

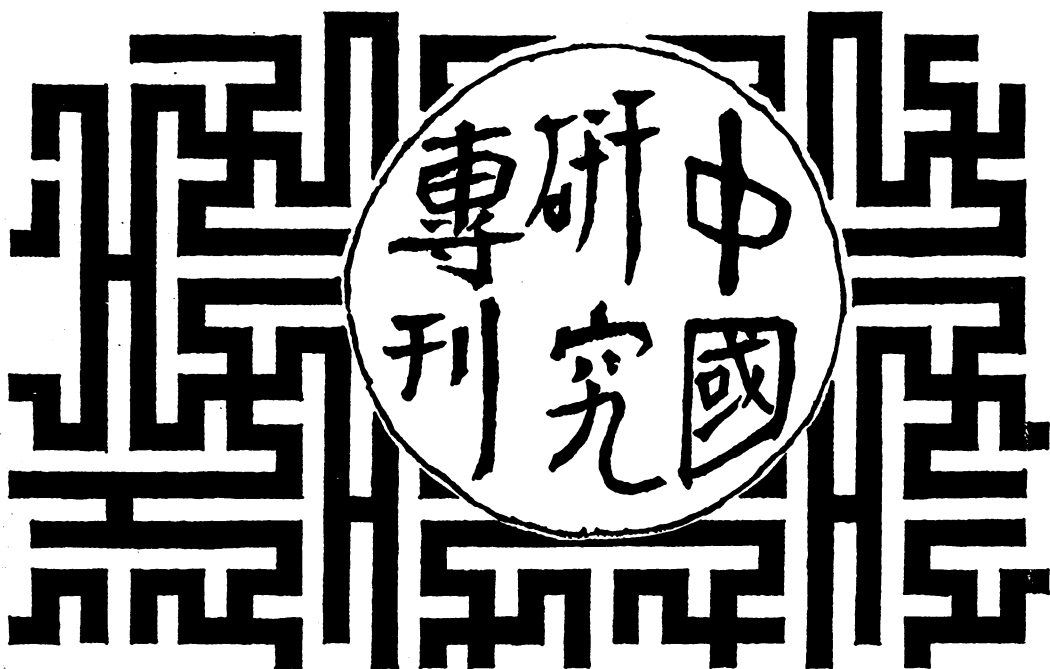


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A Survey of Taoist Literature

Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries

Judith M. Boltz





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To my mother and father



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Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries

Judith M. Boltz

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Preface

I doubt I would ever have attempted this work had I not taken up an assignment in the autumn of 1981 to write up a short entry on post-T'ang Taoist literature for *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*. The first draft I submitted to Professor William Nienhauser, which was eventually condensed for *The Indiana Companion*, ended up serving as the foundation for *A Survey*. A revised version of this text was initially accepted for publication in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)*, but later it became obvious that it would be more suitably printed as a separate monograph. The text published here is the third and final draft I completed in September 1985. The limited emendations I have made since then reflect the benefits of work at Oxford and at the British Library in London during my tenure as a recipient of a research grant from the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

I would like to express my gratitude for the comments submitted by both Professors Judith Berling and Edward Schafer, readers for the version submitted to *CLEAR*. Among those whose comments I solicited are Professors Chan Hok-lam, Wolfram Eberhard, David Knechtges, Piet van der Loon, Daniel L. Overmyer, Paul L-M. Serruys, Nathan Sivin, and Michel Strickmann. I am indebted to all but particularly to the last two for their careful critiques of the first and second drafts, respectively. Most recently I have gained immeasurably by working with Professor van der Loon at Oxford. Had I come under his tutelage earlier, I would most certainly have been more attentive to the history and transmission of texts; but, as indicated in the Introduction, this task is properly left to those contributing to the Tao-tsang Project. I am also especially grateful to Professor Kristofer M. Schipper for his enthusiastic support and detailed response to questions concerning the Project. I have benefited additionally from correspondence with a number of other colleagues whose

names will be found in footnotes throughout. Special thanks are due to Professors John S. Hawley and Cheng Hsi for their encouragement at crucial times in the preparation of this manuscript. Additionally, I would like to acknowledge the cooperation of the staffs at the University of Washington East Asia Library, the University of British Columbia Asia Library, the University of California (Berkeley) East Asiatic Library, the National Central Library and Palace Museum Library of Taipei, the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford, and the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books of the British Library. Mr. David Helliwell, Keeper of the Chinese Collection at the Bodleian, and Dr. Frances Wood and Beth McKillop at the British Library deserve to be singled out for their exceptional ability and willing assistance. I am also indebted to Professor Joyce Kallgren of the Center for Chinese Studies and to Susan Stone and Joanne Sandstrom of the Institute of East Asian Studies for overseeing the publication of a text that presents special technical demands. To my husband, William G. Boltz, I am beholden not only for the faith he has in my work but also for the proofreading he undertook for various drafts, sparing me many incongruities and oversights. The errors that remain are entirely my own responsibility and await readers' correction.

I would add that this survey is only meant to be an introductory, not comprehensive, study of a selection of texts in the Taoist Canon. It will have served its purpose if it encourages others to take up fuller investigations into this vast literary tradition of China.

JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ

Oxford
22 May 1986

Abbreviations

- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
- BIHP* *Chung-yang yen-chiu yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an*
中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 [Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Nankang]
- BSOAS* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- CT* *Concordance du Tao-tsang*, comp. K. M. Schipper. Paris, 1975; rpt. *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang mu-lu so-yin* 正統道藏目錄索引. Taipei, 1977. The code CT serves as a prefix to the serial numbers assigned to 1487 titles in this index.
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
- HY* *Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te* 道藏子目引得, comp. Weng Tsuchien. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, no. 25. Peking, 1935; rpt. Taipei, 1966. The code HY serves as the prefix to the serial numbers assigned to 1476 titles in this index.
- SKCS* *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要
- SPTK* *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊
- STY* *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 世界宗教研究
- T.* *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Tokyo, 1924-1935.
- TT* *Tao-tsang of the Pai-yün Kuan* 白雲觀, Peking. Rpt., Shanghai, 1924-26; Taipei, 1962. The code TT serves as a prefix to the fascicle numbers of 1120 thread-bound volumes in the reprint.
- TSCC* *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 叢書集成
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

PREFACE TO THE SECOND PRINTING

Joanne Sandstrom, Managing Editor at the Institute of East Asian Studies, wrote on August 2, 1994, to let me know that the Institute was thinking about reissuing the *Survey* as a DocuTech reprint. She kindly agreed to allow me to submit a corrigenda as well as a new preface. In preparing a list of corrections, I have been reminded that there is perhaps no better lesson in humility. I have also been mindful of the fact that the opportunity for emendation does not give me the license to refine or amplify the text. And so I have let stand many accounts that want expansion, a number of awkwardly worded passages that want revision, and translations of book titles that want new renderings. What I strived to correct are the most glaring flaws, ranging from discrepancies in dates to inaccuracies in factual data. I owe several emendations to the thoughtful comments of T. H. Barrett and Piet van der Loon. I have also tried to incorporate all the corrections, but not the expansions, of data provided in the review by John Lagerwey and Isabelle Robinet that appeared in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4 (1988): 227-230.

For some time following the compilation of the *Survey*, I had good reason to maintain a respectful distance from the Taoist Canon. The publication of a new edition of the *Tao-tsang* in 1988 and of the *Tao-tsang t'i-yao* (see pp. 13-14 and entry for p. 367 below) in 1991 helped me overcome this enforced abstinence. The preparation of "Notes on the *Daozang tiyao*," *China Review International* 1.2 (1994): 1-33 led me to reread and reconsider many texts in the Canon. I am grateful to the editors of *CRI* for agreeing to publish the results of a preliminary reconnaissance and, in particular, for the assistance of Daniel Cole in overseeing the transformation of a complex typescript into a computer printout. Collation of the 1988 *Tao-tsang* with the thread-bound edition of 1923-26 and the Taipei reprints of 1962 and 1977 resulted in the publication of "Notes on Modern Editions of the Taoist Canon," *BSOAS* 56.1 (1993): 87-95. Here I want to make note of an inadvertent omission in the list of "Missing or misplaced folios in Taipei reprints" (pp. 90-91). There are altogether seventeen, not sixteen, instances of missing or misplaced folios, as stated on p. 90. Entries numbered 13-16 (p. 91) should be renumbered 14-17 and a new entry 13 should read:

13. HY 728 文始經言外旨，後序，1a1-2a1，賢 14.16 (24.19482)
missing. Cf. (1988): 14.733c1-734a1.

The 1988 *Tao-tsang* and *Tao-tsang t'i-yao* are by no means the only noteworthy publications in the field of Taoist studies to have appeared since 1987. I decided it would be misleading to compile a list of new publications that do not figure in the preparation of the *Survey*. Instead, I chose to restrict myself to including bibliographic data for those texts initially cited as forthcoming or in manuscript. The publication of the long-awaited anthology of epigraphy, *Tao-chia chin-shih lüeh* (see pp. 14, 123, and entry for p. 344 below), deserves to be singled out. Many entries in this work help clarify the dates during which less well known figures were active. I have nonetheless refrained from revising dates during which someone is known to have flourished and merely corrected or supplied dates of birth and/or death to overcome deficiencies in the 1987 *Survey*. As before, readers will find that dates provided in the "List of Names" (pp. 373-386) are occasionally more precise than those in the text proper.

For this reprint to be of any merit, I must prevail upon readers to enter these corrections into the body of the text. And once again, I would add that I truly appreciate counsel on the need for further emendation. In closing, I want to express my gratitude to William G. Boltz for providing the equipment, instruction, and moral support essential to producing camera-ready copy. I am also grateful to David R. Knechtges for expertly unravelling software entanglements so that we could benefit from the use of his laser printer. And finally, it goes without saying that, as always, I remain especially thankful for Bill's help in overcoming each and every obstacle along the way.

Seattle
January 2, 1995

JUDITH MAGEE BOLTZ

CORRIGENDA

3.19-20	Hsin-wen-feng 新文豐	I-wen 藝文
4.31	(r. 713-756)	(r. 712-756)
5.34	正和萬壽道藏	政和萬壽道藏
12.22	Hsin-wen-feng	I-wen
15.17	(1851-1922)	(1850-1922)
17.5	(fl. 142 C.E.)	(d. 156)
18.3	imprimaturs	colophons
23.5	(r. 712-755)	(r. 712-756)
28.11	rescension	recension
29.8	(1239-1316)	(1241-1318)
36.6-7	Lu Shih-chung 路時中, who compiled this work in 1158,	The compiler Lu Shih-chung 路時中 (fl. 1107-1134) drew on a series of revelations and also
41.31	(1156-1217)	(1162-1223)
41.34-35	Substantial citations were incorporated in his work	Significant portions of this new synthesis are derived
42.9-10	Many of the petitions have clearly been altered to serve	In two cases, they are formulated as documents for submission
45.1	(1239-1303)	(1239-1302)
45.10	eighteen	twenty
47.9-10	(d. 1343)	(d. 1344)
50.4	1209	1201
53.32	rescensions	recensions
60.7	(916-991)	(917-992)
60.28	(b. 330)	(330-386)
61.7-8	of San-shan 三山, just outside	on San-shan 三山 (street) in
61.15	Lo's recommendation may have helped motivate	The publisher's colophon of 1607 by
61.16-17	to add his imprimatur to the <i>Sou-shen chi</i> in 1607.	that accompanies this text is typically found at the close of each case in the <i>Hsü Tao-tsang</i> .
62.22	imprimatur	colophon

62.27	(fl. 1523-1537)	(1480-1550)
63.4	(fl. 190-220)	(d. 216)
64.23	(d. 1343)	(d. 1344)
66.17	(1141-1217)	(1142-1217)
71.9	woman, had duped the local prefect into matrimony. ¹⁸²	dandy, became wedded to the prefect's daughter. ¹⁸²
75.35	(1291-1352)	(1291-1350)
77.10	(r. 713-756)	(r. 712-756)
78.5	(d. 1343)	(d. 1344)
81.29	the text in 1154.	the text at the core of this anthology in 1154.
85.7	(r. 976-983)	(r. 976-997)
92.13	decision to compile	decision to endorse
92.23	883-943	888-943
101, #29	T'ien-t'ai Shan	Chin-hua Shan
101, #30	Chin-hua Shan	T'ien-t'ai Shan
105.29-30	imprimatur	authority
106.27	法苑竹林	法苑珠林
108.12	his marriage.	the marriage of his children.
109.24-25	and he even refers once	with the exception of one reference
109.27	an open challenge to	puppet of
111.17	712	711
111.18	司馬承貞	司馬承禎
116.21	(r. 1255-1264)	(r. 1225-1264)
121.30	983	984
122.13	(1031-1100)	(1032-1111)
133.27	太上老君混元聖記	太上老君混元聖紀
136.1	(fl. 1297-1307)	(fl. 1294-1307)
140.3	(fl. 1590)	(1551-1602)
168.27-28	Tuan Chih-chien also compiled this collection in honor of his master	This anthology opens with a preface submitted by a disciple
171.27	only ninety	less than one hundred
174.34	texts such as	excerpts that merit collation with

174.36-37	that, although printed separately in the Canon, would otherwise be difficult to date. ⁴⁴⁹	and similar works printed separately in the Canon. ⁴⁴⁹
176.21-23	A devout disciple by the name of Ch'en Shou-mo 陳守默 compiled this text based on a series of encounters with Pai. Ch'en reveals that he	In an undated preface, Ch'en Shou-mo 陳守默 and a colleague explain how they came to learn of the Master's teachings. The two disciples
176.25	he sat in on another session	acquired a copy of the text
176.27-28	was written in commemoration of the Lu Shan meeting.	commemorates a chance encounter at Lu Shan.
176.33	Ch'en Shou-mo's work	this selection
182.10	tedious	complex
184.18-19	(fl. 1329-1336)	(b. 1290)
186.25	(fl. 1264-1304)	(d. 1326)
187.24	absolute faith	total earnestness
188.4	(1226-1293)	(1226-1294)
198.33	(1291-1352)	(1291-1350)
201.33	(fl. 1329-1336)	(b. 1290)
204.16	劉藻	劉操
208.10	(fl. 1329-1336)	(b. 1290)
211.26	(Shansi)	(Fukien)
218.26	the supplementary text was designed in part	he adopted a topical format rather than try
220.32	(fl. 1077-1148)	(1077-1148)
220.37	(1042-1076)	(1044-1076)
221.28	four colophons	four colophons and one preface
221.31	earliest colophon	single preface
222.7	preface	colophon
223.22	(d. 1343)	(d. 1344)
225.31-32	have otherwise been lost	are lost or exceedingly rare
227.22	imprimaturs	colophons

227.23-24	authorized the emendation and printing of the text in the Canon,	mark the last volume of each case in the <i>Hsü Tao-tsang</i> ,
227.24-25	chapters 5 and 8	chapters 4 and 8
227.30	(1031-1100)	(1032-1111)
228.2	(1042-1076)	(1044-1076)
228.17	(b. 330)	(330-386)
229.25	the printing of	collating texts for
229.27	(r. 993-1022)	(r. 998-1022)
231.34	(fl. 1131-1155)	(d. 1155)
247.16	(fl. 142)	(d. 156)
248.2	by	allegedly by (<i>SKCS</i> 3076)
248.12	(fl. 1280-1300)	(1230-1301)
249.15	imprimatur	colophon
249.27	imprimatur	colophon
249.29	imprimatur	colophon
249.36	(d. 774?)	(705-774)

NOTES

n33.1-5	see Jan Yün-hua 1984:63-64 ...1980, 1985).	see Jan Yün-hua 1984:63-64 and note that the history edited by Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai is entitled <i>Chung-kuo Tao-chiao shih</i> .
n42.2	(fl. 632)	(602-670)
n65.3	1974-76:3730	1974-76:3738
n125.8	(b. 330)	(330-386)
n137.3	Mao Kuo-han's	Ma Kuo-han's
n162.3	毛收大	毛收達
n182.1	clearly an	a variation on the
n242.4	imprimatur	colophon
n242.8	<i>kung-ch'ih</i>	<i>kung-ch'e</i>
n246.2	<i>Hsin T'ang shu</i>	<i>Hsin Wu-tai shih</i>
n248.3-4	chapter 3	chapter 4
n263.9	reconstructed	published
n281.1	HY 307, p. 12a	HY 307, p. 20a

n285.3-4	three Sung bibliographies cite . . . but give	one Sung bibliography cites . . . but gives
n300.5	司馬承貞	司馬承禎
n339.1	(1982:308-78)	(1982:308, n78)
n387.3-4	According to the <i>Ch'i-chen shih-chuan</i> 10.54 (see note 172), she merely rubbed coals on her face. The	Corresponding accounts are found in the <i>Ch'i-chen shih-chuan</i> 10.53 (see note 172) and in the
n387.5-6	p. 43a-b, is in accord with the former version. A re-issue of this	p. 43a-b. A reissue of the latter
n426.1-2	Tuan's preface,	the preface here,
n444.8	蕭庭芝	蕭廷芝
n498.1	HY 1248	HY 1243
n560.5-6	Wang Ch'in-jo's	the Imperial Library Director's
n571.7	(fl. 1131-1155)	(d. 1155)
n610.8	(1046-1076)	(1044-1076)
n620.8	(1291-1352)	(1291-1350)
n677.13	雜著捷徑	雜著捷徑
n684.7	(d. 1181)	(d. 1158)

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373, Amoghavajra: (705-774?)	(705-774)
373, Chang Lu: (fl. 190-220)	(d. 216)
374, Chang Ssu-ch'eng: (d. 1343)	(d. 1344)
374, Chang Tao-ling: (fl. 142 C.E.)	(d. 156)
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374, Chao I-chen: n252	n523
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375, Ch'en Chih-hsü: (fl. 1329-1336)	(b. 1290)
375, Cheng Ssu-hsiao: (1239-1316)	(1241-1318)
375, Chiang Shu-yü: (1156-1217)	(1162-1223)
377, Feng Meng-lung:	<i>Delete:</i> n245; <i>Add:</i> n73
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379, Lei Ssu-ch'i: (fl. 1280-1300)	(1230-1301)
379, Li Chih: n250	250
379, Li Ch'un-feng: (fl. 632)	(602-670)
379, Li Pien: (883-943)	(888-943)
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380, Lin Wei-fu: (1239-1303)	(1239-1302)
380, Liu Yü (fl. 1258): n208	n59
380, Liu Yü (1257-1308):	<i>Add:</i> n59
381, Lou Chin-yüan: (fl. 1740)	(1688-1776)

381, Lu Shih-chung: (fl. 1158)	(fl. 1107-1134)
381, Lü Hui-ch'ing: (1031-1100)	(1032-1111)
382, Shao I-cheng: (fl. 1430-1458)	(d. 1463)
383, T'ang Hsüan-tsung: (r. 713-756)	(r. 712-756)
384, T'ao Chih:	<i>Add:</i> (d. 825)
384, Tseng Ts'ao: (fl. 1131-1155)	(d. 1155)
385, Wang Ch'in-jo:	<i>Delete:</i> n560
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385, Wang Wei-i: (fl. 1264-1304)	(d. 1326)
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Introduction

Taoist Studies and the Reprint of the *Tao-tsang*

The literary heritage of Taoist traditions is one of the fastest growing fields of research in all of Sinology. Large-scale studies of Taoist literature doubtless would have evolved at a much slower pace had the *Tao-tsang*, or Taoist Canon, not been made available in 1926 in the first widely accessible reprint. Until that time research in this area was largely devoted to texts easily accessible in editions outside the Canon, such as the *Lao-tzu* and *Chuang-tzu*. One of the earliest pioneers to venture beyond the conventional history of Taoism was Edouard Chavannes (1865–1918). His “Le jet des dragons,” published in 1919, broke new ground in drawing on both epigraphy and T’ang liturgical texts to document the tradition of casting prayers inscribed on stone or metal into caves and waterways. Chavannes’s accomplishment is particularly remarkable in that what he had at hand were two rare, but incomplete, copies of the Canon in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. One set Chavannes had acquired in China, and the other, dated 1598, had been sent from Peking by Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), on behalf of the École Française d’Extrême-Orient.¹

Considerably more well known is the work of Chavannes’s student Henri Maspero (1883–1945), whose research took into account a wider range of literature in the Taoist Canon. Volumes 1 and 2 of his *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l’histoire de la Chine* (1967), entitled *Les religions chinoises* and *Le taoïsme*, were reissued in 1971 with further selections from his publications as *Le taoïsme et les religions chinoises*. This work has recently gained a wider audience with the appearance in 1981 of Frank A. Kierman, Jr.’s translation, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, with an introduction by T.H. Barrett. Maspero’s research was facilitated in part by his access to the 1926 reprint of the Canon. The

earliest comprehensive survey of the Canon, the *Tao-tsang yüan-liu k'ao* 道藏源流考, was compiled in 1949 by Ch'en Kuo-fu 陳國符, also a beneficiary of the 1926 reprint. The 1963 revised edition of this work remains an indispensable resource.

Notable publications reflecting extensive research on the literature of the Canon also began to appear in Japan beginning in the late 1940s. Among the earliest historical studies to be published was Kubo Noritada's 窪徳忠 *Dōkyō to Chūgoku shakai* 道教と中国社
会 (1948). With his *Dōkyō kyōten shiron* 道教經典史論 (1955), Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 produced a Japanese counterpart to the *Tao-tsang yüan-liu k'ao*, replete with comprehensive indices to a number of works citing titles of Taoist texts. Substantial discussions on the history of the Canon are also included in Fukui Kōjun's 福井康
川 順 *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū* 道教の基礎的研究 (1952) and Ōfuchi Ninji's 大淵忍爾 *Dōkyō-shi no kenkyū* 道教史の研究 (1964). As in France, a number of more specialized studies also emerged in Japan after the 1940s. Much of that literature is summarized in the recently issued three-volume selection of essays with the overall title of *Dōkyō* 道教 (1983). Many of the senior Japanese scholars got their start in Taoist studies as members of the Shina Bukkyō-shi Gakkai 支那佛教史学会 (Society for Research on the History of Chinese Buddhism), founded in 1936, such as, for example, Fukui Kōjun, one of the editors of *Dōkyō* and now the *monzeki* 門跡, or Head Priest, of the Myōhō-in 妙法院 of Kyoto.²

As might be expected in a region where a number of scholars have long been active in Taoist studies, fragmentary copies of the *Tao-tsang* are also to be found in Japan. The dates 1524 and 1598 appear on the sets in the Imperial Household Library of Tokyo.³ Other than those in France and Japan, it is not known how many of these early impressions survive. The 1598 sets can be traced to Ming Shen-tsung 明神宗 (r. 1573–1619), who, on behalf of the Empress Dowager, ordered new copies be made for circulation to all major Taoist temples.⁴ The state traditionally sponsored not only the printing but also the compilation of the Canon. Such pursuits during the imperial period were largely regarded as acts of faith. Although the founders of the Republic cannot be regarded as patrons of any Taoist tradition, they played a critical role in making arrangements for the reprinting of the Canon in the 1920s. After publishing a selection of texts from his own library in 1918 under the

title *Tao-tsang pen wu-tzu* 道藏本五子 [Five Texts from the Taoist Canon], the former minister of education and renowned bibliophile Fu Tseng-hsiang 傅增湘 (1872–1950) proposed that the entire Canon be reissued. President Hsü Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌 (1855–1939) was subsequently persuaded of the academic value of such a project and agreed to underwrite the publication of the Canon by the Commercial Press of Shanghai. Chang Yüan-chi 張元濟 (1866–1959), the conscientious archivist of the Han-fen-lou 涵芬樓 library of rare editions at Commercial Press, saw the work to its completion from 1923 to 1926. The preface of 1923 is signed not only by Fu Tseng-hsiang, but also by eminent reformists of his time, including K'ang Yu-wei 康有為 (1858–1927) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (1873–1929). The photographic reproduction made in Shanghai, totaling 1120 threadbound fascicles, has since been reprinted in at least three modern editions. With the backing of several Taiwan University professors, including the bibliographer Yen Ling-feng 嚴靈峯, the editor-in-chief of I-wen publishers in Taipei, Yen I-p'ing 嚴一萍, produced the first reprint of the 1923–1926 edition in 1962. Now the most widely available and convenient edition is a 60-volume reprint put out by Hsin-wen-feng 新文豐 publishers of Taipei in 1977, with two pages reproduced on one in reduced size print.

