lies to Jin and claims that she is a pilgrim who has lost her maid to wild beasts and is seeking a way down the mountain. Jin tells her that it would be inappropriate for him, a male ascetic, to escort an unchaperoned lady. The fox seizes the opportunity to challenge Jin's seeming lack of compassion for someone in distress. Cornered, Jin begrudgingly agrees to escort her back. On their way back, the fox, pretending to suffer from severe foot pain, beseeches Jin to hold her hands to support her, hoping to seduce him with physical touch. An offended Jin scolded her, "What is this nonsense?" However, in front of the Ganlu Temple (Ganlu si 甘露寺), the fox again attempts to trick Jin into marrying her.

At this junction, Guanyin Bodhisattva comes to Jin's rescue and summons the dragon princess together with a host of heavenly troops. The troops, however, are spotted by the goblins who are in league with the fox. Meanwhile, Jin finally realizes the demonic nature of the lady in disguise and begins to grow anxious about his own precarious situation. In order to change the fox's mind, Jin reasserts that he would not be derailed by the prospect of worldly life, since

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19 Jin's origin country Silla tends to be mistaken for Siam in the late imperial period, probably due to the similarity of the two country names in Chinese, Xinluo 新羅 (Silla) and Xianluo 暹羅 (Siam).

20 The *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* serves as one of the fundamental Chinese Buddhist scriptures concerning Dizang Bodhisattva, see Ng, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva*, 81–118.

he has even able to relinquish his own royal crown. The fox, doubting his sincerity, claims that the two are a perfect match. In desperation, Jin prostrates on the ground and shouts out a prayer, beseeching Guanyin's deliverance. Amusingly, the fox prostrates as well and voices her wishes to have five sons and two daughters with Jin. When Jin questions her, the fox says she is already performing the ceremonial prostration for their nuptials.

After an exchange of banter, the fox goes out to fight the heavenly troops. In the first battle, the fox defeats the dragon princess. In the second round, Guanyin Bodhisattva fights the fox in person and captures the fox. Having saved Jin, Guanyin instructs Jin to return to Tiantai Peak 天台 to continue his spiritual practice. As a denouement, Guanyin converts the fox to Buddhism and gives her the Dharma name Emptiness-of-the-Nature (Xingkong 性空).

Allusions to Jin's legends and Mt. Jiuhua abound in the script. First, the physical background of the story is set on Mt. Jiuhua, evidenced by multiple references to specific place names. In the beginning, two aliases of Mt. Jiuhua, "Flower Mountain" (Huashan 華山) and "Nine-Son Peak" (Jiuzi feng 九子峰), appear in references to Jin.[21] Also, Tiantai Peak, the highest peak of the eastern mountain range of Mt. Jiuhua, is introduced as the place that Jin chooses for his practice of meditation, due to the isolation that it provides.[22] Old-field Village (Laotian cun 老田村), located at the foot of Mt. Jiuhua as a key waypoint on the northern pilgrimage route,[23] also pops up in Jin's opening monologue.[24] The Ganlu Temple is highlighted as the place where the encounter and battles happen.[25] The temple, established in 1667, has been a famous attraction located at the halfway point of the northern pilgrimage route.[26] The appearance of specific place-names on Mt. Jiuhua indicates that the playwright(s) must have been very familiar with Jin's legends, probably as a local literatus.

Second, the background story of the protagonist is largely based on the biography of Jin Dizang on Mt. Jiuhua. The script opens with his introduction as Jin, a prince from Siam, who is destined to ascend to the position of King Dizang.[27] Here Jin's native place Silla is mistaken for Siam; the audience is

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21 *Diagram*, 125, 133.

22 *Diagram*, 125, 127, 128; *Jiuhua shan zhi*, edited by Yin guang, 151–155.

23 *Jiuhua shan zhi*, 54.

24 *Diagram*, 127.

25 *Diagram*, 126, 132, 135, 137, 138.

26 See Li Duanyu 李端遇, "Chongjian Ganlu'an ji" 重建甘露庵記 (composed in the nineteenth century), in *Jiuhua shan zhi*, 249–250.