The copy of the *Tao-tsang* from which the Commercial Press made the initial reprint is the woodblock concertina edition kept in the Pai-yün Kuan 白雲觀 (White Cloud Abbey) of Peking, now the central Taoist seminary of the People's Republic of China.⁵ This copy was apparently derived for the most part from the 1445 printing and the 1607 supplement to the Canon, but several missing texts are known to have been replaced in 1845. According to the "Pai-yün Kuan ch'ung-hsiu *Tao-tsang* chi" 白雲觀重修道藏記 [An Account of the *Tao-tsang* Repaired at the White Cloud Abbey] of Cheng Yung-hsiang 鄭永祥 and Meng Chih-ts'ai 孟至才, the full restoration of the Canon was made possible only with the intervention of a benefactor of the Abbey named Wang T'ing-pi 王廷弼.⁶ Under Wang's sponsorship, the missing texts were tracked down at various mountain shrines and recopied. The task was said to have occupied several months before its completion in the autumn of 1845. It has never been determined just which texts were replaced, but a careful collation of all available printings of the Canon should provide some clues.

In a visit to the Pai-yün Kuan during its refurbishment in 1981, Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穂 reported that the Canon formerly kept in the archives there had been broken up and distributed to the National Library of Peking and elsewhere.⁷ A research associate at the temple, Ms. Wang I-o 王宜峨, assured me in an interview on 13 June 1983 that the Canon was indeed preserved intact in the Tsang-ching Ko 藏經閣 (Gallery of the Scriptures of the Canon), but she did not specify which copy.⁸ Although he was unable to visit the Pai-yün Kuan in 1983, Jan Yün-hua asserts that both the Ming edition and the Shanghai reprint of the Canon have been retained in the Pai-yün Kuan archives.⁹ Piet van der Loon, on the other hand, reports that the Ming Canon of the Pai-yün Kuan is now in the National Library of Peking and that the only other complete sets known to date to the Ming are kept in the Shanghai Library and in the Ch'ung-shan Ssu 崇善寺 of T'ai-yüan 太原 (Shansi). The copy in the Shanghai Library, reputed to include high-quality illustrations, was originally housed in the Pai-yün Kuan of Shanghai. Titles of this Canon were also discovered missing in the nineteenth century and were eventually restored in 1866.¹⁰

On the History of the Taoist Canon

The origins of the Canon can be traced back to the first comprehensive catalogue of Taoist texts, the *San-tung ching-shu mu-lu* 三洞經書目錄 [An Index to the Scriptural Writings of the Three Caverns]. This inventory of literature both attested and yet to be revealed was prepared by Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜 (406–477), the principal codifier of the *Ling-pao* 靈寶 (Numinous Treasure) corpus of scriptures.¹¹ The undertaking was ordered by Sung Ming-ti 宋明帝 (r. 465–472). When Lu presented his finished product to the emperor in 471, it was said to have encompassed scriptures, pharmaceutical works, and talismanic collections, totaling altogether 1200 *chüan* 卷 (scrolls or chapters).¹² Almost three centuries later, T'ang Hsüan-tsung 唐玄宗 (r. 713–756), who believed himself to be a descendant of Lao-tzu, went a step further and commanded that his envoys travel throughout the empire in search of all existing Taoist writings. His decree initiated the first systematic compilation of Taoist literature. All the texts submitted to the capital were brought together under the title *San-tung ch'üing-kang* 三洞玉經綱 [Exquisite Compendium of the Three Caverns]. Under Hsüan-tsung's authorization in 748, multiple copies of this collection of

material, which reportedly included anywhere from approximately 3700 to 7300 *chüan*, were to be made for distribution to Taoist temples. But not long afterwards the imperial libraries of Ch'ang-an and Loyang were destroyed during the An Lu-shan and Shih Ssu-ming uprisings, and thus the *San-tung ch'üing-kang* was apparently lost. Subsequent efforts to reconstruct this Canon during the ninth century fell victim to the Huang Ch'ao rebellion (ca. 878–884), and little is thought to have survived that disruption or the fall of the T'ang.

The emperors of the Sung similarly viewed their mandate as the reflection of a larger Taoist dispensation. In the year 990, Sung T'ai-sung 宋太宗 (r. 976–997) issued a decree calling for the collection and collation of Taoist texts. The project was continued under his son and successor, Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022), who entrusted one of his most influential advisers, Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962–1025), with the compilation of a catalogue. Although a fire destroyed the imperial libraries in 1015, Wang was able to submit a catalogue to the emperor in 1016. In the meantime, an Assistant Draftsman named Chang Chün-fang 張君房 (fl. 1008–1029) was sent to Hangchow 杭州 (Chekiang) to supervise a staff of Taoist Masters in the collation of manuscripts from imperial and temple libraries. Their task in the end was to copy out complete sets of a definitive Canon, apparently according to the organization of Wang's catalogue. By 1019 Chang submitted to the throne seven copies of the *Ta Sung t'ien-kung pao-tsang* 大宋天宮寶藏 [Precious Canon of the Celestial Palace of the Great Sung] in 4565 *chüan* for distribution to regional temples.¹³

A century later, Sung Hui-tsung 宋徽宗 (r. 1101–1125), convinced that he was himself the incarnation of a cosmic deity, regarded the compilation of a new Taoist Canon to be one of his sacred missions. Thus, he issued an edict in 1114 commanding local officials, clergy, and laymen to dispatch all Taoist texts to the capital. Shortly thereafter a number of Taoist Masters arrived at Kaifeng 開封 (Honan) in answer to his summons to work on the collation of the incoming literature. The culmination of this vast enterprise was a Canon in nearly 5400 *chüan*, given the title *Cheng-ho wan-shou Tao-tsang* 正和萬壽道藏 [Taoist Canon of the Longevity of the Cheng-ho Reign]. It was the first Canon ever to be printed. The blocks for it were carved sometime between 1118 and 1120 in Foochow 福州 (Fukien), where only a few years earlier a print of the Buddhist Canon had been produced. Once

the entire set of blocks had been cut, they were delivered to the capital, but it is not known how many copies were actually printed from them.

The blocks of the *Cheng-ho wan-shou Tao-tsang* apparently survived the Jurchen takeover of Kaifeng in 1127, for by 1188 Chin Shih-tsung 金世宗 (r. 1161–1189) called for their transfer to the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan 天長觀 (Abbey of Celestial Perpetuity) in the central capital of his empire. This temple, the forerunner of the Pai-yün Kuan in Peking, was enlarged in 1190 under the auspices of his grandson and successor Chin Chang-tsung 金章宗 (r. 1190–1208), and two imperial academicians were appointed to assist the abbot in preparing an enlarged edition of the Canon. The *Ta Chin hsüan-tu pao-tsang* 大金玄都寶藏 [Precious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis of the Great Chin], comprising 6455 *chüan*, was completed in 1192, but it is unlikely that very many copies were actually printed from the combination of old and new blocks. By 1215 the blocks themselves were apparently for the most part destroyed when the Mongols occupied Peking. Virtually all of the copies of the Canon in north China, moreover, are thought to have been lost in the warfare of the next twenty years.

The next Canon to be compiled was initially sponsored not by the state government but by the local administration of Shansi. Two prominent Ch'üan-chen 全真 (Complete Perfection) Masters, Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (1183–1247) and his disciple Ch'in Chih-an 秦志安 (1188–1244), supervised the project. They set up headquarters at P'ing-yang 平陽 (Shansi), a major publishing center, and were subsequently supported by imperial decrees as well. A number of branch offices were established, staffed by over three thousand employees. After seven years' work, the *Hsüan-tu pao-tsang* 玄都寶藏 [Precious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis] appeared in 1244, and, with 7000 *chüan*, it was the largest Taoist Canon ever. Over a hundred copies of this edition were made, but in less than four decades, Khubilai Khan decreed that all texts and printing blocks of the *Tao-tsang* be burnt, with the single exception of the *Tao-te ching*. Despite the book burning of 1281, however, fragments of the 1244 Canon were spared and, together with what could be recovered of the earlier Jurchen and Sung editions, served as the foundation for a new Ming compilation.

That which is known as the *Tao-tsang* today is assumed on the whole to be a reproduction of the edition completed in 1444–1445 and a short supplement dating to 1607. Ming Ch'eng-tsu 明成祖 (r.

1403–1424) initiated this new bibliographic endeavor in 1406 by authorizing the *Cheng-i* 正一 patriarch, or Celestial Master, of the 43rd generation, Chang Yü-ch'ü 張宇初 (1361–1410) to act as compiler-in-chief. Final revisions were not completed, however, until 1444, under the leadership of an eminent Taoist Master at court by the name of Shao I-cheng 邵以正. The *Ta Ming Tao-tsang ching* 大明天道藏經 [Scriptures of the Taoist Canon of the Great Ming] in 5318 *chüan* is commonly referred to as the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang* 正統道藏, or Taoist Canon of the Cheng-t'ung reign (1436–1449). Sets of this Canon were distributed to major temples in 1447. Ming Shen-tsung, who approved the reprinting of the Canon in 1598 on behalf of his mother, the Empress Dowager Li, shortly thereafter designated the 50th Celestial Master, Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611), to compile a supplement. After 240 *chüan* were affixed to the Canon in 1607, no further addenda were ever produced. This final portion of the Canon is known as the *Hsü Tao-tsang ching* 續道藏經 [Scriptures in Supplement to the Taoist Canon] of the the Wan-li 萬曆 reign (1573–1619). Reprints of the entire set, supplement included, are often simply labeled and catalogued as the *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang*.

Organization of the *Tao-tsang*

Throughout the centuries, the Canon has been consistently organized according to a three-part division of texts known as the *San-tung* 三洞, or Three Caverns. This compartmentalization of writings was at one time considered to have been devised under the influence of the *San-tsang* 三藏, or Three Receptacles, of the Buddhist Canon, but the organizational principles behind the *San-tung* actually more closely parallel the concept of *triyāna*, or *San-sheng* 三乘 (Three Vehicles). The Three Caverns, in other words, reflect three distinct revelatory traditions rather than three genres of literature such as are represented by the *sūtra*, *vinaya*, and *abhidharma* of the Three Receptacles. Inherent in this arrangement of the Three Caverns is a ranking of textual legacies, similar to the hierarchy of the Three Vehicles. The opening division, entitled *Tung-chen* 洞真, was designed as a repository for the Shang-ch'ing 上清 (Supreme Clarity) scriptures.¹⁴ The second and third divisions, entitled *Tung-hsüan* 洞玄 and *Tung-shen* 洞神, were reserved for the texts associated with the Ling-pao and San-huang 三皇 (Three Sovereigns) scriptural traditions, respectively. The priority given to the

Shang-ch'ing revelations suggests that the *San-tung* categorization predates Lu Hsiu-ching's catalogue of 471, and it is thought that it may have evolved as early as the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

The origins of the *Ssu-fu* 四輔, or Four Supplements, that follow the *San-tung* are less certain. The term *Ssu-fu* apparently cannot be attested before the turn of the sixth century. Of the four additional components, entitled *T'ai-hsüan* 太玄, *T'ai-p'ing* 太平, *T'ai-ch'ing* 太清, and *Cheng-i* 正一, the first three were once regarded as individual appendices to the *San-tung*. All four, however, appear to have been organized around specific legacies of sacred literature. The *Tao-te ching* is central to the *T'ai-hsüan* division, the *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經 [Scripture on the Grand Pacification] to the *T'ai-ping* division, the *T'ai-ch'ing* heritage of alchemical writings to the *T'ai-ch'ing* division, and the T'ien-shih Tao 天師道, or Way of the Celestial Masters, to the *Cheng-i* division. Ôfuchi suggests that these four supplements arose in response to demands that a more cohesive body of Taoist literature be established as distinct from a rapidly developing corpus of Chinese Buddhist writings.¹⁵ The preeminence of the Shang-ch'ing revelations of 364–370 was apparently never challenged. Rather, the codification of four additional divisions of literature seems to have reinforced their position, for the supplements offer above all a formal expression of the growing awareness of the many wellsprings from which this visionary scriptural tradition arose. Kristofer Schipper, moreover, suggests that the arrangement of the *San-tung* and *Ssu-fu* reflects the ranks of ordination in descending order, from the highest level represented by the *Tung-chen* division down to the first step of the *Cheng-i* initiation.¹⁶ The order of the texts in the Canon today, however, is not strictly in keeping with the seven established divisions. Compilers over the centuries have taken considerable liberty in the organizing of larger and larger bodies of Taoist literature. There are, for example, some ninety-odd Shang-ch'ing scriptures printed at the close of the *Cheng-i* section which, as Piet van der Loon points out, may have been among the texts that were added just prior to the printing of 1445.¹⁷

Traditionally, each of the Three Caverns has been divided into twelve subsections: (1) *pen-wen* 本文 (original revelations), (2) *shen-fu* 神符 (divine talismans), (3) *yü-chüeh* 玉訣 (exegeses; lit., jade or precious instructions), (4) *ling-t'u* 靈圖 (sacred diagrams), (5) *p'u-lu* 譜錄

(histories and genealogies; lit., catalogues and records), (6) *chieh-lü* 戒律 (codes of conduct; lit., precepts and ordinances), (7) *wei-i* 威儀 (ceremonial protocols), (8) *fang-fa* 方法 (prescriptive rituals), (9) *chung-shu* 象術 (various techniques, i.e., alchemical, geomantic, numerological, etc.), (10) *chi-chuan* 記傳 (hagiography), (11) *tsan-sung* 讚頌 (hymnody; lit., encomia and eulogies), and (12) *piao-tsou* 表奏 (memorial communications). No subdivisions are found in the *Ssu-fu* or the *Hsü Tao-tsang* of 1607. Although the twelve headings cited above give a fairly reliable indication of the distribution of various genres of Taoist literature, the classifications are by no means rigidly maintained. Hagiographic works, for example, are found both in categories 5 and 10, as are topographies.

Research Aids

The first analytic catalogue of the Taoist Canon known to have been compiled is the *Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu* 道藏目錄詳註 [An Index to the *Tao-tsang* with Critical Annotations]. The edition photolithographically reproduced from the copy in the Ssu-k'ü archives and issued under the auspices of the T'ui-keng T'ang 退耕堂 is ascribed to Pai Yün-chi 白雲霽 and dates to 1626.¹⁸ Pai was a Taoist Master affiliated with the Ch'ao-t'ien Kung 朝天宮 (Palace in Homage to the Celestial Realm) at Yeh-ch'eng Shan 冶城山, Nanking (Kiangsu). Other bibliographers of the Ch'ing, including Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 (1753–1818), attribute a work of the same title to Li Chieh 李杰, a Ming scholar from Liao-tso 遼左, i.e., Liao-tung 遼東 (Shantung).¹⁹ The *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu* 道藏精華錄 (1922) edited by Ting Fu-pao 丁福保 lists this title in the table of contents as a work of Pai Yün-chi, but cites Li Chieh as the compiler on the first page of the text. In fact, the work reprinted by Ting Fu-pao appears to be identical to that published by the T'ui-keng T'ang. In his own prefatory notes, Ting remarks that a pocket-size edition of the Canon was published in 1626, the same year that Pai's *Index* appeared.²⁰ After collating the differences between the contents listed in the *Index* and the content of the 1926 reprint of the *Tao-tsang*, Ch'en Kuo-fu suggests that Pai may very well have worked with just such a variant edition of the Canon, which was perhaps even printed at the Ch'ao-t'ien Kung.²¹ Yoshioka Yoshitoyo and Liu Ts'un-yan, on the other hand, propose that Ting may actually have

had in mind the 1626 *Index* itself, not a new compact version of the Canon.²²

The best clue to the precise *Tao-tsang* behind Pai's compilation appears to rest in Ch'en Kuo-fu's citation from a rare copy of the *Chin-ling Hsüan Kuan chih* 金陵玄觀志 [Treatise on the Abbey of the Arcane at Chin-ling, i.e., Nanking]. Preserved in that text is a decree dating to 1476 that announces the bestowal of a *Tao-tsang* on Pai Yün-chi's home temple, the Ch'ao-t'ien Kung.²³ Ch'en Kuo-fu finds that the edition Pai had at hand omits a few titles included in the 1926 reprint, but the most common discrepancy is merely the number of *chüan* cited for identical titles. In addition to making note of the number of *chüan*, Pai copied out the names of authors or compilers as they appeared at the head of texts for which the provenance was known. The summaries of contents are generally no more than tabulations of the table of contents from one *chüan* to the next. Also recorded are the serial characters of the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* 千字文 [Thousand Character Text] by which fascicles of the *Tao-tsang* were conventionally labeled to ensure orderly shelving.

Another analytic index to the Canon appeared in 1911, as volume one of the Jesuit missionary Leon Wieger's *Taoïsme*. Wieger claims to have worked from the editions of the Canon at the Pai-yün Kuan in Peking and the Imperial Household Library of Tokyo. Among the secondary resources acknowledged is an 1845 edition of the *Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu*, which he attributes to Li Chieh. Although he attempted to provide a summary of each work, Wieger often supplies only a descriptive rendition of the title with the explanatory note "ni nom ni date." His index overall is too marred by misrepresentations of the material to be of much use. Wieger is the first to have numbered the texts of the Canon in sequence, arriving at a total of 1464 titles. A few scholars yet today make use of this numbering system.²⁴

Far more reliable as a research aid to the Canon is the *Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te* 道藏子目引得 (Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books in Two Collections of Taoist Literature), compiled by Weng Tu-chien 翁獨健 and published initially in 1935 as no. 25 in the *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*. After much of the index series went out of print, this volume was among those for which a reprint was authorized by Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company of Taipei in 1966. It has yet to be surpassed. Although it is not a descrip-

tive catalogue, the *Harvard-Yenching Index* is the only work thus far to index both titles and authors or compilers. The text opens with a sequential listing of 1476 titles in the Canon. Following each title, the number of *chüan* is recorded, as is any established compiler. In addition, Weng cites the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* code and fascicle numbers in which the title is found in the 1926 reprint. For those texts that are also printed in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 道藏輯要, the abbreviation *yao* 要 is given, together with the code for the specific section and fascicle in which the text appears.²⁵

Immediately after the inventory of 1476 titles in the Canon is a list of 114 additional texts in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* that are not found in the *Tao-tsang*. The *Tao-tsang chi-yao* was originally compiled by P'eng Ting-ch'iu 彭定求 (1645-1719). The edition most widely available now is the *Ch'ung-k'an Tao-tsang chi-yao* 重刊, prepared by Ho Lung-hsiang 賀龍馬襄 and P'eng Han-jan 彭瀚然. This edition, in 244 fascicles, includes altogether 287 titles. It was initially printed at the Erh-hsien An 二仙庵 (Retreat of the Two Transcendents) of Ch'eng-tu 成都 (Szechwan) in 1906, under the supervision of Abbot Yen Yung-ho 嚴永和. At least two modern reprints are in circulation, one published by K'ao-cheng 考正 Publishers of Taipei in 1971 and another by Hsin-wen-feng 新文豐 Publishers of Taipei in 1977. A thread-bound edition has also recently been made available, printed from the original blocks at the Erh-hsien An. As will be made apparent later, the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* is a valuable resource not only for the late anthologies it preserves but also for rare editions of works not extant elsewhere.²⁶

Three indices complete Weng Tu-chien's monumental compilation. The first is an index to all titles in the *Tao-tsang* and *Tao-tsang chi-yao* as well as those cited in the 2-*chüan* HY 1419 *Tao-tsang ch'üeh-ching mu-lu* 道藏闕經目錄 [An Index to Lost Texts of the Taoist Canon], compiled during the Ming. Those printed in the *Tao-tsang* are identified by the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* code and the fascicle number or numbers in which they appear in the 1120-volume set. Many scholars still cite titles in the Canon according to the fascicle numbers, often with the prefix TT for *Tao-tsang*. In light of the ambiguity of such citations, Michel Strickmann suggested in 1977 that a more precise form of reference to titles in the Canon would be the sequential number assigned in the initial listing of the *Harvard-Yenching Index*. In that way, one number corresponds to one title, whereas a single fascicle number may

encompass more than one text or one text may span several fascicle numbers. The distinguishing code Strickmann proposed as a prefix to these numbers, HY, has been widely adopted and is used here as well.²⁷

The second and shortest of the three indices in the *Harvard-Yenching Index* is devoted to the authors and compilers identified for works in both the *Tao-tsang* and the *T'ao-tsang chi-yao*. Also indexed are all the authors and compilers cited in a late 13th-century collection of texts in the Canon, the 60-ch. HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection].²⁸ The third and largest index is reserved for names of those whose biographies appear in any of 77 hagiographic works in the *Tao-tsang*. All known nicknames and honorary titles are listed under each entry and a number of appellations are individually entered, with cross-references to full proper names. The hagiographies are cited according to a code number from 1 to 77, by which they are identified in a sequential list on pp. xxi–xxiii.

An alternate numbering system was devised by Kristofer Schipper for his *Concordance du Tao-tsang*. This exhaustive concordance to characters in the titles for all texts in the *Tao-tsang* facilitates the identification of related series of compilations. Schipper's *Concordance* was first published in 1975 as volume 102 of Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient and was subsequently reprinted as an index to the 60-volume Hsin-wen-feng reprint of the Canon issued in 1977, under the title *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang mu-lu so-yin* 正統道藏目錄索引. Both editions open with a sequential list of 1487 titles, including a citation of the fascicle numbers of the 1926 thread-bound reprint. The 1977 version also includes the corresponding volume and page numbers of the 60-volume reprint. Those who have adopted Schipper's numbering system sometimes add "no." or TT and sometimes simply cite the text numbers without any identifying prefix. To avoid further confusion, I suggest that the code CT be applied when citing *Tao-tsang* texts according to the 1487 titles listed in the *Concordance du Tao-tsang*. As Strickmann has pointed out, many of the discrepancies between the *Harvard-Yenching* and *Concordance* numbering systems are due to the uncertain status of introductory materials appended to several late works.²⁹ I would also add that Schipper's *Concordance* corrects the unfortunate transposition of several titles in the earlier index. The two numbering systems are compared in Appendix A.

New catalogues of the *Tao-tsang* are currently under preparation. One is anticipated from the "Projet *Tao-tsang*," inaugurated on 15 January 1979 under the auspices of the European Science Foundation. Kristofer Schipper is the coordinator of a European consortium of scholars participating in this project.³⁰ Their main purpose is to compile an analytic and descriptive catalogue of the Taoist Canon, with the following data for each work: (1) a physical description of the text, (2) a translation and explication of the title, (3) precise information on the history and transmission of the text, and (4) a summary of the contents. Over the past six years, entries have been compiled by some thirty scholars in Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Prior to the assignment of the entries, Schipper and his colleague Dr. John Lagerwey made a provisional classification of all works in the Canon, which has been refined continually, dividing the contents of the *Tao-tsang* into three broad historical categories: (1) from ancient times to the end of the Six Dynasties, (2) Sui, T'ang, and the Five Dynasties, and (3) Sung, Yüan, and Ming. Because the provenance of many texts is difficult to determine, a computer data bank was set up so that dating features could be identified and shared with all collaborators. Microfiches from this data bank are now publicly available for a nominal fee. Once the abstracts are completed, a comprehensive catalogue is planned, with the contributions regrouped to reflect historical continuity. This catalogue will apply the numbering system in Schipper's *Concordance*, with a conversion table to the numbers of the *Harvard-Yenching Index*. Schipper anticipates developing a more definitive numbering system once the Canon itself is reprinted in a modern, critical edition, with texts rearranged in accordance with the catalogue of the *Tao-tsang* Project.³¹ Three subsidiary publications have already appeared as contributions to the project: John Lagerwey's *Wu-shang pi-yao, somme taoïste du VI^e siècle*; K. M. Schipper's *Index du Yunji qiqian*, vols. 1 and 2; and Piet van der Loon's *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period: A Critical Study and Index*.

A similar enterprise is also under way in the People's Republic of China under the auspices of the Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh yüan, Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu so 中國社會科學院世界宗教研究所 (Institute for Research on World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). The Tao-chiao yen-chiu shih 道教研究

室 (Department of Taoist Studies) of the Institute in Peking is compiling a *Tao-tsang t'i-yao* 道藏提要, on the model of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要. Samples of their work have already appeared in two issues of the *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 世界宗教研究 (1984.2:1-29; 1984.3:84-101), under the title "*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*" 道藏提要選刊. Included in Parts I and II of this publication are the abstracts for 49 and 23 titles in the Canon, respectively. The first article is followed by the announcement of a workshop on the project held in Hangchow on 3-8 April 1984. Over forty scholars from Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, Szechwan, Shensi, Shansi, Shantung, Hunan, Chekiang, and Heilungkiang were said to have participated. This research group also finds the traditional organization of the Canon into *San-tung* and *Ssu-fu* less than adequate and thus adopted plans to draw up a revised sequence of titles. In addition to submitting twenty abstracts of individual entries for consideration, the organizers of the workshop also led discussions on variant types of listings. The sample abstracts published in *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* vary in length, but in addition to describing the contents, the contributors all attempt to establish the authorship and date of each title. The locations of the texts in the Canon are indicated by the numbers of the fascicles in which they appear, as well as by their classification in the *San-tung* and the *Ch'ien-tzu wen* code. A spokesman for the *Tao-chiao yen-chiu shih* reports that when the *Tao-tsang t'i-yao* is completed, it will include five supplements: (1) brief biographical notes on authors and compilers of *Tao-tsang* texts, (2) the table of contents for a new edition of the *Tao-tsang*, (3) the table of contents for the Ming *Tao-tsang*, (4) an index to titles in the *Tao-tsang*, as well as the *Tao-tsang t'i-yao*, and (5) an index to authors and compilers.³²

Three other publications of note are sponsored under a five-year plan of the Institute: *Tao-chia chin-shih lüeh* 道家金石略, a collection of epigraphy pertinent to Taoist traditions, begun by Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 and under completion by Ch'en Chih-ch'ao 陳智超, to be published by Wen-wu Publishers; *Tao-chiao tsung-mu so-yin* 道教綜目索引, a comprehensive index to secondary sources on Taoism, the lifetime work of Professor Su Chin-jen 蘇晉仁 at the Chung-yang min-tsu hsüeh-yüan 中央民族學院 (Central Institute for the Study of Nationalities); and *Tao-chiao shih* 道教史, a 4-volume history of Taoism compiled at the Department of Religious Studies at

Szechwan University under the editorship of Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai 卿希泰.³³ Another history of Taoism is under preparation at the Chung-kuo Tao-chiao hsieh-hui yen-chiu shih 中國道教協會研究室 (Research Department of the Chinese Taoist Association) headquartered at the Pai-yün Kuan in Peking. The “*Chung-kuo Tao-chiao shih t'i-kang*” 中國道教史提綱 published in *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih yen-chiu* 中國哲學史研究 (1983.1:41-49) provides an outline of the seventeen chapters into which this work is organized.

Until the new analytic works on the *Tao-tsang* become available, the responsibility for determining the provenance of any single text in the Canon rests with each reader.³⁴ The *Harvard-Yenching Index*, although far from complete or accurate in ascribing provenance, is the first source to check. In addition to the sample abstracts that have been published from the forthcoming *Tao-tsang t'i-yao*, a number of texts in the Canon are also analyzed in the following sources: Liu Shih-p'ei 劉師培 (1884-1919), *Tu Tao-tsang chi* 讀道藏記; Shen Tseng-chih 沈曾植 (1851-1922), *Hai-jih lou cha-ts'ung* 海日樓札叢; and T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤, “*Tu Tao-tsang cha-chi*” 讀道藏札記. Bibliographies specializing in the Shang-ch'ing literature are found in Michel Strickmann, *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan: chronique d'une révélation*; and Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme*. Lagerwey's *Wu-shang pi-yao*, moreover, includes a comprehensive inventory of all texts cited in the 6th-century anthology from which the title of his compilation is taken. Many of these works are still preserved independently in the Canon, but their provenance is seldom specified. Equally valuable are the indices to titles recorded in over fifteen works that Yoshioka Yoshitoyo includes in his *Dōkyō kyōten shiron*. The sources indexed range from the *Pao-p'u-tzu* 抱朴子 of Ko Hung 葛洪 (283-343) to the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*, and from the *Hung-ming chi* 弘明集 of Seng-yu 僧祐 (445-518) to the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 法苑珠林 of Tao-shih 道世 (d. 683). Similarly, the critical index to titles of Taoist works in Sung bibliographies which is provided in Piet van der Loon's *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period* is essential in establishing the general date if not the exact provenance of many texts in the Canon. Van der Loon's index includes approximately 1600 titles, culled from fifteen imperial and private catalogues. The bibliographies of primary sources in Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China*, vols. 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5, are also useful

guides to the history of many works in the *Tao-tsang*.

Professor van der Loon points out that nearly half of the volumes in the Canon bear dates after 1126 or can be linked directly to scriptural traditions that evolved after the Northern Sung.³⁵ He has also found, on the basis of prefatory materials, that at least sixty titles circulated in printed editions before they were incorporated into the *Tao-tsang*.³⁶ Prefaces and colophons are obviously among the most valuable clues to the history of the compilation of any text. Since a large percentage of *Tao-tsang* works have been recast numerous times over the generations, such contributions can be copious. Although it is common to find these passages at their logical positions before or at the close of a text, both prefaces and colophons are just as likely to be embedded within the main body of material. Thus, the first rule of thumb when facing a text in the *Tao-tsang* for which the provenance is unknown is to read, or at least scan, the work in its entirety. Even if no obvious editorial remarks are to be found, other clues concerning the transmission of a text can usually be uncovered in the process. Within any text there are bound to be internal references that help to clarify the historical and social context in which it arose.

Among the more obvious datable features are dynastic reign titles, place names, and titles of canonization. The cosmological schemes and divine hierarchies set forth within a text can be equally revealing.³⁷ Another potential source of dating information is the use of specialized terminology that can be traced to a definitive textual tradition in contemplative or liturgical practice. Inherent also in the vernacularized wording of a large proportion of Taoist writings are dialect features, the analysis of which may lead to a wide range of linguistic as well as bibliographic discoveries. Another pivotal clue often embedded within a text is an inventory of literature sacred to a specific lineage.³⁸ In such cases, the literary legacy for several generations is revealed, as well as the provenance of other texts that might otherwise be difficult to place because of anonymity or ambiguous dating features. Finally, a most valuable guide to the historical placement of a text is frequently provided by internal reference to patriarchs and Taoist Masters expressly linked to an established ritual tradition. In some instances the compiler may identify himself by sobriquet alone but then name perhaps a whole line of worthies from whom he traces his inspiration. When such lists of names appear, it is wise to be alert to assertions made solely to convey a sense

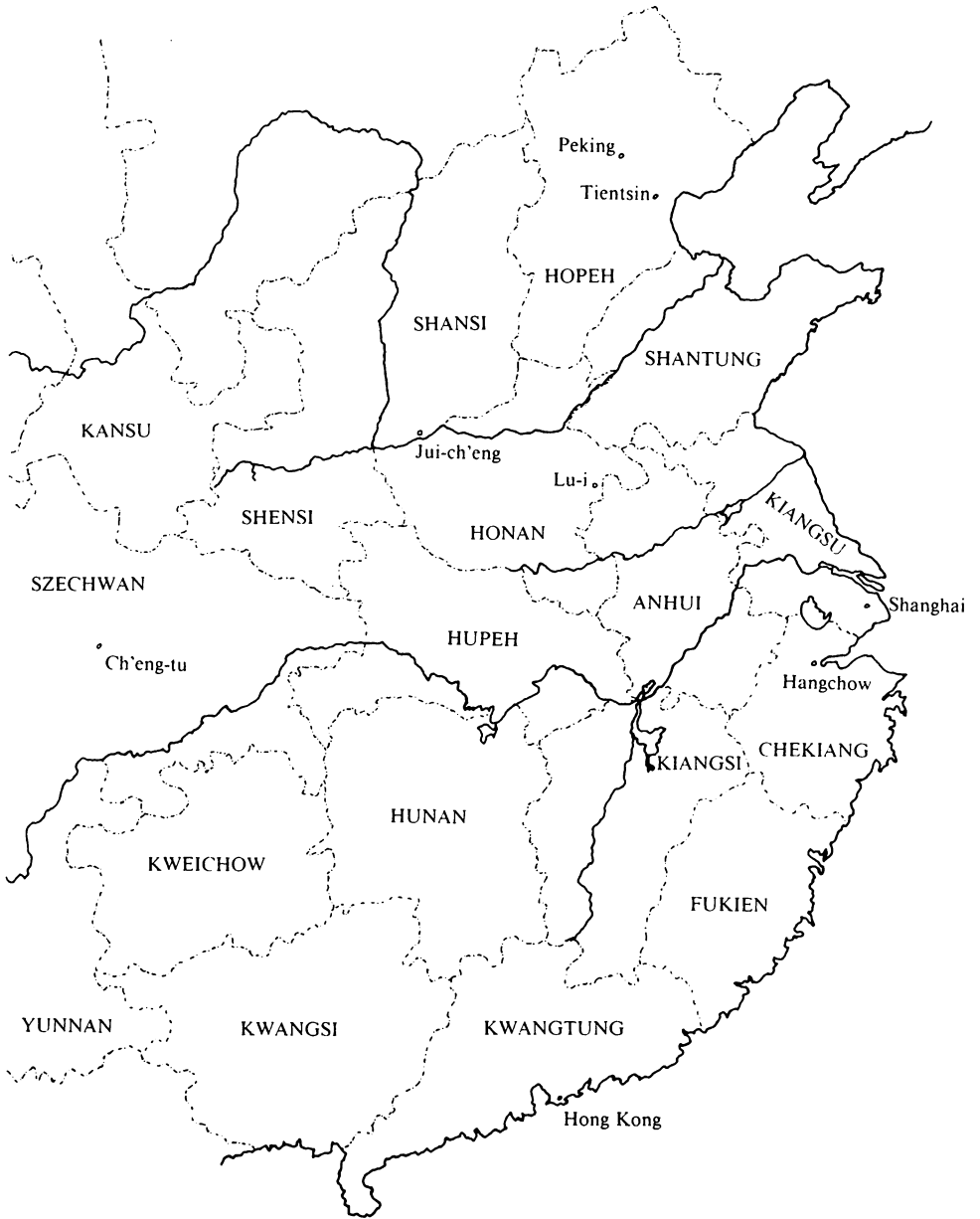
of antiquity, and hence authority. Fictive ascriptions are exceedingly common in Taoist writings, especially with regard to the Celestial Master lineage.

Untold quantities of revealed literature are ultimately credited to the Celestial Master patriarch Chang Tao-ling 張道陵 (fl. 142 C.E.). The predictability of this association has led Michel Strickmann to propose a definition of Taoism based on what he regards as the apparent universal homage all lineages pay to Chang Tao-ling.³⁹ Although Chang is acknowledged as the ultimate authority for a wide range of scriptural innovations, such claims are not necessarily genuine to the original codifications. Collation of the variant compilations arising from several different revelatory traditions indicates that homage to Chang Tao-ling may in some cases have been little more than an afterthought, reflecting merely the unquestioned primacy of the Cheng-i lineage. That primacy was in large part determined by imperial patronage at least as early as the Sung dynasty (960–1279). In time, the ascendancy of the Celestial Masters eclipsed even the authority of the once influential Shang-ch'ing hierarchy. Operating more or less as a clearinghouse for scriptural transmissions, the Celestial Masters ended up ranking variant ritual traditions over which their own patriarch could be said to reign supreme. Consequently, they reasserted the role of Chang Tao-ling time and time again in the final redactions of scriptures accepted for the Canon. Thus, it appears that many texts that do not evoke Chang have simply escaped the editorializing of the Celestial Masters. In such cases, a folk deity retains his or her position as the primary designant of divine revelation. In later redactions of texts from the same local tradition, that role can almost invariably be found to have been taken over by Patriarch Chang.⁴⁰

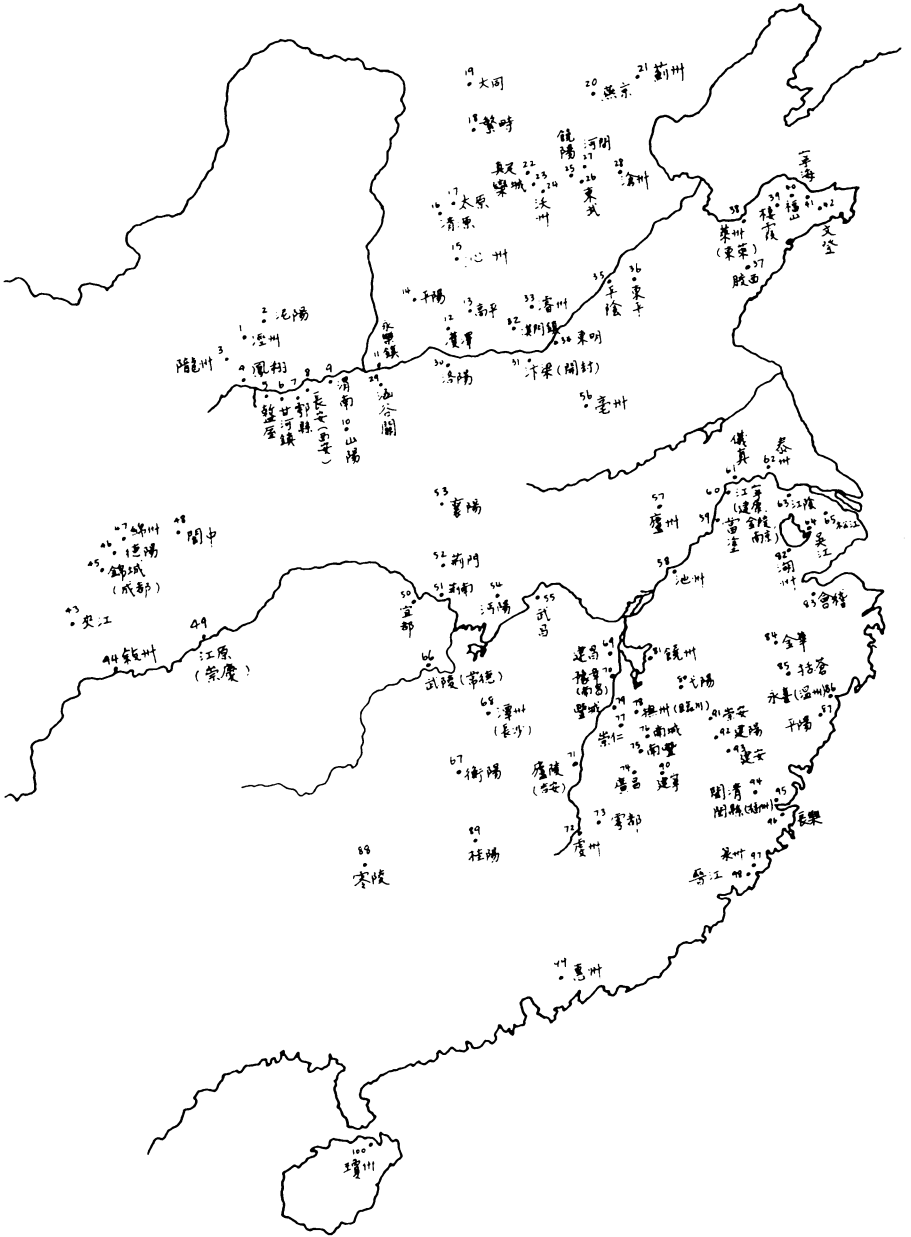
In their autocratic manner of establishing hierarchies of diverse scriptural legacies, the Celestial Masters often obscured, if not completely obliterated, the local origins of some of the most creative textual traditions. Assimilation of these vast corpuses of revealed literature by the Cheng-i heritage meant their implicit subordination to it. Whether the codifiers of new scriptures themselves began paying lip service to Patriarch Chang out of acquired deference is difficult to say, but it is clear that such verbal obeisance did not always reflect genuine allegiance. The sacral autocracy of the Celestial Masters was superseded only during the Chin and early Yüan dynasties, and then only by the syncretic Ch'üan-chen 全真 lineage that prevailed on the northern plains. But once the

Cheng-i patriarchy reaffirmed its papal-like role during the Ming, its editorial prerogatives remained largely unchallenged for the extent of the imperial age. As the many imprimaturs of the 43rd and 50th patriarchs, Chang Yü-ch'ü 張宇初 (1361-1410) and Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611), demonstrate, the *Tao-tsang* we use today is a formidable witness to the abiding presence of the Celestial Masters.

Ten genres of post-T'ang literature in the *Tao-tsang* are introduced below under five broad headings: Revelation and Ritual; Hagiography; Topographic, Epigraphic, and Historiographic Treatises; Literary Anthologies and Dialogic Treatises; and Exegeses and Encyclopedic Compilations. I have made no effort to give a comprehensive diachronic summary of any genre of Taoist literature. Rather, I have selected for discussion some two hundred texts of historical as well as religious and literary interest. There are many sources in the Canon, as in other collections of sacred literature, that could be dismissed as purely derivative. Instead of ignoring such texts, I have tried to convey an idea of the various innovations and adaptations that earlier Taoist textual traditions have generated. Appendix B is a sequential list of all titles of the *Tao-tsang* cited in this monograph, together with the corresponding HY, CT, and TT numbers, to facilitate the location of sources for partisans of the three most widely used numbering systems.



Map 1. Provincial Boundaries of Modern China



Map 2. A Diachronic Guide to Place Names

1. Ching-chou (Kansu)
2. Ni-yang (Kansu)
3. Lung-chou (Shensi)
4. Feng-hsiang (Shensi)
5. Chou-chih (Shensi)
6. Kan-ho (Shensi)
7. Hu-hsien (Shensi)
8. Ch'ang-an / Hsi-an (Shensi)
9. Wei-nan (Shensi)
10. Shan-yang (Shensi)
11. Yung-le (Shansi)
12. Huo-tse (Shansi)
13. Kao-p'ing (Shansi)
14. P'ing-yang (Shansi)
15. Ch'in-chou (Shansi)
16. Ch'ing-yüan (Shansi)
17. T'ai-yüan (Shansi)
18. Fan-chih (Shansi)
19. Ta-t'ung (Shansi)
20. Yen-ching / Peking (Hopeh)
21. Chi-chou (Hopeh)
22. Chen-ting (Hopeh)
23. Luan-ch'eng (Hopeh)
24. Wo-chou (Hopeh)
25. Jao-yang (Hopeh)
26. Tung-wu (Hopeh)
27. Ho-chien (Hopeh)
28. Ts'ang-chou (Hopeh)
29. Han-ku Pass (Honan)
30. Loyang (Honan)
31. Pien-liang / Kaifeng (Honan)
32. Ch'i-men (Honan)
33. Chün-chou (Honan)
34. Tung-ming (Honan)
35. P'ing-yin (Shantung)
36. Tung-p'ing (Shantung)
37. Chiao-hsi (Shantung)
38. Lai-chou / Tung-lai (Shantung)
39. Ch'i-hsia (Shantung)
40. Fu-shan (Shantung)
41. Ning-hai (Shantung)
42. Wen-teng (Shantung)
43. Chia-chiang (Szechwan)
44. Hsü-chou (Szechwan)
45. Chin-ch'eng / Ch'eng-tu (Szechwan)
46. Te-yang (Szechwan)
47. Mien-chou (Szechwan)
48. Lang-chung (Szechwan)
49. Chiang-yüan / Chungking (Szechwan)
50. I-tu (Hupeh)
51. Ching-nan (Hupeh)
52. Ching-men (Hupeh)
53. Hsiang-yang (Hupeh)
54. Mien-yang (Hupeh)
55. Wu-ch'ang (Hupeh)
56. Po-chou (Anhui)
57. Lu-chou (Anhui)
58. Ch'ih-chou (Anhui)
59. Tang-t'u (Anhui)
60. Chiang-ning / Chien-k'ang /
Chin-ling / Nanking (Kiangsu)
61. I-chen (Kiangsu)
62. T'ai-chou (Kiangsu)
63. Chiang-yin (Kiangsu)
64. Wu-chiang (Kiangsu)
65. Sung-chiang (Kiangsu)
66. Wu-ling / Ch'ang-te (Hunan)
67. Heng-yang (Hunan)
68. T'an-chou / Ch'ang-sha (Hunan)
69. Chien-ch'ang (Kiangsi)
70. Yü-chang / Nan-ch'ang (Kiangsi)
71. Lu-ling / Chi-an (Kiangsi)
72. Ch'ien-chou (Kiangsi)
73. Yü-tu (Kiangsi)
74. Kuang-ch'ang (Kiangsi)
75. Nan-feng (Kiangsi)

76. Nan-ch'eng (Kiangsi)
77. Ch'ung-jen (Kiangsi)
78. Fu-chou / Lin-ch'uan (Kiangsi)
79. Feng-ch'eng (Kiangsi)
80. I-yang (Kiangsi)
81. Jao-chou (Kiangsi)
82. Hu-chou (Chekiang)
83. K'uai-chi (Chekiang)
84. Chin-hua (Chekiang)
85. Kua-ts'ang (Chekiang)
86. Yung-chia / Wenchow (Chekiang)
87. P'ing-yang (Chekiang)
88. Ling-ling (Kuangsi)
89. Kuei-yang (Kuangsi)
90. Chien-ning (Fukien)
91. Ch'ung-an (Fukien)
92. Chien-yang (Fukien)
93. Chien-an (Fukien)
94. Min-ch'ing (Fukien)
95. Min-hsien / Foochow (Fukien)
96. Ch'ang-le (Fukien)
97. Ch'üan-chou (Fukien)
98. Chin-chiang (Fukien)
99. Hui-chou (Kuangtung)
100. Ch'iung-chou (Hainan)

I

Revelation and Ritual

Imperial patronage of revelatory innovations has long been the guiding force in the preservation of the written traditions of many diverse Taoist dispensations. Following the precedents set by T'ai Wu-ti 太武帝 (r. 424–452) of Northern Wei and T'ang Hsüan-tsung 唐玄宗 (r. 712–755), a series of monarchs from the Sung on declared their own regimes as preordained Taoist theocracies. In particular, the material and spiritual support that Sung Hui-tsung 宋徽宗 (r. 1101–1125) lent to new scriptural formulations led to what Strickmann has termed a Taoist renaissance.⁴¹ Hui-tsung's interest in recording every manner of revelation apparently shaped the Taoist Canon for centuries to come. Renewed faith in divine intervention and demonifuge healing, witnessed increasingly throughout the countryside, gave direct inspiration, moreover, to countless creations in verse and narrative.