27 *Diagram*, 125.

repeatedly reminded that Jin is from a "foreign land" 異鄉 and not a native Chinese.[28] Jin's foreign descent adds credibility to his religious commitment in the play. Moreover, in another romanticized narrative, it is said that Jin "sustains himself on *huangji* during the daytime, and goes to sleep with the companionship of tigers at night" 日間黃薺渡日，晚來伴虎而眠.[29] Here, *huangji* might be a misspelling of *huangjing* 黃精, which is a ginger-like local specialty famous for its power to sustain a life of asceticism.[30]

The script additionally includes various secondary plots that emerged in the Ming and Qing periods. In one such example, the scene starts with Jin's decision to remain on Mt. Jiuhua to engage in ascetic austerities. After Jin establishes his resolve, he descends the mountain to inform his two uncles living at the foot of the mountain of his decision.[31] The plot concerning Jin's "two royal uncles" (*liangwei huangshu* 二位皇叔), though absent in the Tang-Song sources, is a rehash of the trope of the two Silla ministers related to Jin. The inclusion of this episode serves to further glorify the image of Jin Dizang as a prince-turned-monk from overseas.

The insertion of multiple place-names on Mt. Jiuhua and the integration of episodes from Jin's biography into the script would suggest that the playwrights must have been familiar with Jin's legends. More importantly, by combining the plots with actual locations, the playwrights reassert the identification of the foreign prince as the incarnate King Dizang. This intention is summarized succinctly by the following couplet: "[Manifested] as a bodhisattva figure he has expanded the sacred realm with his meditation, and [he] is eternalized in history as King Dizang" 禪廣聖境菩薩像，永垂青史地藏王.[32]

B. *Digest of the Diagram of Nine Generations*

With the date of publication and authorship unknown, the fifteen-page manuscript of the *Digest* seems to be an adaptation based on the *Diagram* (or a sufficiently similar version), with some minor modifications.[33] All main characters in the *Diagram* are retained in the *Digest*; two central plots (Guanyin

28 *Diagram*, 128, 136.
29 *Diagram*, 127.
30 *Jiuhua shan zhi*, 366, 381.
31 *Diagram*, 127.
32 *Diagram*, 132.
33 *Digest*, 267–283.

showing Jin his previous rebirths[34] and a nine-tailed fox trying to enchant Jin to marry her) are retained as well. Other subplots in the *Digest* include the introduction of Jin as a prince from Siam, accompanied by two of his uncles; Jin's falling prey to the she-fox's trap when he tries to help her; and the Buddha leading the heavenly troops to subdue the fox and save Jin. Moreover, both the *Diagram* and *Digest* include similar stage directions, such as using vapor to introduce the immortals onstage, designating a specific tune called "Rouging the Lips" (Dian jiangchun 點絳唇), incorporating chorographic instructions for certain immortals, and stage direction for enhancing the effects of fierce fighting.[35]

The *Digest*, however, distinguishes itself from the *Diagram* by downplaying the environs of Mt. Jiuhua and the conspicuous addition of Daoist elements. First, most of the place-names on Mt. Jiuhua, such as Flower Mountain, Nine-Son Peak, Tiantai Peak, and Old-Field Village, are lacking in the *Digest*, except for the Ganlu Temple. Instead, the scene is set in a place named Precious-Spring Rock (Baoquan yan 寶泉岩) with no relation to Mt. Jiuhua. Here the playwright no longer aims at promoting the unique locality of Mt. Jiuhua as an indispensable place that facilitates Jin's achievements. Nevertheless, Jin as the reincarnation of Dizang Bodhisattva is still stressed. Second, in the *Digest*, the Ganlu Temple is elevated to a place where Jin is ordained and practices asceticism. In contrast to other long-established monasteries on Mt. Jiuhua, the Ganlu Temple was founded late in the Qing period and only became famous in the eighteenth century. It is reasonable to assume the *Digest* was compiled no earlier than the eighteenth century. Third, the villainous nine-tailed fox is portrayed as a Daoist spirit. Residing in the Green-Sunset-Glow Cave (Bixia dong 碧霞洞), the fox was originally a heavenly immortal named Jade Lotus Immortal Lady (Yurong xiangu 玉蓉仙姑), who once attended the heavenly Peach Banquet. At the Rock, she is in charge of other Daoist deities, especially the five great Daoist immortals who produce elixirs and practice the expelling

34 The sequence of Jin's nine rebirths in the *Digest* is slightly different from that in the *Diagram*. In the *Digest*, the order is as follows: first, as a corrupt official; second, a beggar; third, a young student; fourth, a female; fifth, a good official; sixth to eighth, an examinee taking first place in palace examinations; ninth, as a prince in Siam. See *Digest*, 272–275.