The authenticity of the new waves of revealed literature was commonly challenged by skeptics and the disaffected. Before any revelation gained a following, two things had to be substantiated—its antiquity and its timeliness. To accommodate the first requirement, the conventional association of age with the sanctity of provenance had to be made. Timeless venerability was often conveyed by the discovery of texts buried within sacred subterranean or supernal chambers. In order that it might be viewed as providential, a new revelatory manual was invariably presented as a divinely prescribed remedy for all ill fortune that might befall an empire and the only code of practice given cosmic sanction. More than one revelatory tradition staked its reputation on the assertion of infallibility, often with critical asides concerning rival claims.

The transmission of newly formulated revelations was conventionally restricted to those graced with the ability to understand the inherently mystical forms of sacred script. Sometimes the one to whom the

provenance of divine writings was revealed is identified as the patriarch of a lineage, so chosen because of his singular ability to decipher and interpret them. Other lineages portray the recipient totally unenlightened and thus in need of counsel with masters trained in the revealed literature. A fresh codification of sacred writings thereby linked its patriarchs, often as manifestations of past transcendents, to the authority of established lineages. The inaugural disciple then becomes the first in a recognized line of transmission, for which several generations preceding the actual compiler of the revealed texts can be easily fabricated. Delineation of the chronology of recipients gives the compiler qua lineal founder the necessary authority to justify his own dissemination of reputedly divine instruction. To protect himself from accusations of irresponsible transmission, the compiler commonly attaches a formulaic warning to his texts. Should the newly bestowed instruction be conveyed at a faster pace than specified, or should it be applied or passed on carelessly, the offender is warned that he is likely to become the victim of dire consequences. The threat of retribution, moreover, is said to be enforceable not only on future generations but also retroactively on ancestors in limbo.

While early writings extant before the Five Dynasties (907–960) generally tend to support a view of the adept as wholly absorbed in contemplative exercises, self-cultivation in fact served as the foundation for many other pursuits. Traditionally, the Taoist practitioner has been regarded foremost as a healer, serving apparently in effect as a sort of grass-roots physician. There is unfortunately a scant record of early manuals on healing rituals.⁴² That lack, however, is all but compensated by the availability of substantial collections of ritual instruction compiled by the Taoist Ritual Masters (*fa-shih* 法師) of the Sung to the Ming. These ambitious practitioners offered treatments for a wide range of social problems, from the infestations of locusts to pestilential diseases.⁴³ In concentrating their healing powers on prevailing maladies, they invoked the aid of vast hierarchies of potent cosmic forces. The dramaturgical overtones of their therapeutic rites recall the propitiatory and apotropaic language of the *Shih ching* 詩經 [Classic of Poetry] and *Ch'u-tz'u* 楚辭 [Songs of Ch'u]. In building on a centuries-old legacy of penitential invocations to the sacred realm, the Taoist Ritual Master, or *fa-shih*, began to assume a new spiritual potency, as the metamorphoses that he and his predecessors had always been taught to achieve within

their internal sanctuaries of corporeal deities were carried a step further.⁴⁴ Not content with serving as relatively static receptors of divinity, the adepts took on a more active role in orchestrating the therapeutic forces from above. In some ways reminiscent of their shamanic counterparts, the Taoist practitioners of this new age of ritual creativity subjugated their own identity to that of their sacred guardian.⁴⁵ No longer was mere visualization or actualization (*ts'un* 存) sufficient for the purposes of these multifarious therapeutic rites.⁴⁶ Instead, this new generation of adepts was instructed to “envision yourself as...” (*ts'un tzu-shen wei* 存自身為 ...) or “metamorphose yourself into...” (*p'ien wei* 變為 ...). With the aid of the appropriate incantations and talismans, the Ritual Masters thus came to embody the very deity whose role it was to convey the prescribed remedies. By achieving such a transformation, a practitioner was perceived not merely as a manipulator of divine forces but as the agent through whom they took charge. On this subject the immense ritual compendia spare no detail in specifying every facet of ritual purification, the demarcation of sacred space for meditation chambers and altar settings, the colors and dimensions of ceremonial dress and various accoutrements, as well as vast quantities of talismans and the accompanying incantations and *mūdra*-like manipulations.

Such ritual compendia, initially inspired during Hui-tsung's reign, were revised and amplified over the centuries, in response to more and more complex ritual needs. It is presumably no accident that some of the most expansive collections were compiled at times of extreme social and political urgency. One occasion that seems to have triggered massive ritual codifications is the transfer of the Sung imperial court south to Hangchow. The longevity of any new ritual dispensation, however, depended not so much on the immediacy of the revelatory experience as on how it adapted to its environment. Thus, one often finds grafted onto an already intricately devised cosmic hierarchy an extensive bureaucracy of local worthies, individuals whose apotheoses galvanized the religious fervor of entire communities. The extent to which these neighborhood transcendents were assimilated within ritual programmes apparently had much to do with the rise and fall of a given scriptural tradition. When the locality in question was the imperial court, it is certain that much was at stake.

1. Shen-hsiao (Divine Empyrean)

One who did not hesitate to play for the highest stakes was Lin Ling-su 林靈素 (1076–1120).⁴⁷ A native of Wenchow 温州 (Chekiang), birthplace of many important figures in Taoism, Buddhism, and Manichaeism, Lin introduced Hui-tsung to an irresistible dispensation by which to assert his divine mandate. Lin called his new scriptural tradition Shen-hsiao 神霄, or Divine Empyrean, named for the central compass point of the Nine Empyreans (*chiu-hsiao*).⁴⁸ At the heart of this supreme celestial domain stood the Grand Sovereign of Long Life (Ch'ang-sheng ta-ti 長生大帝). Upon receiving Lin's instruction, Hui-tsung became convinced that he was the terrestrial incarnation of this immortal Grand Sovereign. Of all the scriptural codifications to reach the emperor's eyes, none apparently had greater appeal than the Shen-hsiao. Lin was by no means the only Taoist Master at court, but he seems to have stood out among the dozens who converged upon the capital of Kaifeng 開封 (Honan) in response to Hui-tsung's call in 1114 for a recompilation of the Taoist Canon.

One source in the Canon today traces the history of the Shen-hsiao dispensation that Lin sponsored, from its cosmic origins to the heyday of Hui-tsung's reign. It is received under the title of HY 1272 *Kao-shang shen-hsiao tsung-shih shou-ching shih* 高上神霄宗師受經式 [Formulary for the Transmission of Scriptures According to the Patriarchs of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean]. The mythic sequence of the opening scene in this text is taken directly from the 4th-century Ling-pao revelations.⁴⁹ Inspiration is equally drawn from the messianic expectations of the Shang-ch'ing tradition. The perfected of the Shang-ch'ing realm are in fact nominally put in charge of compiling the sacred literature of Shen-hsiao, a corpus of sixty *chüan* headed by the venerable Ling-pao classic known as the *Tu-jen ching* 度人經 [Scripture on Salvation]. Only during the glorious epoch of the Sung, with the theophany of the supreme sovereign of Shen-hsiao, are these scriptures destined to be revealed, reports the *Formulary*. Their release from the celestial abode, following the Shang-ch'ing model, is scheduled for the cyclical year of *jen-ch'en* 壬辰, which in this case corresponds to 1112.⁵⁰ From that year forward the Shen-hsiao lord incarnate in the person of Hui-tsung is thought to have received divine mandate for his sacred mission below, to oversee the salvation of all within his realm. Following the verification of Hui-tsung's destiny is an inventory of the 61 scriptures comprising the

Shen-hsiao corpus. The titles listed correspond to the chapter headings of the extant 61-ch. HY 1 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao].⁵¹ Sixty of the chapters are ritual recastings of the *Tu-jen ching* (ch. 1), created expressly to further the soteriological calling of the throne. This corpus, regarded as the culmination of the Shang-ch'ing tradition, apparently took precedence over all other sources received in the Taoist Canon of Hui-tsung's reign.⁵² It still stands today as the opening text of the *Tung-chen pu* 洞真部, the first division of the Canon, which serves as a showcase for the Shang-ch'ing heritage.

By late 1119, Lin had presumably played out his hand at court, for in that year he disappeared from the capital under mysterious circumstances. The Shen-hsiao ritual tradition lived on, as a number of later codifications amply demonstrate. Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153), who is regarded as the major beneficiary of Lin's legacy, may have been responsible for the illustrated handbook that appeared as a supplement to the 61-ch. *Tu-jen ching*.⁵³ The 3-ch. work is entitled HY 147 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching fu-t'u* 符圖 [Talismans and Diagrams of the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao]. Just as the 61-ch. *Tu-jen ching* heads the subsection on scriptures in the *Tung-chen pu*, this handbook opens the *Tung-chen pu* subsection on sacred diagrams (*ling-t'u* 靈圖). It begins with a long preface putatively inscribed by the hand of Hui-tsung himself in laudation of the empyrean lord's soteric mission on earth. Internal evidence indicates that the work was indeed composed after Lin's abrupt fall from imperial grace. Designed to introduce the rudiments of the Shen-hsiao reenactment of the Ling-pao revelation, the treatise supplies the essential cosmological diagrams, talismanic inscriptions, sacred recitations, and lengthy registers of the celestial bureaucracy. Comparable visual aids are to be found in the 12-ch. HY 1209 *Kao-shang shen-hsiao tzu-shu ta-fa* 高上神霄紫書大法 [Great Rites in the Purple Script of the Most Exalted Divine Empyrean]. Included in this late redaction of Shen-hsiao ritual codes are not only various procedures for the widely practiced *lien-tu* 鍊度 (salvation through refinement or transmutation) procedures, but also countless applications of the therapeutic principles of Wu-lei 五雷 (Five Thunder) rites.⁵⁴

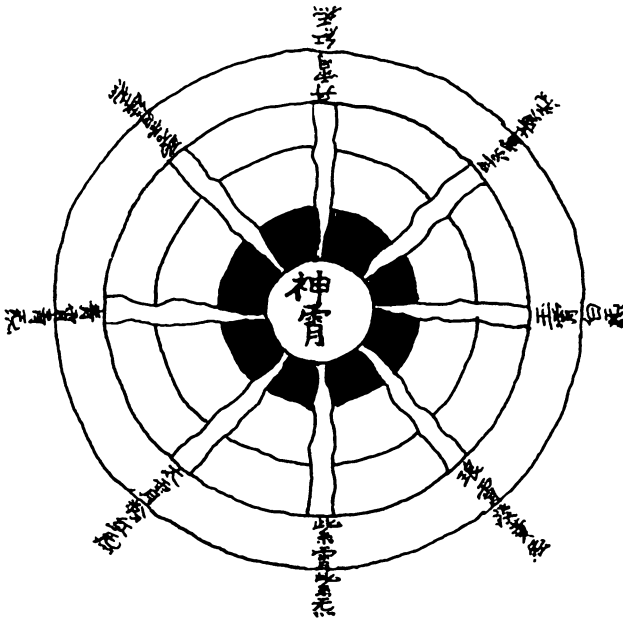


Fig. 1. A diagram of the Nine Empyreans. Sketch based on HY 1209 *Kao-shang shen-hsiao yü-ch'ing chen-wang tzu-shu ta-fa*, 2.18a. The nine cosmic realms according to the Shen-hsiao revelations are arranged in the pattern of the magic square, with Shen-hsiao occupying the central position as fifth in the sequence of nine. A cognate illustration is found in HY 147, 2.5b.

By far the most substantial Shen-hsiao ritual corpus is the 72-ch. HY 219 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-ching ta-fa* 靈寶無量度人上經大法 [Great Rites of the Supreme Scripture on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao]. Retained as the lead text of the ritual subsection in the *Tung-chen pu*, this work is a masterly example of the breadth of coverage that became standard for ritual compendia compiled down through the Ming empire. The sources for the sensory perception of various sacred phenomena are recorded with intricate pictorial detail. Pivotal to the many diagrammatic sequences of talismans, seals, lantern arrangements, pennant designs, and choreographic figures are a number of major strains of *lien-tu* funeral rites. Printed in one chapter is a rare rescension of a meditation manual on the chorography for the salvation of souls lost in

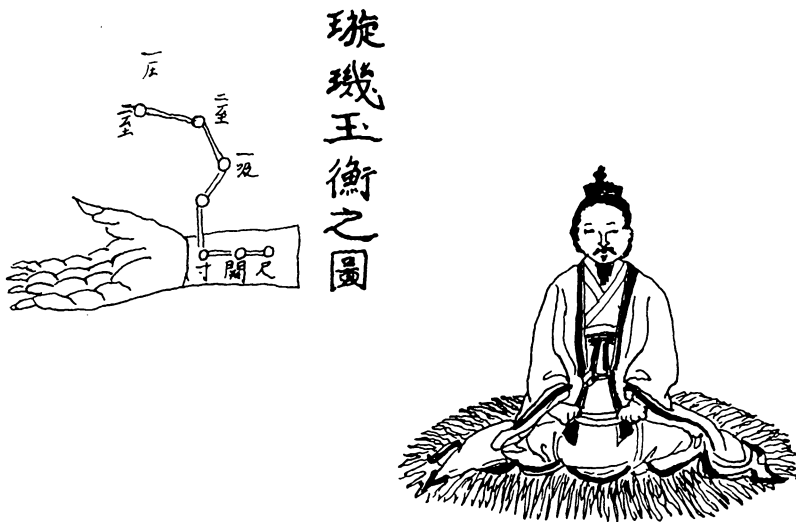


Fig. 2. A disciple in meditation with Ursa Major superimposed on his wrist. Sketch based on HY 219 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-ching ta-fa*, 8.4a. These illustrations accompany instructions on a meditative technique called *Shen-kuang ta-ting* 神光大定 (The Great Composure of Divine Radiance), based in part on a visualization inspired by the *Tu-jen ching*. Through the proper management of respiration, the adept is thought able to achieve a correspondence between the revolution of Ursa Major and his own circulatory system.

purgatory, as envisioned within the adept's own interior sanctuary. The text is also printed separately in the Canon as the HY 407 *Ling-pao ta-lien nei-chih hsing-ch'ih chi-yao* 靈寶大煉內旨行持機要 [The Discreet Essentials of Ling-pao for Practicing and Maintaining the Esoteric Directives of Grand Transmutation].⁵⁵ An exceptional codification of Shen-hsiao oral transmission, this manual provides a contemplative version of the *lien-tu* rites of purification that are so graphically staged in liturgical settings. Cheng Ssu-hsiao 葉思肖 (1239–1316), writing on the Buddhist analogues to these rites of passage, compiled a work that has been received in the Canon under the title HY 548 *T'ai-chi chi-lien nei-fa* 太極祭鍊內法 [Esoteric Rites on the Oblatory Transmutation

of the Grand Ultimate]. This text, evidently lost shortly after its completion in 1291, was reconstructed as a 3-ch. work in 1347 and approved for publication in 1406 by the 43rd Celestial Master, Chang Yü-ch'u 張宇初 (1361–1410). Cheng proves to be widely conversant in the meditative practices of Taoist, Buddhist, and Neo-Ju or Confucian traditions. With this text he offers one of the most astute syntheses of soteriological doctrine available.⁵⁶

Only one text directly attributed to Lin Ling-su survives in the Canon, a lyric piece entitled “Chin-huo t'ien-ting shen-hsiao san-ch'i huo-ling ko” 金火天丁神霄三炁火鈴歌 [Song of the Celestial Stalwart of the Golden Flames and the Blazing Tocsin from the Triple Emanations of the Divine Empyrean]. It figures prominently within the ritual code known as the *Shen-hsiao chin-huo t'ien-ting ta-fa* 神霄金火天丁大法 [Great Rites of the Celestial Stalwart of Golden Flames in the Divine Empyrean]. This text is extant only as ch. 198–205 of the late 14th-century ritual compendium HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 道法會元 [A Corpus of Taoist Ritual].⁵⁷ Lin's narrative piece approaches the caliber of the visionary verse ascribed to his Shang-ch'ing predecessors. He recreates in heptasyllabic meter the empyrean domain under the special charge of a cosmic golden lad. Initially, this proleptic spirit is said to have signalled the downfall of the demonic Ch'ih-yu 蚩尤 by bestowing his potent blazing tocsin, or fire-bell (*huo-ling* 火鈴), on the legendary protagonist Huang-ti 黃帝. An introductory essay to the ritual corpus, written by Lin's second-generation disciple Ch'en Tao-i 陳道一, enlarges upon the mythic and practical aspects of the tocsin as a symbol of the omnipotence of Shen-hsiao authority. By applying this ritual emblem in talismanic or seal form, the adept is advised that he will be granted the capacity to quell all demonic forces wreaking havoc on mankind and to render salvation to all humanity. While a large collection of therapeutic talismans has accrued to this ritual code, the *huo-ling* talisman, host to cosmic fire spirits, remains central throughout.⁵⁸ A colophon by Liu Yü 劉玉 (fl. 1258) of Feng-ch'eng 豐城 (Kiangsi) traces the ancestry of the lineage two generations back, from Ch'en Tao-i to his own mentor Lu Yeh 盧楚.⁵⁹

2. T'ung-ch'u (Youthful Incipience)

Close on the heels of the Shen-hsiao theocracy there arose in the Mao Shan 茅山 region a revitalization of the Shang-ch'ing revelations

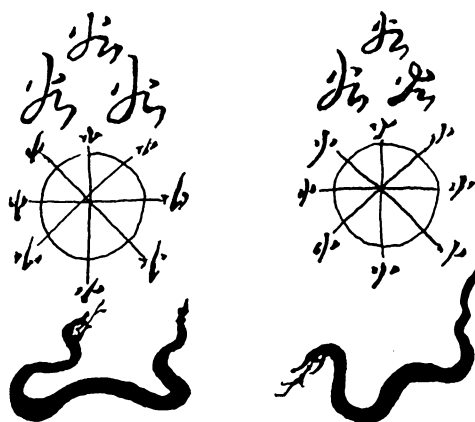


Fig. 3. The talisman and altar for summoning the cosmic spirit T'ien-ting. Sketch based on HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, 198.4b, 21b. The series of strokes that make up the talisman, according to the Great Rites of the Celestial Stalwart of Golden Flames in the Divine Empyrean, are thought to embody a number of fire spirits called forth to incinerate perverse spectral agents. The altar is set up on occasions when T'ien-ting is invoked as a rainmaker.

under the name *T'ung-ch'u ta-fa* 童初大法 (Great Rites of Youthful Incipience). Apparently all that survives of the ritual codes from this tradition is a 13th-century rescension in the HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 171–178, entitled *Shang-ch'ing t'ung-ch'u wu-yüan su-fu yü-ts'e* 上清童初五元素府玉冊 [Jade Archives from the Immaculate Bureau of the Five Primordials of Shang-ch'ing Youthful Incipience]. The founder of this new ritual tradition is identified as Yang Hsi-chen 楊希真 (1101–1124), a son of rice merchants in I-chen 儀真, just north of Mao Shan. According to the hagiography preserved in the HY 304 *Mao Shan chih* 茅山志 [A Treatise on Mao Shan], Yang feigned madness in 1120, vanished from sight, and was given up for dead.⁶⁰ According to the legend, he had been chosen to be the sole recipient of the sacred teachings of T'ung-ch'u. The site of his induction lay within the Mao Shan subterranean chamber of Hua-yang Tung 華陽洞. Within one year he is said to have resurfaced from this cavern, ready to divulge the rites of his initiation into the T'ung-ch'u hierarchy. The account of Yang's enlightenment and the receptivity of Hui-tsung to his novel route toward salvation are all but missing in what historical survey is included within the ritual codes themselves. The chief purveyor of these codes, Chin Yün-chung 金允中 (fl. 1224–1225), traces their practice only as far as two generations prior to his own initiation.⁶¹ His version of the T'ung-ch'u rites is characteristically touted as the single truly correct therapeutic dispensation.

As did other similarly innovative traditions, the T'ung-ch'u heritage drew upon all manner of available ritual techniques, reinterpreting and reordering them according to the priorities of the time. Opening the first chapter of the code is the “Huo-ling chen-fu” 火鈴真符, a talisman that recalls the prominent symbol of the Shen-hsiao legacy. Another feature, the exorcistic T'ien-p'eng 天蓬 incantation, was drawn from the Shang-ch'ing revelatory tradition. According to the T'ung-ch'u codes, this omnipotent chant was to be recited in reverse order, with the last line first.⁶² Conspicuous, too, in this late transmission is the evocation of the Celestial Master alongside the four demonifuge spirits (*ssu-sheng* 四聖) that were reported to have been at the forefront of Yang Hsi-chen's indoctrination: T'ien-p'eng 天蓬; T'ien-yu 天猷; I-sheng pao-te chen-chün 翊聖保德真君, special guardian of the Sung; and Chen-wu 真武, the Perfected Warrior.⁶³ Together with Patriarch Chang, then, these four divine conservators make up the Immaculate Bureau of the Five Primor-

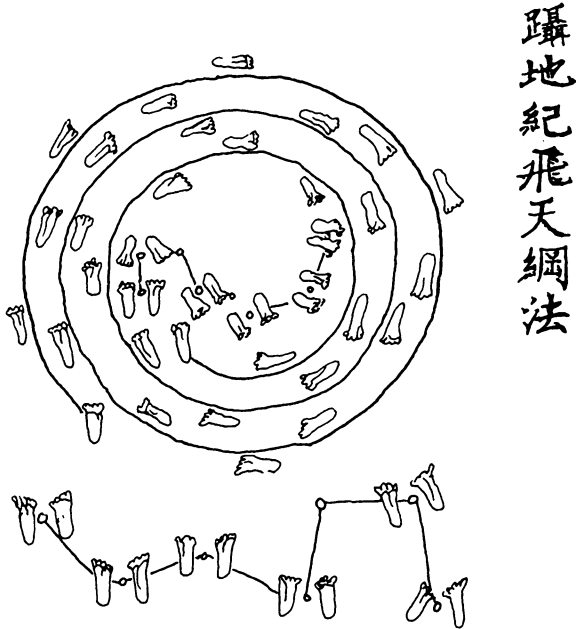
dials that is evoked in the title of the ritual codes.

The same quintet is also called upon in a derivative ritual corpus incorporated immediately after the T'ung-ch'u manuals in the HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 179–187. In this tradition, codified as the *Shang-ch'ing wu-yüan chiu-ling fei-pu chang-tsou pi-fa* 上清五元九靈飛步章奏秘法 [Secret Rites of Petition and the Volant Pacing of the Nine Numina from the Five Primordials of Shang-ch'ing], the Celestial Master heritage is indisputably preeminent. Although the Shen-hsiao affiliate Wang Wen-ch'ing is credited with the transmission of these codes, they are also said to have ultimately originated from within the Cheng-i lineage itself. The corpus, essentially a guide to the protocols for submitting petitions on high, is presented as a refined synthesis of all major Taoist transmissions. The T'ung-ch'u tradition is not explicitly singled out, but another outstanding legacy promoted during Hui-tsung's time is.

3. T'ien-hsin (Celestial Heart) and Analogous Rites

The source to which the *Secret Rites of the Five Primordials*, as well as many other ritual formulations, refers is the *T'ien-hsin cheng-fa* 天心正法 (Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart). Few scriptural traditions have had as much influence on sacred and secular literature as the T'ien-hsin. The spiritual font claimed for this new ritual tradition is Hua-kai Shan 華蓋山, located outside Ch'ung-jen 崇仁 in central Kiangsi. It was here that the T'ien-hsin revelations were putatively discovered in 994 C.E.. They were said to have remained undetected until a timely display of celestial radiance above the mountain led one Jao Tung-t'ien 饒洞天 to the site. According to the legend, Jao excavated the sacred texts, found them unreadable, and thus sought instruction from divine beings who could decipher the arcane script of T'ien-hsin. The source of these new teachings was traced to a trio of the perfected named Fou-ch'iu 馮丘, Wang 王, and Kuo 郭, whose reputation for demonifuge practice was well established at Mt. Hua-kai.⁶⁴ But early on this association with local cultic traditions was obscured by the assertion that the true founder of T'ien-hsin was the omnipresent Chang Tao-ling.

The earliest extant corpus of T'ien-hsin rites dates from 1116, when a Ritual Master by the name of Yüan Miao-tsung 元妙宗 (fl. 1086–1116) took it upon himself to supply the therapeutic ritual texts he found lacking in the *Tao-tsang* compilation project at Hui-tsung's court. Based on his own experience as an itinerant practitioner in the Yangtze



躡地紀飛天綱法

Fig. 4. Choreography for treading upon the terrestrial filaments and soaring through Ursa Major. Sketch based on HY 1217 *T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao*, 8.3b. The instructions call for pacing through the terrestrial filaments and then Ursa Major, three times each, followed by a three-step nine-track pattern. The adept is said thereby not only to preserve his own person, but also to aid the state in relieving the suffering of the people from assorted disasters.

River region, Yüan came up with the 10-ch. HY 1217 *T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao* 太上助國救民總真秘要 [Secret Essentials on Assembling the Perfected of the Most High for the Relief of the State and Deliverance of the People]. At the heart of this corpus is a manual of talismanic applications with the title *Shang-ch'ing pei-chi t'ien-hsin cheng-fa* 上清北極天心正法 [Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart from the Northern Bourne of Shang-ch'ing]. According to Yüan's analysis, the ultimate source of the T'ien-hsin rites was precisely the northernmost extremity of the celestial realm. But preserved in his compilation is actually a far broader range of techniques than what T'ien-hsin had to offer. In his effort to fill a major bibliographic lacuna, Yüan

ended up consolidating a vast array of instruction on therapeutic rites circulating in his time. The documentation of T'ang healing traditions that have otherwise been lost is especially valuable.

Much of the material systematized by Yüan was reedited a century and a half later in two works by Teng Yu-kung 鄧有功 (1210–1279).⁶⁵ The larger of the two works, the 7-ch. HY 566 *Shang-ch'ing t'ien-hsin cheng-fa* 上清天心正法 [Correct Rites of the Celestial Heart of Shang-ch'ing], expands considerably on Yüan's anthology.⁶⁶ An ancillary text, the 3-ch. HY 461 *Shang-ch'ing ku-sui ling-wen kwei-lü* 上清骨髓靈文鬼律 [Ordinances Governing the Specters, a Numinous Text from the Marrow of Shang-ch'ing], is basically an extract of a single chapter with the same title from Yüan's corpus. In it is a detailed accounting of the behavioral codes to which practitioners, as well as the celestial ranks and spectral hordes, are beholden. According to the T'ien-hsin formulary, all were subject to the authority of what is called the Ch'ü-hsieh Yüan 驅邪院 (Office for Purging Deviant Forces). This celestially ordained administrative unit defines the therapeutic domain of T'ien-hsin, setting it apart from the divine offices with command over other regional dispensations. The absence of any reference to the penal codes in the latest available T'ien-hsin corpus seems to reveal the extent to which the regional identity of a scriptural tradition could be obscured. By the time the HY 567 *Shang-ch'ing pei-chi t'ien-hsin cheng-fa* 上清北極天心正法 was separately received in the Canon, the provenance of T'ien-hsin is traced not to Mt. Hua-kai but to Ho-ming Shan 鶴鳴山 (Szechwan), where Chang Tao-ling is said to have been blessed with the pertinent revelations. A triad of talismans is the essential feature of this and all other T'ien-hsin codifications. The three talismans elicit the potency of the San-kuang 三光—the three sources of radiance, i.e., the sun, moon, and stars; Chen-wu 真武; and T'ien-kang 天罡, the astral spirits of Ursa Major. Again, the Shang-ch'ing legacy is clearly regenerated in this tradition.⁶⁷ The venerable cosmic forces embodied within the talismans were given charge by means of the appropriate incantations for purging all variety of nefarious and diabolic agents preying on mankind.

Among the scriptural traditions directly derived from T'ien-hsin is the *Shang-ch'ing t'ien-p'eng fu-mo ta-fa* 上清天蓬伏魔大法 [Great Rites of the T'ien-p'eng Spirit of Shang-ch'ing for Subduing Demons]. This intricately designed ritual code, also fashioned around the triad of

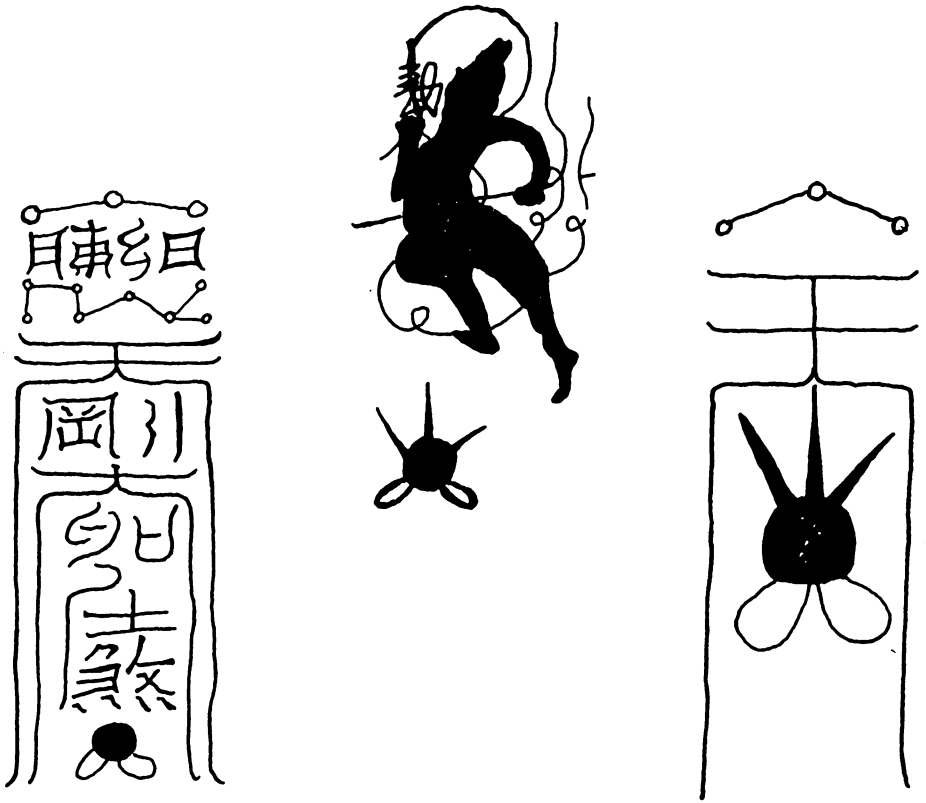


Fig. 5. The three talismans central to the T'ien-hsin revelations. Sketch based on HY 566 *Shang-ch'ing t'ien-hsin cheng-fa*, 3.3a-7a. The talismans of the Three Sources of Radiance, the Black-Killer Dark Warrior, and Ursa Major arc, according to the T'ien-hsin codes, essential to the exorcism of all wayward possessing spirits.

T'ien-hsin talismans, is attributed to a Tung Ta-hsien 董大仙. It is preserved in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 156-168. Another corpus that draws on the T'ien-hsin legacy is the 30-ch. HY 220 *Wu-shang hsüan-yüan san-t'ien yü-t'ang ta-fa* 無上玄元三天玉堂大法 [Great Rites of the Jade Hall, from the Three Celestial Realms of the Culminant, Sublime, and Primordial]. Lu Shih-chung 路時中, who compiled this work in 1158, claims to have excavated the Jade Hall ritual manuals at Mao

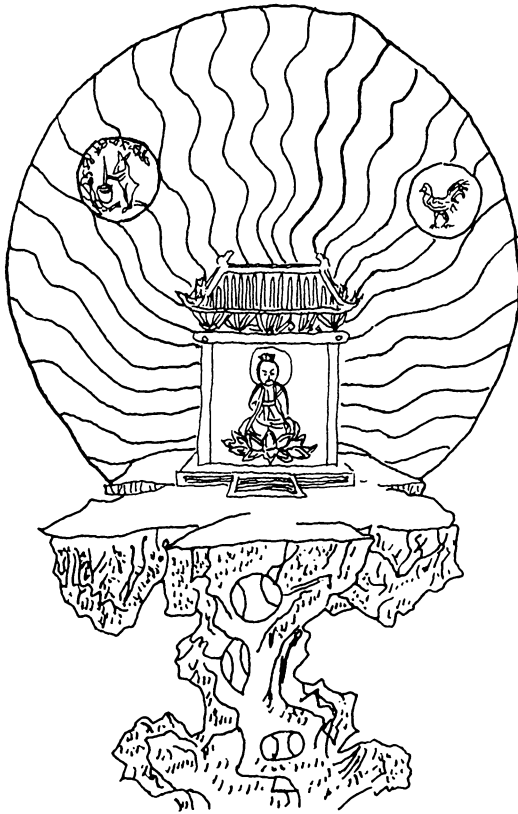


Fig. 6. A visualization of Lord Lao seated within the Jade Hall. Sketch based on HY 220 *Wu-shang hsüan-yüan san-t'ien yü-t'ang ta-fa*, 3.2b–3a. The adept in pursuit of perfection and longevity, according to Lu Shih-chung, envisions his own person turning into a radiant sphere within which he generates this vision of Lord Lao.

Shan. His well-illustrated text is in fact the product of a finely worked synthesis of T'ien-hsin therapeutics and Shen-hsiao *lien-tu* rites. So renowned was Lu throughout the south of China that a number of his exploits are recorded in the *I-chien chih* of Hung Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202).⁶⁸

No therapeutic ritual tradition is mentioned in the *I-chien chih* more often than T'ien-hsin.⁶⁹ From the *I-chien chih* stories, it appears that the T'ien-hsin practitioners were recognized above all else for their

expertise in the exorcism of possessing spirits that were thought to have caused various forms of mental disturbances. It is tempting to suggest that they were the first psychotherapists of China.⁷⁰ Indeed, one of the most popular stories in which the T'ien-hsin Master is invoked is the prototypical "demon story" based on the predicament of a vulnerable young man who has been seduced by a succubus.⁷¹ The continuing influence of the T'ien-hsin heritage can be discerned in many Chinese novels, most notably the *Shui-hu chuan*.⁷² Encounters between the forces of good and evil, such as those that dominate the pages of T'ien-hsin and cognate rituals, are also showcased in such classics as the *P'ing-yao chuan* 平妖傳, *Feng-shen yen-i* 封神演義, *Ying-lieh chuan* 英烈傳, and the Chung K'uei 鍾馗 corpus.⁷³ These narratives reveal just how pervasive and imposing the demonifuge heritage was. But perhaps the most lasting impression of the T'ien-hsin legacy is to be found not in Chinese novels but in the ritual paintings of the Yao minority, sets of which are still being produced.⁷⁴

4. Ch'ing-wei (Clarified Tenuity)

Of distinct prominence among the later revelatory traditions is the Ch'ing-wei 清微 (Clarified Tenuity) legacy. Although a substantial record of Ch'ing-wei is preserved in the Canon, there is no overall consensus on the ultimate provenance of this all-inclusive formulation. Most sources do agree on the role played by a singular young woman named Tsu Shu 祖舒 (fl. 889–904). According to hagiographic legend, this dark-complexioned lass, of remarkable height, deserted her family in Ling-ling 零陵 (Kwangsi) to make a circuit of sacred peaks in search of instruction on meditative practice. Where and from whom Tsu gained divine insight is a matter of some dispute, but it is generally agreed that she achieved a synthesis of four major traditions: Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, Tao-te, and Cheng-i. Her putative accomplishment is all the more noteworthy, for not since the founding of the Shang-ch'ing heritage had a woman been identified with the formulation of a scriptural tradition. The transmission of the Ch'ing-wei teachings is traced from Tsu through several generations of female advocates and eventually to a man named Nan Pi-tao 南畢道 (b. 1196). It is said that Nan effected the cure of Huang Shun-shen 黃舜申 (1224–ca. 1286), a newly appointed administrator in Kwangsi, thereby acquiring a devoted disciple. Huang, a native of Chien-ning 建寧 (Fukien), was apparently responsible for the

codification and widespread transmission of the Ch'ing-wei legacy. During his lifetime, this ritual tradition gained a firm foothold from Kwangsi north to Hupeh's Wu-tang Shan 武當山, the mountain range that came to be associated with the omnipotent spirit Hsüan-wu.⁷⁵ But perhaps the most important factor contributing to its perpetuity is the approbation granted this new ritual tradition by the Celestial Master regency.

The Ch'ing-wei tradition can be classified as one of the more renowned Thunder Rites (*Lei-fa* 雷法) of southern China. According to Huang Shun-shen's analysis in the HY 171 *Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u* 清微仙譜 [A Roster of the Ch'ing-wei Transcendents], Tsu Shu worked out her synthesis by blending the therapeutic Lei-t'ing 雷霆 (Thunderclap) tradition with the maṇḍala heritage of Tantric Buddhism.⁷⁶ Preserved in an anonymous text, the HY 222 *Ch'ing-wei shen-lieh pi-fa* 清微神烈秘法 [Secret Rites of the Sacred Candescence of Ch'ing-wei], are in fact some extraordinary maṇḍala-like diagrams serving as demonifuge talismans.⁷⁷ This manual, a late distillation of the Ch'ing-wei textual corpus, defines Ch'ing-wei as merely another name for Shen-hsiao. By way of reinforcing this association, the terms Shen-hsiao and Ch'ing-wei are applied interchangeably in reference to the central empyrean realm of the cosmos. Similarly, the self-same protoplasmic *ch'i* 氣 that gave rise to the Shen-hsiao script, not to mention the Ling-pao, was said to have congealed into the sacred scriptures and thunder talismans of Ch'ing-wei.⁷⁸ But even though proponents of Ch'ing-wei were quick to acknowledge Shen-hsiao as a source of inspiration, they were equally quick to claim that their heritage alone should be regarded as the "ancestor of all ritual" (*wan-fa chih tsu* 萬法之祖). To fortify this assertion, a number of preeminent transcendents were included in lists of those considered to be the ancestral patriarchs of the Ch'ing-wei legacy. Thus, the authority of Chang Tao-ling was often evoked, as was that of the Shang-ch'ing matriarch Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存 (251–334).⁷⁹ In short, there was no divine worthy of any significance who was not given a seat within the ranks of Ch'ing-wei.

Nowhere is the complexity of the Ch'ing-wei transmission better illustrated than in the ritual corpus of the HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 1–55, the largest section devoted to the textual history of a single scriptural innovation. The chapter headings alone reveal the wide variety of regional traditions of *Lei-fa* and *lien-tu* practice that was eventually assimilated under the rubric Ch'ing-wei.⁸⁰ As a colophon of 1268 suggests, this syn-

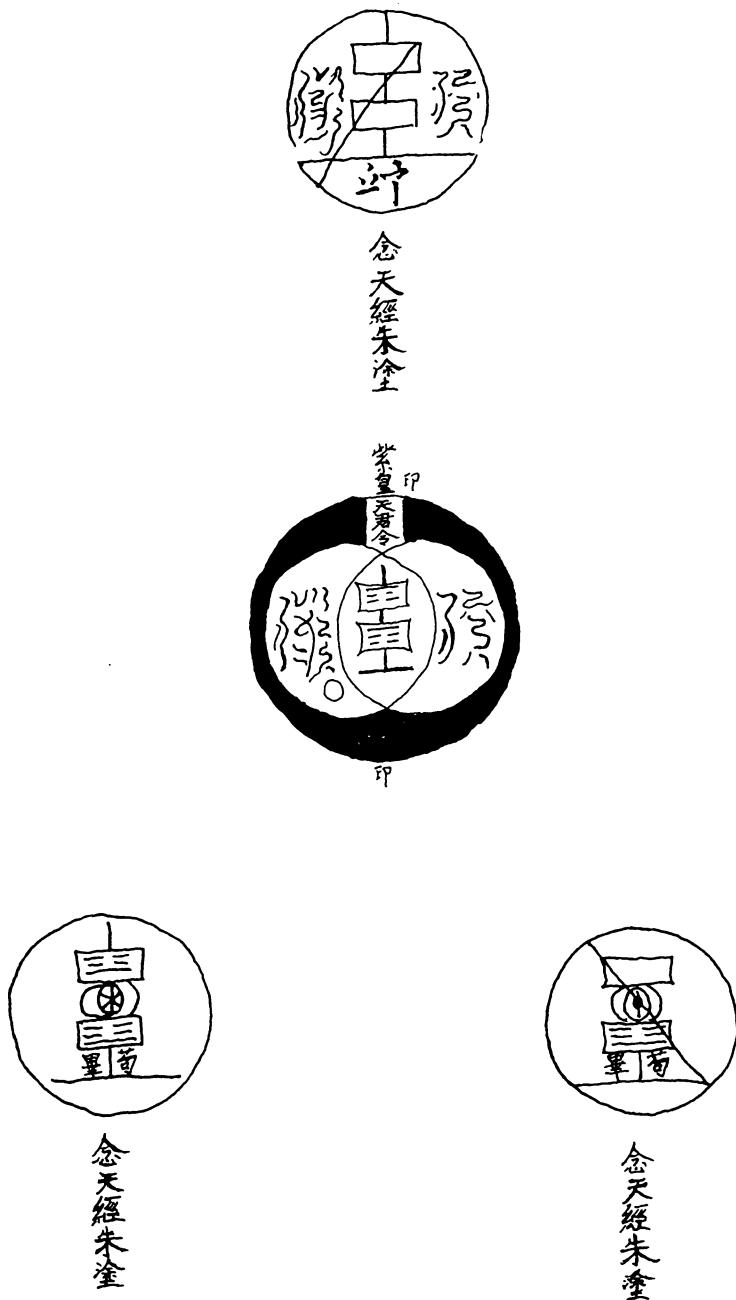


Fig. 7. Talismans of the Ch'ing-wei Thunder Rites. Sketch based on HY 222 *Ch'ing-wei shen-lieh pi-fa*, 2.1a-2a. The talismans on top, right and left are to be inscribed in vermilion on yellow silk, whereas the central talisman is rendered in black ink on black paper. These four are the first in a series of talismans prescribed toward the expulsion of all sources of aberration.

thesis appears to have evolved primarily through the efforts of Huang Shun-shen. Moreover, the signature of the leading syncretist Chao I-chen 趙宜真 (d. 1382) appears throughout the Ch'ing-wei corpus, indicating that the redaction received in the Canon dates no earlier than to the latter half of the fourteenth century.⁸¹ Chao, who titles himself a hereditary son of Ch'ing-wei, evidently had an awakening comparable to that credited to Huang, for his initiation into the contemplative rites of Ch'ing-wei reportedly came upon his seemingly miraculous recovery from a devastating illness. The experiences of Huang and Chao were by no means isolated incidents in the history of Taoist traditions. Such episodes of divine healing demonstrate how closely Taoist practitioners came to link their physiological and mental well-being to spiritual enlightenment. Ch'ing-wei is but one of the more intricate textual traditions from which a study of the aetiological foundations of Taoist therapeutics might be pursued.⁸²

5. Ling-pao Liturgical Collections

Several ritual compendia purport to record the practices of what is called *Ling-pao ta-fa* 靈寶大法 (Great Rites of Ling-pao), a liturgical tradition that was subject to many regional interpretations. Collation of these sources reveals varying syntheses of several Sung dynasty traditions, the provenance of which in a number of cases can be traced to Lin Ling-su's native Wenchow. One of the earlier compilations of this type is the 57-ch. HY 508 *Wu-shang huang-lu ta-chai li-ch'eng i* 無上黃籙大齋立成儀 [Protocols on the Establishment of the Great Fête of the Incomparable Yellow Register]. This work is based on the teachings of Master Liu Yung-kuang 留用光 (1134–1206), who was stationed at the Celestial Master headquarters of Lung-hu Shan 龍虎山 (Kiangsi). Liu was trained in both the Cheng-i and Wu-lei 五雷 (Five Thunder) rites and established a considerable reputation for himself in south China as a successful rainmaker. The editor of Liu's textual legacy was a disciple named Chiang Shu-yü 蔣叔與 (1156–1217). Chiang, a native of Yung-chia 永嘉, i.e., Wenchow, was equally acclaimed for his ritual feats. As the title suggests, the focus of Chiang's corpus is on the fête of the Yellow Register, or Huang-lu 黃籙. Substantial citations were incorporated in his work from the ritual texts of earlier Ling-pao codifiers, namely Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜 (406–477), Chang Wan-fu 張萬福 (fl. 711), Li Ching-ch'i 李景祈, and Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭



Fig. 8. A portrait of the Spirit for Restoring the Skeleton and Reviving the Dead. Sketch based on HY 508 *Wu-shang huang-lu ta-chai li-ch'eng i*, 41.14b. This cosmic figure is among those evoked in the ceremony of a *Huang-lu chai*, or Retreat of the Yellow Register, staged on behalf of the dead. Cognate illustrations are found in HY 547, 27.4b; HY 1211, 48.18b; and HY 1213, 33.4a.