35 *Diagram*, 125; *Digest*, 269, 270, 280.

of the three worms (*sanshi* 三尸)[36] regularly. The fox easily defeats the dragon princess and heavenly troops with her power. This time around, only the Buddha is able to tame the fox. Here the conflict between Buddhism and Daoism serves as the climax of the drama, with Buddhism emerging triumphant. Fourth, in the *Digest*, the Buddha orders Jin to take charge of the dark underworld, conferring on him the title "King Dizang."

In addition to the influence of local legends concerning Jin, the frameworks of the *Diagram* and *Digest* are similar to the act titled "[Mulian's] Passing through the Black Pine Forest" (*Guo heisonglin* 過黑松林) in Zheng's Mulian drama.[37] In this act, Guanyin transforms herself into a beauty residing in a thatched house that happens to be on Mulian's route to the West Land in the Dark Forest. Threatened by wild animals in the forest, Mulian has no choice but to enter the beautiful lady's house. She then proceeds to use meat, alcohol, and her beauty to test Mulian's ascetic resolve, but Mulian ultimately passes the test. When he discovers a picture of Guanyin, Mulian realizes that the whole event was a vision manifested by her. Due to the popularity of Zheng's Mulian drama, it is very likely that the playwrights of the *Diagram* and *Digest* drew inspiration from Zheng's work and replaced Mulian with Jin.

Given the similarity in their themes and subplots, it is probably the case that the *Diagram* and *Digest* constituted part of the extended repertoire of a five-volume Mulian drama.[38] In the five-volume version, the other four of the five volumes included the one-volume *Taicheng* 臺城 (the story of Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝) and the three-volume drama of Mulian saving his mother.[39]

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36 The practice of expelling the three worms is frequently identified as a Daoist regime. For the term "Sanshi," see Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook*, 238.

37 The episode is also called "Guanyin Teasing Mulian" (*Guanyin xi Mulian* 觀音戲目連). See Zheng and Zhu, *Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen*, 232–239. Because Mulian drama is diverse in content and numerous in quantity, the most popular version, Zheng Zhizhen's, is used as a standard for comparison here.

38 Despite the shared title *Jiushi tu*, it is unclear to the author whether the *Diagram* and *Digest* available to us today form part of the *Jiushi tu* incorporated in the five-volume Mulian drama. However, no other version of *Jiushitu* has been found in Anhui, according to the author's knowledge. The available scripts like the *Diagram* and *Digest* to a certain degree reflect the general contents of other scripts bearing the same name.

39 See Mao, ed., *Anhui Mulian xi*, 151–152. Like Zheng's version, the typical Mulian drama is composed of three volumes.

The three-volume Mulian drama constituted the core and, hence, the three volumes were always performed together as a set, whereas the other two volumes were added as provisional programs and performed as individual acts. Since each volume usually took one day to perform, the five-volume Mulian drama could last five days, which was expensive for commoners.[40] After the 1940s, the performance of Mulian drama focused mostly on the core three-volume work, rather than the expanded set of volumes.[41] That development may explain why peripheral scripts such as the *Diagram* and *Digest* were singled out as individual acts. Nevertheless, the integration of the *Diagram* or *Digest* with the core Mulian drama implies that Jin Dizang, Dizang Bodhisattva, and Mulian were perceived as one and the same individual in popular culture during the Ming and Qing periods.