(850–933). Chiang Shu-yü himself contributes several chapters on the elaborate programmes for variant *lien-tu* ceremonies. In addition to the pertinent diagrams and talismans, this anthology is replete with exhaustive lists of the deities to be summoned in attendance to the rites. Equally well documented are the specific accoutrements for various liturgies, as well as the means by which the laity were expected to finance the performances. Of special note are the sample petition forms that were to be filled out and conveyed to the appropriate celestial bureau via the smoke of a censer. Many of the petitions have clearly been altered to serve on behalf of the Ming imperial throne. The last chapter in this well-organized collection is a supplement comprising a biography of Chiang Shu-yü by his sons Chiang Hsi 蒋熒 and Chiang Yen 蒋焱 and a

biography of Liu Yung-kuang by Kao Wen-hu 高文虎 (*chin-shih*, 1160). According to the former account, the Huang-lu ritual texts were originally only one part of a far more comprehensive compendium entitled *Ling-pao yü-chien* 靈寶玉檢 [The Jade Slips of Ling-pao].

Another ritual corpus was in fact taken into the Canon under the title HY 547 *Ling-pao yü-chien* 靈寶玉鑑 [The Jade Mirror of Ling-pao]. This 43-ch. text is preceded by a detailed table of contents, the HY 546 *Ling-pao yü-chien mu-lu* 目錄, but no introduction to the provenance of the compilation is recorded. An intriguing, although perhaps remote, possibility is that this may be the corpus to which Chiang Shu-yü's sons referred. Internal evidence suggests a compilation date prior to 1239. Reference to Chang Tao-ling, for instance, is made according to a title conferred in 1108, "Cheng-i ching-ying chen-chün" 正一青寧應真君 (The Cheng-i Perfected Lord of Tranquil Response).⁸³ Conspicuously absent is the honorific affix "Hsien-yu" 顯佑 (Manifest Protection) that was bestowed on the patriarch in 1239. Foremost in the text are the talismans, diagrams, and accompanying incantations requisite to the reenactment of *lien-tu* rites. Due homage is paid to Tu Kuang-t'ing's formulations as well as to those of the compiler of the Jade Hall Rites, Lu Shih-chung. Although the T'ien-hsin tradition is spoken of as distinct from *Ling-pao ta-fa*, the text does in fact incorporate basic features of those rites. The illustrations are in many cases comparable to those in other *Ling-pao* compendia.⁸⁴ Perhaps the most significant clue to the provenance of the *Ling-pao yü-chien* is the mention of a patriarch named T'ien Tzu-chi 田紫極.⁸⁵ His name is linked to what became one of the most prominent traditions of *Ling-pao ta-fa*, the branch centered in the T'ien-t'ai 天台 mountain range of eastern Chekiang.⁸⁶

Ning Pen-li 寧本立 (1101-1181), a leading codifier of the T'ien-t'ai branch, is traditionally identified as the disciple of T'ien Tzu-chi.⁸⁷ His teachings are found, first of all, in the 66-ch. HY 1211 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa* 上清靈寶大法 [The Great Rites of the Shang-ch'ing Ling-pao Tradition]. This collection was put together by a Taoist Master named Wang Ch'i-chen 王契真, about whom nothing is known. Ning was a native of Kaifeng 開封, the Northern Sung capital. Sometime around 1154, during Sung Kao-tsung's 宋高宗 reign, Ning gained a fair amount of notoriety for his ritual activities south of the Yangtze. His exploits in quelling demonic forces, particularly in the T'ien-t'ai area, are celebrated in the anthology of his near-contemporary Hung Mai.⁸⁸ Cen-



Fig. 9. An inside view of the nine palaces within the cranium of an adept. Sketch based on HY 1211 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa*, 3.23a. The visualization and recitation of the names of the nine palaces ten thousand times is said to lead to transcendence. The commentary to the instructions on this practice states that the person of the adept is to be envisioned within the second of the four palaces on the upper level.

tral to this extensively illustrated corpus of Ning's manuals is the Shenhshiao heritage, the celestial hierarchies and *lien-tu* formularies of which are recorded for a variety of ritual functions. Samples of a wide range of petitions and plaints are also presented in exacting detail, as are sequences of the respective talismans and incantations. A close collation of this work with the HY 547 *Ling-pao yü-chien* should reveal more about the precise relation of one to the other.⁸⁹

Another work drawn from Ning Pen-li's instructions is the 320-ch. HY 466 *Ling-pao ling-chiao chi-tu chin-shu* 靈寶領教濟度金書 [The Golden Script on Salvation Based on the Teachings Conveyed by the Ling-pao Tradition], the most voluminous compendium of ritual proto-

col found in the Canon. Lin Wei-fu 林偉夫 (1239–1303), who is credited with carrying on the legacy of Ning in his native Wenchow, took the responsibility for editing the work. Appended to the table of contents are extensive biographies for both Ning and Lin, composed by a disciple named Lin T'ien-jen 林天任 less than four months after Lin Wei-fu's demise. This self-appointed hagiographer evidently inherited his master's post as *Hsüan-hsüeh chiang-shih* 玄學講師 (Lecturer in Arcane Studies) at Wenchow.⁹⁰ The corpus that he helped transmit is the most systematically and comprehensively presented body of ritual texts preserved in the *Tao-tsang*.⁹¹ The material is organized under eighteen general headings. The first chapters include extensive chorographic diagrams for altar settings and long lists of deities to be summoned for various ritual needs. Closing the text are all the necessary forms for divine communication, complete with advice on the proper selection of date and site for sending off communications to the deities addressed. Over 250 chapters at the core of the work are devoted to the other formalities prescribed for a range of ritual functions from obsequies and ordinations to the treatment of pestilential diseases and eradication of locusts.⁹² Among the more noteworthy features are internal prefaces and summaries that give an accounting of the diverse matrices of this branch of Ling-pao rites. Special acknowledgment, for example, is made once again of the revelations promoted by Lu Shih-chung.

The compiler of another, much smaller, ritual compendium takes exception to the increasing amplification of the Ling-pao liturgy. Chin Yün-chung 金允中 (fl. 1224–1225), in the preparation of his own 44-ch. HY 1213 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa*, seeks to rectify what he considers to be the excesses of his age. As noted earlier, Chin was the major codifier of the T'ung-ch'u rites, a late development of the Shang-ch'ing tradition.⁹³ With this text, he proves himself to be a harsh critic of contemporary Ling-pao practice. His lengthy preface, which appears prior to the table of contents, HY 1212 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa mu-lu*, provides an introductory survey of the history of Ling-pao liturgy.⁹⁴ Chin traces its origins from the fundamental scripture, the *Tu-jen ching*, to the codification of Lu Hsiu-ching and Tu Kuang-t'ing. The basics of these early liturgical standards, he claims, have been all but distorted by modern-day innovations. Chin reserves his strongest condemnation for the T'ien-t'ai programmes that were so widely adopted following the Shao-hsing reign (1131–1162). Although Ning Pen-li is not mentioned

by name, there seems to be little question that Chin is referring to his work under the rubric of *T'ien-t'ai Ling-pao fa*. This ritual system as practiced in the Chekiang region, to Chin's way of thinking, was so overly complex that the true essence of Ling-pao had been all but lost. In order that something of this pristine quality might be restored, Chin offers a more succinct manual of ritual protocol, the inspiration for which he directly attributes to his personal instructors. Although he states in his preface that their names are recorded at the end of the *chüan* 卷, or roll, they in fact remain anonymous. All we know of their provenance is that they were active in the central plains (*chung-yüan* 中原), i.e., in the Honan-Shantung region. The only legitimate ritual tradition, according to Chin, is that founded on the principles of *chin-tan* 金丹 (golden elixir or metallous enchymoma) as taught prior to its assimilation in the south. All other rites, such as the "Mo-ch'ao Shang-ti" 默朝上帝 [Silent Homage to the Supreme Sovereign], associated with T'ien-hsin, he labels as *hsiao-fa* 小法, or lesser rites, for which he expresses nothing but contempt.⁹⁵

The table of contents for Chin's corpus, unfortunately, varies from the order of the text as is printed in the Canon. Nonetheless the 52 categories it sets forth are generally representative of the ground covered. The range of subject matter is similar to that addressed in the earlier Ling-pao anthologies but, as one would expect, Chin's approach is radically different. In his attempt to return to the basics of Ling-pao liturgy, Chin presents a much leaner text. Perhaps the most striking contrast is the spare number of talismans he includes. As the remarks in his commentary indicate, he found that the vast repertoires of talismans in use at the time did not enhance the Ling-pao legacy but rather denied its innate simplicity.⁹⁶ Throughout his work, Chin takes pains to distinguish the ambiguities of other regional ritual traditions, frequently singling out the T'ien-hsin practices codified by Yüan Miao-tung and Lu Shih-chung for criticism. But nothing, it seems, quite matches the audacity of the Ling-pao rites of T'ien-t'ai which, in Chin's eyes, were to be regarded as even more indiscriminate and reckless than T'ien-hsin.⁹⁷ His corpus overall is a valuable record of the controversies concerning ritual procedure in the thirteenth century. As Lin Wei-fu's 320-ch. *Ling-pao ling-chiao chi-tu chin-shu* attests, Chin Yün-chung's call for austerity clearly had little effect in the long run.

6. *Tao-fa hui-yüan* [A Corpus of Taoist Ritual]

The extent to which the Ning-Lin codifications set a standard for Ling-pao liturgy over the centuries is perhaps best revealed by an adaptation entitled *Yü-ch'ing ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-tao* 玉清靈寶無量度人上道 [The Supreme Teachings of the Realm of Jade Clarity on the Infinite Salvation of Ling-pao]. This manual of instruction is found in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 道法會元 244–245. The last named recipient of the teachings associated with Ning Pen-li and Lin Wei-fu is identified as the 39th Celestial Master Chang Ssu-ch'eng 張嗣成 (d. 1343). The 268-ch. corpus of the *Tao-fa hui-yüan* appears to have been compiled not long after his regency. The latest internal date given is 1356, which is recorded in Chang Yü's 張雨 (1283–after 1356?) colophon to a text based in part on Cheng Ssu-hsiao's *T'ai-chi* rites mentioned earlier.⁹⁸ As I have already noted in passing, the texts for a number of Sung ritual traditions are extant only in the *Tao-fa hui-yüan*. Most outstanding is the example of the Ch'ing-wei formulations, to which the first fifth of the corpus is devoted. Chao I-ch'en 趙宜真 (d. 1382), who recorded a number of chapters on Ch'ing-wei, is by all appearances the latest contributor identified by name in the *Tao-fa hui-yüan*. He is also prominently cited within additional ritual codes, which suggests that Chao himself may have had a hand in the compilation of this compendium.⁹⁹

The vast majority of texts in the *Tao-fa hui-yüan* are Thunder Rites of almost every regional variety imaginable. Over a dozen chapters reveal the mark of the well-known Shen-hsiao Master Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153).¹⁰⁰ Very few ritual texts associated with this Wenchow practitioner have otherwise survived. Likewise, the eminent Thunder Master Pai Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224) is credited with several titles. Included among his contributions are valuable comparisons of divergent Thunder Rites prevailing during his time.¹⁰¹ Unique copies of ritual codes identified with Pai's mentor Ch'en Nan 陳楠 (d. 1213) are also to be found, noteworthy despite their dubious authenticity.¹⁰² Equally rare are the manuals on the Thunder Rites of Hun-yüan 混元 (Primordiality of Chaos) to which the Hupeh Master Lei Shih-chung 雷時中 (1221–1295) was privy.¹⁰³ Even the Lei-t'ing 雷霆 (Thunderclap) Rites associated with Mo Ch'i-yen 莫起炎 (1226–1294) are recorded.¹⁰⁴ Listed as the patriarch for another strain of the potent Lei-t'ing prescriptions is Sa Chien 薩堅.¹⁰⁵ Tradition has it that Sa



Fig. 10. A talisman of the Five Thunder Rites of the Jade Pivot. Sketch based on HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, 60.4a. The inscription of this talisman, vitalized by the presence of the martial lord Teng Po-wen 登伯溫 and a company of thunder spirits, is said to answer prayers for either rain or fair weather, as well as to lead to the extermination of perverse elements. The Rites of the Jade Pivot, which may have been codified by Pai Yü-ch'an (fl. 1209–1224), are ultimately traced to the almighty Hsü Sun of Hsi Shan.

sought training from the preeminent 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092–1126), as well as the Shen-hsiao advocates Lin Ling-su and Wang Wen-ch'ing. His quest inspired at least one *tsa-chü* play as well as a long narrative work.¹⁰⁶

No less significant are ritual codes centered around local guardian spirits, of both celestial and terrestrial origin.¹⁰⁷ Rites such as these sometimes end up in multiple redactions, representing several regional

variations. On occasion, the Ritual Masters who applied these rites were expected to engage the services of a spirit medium.¹⁰⁸ In the absence of prefaces or colophons, the provenance of many such ritual codes may not be readily apparent, but often all the information essential for dating a particular manual can be derived from the cast of ritual players that is almost invariably cited at the onset. For example, those listed as administrators of the ritual (*chu-fa* 主法) or as patriarchs (*tsu-shih* 祖師) and venerable masters (*tsung-shih* 宗師) may provide all the clues necessary to a reconstruction of the historical context for the ritual itself. How one ritual complex stands vis-à-vis another is further clarified in the closing expositions of the *Tao-fa hui-yüan*. The various administrative centers and ordination ranks as well as the behavioral codes here attests to the common ground between the legal system of China and the institutionalization of Taoist traditions.

7. Miscellaneous Regional Collections

Among the smaller ritual texts of note is the 9-ch. HY 1216 *Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi* 道門通教必用集 [Anthology of Essentials on the Comprehensive Instructions from the Portal of the Tao]. The history of its compilation is outlined in two prefaces. The first was written in 1201 by Lü Yüan-su 呂元素, a Taoist Master in Chiang-yüan 江原 (i.e., Chungking). Lü takes pride in pointing out that the Shu region was the site of the original parishes of the Cheng-i tradition and the retirement home of the eminent Tu Kuang-t'ing (850–933). He found nonetheless that there was an appalling lack of materials available on ritual protocol and decided to organize a search for lost texts. When several hundred *chüan* were finally located, he assigned a disciple named Lü T'ai-ku 呂太古 the task of sorting through them in order that a coherent edition might be made.¹⁰⁹ The end result, entitled the *Tao-men t'ung-chiao chi*, was viewed by Lü Yüan-su as a special tribute to the legacy of Tu Kuang-t'ing.

The second preface was composed in 1295 by a Taoist Master named Han Hun-ch'eng 韓混成 in compliance with the request of the compiler Ma Tao-i 馬道遺, a Taoist Master stationed at Chin-ch'eng 錦城 (i.e., Ch'eng-tu). According to Han, Ma had taken it upon himself to draw together selections from the *T'ung-chiao chi* of Lü T'ai-ku and a *Lien-chiao chi* 金粟教集 [Anthology of Instructions on Transmutation] ascribed to a certain Ho Yün-t'ai or Ho of Yün-t'ai [Shan] 雲臺何公 in

central Szechwan. The edition that follows proves to be fundamentally the work of Lü, with few but significant alterations. It is preceded by a table of contents for eight folios and a brief introductory statement by Lü T'ai-ku, dating to 1209. The eight categories listed correspond to the headings for chapters 1–7 and 9. Chapter 8, apparently interpolated, is a record of the invocations and scriptural readings required for the Huang-lu 黃錄 (Yellow Register) ritual sequence. The first chapter opens with a short series of citations concerning the various paths toward becoming a devotee.¹¹⁰ The bulk of the chapter is then turned over to sixteen hagiographic accounts, starting with Chang Tao-ling and ending with Liu Ts'ung-shan 劉從善 (990–1070).¹¹¹ These accounts were extracted from Chia Shan-hsiang's 賈善翔 (fl. 1086) *Kao-tao chuan* [A Hagiography of Those Who Exalt the Tao], a text extant only in fragmentary citations.¹¹² According to the table of contents, the substance of the original chapter 4 on "Pu-hsü" 步虛 (Pacing the Void) has been exchanged for a series of invocations taken from a "Lien-chiao" text, presumably that of Mr. Ho. The only other chapter that does not exactly correspond to the table of contents is chapter 6, where only one from a total of eight headings is retained, namely, a preface on ritual protocol by Tu Kuang-t'ing. Particularly interesting in the commentary there is the reference to a reedition of the Chin-lu 金錄 (Golden Register) liturgies prepared by Yang Chieh 楊傑 (fl. 1078–1086), an adviser to Sung Shen-tsung 宋神宗 (r. 1068–1085) on court music. Actual selections from Yang's writings, together with those of Tu Kuang-t'ing and Chang Shang-ying 張商英 (1043–1121), make up chapter 7.¹¹³ Recorded in the last chapter is a selection of early meditative incantations and talismans, some of which, as the commentary states, were drawn from the T'ien-hsin rites.

An even earlier compilation that seems also to have been the product of Lü Yüan-su's efforts to recover basic liturgical sources is the 10-ch. HY 1214 *Tao-men ting-chih* 道門定制 [Prescribed Practices from the Portal of the Tao]. While Lü himself assembled the text, the final collation is credited to a Hu Hsiang-lung 胡湘龍. According to Lü's preface, dated 1188, this collection was made in answer to what he considered the over-elaborate ritual practices of his age. In advocating a simplification of ritual procedure, Lü thus seems to anticipate Chin Yün-chung's reformist tendencies. As in HY 1216 *Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi*, Tu Kuang-t'ing appears to be the main source of inspiration.

Among the more noteworthy features of this work is the copy of a memorial that Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962–1025) submitted to Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022), announcing his re-collation of a text on the protocols of a *chiao*-fête.¹¹⁴ Lü also includes a number of lists of all the divine forces to be marshaled for various ritual functions, including the 1200 required for a Huang-lu *chiao*. Among those to be invoked are several tutelary spirits as well as the local worthies associated with variant revelatory traditions, such as Shang-ch'ing and T'ien-hsin. The text is equally explicit about the specific materials essential to variant rites, from the yardage and colors of fabrics to the quantity of oil and paper money. A much larger repertoire of talismans than is found in Lü T'ai-ku's corpus is also recorded here, together with a detailed diagram of a three-tiered altar. This anthology appears to have served as a reference long after the Sung, for at least one petition form in the *Tao-tsang* redaction is worded on behalf of the "Ta Ming-kuo," or Great State of Ming.¹¹⁵

Finally, among more highly specialized ritual anthologies in the Canon, the 46-ch. HY 1158 *Fa-hai i-chu* 法海道珠 [Lost Pearls from the Sea of Ritual] is remarkable for its collection of therapeutic rites practiced from the Yangtze River south sometime during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Most are variant traditions of Thunder Ritual, comparable to those so abundantly recorded in the HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*. The exact provenance of this corpus, like that of the *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, is unknown, although some clues are to be found in the ritual code printed in the last two chapters. The tradition discussed here, known as the Tzu-ch'en 紫宸 (Purple Throne), is the only one for which any substantial historical introduction is provided in the entire collection.¹¹⁶ The chronicler is Chang Shun-lieh 章舜烈, who, in his preface of 1344, claims to be a fifth-generation disciple.¹¹⁷ As Chang explains it, the Tzu-ch'en rites were devised specifically to relieve the symptoms of consumption (*chui-lao chih fa* 迨癆之法). These talismanic remedies were successfully applied at one time in the Fu-chou 撫州 region of Kiangsi and eventually gained a wide following throughout the central river valleys, where this affliction must have been endemic. Variant versions of these rites seem to have prevailed as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹⁸ A central feature in the Tzu-ch'en and some of the other rituals in this corpus is the recitation that vitalized many earlier Thunder Rites, the archaic T'ien-p'eng incantation. The formulaic features of this apotropaic verse and its derivatives invite further study.

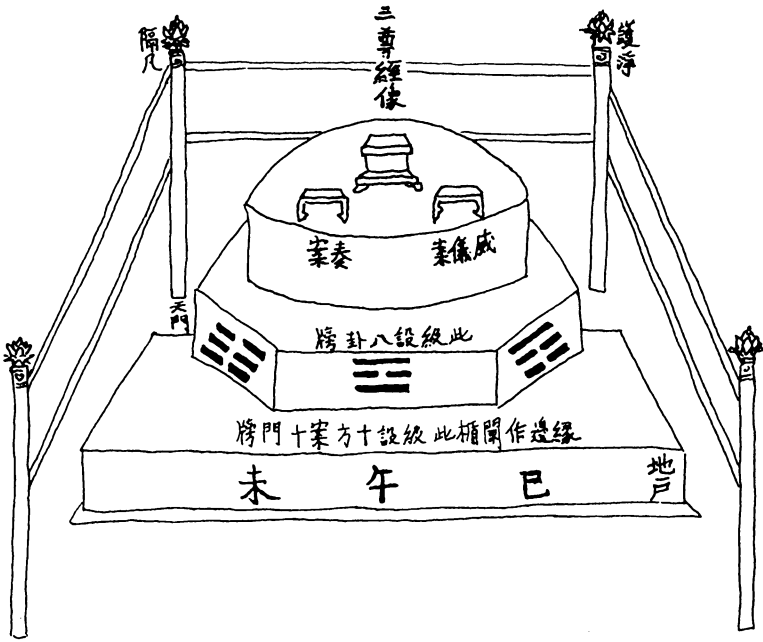


Fig. 11. A three-tiered altar for use in *chiao-fêtes*. Sketch based on HY 1214 *Tao-men ting-chih*, 8.30a-b. The design for this altar is said to have been derived from the compilations of Chang Wan-fu 張萬福 (fl. 711) and Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933). Placards marking the Ten Directions and Eight Trigrams are to be placed on the lower and second levels, respectively. The top level is reserved for images of the three Celestial Worthies.