Historically speaking, during the early Republican era the five-volume Mulian drama, including the *Diagram*, used to be performed near the Xu River 胥河 in Langxi 郎溪, Anhui, which is located at the far eastern end of Mt. Jiuhua.[42] Similar performances also took place in Gaochun 高淳, Jiangsu, not far from Langxi.[43] Since Mulian drama is usually staged for propitiating gods and pacifying ghosts,[44] it is reasonable to assume that the performance of the *Diagram* and *Digest* had similar functions, although the specific context of performance awaits the discovery of more sources.

C. *Main Deliverance of Warding off the Fox*

Compiled by an unknown author, the *Main Deliverance* resembles the two plays mentioned above, especially the *Digest*.[45] The *Main Deliverance* describes Guanyin Bodhisattva rescuing Jin from a fox-turned demoness named Nine-Tail

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40 It is surmised that the three-volume Mulian drama staged for the Mulian Great Assembly (Mulian dahui 目連大會) often lasted three days. See Wang, ed., *Anhui Chizhou Qingyang qiang Mulian*, preface, 9.

41 Some Mulian dramas produced before the Republican era could be nine-volume long. See Mao, ed., *Anhui Mulian xi ziliao ji*, 94 and 151–152.

42 Ibid., 151–152 and 345.

43 The *Diagram* was still on stage in 1946, but the performance ceased after this year due to the death of a Flower *dan* (*huadan* 花旦) actress in Gaochun. See Huang, "Gaochun Yangqiang Mulian xi chutan," 220.

44 Tanaka, *Chūgoku chinkon engeki kenkyū*.

45 *Main Deliverance*, 601–605. The transcribed script is five-page long, but the condition of the original script is unknown.

Immortal Lady (Jiuwei xiangu 九尾仙姑). In this short script, the characters include Jin, the fox, Guanyin, and a handful of heavenly warriors. One notable distinction of the *Main Deliverance* is that Chan-Master Huangbao 黃保禪師,[46] rather than the Buddha, serves as the powerful head in charge of the troops.

The story is set on Mt. Ximi 西彌山, where the fox has resided and cultivated her spiritual powers for decades. One day during the spring, the fox leaves her cave to have an outing on the mountain. She has predicted that Jin, the prince-turned-monk from Silla, is going to journey near her territory, and she believes that eating his flesh will give her longevity. Then, Jin enters the stage and declares that he plans to visit Tiantai Peak to practice asceticism. In the darkness of the wild mountain, Jin is forced to seek shelter in the only thatched cottage around. Manifesting as a beautiful young lady, the fox answers the door. She claims to be a widow and asks Jin to marry her. Although Jin informs her of his status as a renunciant, the fox kidnaps him and brings him to a cave. As she attempts to marry Jin, she foresees the inevitable confrontation with Chan-Master Huangbao, who is leading heavenly troops to Jin's rescue. The fox manages to defeat the troops after several rounds. Eventually, Guanyin enters the stage in the guise of an herb-gathering nun. Rather than resort to violence, the nun wields her magical power to subdue the fox by revealing the fox's three previous rebirths. Upon hearing those words and realizing the nun's superior power, the fox surrenders to the nun and becomes her attendant. At the end, the nun instructs the fox to go to the Purple Bamboo Grove (Zi zhulin 紫竹林), where Guanyin resides, to practice the Dharma.[47] At the same time, Guanyin orders Jin to proceed to Tiantai Peak. Directed by Guanyin, the dragon princess plans to further test Jin's commitment, which becomes the plot of the *Lesser Deliverance*.

The local legends of Jin are skillfully interwoven into the script. In the beginning, Jin introduces himself originating from Silla, with the name Jin Qiaojue and being on his way to Tiantai Peak. When the fox asks Jin to marry her, Jin discloses that he left the palace when he was young, hinting at his royal

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46 Huangbao 黃保 might be a misspelling of Huangbo 黃檗, which refers to the famous Chan master Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (?–850), who practiced Chan in Jiangxi. Since the text is a transcription rather than a photocopy of the original script, it is hard to verify that assumption here.

47 According to the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Buddhāvataṃsaka*), Sudhana, who later becomes an acolyte of Guanyin, meets Guanyin in the grove. Hence, the grove frequently refers to the place where Guanyin stays. See Bingenheimer, *Island of Guanyin*, 177, note 38.

pedigree. Also, the manifested Guanyin reveals that Jin has cultivated eight rebirths already and that Jin will achieve awakening in his current, ninth, life, which is similar to the plot in the *Diagram* and *Digest*. Second, in addition to Tiantai Peak, the text alludes to Mt. Jiuhua in expressive doggerel uttered by Chan-Master Huangbao: "Nine lotuses are planted in nine different places, the nine lotuses blossom in nine places. Nine statues of the Buddha appear on the Nine-lotus Terrace, nine Tathāgatas seat themselves below the Nine-lotus Terrace" 九朵蓮花九處栽，九朵蓮花九處開。九蓮臺上九尊佛，九蓮臺下九如來.[48] The frequently used phrase "*jiu lian*" 九蓮 (nine lotuses) likely refers to Mt. Jiuhua, as it is similar to the mountain's Chinese name "Jiuhua" 九華 (nine lotuses).[49] This vulgar poem also depicts a distinctive Buddhist ambiance on the mountain.

Compared with the *Diagram* and *Digest*, the *Main Deliverance* stands out for its less refined language, which suggests its authorship of low-status literati in Yuexi, where the manuscript was first discovered. For instance, when the she-fox asks her entourage to follow her outside for fun, one attendant responds, "What do you want to fart (to say)?" 有何屁放. The protagonist has to correct her, "[What do you want] to speak (not to fart)?" 話講. The word "fart" alludes to the fox's farting as well as speaking. In another scene, while the group of foxes is relaxing, one attendant is described as "spreading her legs wide open" 兩腳大揸開, an indecent posture for ladies. Also, during a squabble among the foxes, the protagonist asks another attendant what kind of "goods" (*huo* 貨; i.e., talents or skills) is inside her belly and retorts that she is a "huge damaged goods" (*da waihuo* 大歪貨). Overall, the script excels at using slang to create levity and joy.

48 *Main Deliverance*, 603.

49 The mountain was renamed from "Jiuzi feng" 九子峰 (nine-son-peak) to "Jiu hua" 九華 (nine lotuses) by the poet Li Bai 李白 in the Tang period. See *Jiuhua shan zhi*, edited by Yin guang, 311. In addition to Mt. Jiuhua's name, "*jiu lian*" may also refer to "*jiupin liantai*" 九品蓮台 (nine levels of lotus seats in Pure Land Buddhism). Because of the Buddhist identity of the reciter Chan-Master Huangbao, it is unlikely that the term refers to "Jiu tian" 九天 (residence of immortals) in Daoism.

D. *Lesser Deliverance of the Dragon Princess*

Probably compiled by the same group of literati in Yuexi and with an unknown date,[50] the *Lesser Deliverance* can be considered a sequel of the *Main Deliverance* because of the continuation of the plots.[51] At the end of the *Main Deliverance*, Guanyin instructs the dragon princess to test Jin with "alcohol, beauty, wealth, and bile" 酒色財氣.[52] Here the *Lesser Deliverance* picks up the plotline: the dragon princess manifests herself as a beautiful lady living in a house on Jin's path to Tiantai Peak. She spares no effort to lure Jin into a marriage, but Jin refuses. As to the plot to seduce Jin, the *Lesser Deliverance* demonstrates no fundamental difference from the three plays mentioned above (the *Diagram*, *Digest*, and *Main Deliverance*). The one exception in the *Lesser Deliverance*, however, is that a being with positive intentions (the dragon princess), rather than negative (the fox), disguises herself to test Jin. In ways similar to the *Main Deliverance*, the *Lesser Deliverance* uses a plethora of vulgar language and displays little interest in Mt. Jiuhua, merely mentioning a few place-names (i.e., Tiantai Peak) in passing.