8. The Cult of Hung-en (Vast Mercy)

The last title to be considered under this summary of revelation and ritual, the HY 317 *Ling-pao t'ien-tsun shuo Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün miao-ching* 靈寶天尊說洪恩靈濟真君妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of the Celestial Worthy of Ling-pao Speaking on the Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy and Divine Relief], is representative of the sort of scriptural fabrication that often arose in conjunction with the nationalization of local cults. The "Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy and Divine Relief" to which the title refers are the brothers Hsü Chih-cheng 徐知證

(fl. 937–946) and Hsü Chih-o 徐知諤 (fl. 937–946). The text is introduced by a preface that was composed upon imperial order in 1420, which indicates the role Ming Ch'eng-tsu 明成祖 (r. 1403–1425) played in reinforcing the status of two folk deities as guardians of the state. According to the account in the *Ta Ming hui-tien* 大明會典, the emperor appears to have thought himself the personal beneficiary of their divine power. It is said that after praying to the two deities, he found himself completely recovered from a devastating illness that had kept him bedridden and on which pharmaceutical preparations had proved ineffective. The temple he established in their honor at the palace, the Ling-chi Kung 靈濟宮 (Palace of Divine Relief), was the site of official sacrifices until 1576.¹¹⁹

The *Wondrous Scripture* is a narrative account of the original revelation whereby the Hsü brothers were said to have been summoned by celestial powers to come to the aid of a realm lost in chaos. The cyclical dates *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 and *ping-wu* 丙午 refer to the years 944–946, during which time the two brothers were credited with subduing dissident forces in southern Min. The heroes were duly sanctified and made the subject of ritual offerings throughout the Fukien region, and by the Sung dynasty, the reputation of their many-faceted therapeutic powers extended beyond their homeland. In 1236 Sung Li-tsung 宋理宗 (r. 1225–1264) became the first to grant them official titles in recognition of their role as guarantors of national welfare. The long honorific titles cited in the *Wondrous Scripture* date to 1418. The bestowal of these titles appears to have stimulated the composition of several other texts related to the worship of the pair. Among the writings to appear were sequences of oracular verse reportedly revealed by the Perfected Lords themselves. These texts as well as a variant edition of the *Wondrous Scripture* are among those collected together to form the HY 1458 *Hsü-hsien chen-lu* 徐仙真錄 [A Verifiable Account of the Hsü Transcendents].¹²⁰ This corpus of revealed literature and supporting documents is the product of several rescensions. Three prefaces attached to it date from 1443, 1441, and 1424. Internal references to imperial decrees date as late as 1486.¹²¹ In addition to the revelatory material, several of the ritual texts devised for paying homage to the two guardian figures are also represented in this anthology.¹²² They have all been updated so that the original titles of 1418 include the epithets authorized in 1435.¹²³

II

Hagiography

As anyone familiar with the index to hagiographies in the *Harvard-Yenching Index* no. 25 will have noticed, the majority of the 77 texts listed are post-T'ang compilations. The growth of the hagiography as a literary form appears to have been stimulated in part at least by the increased output in ritual formularies and contemplative guides from the Sung dynasty on. Often the promoter of an innovative scriptural tradition wore the mantles of hagiographer, topographer, archivist, and literary anthologist simultaneously. As a result, biographical data can be found in nearly every genre of Taoist literature, in addition to the formally compiled hagiographies. Ritual collections, as we have already seen, prove to be one of the most valuable, if often overlooked, sources of biography. In this chapter, I have selected approximately two dozen titles in which hagiographic interest is primary. Those texts in which hagiographic material is subsidiary to the topographic or literary content are examined in the appropriate chapters below.

Taoist hagiographies are comparable in approach to the biographies compiled for Confucian and Buddhist figures in that they were composed principally for commemorative purposes. Most hagiographers also tend to view their undertaking as essentially didactic.¹²⁴ They seek generally to instruct on the various routes by which a chosen few attained rank in the hereafter. Once that divine destiny is verified, the hagiographer's attention often turns to the rewards of venerating apotheosized worthies. As more extensive hagiographic accounts were written, they became more or less composite pieces, organized according to a fairly standard repertory of formulaic passages. Among the *topoi* employed are those common to imperial biographies, namely, divine conception and youthful precocity. There is almost never any insight offered into the personality types that might be innately predisposed to receiving divine

grace. Traditional schooling in the Ju 儒 classics is largely reflected when any of the more traditional virtues such as filiality are brought to bear. Overall, however, the emphasis seems to fall on the special sacred mission ordained for a given talent, whether that be chiefly of a revelatory, prophetic, intercessory, or soteric nature. There is thus much revealed in these accounts about social settings that seemed to invite manifestations of the divine. The regionalism of the hagiographic genre is a matter that merits further investigation.

Underlying nearly all hagiographies is a substantial body of oral tradition. In fleshing out a heritage of historicized folklore, hagiographers often draw upon available epitaphs, eulogistic verse, and any imperial decrees that grant official recognition. In those accounts that rise above mere convention, appeal is often made to the immediacy of a divine calling, whether it be generated, for example, in response to political unrest or to the victimization of local sacrificial cults. Most hagiographers, in making condensations of the available source material, favor a straightforward narrative style and often write in parallel prose. Now and then more compact presentations appear, somewhat in the style of the standard epigraphic form, with prose and verse alternating. Just what influence these stylized hagiographies may have had on the genesis of the *chu-kung tiao* 諸宮調 medleys and the devotional literature of the *pao-chüan* 寶卷 remains to be determined.

Whereas a few hagiographies serve as general anthologies, a larger number are the products of specific scriptural traditions. Works of this latter type may be restricted to documenting those associated with a regional lineage for two or three generations, perhaps simply to establish the compiler's own immediate heritage. Larger works take into account an entire line of patriarchs who have upheld a single tradition of revelation for several centuries. Frequently, the hagiographer in such cases will also try to identify the predecessors of a new lineage as well as speculate on its relation vis-à-vis other regional patriarchies. Some writers, on the other hand, take as their model the early Shang-ch'ing hagiography and focus on one individual.¹²⁵ Texts of this sort compiled during the Sung to Ming tend to be devoted to recording the divine mandate of one or perhaps two worthies who had come to serve as tutelary spirits.

From the Sung period on, the state clearly began to take a more intense interest in recognizing the spiritual potency of local cultic figures. This the emperor did by elevating those of proven divinity to the rank of

national guardians, as in the case of the Hung-en brothers discussed earlier. Such promotions, apparently sometimes encouraged by the Celestial Master hierarchy, did much to consolidate the authority of the state throughout the empire, especially during times of political uncertainty. The sources of local therapeutic powers were in effect converted into paragons of patriotism. Devotees were thus encouraged to view their folk gods and goddesses not simply as personal saviors but as omnipotent messiahs with the welfare of the state at heart. A vow of devotion to the deity became a pledge of allegiance to the state. Toward this end, temples were raised and shrines restored, propitiatory rites were initiated or reinforced, and honorary titles were bestowed. A natural byproduct of the nationalization of regional traditions of worship was the manufacture of hagiographies.

Hagiographic chronicles were also forthcoming upon the state's enshrinement of cosmic forces expressly identified with the welfare of the ruling house. While such specialized symbols of political stability were sometimes drawn from popular devotional traditions, they could just as well have no prior history as cultic figures. Once a deity was established as the personal guardian of the throne, the emperor himself not only paid heed to the prescribed calendar of ritual offerings but also commonly sponsored the compilation of a definitive hagiography on the subject of homage. As we shall see, the executive minister who dominated the court of Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022), Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962–1025), was assigned the task of coming up with such a document for a celestial sentinel to whom the empire of the Northern Sung had been entrusted. Similar accounts evolved around the Dark Warrior 玄武, a divine spirit of high antiquity who came to serve as the special guardian of the royal house for three successive dynasties.

1. Chao Tao-i's Masterpiece

The most extensive hagiographic collection in the Canon is the 53-ch. HY 296 *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 [A Comprehensive Mirror on Successive Generations of Perfected Transcendents and Those Who Embody the Tao].¹²⁶ This work and two supplements, the 5-ch. HY 297 *Hsü-pien* 續編 [Supplemental Folios] and the 6-ch. HY 298 *Hou-chi* 後集 [Later Anthology], are all attributed to Chao Tao-i 趙道一 (fl. 1294–1307), a Taoist Master of Fou-yün Shan 浮雲山 (Chekiang). The appended texts in fact appear to date to the

late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Although the initial corpus itself was completed in the early Yüan, the sphere of influence within which it took shape was clearly that of displaced Southern Sung notables. Chao's own prefatory remarks are unfortunately not dated, but he reveals in them an awareness of the work of the Southern Sung specialist in Thunder Rites Pai Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224). Two other prefaces, dated 1294, are signed by the Sung loyalists Liu Ch'en-weng 劉辰翁 (1232–1297) and Teng Kuang-chien 鄧光薦 (1232–1303). Both Liu and Teng refer to Chao by his familiar name Ch'üan-yang 全陽 and speak in glowing terms of his accomplishments as a hagiographer. Among those known to have been associated with Liu were distant kin of the Sung imperial house of Chao. There is thus the vague possibility that Chao Tao-i himself may have been among the many relatives of the royal family who took up eremitic pursuits throughout the south following the Mongol incursions.

It generally has been thought that the *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* is the only source of biographical data on Chao.¹²⁷ There is, however, at least one other work in the Canon that should not be overlooked as a source of information on his life, namely, the HY 585 *Kuan-tou chung-hsiao wu-lei wu-hou pi-fa* 貫斗忠孝五雷武侯秘法 [The Secret Rites of Kuan-tou from the Five-Thunder Martial Lord of Filiality and Loyalty]. According to a preface by Wu Sheng 吳昇 (fl. 1369–1390), the sacred seals (*shen-yin* 神印) of this Thunder Ritual were conveyed first to Chang Hui-chai 張暉齋 (fl. 1264–1300) by an avatar of the infamous general Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234). Chang is said to have then retired to Wu-tang Shan 武當山 (Hupeh) to undertake a study of T'ien-hsin rites. Shortly after his death ca. 1297–1308, the seals essential to his practice were thought to have been lost. Chao Ch'üan-yang (i.e., Chao Tao-i) is credited with recreating these potent seals, thereby perpetuating Chang's legacy throughout the waterways of the south.¹²⁸ Wu Sheng states that Chao in the end achieved divine transformation at Yü-ssu [Shan] 玉筍山.¹²⁹ Thus, it seems that Chao Tao-i was not simply a passive admirer of Thunder Ritual Masters but was himself an active practitioner.

In gathering material from earlier, less complete hagiographies, Chao considered his task to be the compilation of a comprehensive reference comparable to those available for exemplars of Buddhist and Ju classical traditions. He acknowledges his reliance on the HY 769 *Hun-*

yüan sheng-chi 混元聖紀 [A Chronicle of the Sage from the Primordality of Chaos] of Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守灝 (1134–1212) in establishing accurate dates for people and events.¹³⁰ According to his “Pien-li” 編例 [Compiler’s Guidelines], Chao seeks to document all of note from antiquity to the final years of the Sung. His entries are organized in a semi-chronological fashion, interrupted only by an occasional summary that characteristically features a citation from the *Tao-te ching*. Chao admits in an undated colophon that chronology was sometimes sacrificed in order to provide systematic coverage of hereditary lineages.¹³¹ Thus, for example, chapters 18 and 19 are turned over to the Celestial Master patriarchy, starting with the founder Chang Tao-ling and ending with the 35th generation Chang K’o-ta 張可大 (1218–1262). Chao merely notes, in regard to the perpetuation of this lineage, that the 35th patriarch’s authority was transferred to his second son Chang Tsung-yen 張宗演 (1244–1291) in 1262. Nothing is said concerning Tsung-yen’s subsequent activities as the first Celestial Master to serve the Mongol empire.

The derivative quality of Chao’s entries attests to the extent of the hagiographic references to which he had access. He only rarely identifies his sources, but those he does reveal seldom turn out to have been preserved independently.¹³² The first chapter, which is entirely devoted to an account of the legendary Huang-ti 黃帝, is the only one that includes an extensive interlinear commentary. Both text and commentary are virtually identical to the chronicle entitled *Hsüan-yüan pen-chi* 軒轅本紀 that is printed in the early 11th-century HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* 雲笈七籤 [Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds].¹³³ Collation of later chapters in Chao’s text reveals that he incorporated substantial passages from other works as well, usually with only the slightest emendation.

Both supplements, the *Hsü-pien* and the *Hou-chi*, were apparently prepared in part as tributes to the Ch’üan-chen legacy.¹³⁴ The first opens with lengthy accounts on the Ch’üan-chen patriarchs active during the Chin and early Yüan. The second supplement, which is completely turned over to the biographies of divine women, closes with an entry on the Ch’üan-chen matriarch Sun Pu-erh 孫不二 (1119–1183). Mention of the syncretist Chao I-chen 趙宜真 (d. 1382) in one of the closing chapters of the *Hsü-pien* suggests that this particular work may not have been compiled much before the turn of the fourteenth century.¹³⁵ Colla-

tion of both supplements with other hagiographic sources in the Canon should reveal further clues to their ultimate provenance.¹³⁶

2. Smaller General Works

Another work spanning the legendary period to the Sung dynasty, the 20-ch. HY 1238 *San-tung ch'ün-hsien lu* 三洞群仙錄 [A Record of the Hosts of Transcendents Versed in the Three Caverns], is based on a series of direct quotations from a number of earlier sources. The text was compiled in 1154 by Ch'en Pao-kuang 陳葆光, a Cheng-i Taoist Master of Chiang-yin 江陰 (Kiangsu). According to the 1154 preface of Chu-hsüan 竹軒 (Lin Chi-chung 林季仲, fl. 1121–1157), Ch'en undertook this compilation in order to resolve a contradiction that caused him some concern, namely, the two opposing views on the achievement of divine transcendence. One position, as put forward by Chi K'ang 稽康 (223–262), was that a state of transcendence was a matter of natural endowment and could not be acquired through any amount of study. Wu Yün 吳筠 (d. 778), on the other hand, took the position that divine transcendence was indeed something that could be learned.¹³⁷ Ch'en attempts to make a case in support of Wu Yün. The format he chooses for the presentation of a series of exemplary biographies is one that Wang Sung-nien 王松年 had adopted sometime after 921 in the preparation of the 3-ch. HY 596 *Hsien-yüan pien-chu* 仙苑編珠 [Interlocking Pearls from the Garden of Transcendents]. The subjects are introduced in pairs by a couplet of tetrasyllabic lines. The couplets are the only part of the text that is original with Ch'en. They summarize the essence of the episodic citations that follow, one for each figure. Ch'en apparently had a substantial library at hand, for he quotes from an assortment of literature ranging from early Shang-ch'ing documents to rare sacred topographic and *chih-kuai* 志怪 texts. His anthology is a valuable repository of early hagiographic material, to be consulted not only for variant readings of well-known works but also for recovering fragments of texts that have been lost.

The HY 595 *Chiang Huai i-jen lu* 江淮異人錄 [A Record of Singular Individuals from the Yangtze and Huai River Regions], dating almost two centuries earlier, was compiled with no apparent thesis in mind. This regional hagiography is the work of Wu Shu 吳淑 (947–1002), who is perhaps best known for his encyclopedic *Shih-lei fu* 事類賦 [Rhapsody on Categories of Things]. The *Chiang Huai i-jen lu*

is one of the few texts in the *Tao-tsang* to have also been accepted for publication in the Ssu-k'ü Imperial Library.¹³⁸ Classification of the anthology has always presented some problems for bibliographers, for it has been identified both as a biographical text and as a work of fiction.¹³⁹ According to the Ssu-k'ü editors, the inspiration behind Wu's account was the *Chi-shen lu* 稽神錄 [A Record of Pursuits into the Sacred] of his father-in-law, Hsü Hsüan 徐鉉 (916–991). The imperial bibliographers deemed both works comparable to collections of tales such as the *Shan-hai ching* 山海經 [Classic on Mountains and Rivers], the lead text in the division of "Hsiao-shuo" under which they are catalogued. It is nonetheless acknowledged that many of Wu's entries were considered authentic enough to be included in two variant *Nan T'ang shu* 南唐書, compiled by Ma Ling 馬令 (fl. 1105) and Lu Yu 陸游 (1125–1210). All but two of the 25 episodes concern the experiences of southern adepts dating to the Later T'ang (923–957).¹⁴⁰ But in territorial coverage and content, this hagiography seems to be a forerunner of Hung Mai's vast repertoire, the *I-chien chih*. As such, it preserves an excellent record of pre-Sung variations on the versatile demonifuge theme that informed Hung as well as later anthologists such as Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) and P'ü Sung-ling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715).¹⁴¹

The 5-ch. HY 780 *Hsüan-p'in lu* 玄品錄 [A Record of the Ranks of the Sublime] compiled by Chang Yü 張雨 (1283–1356+) in 1335, although not reprinted as part of the Ssu-k'ü collection, is given an entry in Ch'ien-lung's imperial catalogue.¹⁴² It, too, reflects the regional interests of the compiler, which in this case center around the seat of the Shang-ch'ing revelations at Mao Shan 茅山 (Kiangsu). Most prominent among the biographies Chang records are those that trace the transmission of this heritage from the visionary Yang Hsi 楊羲 (b. 330) to the 25th patriarch Liu Hun-k'ang 劉混康 (1035–1108). Superimposed upon his chronologically arranged anthology is a set of twelve categorical labels. Among those cited as exemplars of "Tao-yin" 道隱 (Reclusion in the Tao) is T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (365–427). The literary excellence of several T'ang poets, including Li Po 李白 (699–762) and Wu Yün 吳筠 (d. 778), falls under the category "Tao-hua" 道華 (Efflorescence of the Tao). Most practitioners associated with one scriptural tradition or another are labeled as "Tao-p'in" 道品 (Ranks of the Tao), but those who exhibit special therapeutic capacities, such as the ritual codifier Liu Yung-kuang 留用光 (1134–1206), are given the heading of "Tao-shu" 道書

道術 (Techniques of the Tao).¹⁴³

By far the most eclectic of the general hagiographies printed in the *Tao-tsang* is the 6-ch. HY 1466 *Sou-shen chi* 搜神記 [In Search of the Sacred]. No name appears with the preface attached to this text, but it is known to be the work of Lo Mao-teng 羅懋登 (fl.1593–1598).¹⁴⁴ Lo acquired the edition to which he added his remarks in 1593 from the Fu-ch'un T'ang 富春堂 publishing house of San-shan 三山, just outside Nanking. Unfortunately, the illustrations that once accompanied the text are missing from the redaction in the Canon.¹⁴⁵ Lo suggests that this hagiography be regarded as a continuation of the earlier *Sou-shen chi* ascribed to Kan Pao 干寶 (fl. 317). He also makes the point that the act of reissuing the text invokes divine munificence. Similar statements of faith in the theory of retribution continue to be an important impetus to the publication of religious literature in Chinese society down to the present day. Lo's recommendation may have helped motivate the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611) to add his imprimatur to the *Sou-shen chi* in 1607.

Each chapter of the text is preceded by a table of contents, but there is not in every case a direct correspondence with the text. The opening essays on Confucius, Śākyamuni, and T'ai-shang Lao-chün 太上老君 (Lord Lao, the Most High) are devised as introductions to the origins of the Ju classical, Buddhist, and Taoist legacies. But it is the hierarchy of the latter legacy that is emphasized throughout, with special attention to the wide array of folk deities granted official canonization. If there is any regional bias, it rests south of the Yangtze, for it is there that large numbers of apotheosized culture heroes appear to have made the most lasting impression. Internal evidence suggests that the original corpus took shape at least as early as the Yüan, only to be enlarged and revised by later generations.¹⁴⁶ Composite works of this type traditionally reflect a broad acquaintance with the Chinese literary heritage, and this text is no exception. Among the more noteworthy citations are the commemorative verses composed by luminaries such as Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 (772–842), Ch'in Kuan 秦觀 (1049–1100), and Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036–1101). There is also ample documentation of the imperial titles enhancing the status of locally enshrined gods and goddesses from the T'ang empire to the Yung-le 永樂 reign (1403–1424) of Ming. Moreover, the birth dates added to a number of hagiographic accounts give some idea of the cycle of festival days that must have been observed.¹⁴⁷

Overall, the text that Lo Mao-teng promoted is a remarkable testimony to the diverse sources of sacred inspiration throughout China down to the sixteenth century.

3. Genealogical Records of the Celestial Masters

Genealogical accounts of the Celestial Master hierarchy were cited in bibliographies as early as the twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ The 4-ch. HY 1451 *Han T'ien-shih shih-chia* 漢天師世家 [A Genealogy of the Celestial Masters since the Han], while no doubt heir to these initial efforts, is said to be the product of editorial work spanning only the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. The history of its compilation is the subject of prefaces written by five Ming literati. These prefaces, dating from 1376 to 1597, make up chapter 1. The earliest and longest was contributed by the eminent scholar Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310–1381) at the request of the compiler himself, the 42nd Celestial Master Chang Cheng-ch'ang 張正常 (1335–1377). Sung's introduction is primarily a survey of the lineage from the history of the surname Chang down to his generation. According to the 1390 preface of Su Po-heng 蘇伯衡 (fl. 1360–1390), the compilation was actually the work of Chang's disciples, undertaken at his express command. During the regency of the 50th Celestial Master, Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥, (d. 1611), this one-*chüan* text was expanded to cover eight more generations. Before adding his own imprimatur in 1607, Master Chang Kuo-hsiang invited Chou T'ien-ch'iu 周天球 (1514–1595) to write a preface to the new supplement, which he did in 1593.