The *Lesser Deliverance* also adopts the complement of earlier biographical lore about Jin. Jin is featured as a monk from Silla on his way to Tiantai Peak to undertake ascetic practices. When he encounters a beautiful lady, Jin introduces himself by saying, "I (humbly) am a Buddhist monk from Silla, with the surname Jin and first name Qiaojue" 貧僧乃新羅國人氏，姓金名喬覺.[53] The identity of Jin is repeated briefly in this text.[54]

The key part of this script is the dialogue full of playful banter between the flirtatious dragon princess and the unsuspecting Jin. For instance, when Jin is eager to show his piety to Buddhist deities, the dragon princess reads his action of prostration as performing the nuptial ceremony with her. Later, she tricks Jin into her bedroom and forces herself on him. When Jin begs for his release, she demands him to laugh joyfully and lavishly as a condition. Cornered in an

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50 One manuscript titled the *Longnü xiaodu* is classified as *Taihu quzixi* 太湖曲子戲, which can be dated back to 1920. See the front page picture, "Taihu quzixi *Longnü xiaodu* chaoben (Minguo jiunian chao)" 太湖曲子戲《龍女小度》抄本（民國九年抄）, in *Zhongguo xiqu yinyue jicheng: Anhui juan, shang juan*.

51 *Lesser Deliverance*, 606–610. This is also a five-page, transcribed script.

52 Ibid., 605. Here "bile" is a euphemism for tasteful food.

53 Ibid., 606.

54 Ibid., 606–607.

awkward situation, Jin puts on a forced smile and fails to meet the demand. She then pretends to have a severe stomachache and entreats Jin to rub her belly to alleviate the pain. As a compassionate monastic, Jin is supposed to help her; however, as a male monk, Jin is forbidden from physically touching her. To solve this dilemma, Jin takes out his scripture and presses the text on her belly so that he can rub her belly indirectly. Sweating profusely, Jin invokes Guanyin. Eventually, he realizes that this flirtatious lady is none other than the dragon princess. Throughout the script, the strong contrast between Jin's abstinence and the lady's sexual advances forms a farce that intentionally inverts the everyday gender dynamics. Instead of the usual sexual objectification of women, the playwrights use the unusual sexual objectification of the holy man as a source of comicality.

The *Lesser Deliverance* resembles the act "Testing [Mulian's] Moral Integrity by Sudhana and the Dragon Princess" (*Cainü shijie* 才女試節) of Zheng Zhizhen's Mulian drama.[55] In the act, Sudhana first shows up and tests Mulian's filial piety by soiling the memorial picture of Mulian's late mother. The dragon princess later enters Mulian's house at night and attempts to sleep with Mulian. Mulian passes the test and realizes that this frivolous lady is a manifestation of the dragon princess. Thus, the *Lesser Deliverance* emulates the plot of the dragon princess from "Testing [Mulian's] Moral Integrity" and substitutes Jin Dizang for Mulian.

In terms of performance, the *Main Deliverance* and *Lesser Deliverance* were performed in the Yuexi vocalization style by regional artists.[56] As a local variation of the Qingyang style, the high-pitched vocalization style of Yuexi (*Yuexi gaoqiang* 岳西高腔) prevails in Yuexi, Anhui, an area located on the northern bank of the Yangtze River. Due to the enclosed mountainous environment of that area, the scripts and the traditional vocalization style have been well preserved down to the present.[57] It is believed that the two acts could be performed either individually or together as a set.[58] Because of their religious significance and entertaining effects, pilgrims tended to select them

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55 See Zheng and Zhu, *Xinbian Mulian jiumu quanshan xiwen*, 285–292.

56 *Main Deliverance*, 605; *Lesser Deliverance*, 610.

57 In 2004, a modern version of the *Longnü xiaodu* was staged in Yuexi, which was videotaped and published online; see "Yuexi gaoqiang *Longnü xiaodu*" 岳西高腔《龍女小度》, from Yuexi gaoqiang chuancheng zhongxin 岳西高腔傳承中心, June 30, 2017, accessed January 10, 2018, http://www.zgyxgq.org.cn/2017/yxxs_0630/196.html.

58 Wang, "Mulian xi zai Yuexi," 73.

for performance on religious gatherings, including "temple fairs" 廟會, "assemblies of pilgrims" 香會, and "Dharma assemblies" 法會 in Yuexi.[59] Due to the presence of Jin in the scripts, these religious gatherings may have been inextricably linked with Dizang or Mt. Jiuhua. Beyond Yuexi, the *Main Deliverance* and *Lesser Deliverance* were also staged in neighboring Taihu 太湖 and Qianshan 潛山 in Anhui, as well as Hukou 湖口 in Jiangxi. In these locales, the two dramas were also performed on multiple occasions, including Buddhist services, pilgrimages to Mt. Jiuhua, and when repaying deities for fulfilling vows.[60]

Conclusion

This article has sought to examine the diffusion of core legends of Jin Dizang and his relation to Mt. Jiuhua in one of the most important genres of performative literature, namely, drama. Through that study, it has also sought to reveal how local dramas impacted the religious landscape. Among the four scripts in question, the first two, the *Diagram* and *Digest*, are heavily influenced by the local legends of Jin Dizang and place greater emphasis on the sacred character of the physical environs of Mt. Jiuhua. By contrast, the other two scripts, the *Main Deliverance* and *Lesser Deliverance*, simply incorporate the long-existing lore about Jin Dizang in the Tang-Song periods without adopting other secondary plots or highlighting the locality of Mt. Jiuhua. Nevertheless, all four scripts feature the encounter between a seductive lady and a disciplined monk (Jin Dizang). The ethical dilemma faced by Jin Dizang in these dramas helps humanize Jin's image, an ascetic monk destined for awakening. To varying degrees, the four one-act plays also promote Jin Dizang as the incarnate Dizang Bodhisattva on Mt. Jiuhua.

Within these four scripts, the gender issue stands out conspicuously in the narrative. In contrast to the sketch of Jin Dizang as an ascetic monk, the female antagonists are all portrayed as lustful, attempting to lure Jin Dizang into abandoning his vows. In the first three scripts, the villainous she-fox, who possesses supernatural powers and can defeat minor divinities, manifests as a damsel in distress, seeking carnal intimacy and flirting with Jin. The representation of the fox in these scripts is in line with the fox cult in the late imperial period, as she-foxes were thought to be feminine beings "who were

59 *Zhongguo Yuexi gaoqiang jumu jicheng*, Cui and Wang, eds., 435.
60 Wang, "Mulian xi zai Yuexi," 74–75.

usually perceived as dangerous yet desirable, and whose characteristics subverted dominant cultural norms yet remained indispensable for the practical needs of everyday life."[61] In the fourth script, the dragon princess manifests herself as a seductress who tempts Jin with carnal pleasure. Depicted as a young, bereft beauty, she represents a marginalized member of society who is perceived as a wanton and undisciplined woman in need of patriarchal control. Also, even as a fox with unexpected power, she is still in need of pacification and conversion to Buddhism by Guanyin or the Buddha. These scenes suggest that an "unruly" female is expected to be tamed by a male figure or a female who serves the patriarchal establishment. In this way, local dramas become outlets for repressed sexuality; at the same time, they routinize the eventual male subjugation of females.

This study also sheds light on the dynamics between religion and drama. On the one hand, the lived tradition of local Buddhism is reflected in local dramas. The local legends of Jin Dizang, the pantheon of Buddhist deities (i.e., the Buddha, Guanyin, the dragon princess), and Buddhist logic of karmic retribution, undergird the development of the four plays in question. On the other hand, these plays formed an active part of embedded regional religious culture. In terms of language, whereas the literary language of the *Diagram* and *Digest* would indicate that they were addressed to an audience with refined literary taste, the *Main Deliverance* and *Lesser Deliverance* scripts incorporate vulgarities and sophomoric humor to attract a broader range of audience, including the less educated. The use of the localized Qingyang (or Yuexi) vocalization style in performing the *Main Deliverance* and *Lesser Deliverance* scripts suggests that the target audience of the two is largely local. Furthermore, the performance of the four plays on religious gatherings related to Dizang and Mt. Jiuhua served to facilitate the development of a localized Dizang cult in popular culture. Jin Dizang's trial underscores the conventional image of an ascetic monk, while the dialogues full of banter also convey didactic messages to the audience. Not only do the local dramas creatively absorb local religious developments on the ground, but they also help to crystalize and disseminate those localized expressions of Chinese Buddhism to a larger, interregional field.

61 Kang, *The Cult of the Fox*, 191.

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Abbreviations

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