The text proper begins with chapter 2. It opens with an introit written by Chang Yüeh 張鉞, a contemporary of the 48th Celestial Master, Chang Yen-p'ien 張諤頤 (fl. 1523–1537), who apparently also had a hand in the compilation. An underlying premise of this genealogy is that the Celestial Master patriarchy had been maintained without interruption since the time of Chang Tao-ling. It is also understood that the lineage was always very closely linked to Lung-hu Shan. A convincing case for either claim has yet to be made.¹⁴⁹ The first biography on Chang Tao-ling, which is much shorter than the one in Chao Tao-i's corpus, seeks to establish the name of the mountain with the founder's residence there. Legend has it that after Chang refined an elixir (*lien-tan* 煉丹) on Yün-chin Shan 雲錦山 ca. 92 C.E., a dragon and tiger appeared, whence the name of the mountain was changed to Lung-hu Shan

(Dragon-Tiger Mountain).¹⁵⁰ The next time the mountain is mentioned in the genealogy is in the passage concerning the fourth Celestial Master, Chang Sheng 張盛 (fl. 222–226). The third patriarch, Chang Lu 張魯, (fl. 190–220), reportedly told his son to leave the Shu area in which the original parishes were maintained and to establish residence on Lung-hu Shan, where their ancestor had made his home.¹⁵¹ Although this genealogy says nothing further about the extent of Chang Sheng's settlement on Lung-hu Shan, Chao Tao-i's account asserts that many of his descendants continued to live on the northeast side of the peak.¹⁵² The next generation for whom this regional link is clearly established is the 10th Celestial Master, Chang Tzu-hsiang 張子祥 (fl. 618). Following a short term in service to the Sui court, the 10th patriarch is said to have fled with his family to Lung-hu Shan, where eventually he attracted several hundred disciples.¹⁵³ How soon thereafter the patriarchy actually made Lung-hu Shan its permanent base is difficult to say. More than one source, however, confirms that a Kiangsi merchant was aware that the 19th generation Master Chang Hsiu 張修 (fl. 868) could be found in residence on the mountain.¹⁵⁴ Regardless of whether the patriarchy was firmly established at Lung-hu Shan sometime between the seventh and ninth centuries, it was not until 1105, during Sung Hui-tsung's reign, that the imperial government began to sponsor large-scale restoration and construction projects at the site. The inspiration for this golden age of state patronage of Lung-hu Shan, which is well documented in the genealogy, can be attributed to the 30th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092–1126).¹⁵⁵

The biography of this influential patriarch is second in length only to that of Chang Tao-ling.¹⁵⁶ Even Chang Yü-ch'u, in an undated post-face, singles out the career of Chang Chi-hsien. Many of the earlier biographies, especially those dating before the Sung, are remarkably short and almost formulaic in composition and are therefore not easy to authenticate. The officially authorized *Han T'ien-shih shih-chia* may be compared with Chao Tao-i's *Comprehensive Mirror* as well as with variant editions of a monograph on Lung-hu Shan.¹⁵⁷ These topographies are particularly valuable sources on the later generations of the lineage, but even more recent accounts are also available. In 1918, the 62nd Master Chang Yüan-hsü 張元旭 (d. 1924) brought the *Tao-tsang* compilation up to date with a *Pu Han T'ien-shih shih-chia* 補 [A Supplement to the Genealogy of the Celestial Masters since the Han]. Included in it are the

biographies for twelve patriarchs, from the 50th generation down to Chang Yüan-hsü's father, Chang Jen-cheng 張仁叢 (1820–1882). Six decades later, the 64th Celestial Master Chang Yüan-hsien 張源先 issued the *Li-tai Chang T'ien-shih chuan* 歷代張天師傳, covering sixty-three generations of his predecessors.¹⁵⁸

4. Ch'üan-chen Documents

By the founding of the Mongol empire, the Ch'üan-chen 全真 lineage began to assert itself as the dominant religious force north of the Yangtze.¹⁵⁹ A number of hagiographies stand as memorials to the Wu-tsu ch'i-chen 五祖七真 (Five Ancestral Patriarchs and Seven Perfected) of Ch'üan-chen. One such work is the HY 174 *Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan* 金蓮正宗仙源像傳 [An Illustrated Biographical Account of the Transcendent Origins of the True Lineage of the Golden Lotus].¹⁶⁰ It was completed in 1326, the result of a joint venture between Liu Chih-hsüan 劉志玄 and Hsieh Hsi-ch'an 謝西蟾. As Liu reveals in his preface, it was his goal to create a definitive, illustrated reference work on the origins of Ch'üan-chen. He enlisted the aid of Hsieh not only in tracking down all available written documents but also in copying down any pertinent stone inscriptions that could be found. Another preface, inscribed a year later in 1327, compliments the compilers on their achievement. It is signed "T'ai-hsüan-tzu" 太玄子, the sobriquet of the 39th Celestial Master, Chang Ssu-ch'eng 張嗣成 (d. 1343). Preceding the biographies and the accompanying wood-cut illustrations are the imperial decrees of 1269 and 1310 in honor of the Ch'üan-chen lineage. The Five Patriarchs are the first to be introduced in the text proper: (1) Hun-yüan Lao-tzu 混元老子 (Lao-tzu from the Primordially of Chaos), (2) Tung-hua ti-chün 東華帝君 (Sovereign Lord of Eastern Florescence), (3) Cheng-yang-tzu 正陽子 (Chung-li Ch'üan 鍾離權), (4) Ch'un-yang-tzu 純陽子 (Lü Yen 呂岩, b. 798?), and (5) Hai-ch'an-tzu 海蟾子 (Liu Ts'ao 劉操, fl. 1031). Following the biographies of the patriarchs are eight accounts dedicated to the founder of Ch'üan-chen, Ch'ung-yang-tzu 重陽子 (Wang Che 王嘉, 1112–1170), and the group of his early disciples known as the Seven Perfected: (1) Tan-yang-tzu 丹陽子 (Ma Yü 馬鈺, 1123–1183), (2) Ch'ang-chen-tzu 長真子 (T'an Ch'u-tuan 譚處端, 1123–1185), (3) Ch'ang-sheng-tzu 長生子 (Liu Ch'u-hsüan 劉處玄, 1147–1203), (4) Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu 長春子 (Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 邱處機, 1148–1227),



Fig. 12. A portrait of Lao-tzu in a Ch'üan-chen hagiography. Sketch based on HY 174 *Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan*, 11b.

(5) Yü-yang-tzu 玉陽子 (Wang Ch'u-i 王處一, 1142–1217),
 (6) Kuang-ning-tzu 廣寧子 (Hao Ta-t'ung 郝大通, 1140–1212), and
 (7) Ch'ing-ching san-jen 清靜散人 (Sun Pu-erh 孫不二, 1119–1183).
 According to an alternate classification system, Wang himself is counted among the Seven Perfected and Sun Pu-erh, the only woman in the ensemble, is omitted. Since each of them eventually came to be regarded as founder of an independent branch of Ch'üan-chen, they, too, have earned the title of Patriarch or, in the case of Sun, Matriarch.¹⁶¹

More detailed documentation of the Ch'üan-chen hierarchy, apparently unknown to Liu and Hsieh, is found in the 5-ch. HY 173 *Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi* 金蓮正宗記 [An Account of the True Lineage of the Golden Lotus]. The text, with a preface dating to 1241, is ascribed to "Shu-li Tao-jen" 樗櫟道人 (Useless [lit., ailanthus and chestnut-oak—trees of no timber value] Man of the Tao).¹⁶² This is the name by which Ch'in Chih-an 秦志安 (1188–1244) was known during his residence at the Shu-li T'ang 樗櫟堂 of P'ing-yang 平陽 (Shansi). He is recognized primarily for his editorial work on the Canon that was

recompiled at P'ing-yang during the years 1237–1244. This text is one of five compositions that Ch'in added to the 1244 Canon, most of which were lost in the book-burning some 40 years later.¹⁶³ In the first chapter, Ch'in includes accounts of all the ancestral patriarchs listed above, save Lao-tzu.¹⁶⁴ Chapter 2 is devoted to the founder Wang Che and chapter 3 to his first disciple, Ma Yü, as well as two little known figures: Yü-ch'an-tzu 玉蟾子 (Ho Te-chin 和德瑾, d. 1170) and Ling-yang-tzu 靈陽子 (identified only as Li Chen-jen 李真人, d. 1189). In the last chapters, the biographies of the remaining six of the Seven Perfected are finally taken up. Ever true to his bibliographic expertise, Ch'in cites all the literary works these worthies were known to have compiled. Fortunately, many are still found in the Canon. Others are known by title alone.

One of the few hagiographies dedicated to a single Ch'üan-chen Perfected is HY 594 *T'i-hsüan chen-jen hsien-i lu* 體玄真人顯異錄 [A Record of the Marvels Manifested by the Perfected Who Embodies Sublimity]. This anonymous work is a collection of nineteen episodes in the life of Wang Ch'u-i 王處一 (1141–1217). It is a rare and remarkable record of the variety of ritual activities that fell within the domain of Ch'üan-chen practitioners. The overall mission of those proselytizing in the north was, like that of the diverse ritual traditions that flourished in the south, a therapeutic one. Wang Ch'u-i, in his circuit among the coastal communities of the Shantung peninsula, appears to have lived up to all expectations, answering a wide range of calls as healer, rainmaker, or general demon queller. The last entry suggests that he met his just reward. According to the account given there, Lord Lao himself appeared at the close of a particularly elaborate *chiao*-fête over which Wang had been presiding. After prostrating himself, Wang reportedly arose to greet Lord Lao as if in response to a summons and shortly thereafter vanished from sight. The hagiographer ends his account by saying that Wang's last glorious moments were thereafter immortalized in the works of artists and writers alike.

Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 邱處機 (1148–1227) is without a doubt the best known of the Seven Perfected, owing to the influence he exercised over Chinggis Khan. Summoned repeatedly to the Khan's presence, Ch'iu finally met with him in 1222. His arduous journey into Central Asia is given a full report in the 2-ch. HY 1418 *Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen hsi-yu chi* 長春真人西遊記 [The Journey to the West of the Perfected Ch'ang-ch'un], completed in 1228 by Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193–1256), who

was among those accompanying the septuagenarian.¹⁶⁵ Li's account opens with a brief summary of Ch'iu's life up to the time of the journey. The rest of the text is a detailed journal of his last seven years, starting with the westward trek in 1221 and ending with the patriarch's term as head of the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan 天長觀 in Yenching. Close to the site of this temple today stands the Pai-yün Kuan 白雲觀, where Ch'iu is still honored as the founder of the Lung-men 龍門 branch of Ch'üan-chen.¹⁶⁶

Sometime during the Yüan regime, the Ch'üan-chen ancestral patriarch Lü Yen 呂岩 (*tsu*, Tung-pin 洞賓) became popularly associated with a divine assemblage known as the Pa-hsien 八仙 (Eight Transcendents). The adventures of this infamous collective were a part of the standard repertoire with which *tsa-chü* troops entertained their audiences.¹⁶⁷ The stuff-material of their fare presumably came in large part from the same body of oral tradition that informed hagiographic writings. One text that exemplifies the way in which the storyteller's material on Lü Tung-pin could be successfully organized as a sort of documentary on religious history is the 7-ch. HY 305 *Ch'un-yang ti-chün shen-hua miao-t'ung chi* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀 [Annals of the Wondrous Communications and Divine Transformations of the Sovereign Lord Ch'un-yang]. This lengthy chronicle of Lü's exploits is the work of Miao Shan-shih 苗善時 (fl. 1288–1324), a Hsüan-men 玄門 Master of Chin-ling 金陵 (i.e., Nanking). The text was apparently completed sometime after 1310, the date of the second imperial decree cited in regard to the honorary titles bestowed on the ancestral patriarchs and founder of Ch'üan-chen. If Miao is to be taken at his word, the received version of the text appears to be much reduced from his original compilation. Instead of the 120 episodes mentioned in Miao's preface, only 108 are retained in this version. They are arranged in a less than strictly chronological order, with several entries labeled simply as missing. The series of accounts opens with Lü's divine birth in 798 and closes shortly after his putative instruction to Wang Che, an event traditionally dated to 1159.¹⁶⁸ Narrative sequences such as this on the timely appearances of transcendent forces constitute a subgenre of "transformation" (*hua* 化) hagiography. This type of literature in turn appears to have been one of the most adaptable sources of inspiration for those who painted temple murals.¹⁶⁹ Another preeminent example is the *Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua-t'u* 老君八十一化圖 [Illustrations on the Eighty-one Transformations of

Lord Lao], a text that figured prominently in the debates between Buddhists and Taoists at the Mongol court. The text was among those proscribed in 1258, for it perpetuated the claim that the Buddha was Lao-tzu incarnate. Thereafter it appeared to have been lost beyond recovery, with the exception of a few incriminating passages cited in Buddhist polemical works.¹⁷⁰ Late editions have surfaced, however, and they invite further consideration in the context of Taoist hagiographic literature as well as in the development of the *pao-chüan* 寶卷.¹⁷¹

Advocates of the Ch'üan-chen tradition were superb record keepers, unmatched in breadth and detail except perhaps by their Buddhist contemporaries. One of the most accomplished archivists of this syncretic legacy is Li Tao-ch'ien 李道謙 (1219–1296). The HY 175 *Ch'i-chen nien-p'u* 七真年譜 [A Chronology of the Seven Perfected], which he compiled in 1271, covers the years 1112–1227, from the birth of founder Wang Che to the passing of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi.¹⁷² Li also compiled a supplementary hagiography of later Ch'üan-chen affiliates, namely, the 3-ch. HY 954 *Chung-nan Shan tsu-t'ing hsien-chen nei-chuan* 終南山祖庭仙真內傳 [An Inside Account of the Transcendent Perfected of the Ancestral Hall of Mt. Chung-nan]. It consists of biographies for 37 figures prominent during the Chin and Yüan regimes, starting with Ho Te-chin 和德瑾 (d. 1170) and ending with Kao Tao-k'uan 高道寬 (1195–1277). As the self-appointed historian of Ch'üan-chen, Li also took the responsibility for collecting and editing a wide variety of inscriptions and documents pertinent to the Mt. Chung-nan region, where the founder Wang was said to have had his first encounter with divine agents.¹⁷³

5. A Ch'ing-wei Roster

At the very time that Li Tao-ch'ien was preparing reference works on Ch'üan-chen, his contemporaries in the south were doing the same for the Ch'ing-wei heritage. The fundamental hagiographic work of this late scriptural tradition is HY 171 *Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u* 清微仙譜 [A Roster of Ch'ing-wei Transcendents]. It was compiled in 1293 by Ch'en Ts'ai 陳采 of Chien-an 建安 (Fukien). In his preface, Ch'en identifies himself as a student of Huang Shun-shen 黃舜申 (1224–ca. 1286), the major codifier of the Ch'ing-wei textual legacy, and as the privileged heir to a collection of manuscripts that Huang had received from his mentor Nan Pi-tao 南畢道 (b. 1196). Out of that inheritance came this descriptive

onomasticon of all the divinities associated with the variant traditions unified under the rubric Ch'ing-wei. The hierarchies of five separate lineages are first presented according to a descending order of rank, with that of Ch'ing-wei in the lead position. The initial pantheon surpasses all that follow, in both the number and antiquity of its constituents. The ultimate source of the Ch'ing-wei revelations is identified as Yüan-shih shang-ti 元始上帝 (Supreme Sovereign of Primordial Commencement), the nameless, formless cosmic force from which the myriad transformations are said to arise. Following the brief account for this supreme deity of Ch'ing-wei is a series of 22 entries on those ordained as recipients of the legacy. The overwhelming number are given the title "Yüan-chün" 元君 (Primordial Goddess). Overall, it appears to have been essential that the Ch'ing-wei revelatory history be established in its own right, as a matriarchic heritage distinct from any of the later scriptural traditions it came to absorb.

The next four lists of worthies cited in this text are those associated with the Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, Tao-te, and Cheng-i traditions. Among the more well-known figures represented in these lists are Yang Hsi, Cheng Ssu-yüan 鄭思遠, Yin Hsi 尹喜, and Chang Tao-ling, respectively.¹⁷⁴ In each of the five registers given, from Ch'ing-wei to Cheng-i, the ultimate heiress is revealed to be the Primordial Goddess Tsu 祖元君. As mentioned earlier, it is Tsu Shu 祖舒 (fl. 889–904) to whom the formulation of a "universal code" (*hui-tao* 會道) is credited.¹⁷⁵ "Hui-tao" is the final heading of this text, under which biographic accounts are found for the eleven generations who perpetuated the new synthesis, from Tsu Shu to Huang Shun-shen.

According to the hagiographic legend reported here, this dark-faced daughter of Ling-ling 零陵 (Kwangsi) had been blessed with divine qualities since birth, so it was no surprise that she left home at an early age to fulfill her destiny. Twice she is said to have become the recipient of sacred teachings. First, the secrets of Ch'ing-wei were conveyed to her at Kuei-yang garrison 桂陽軍 (Hunan) by a Ling-kuang sheng-mu 靈光聖母 (Holy Matriarch of Numinous Radiance).¹⁷⁶ In the course of her second divine encounter, Tsu was subjected to a number of ordeals before a Primordial Goddess named Wen 文 bestowed upon her the teachings of Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, Tao-te, and Cheng-i.¹⁷⁷ Thereafter, Tsu reportedly created an integrated ritual tradition that took into account all aspects of her training. The Ch'ing-wei Thunder Rites practiced by

Huang Shun-shen were promoted as the culmination of that effort.

This hagiographic record is unusual in that it contains more description than chronicle. Many of the legendary figures introduced are simply identified according to their appearance. In other words, all that is specified are the garments worn, the accoutrements defining their rank, and their mode of transportation through the cosmos. The precision with which these summaries were drawn suggests that they may have been intended as guides for visualization as well as manuals of instruction for iconographers. The image that the compiler gives of Tsu Shu herself is twofold. One can imagine her, on the one hand, as a commanding officer of a myriad cosmic forces, wielding her sword while mounted on a soaring dragon. In her more contemplative pose, she is seen as a goddess seated sedately in her caverned chambers, elegantly capped in gold and draped in white silk. Such visions and more lie at the heart of the vast Ch'ing-wei ritual corpus.¹⁷⁸

6. Hsü Sun and the Ching-ming Cult

Among the more noteworthy of cultic figures to whom hagiographic works have been dedicated is Hsü Sun 許遜 (239–292/374?). The texts associated with his cult span six centuries, permitting a much longer-range view than most such literary legacies provide. Hsü is commonly referred to by the choronym Ching-yang 旌陽, in reference to the district in Shu-chün 蜀郡 (Szechwan) where he reputedly served as prefect. His career was equally well established east of there, in the Yü-chang 豫章 (Kiangsi) area where he made his home. Apparently, Hsü was venerated first both as a healer and for his capacity to vanquish dragons and similarly fearsome creatures. Only later, it seems, was this heroic vision amplified by legends defining him as a paragon of filial piety. Eventually, the regional customs of worship associated with this local guardian were subsumed into a nationalistic dispensation given the name of Ching-ming chung-hsiao Tao 淨明忠孝道 (The Loyal and Filial Way of the Pure and Perspicacious). Akizuki Kan'ei 秋月觀映 divides the complex history of homage to Hsü into four stages, according to the dating of hagiographic sources and imperially ordained titles: (1) fourth century–681, (2) 682–1130, (3) 1131–1296, and (4) post-1297.¹⁷⁹ Of the six hagiographic sources examined below, the first seems to be representative of stages 1 and 2, the second of stage 3, and the last three of stage 4.

The earliest text on this cult to survive intact is the HY 449 *Hsiao-tao Wu Hsü erh chen-chün chuan* 孝道吳許二真君傳 [A Hagiography of Wu and Hsü, the Two Perfected Lords of the Filial Way].¹⁸⁰ It is an account of the adventures of Hsü and a fellow dragon-slayer cum filial son named Wu Meng 吳猛.¹⁸¹ Following their success in banishing a gigantic serpent that had been threatening the economic and social welfare of Yü-chang, Hsü was reportedly summoned west to Ch'ang-sha 長沙 (Hunan). The story there is that he killed a dragon that, posing as a woman, had duped the local prefect into matrimony.¹⁸² Once the demonifuge theme is established, the remaining two-thirds of the text is turned over to the history of Hsü's induction as the patriarch of a new ritual code known as Hsiao-tao 孝道 (Way of Filiality). This portion of the hagiography is set in Shu-chün. It appears to be a later innovation on the legends surrounding Hsü Sun, reflecting the changing perceptions of his cultic role during the early T'ang. His nephew Hsü Chien 許簡 (fl. 347), himself a Taoist Master, is actually put forward as the first to perpetuate the legacy of Hsiao-tao. There are, however, no texts attesting to a Hsiao-tao ritual tradition before the late T'ang. The one liturgical work that seems to be related to the hagiographic legend on Hsiao-tao has been found, in fact, to have many features in common with the Ling-pao rites codified by Tu Kuang-t'ing.¹⁸³ Hsiao-tao, in other words, appears to have been little more than an early regional variation on the deeply rooted Ling-pao ritual heritage. Whatever their antiquity, these rites were invariably staged before the Yu-wei Kuan 游帷觀 (Abbey of the Flying Carpet), the shrine set up outside Yü-chang at the putative site of Hsü's ascension. According to the prevailing myth, Hsü did not depart from the mortal realm alone, but took with him over 40 members of his family, together with their chickens and dogs.¹⁸⁴ The brocade mat that accompanied him was identified as the one on which he had been seated at a farewell banquet the night before. It was thought to have returned of its own accord to Hsü's homestead, where the Yu-wei Kuan was established. By 627 this shrine had reportedly fallen into disrepair, for the tradition of offering devotions to Hsü had long been forgotten. But sometime around 682 the shrine was said to have been restored, just as a revival of Hsiao-tao rites was under way. At the end of this text is a list of the line of descendants from Hsü Chien seventeen generations down to Hsü Hao-jan 許景然. Although nothing is known about the career of the latter, he was no doubt instrumental in promoting a pro-

gramme of worship services celebrating the filiality of his ancestor. The last date cited for such services is 819, when a Huang-lu (Yellow Register) fête was performed for three days and nights in commemoration of the 562nd anniversary of the ascent of Hsü Sun.

A much more comprehensive account of Hsü's cult is ascribed to Pai Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224), the Thunder Ritual specialist active throughout south China. It is a 4-*chüan* collection of writings in the *Yü-lung chi* 玉隆集 [Anthology of Jade Beneficence], which is preserved in the anonymously compiled HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on Cultivating Perfection].¹⁸⁵ The title of Pai's anthology refers to the Yü-lung Kuan 玉隆觀 (Abbey of Jade Beneficence), the name that Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022) authorized for Hsü's shrine.¹⁸⁶ According to Pai's account, Hsü was venerated initially because he had been able to cure thousands suffering from a pestilential disease by applying talismanic waters. The epidemic he treated was said to have taken hold all over the Shu region shortly after 280, when Hsü was appointed prefect of Ching-yang.¹⁸⁷ Thereafter he is said to have received all the sacred teachings that confirmed his destiny as the founder of Hsiao-tao. Numerous episodes deal with his success in overcoming a variety of serpentine monsters to which lives and property had been lost from Yü-chang north. When the reptiles he confronted were identified as manifestations of wayward spirits commanding local shrines, Hsü also made certain their altars were destroyed and that all propitiatory rites were terminated. This new emphasis in the hagiography reflects one of the concerns that apparently motivated Sung Hui-tsung to offer special homage to Hsü Sun. In 1112 he authorized Hsü's first official title: Shen-kung miao-chi chen-chün 神功妙濟真君 (Perfected Lord of Supernatural Feats and Miraculous Deliverance). Hui-tsung then ordered a *chiao*-fête lasting seven days and seven nights to be convened at the Yü-lung Kuan on behalf of the state. Although his predecessors had also paid tribute to Hsü, none had been as demonstrative in his support of the cult as had Hui-tsung. The entitlement and the *chiao*-fête were, in short, an affirmation of Hsü's role as a national guardian. Imperial patronage of the cult was evidently one of the ways by which Hui-tsung hoped to ward off both internal and external threats to the welfare of the state. The Jurchen and Khitan, of course, were the antagonists he feared from outside the imperial domain. But Hui-tsung was equally wary of folk beliefs and practices that seemed

to undermine national security. The preceding year had seen the destruction of over a thousand “perverse” shrines (*yin-tz'u* 淫祠) at the emperor’s bidding.¹⁸⁸ That the hagiographic lore on Hsü Sun began to include documentation of similar efforts on his part reveals how easily such literature adapts to the realities of its time.

In addition to incorporating episodes conditioned by changing perspectives of Hsü’s status, Pai Yü-ch’an also includes a short history of the development of the cult since the T’ang, complete with copies of Hui-tsung’s decree. The significance of the shrine as a vital symbol of unity in the face of Jurchen invasions is also examined. The extent to which Hsü’s protective powers were invoked when the fate of the Sung mandate hung in the balance is further attested by the revelation of new scriptures in 1129–1131.¹⁸⁹ Pai Yü-ch’an’s own chronicle of Hsü’s role in repelling the Jurchen ends in 1158. Following that chronicle are descriptions of various ritual processions at the Yü-lung shrine, the most popular of which took place during the Mid-Autumn festival, marking the putative date of Hsü’s apotheosis. Pai’s account closes with a series of biographies of those associated with Hsü, including the eleven traditionally identified as his disciples. The last and longest of the entries traces the career of Hu Hui-ch’ao 胡惠超 (d. 703), who is thought to have been the leader of the cult’s revival in 682.¹⁹⁰

The accounts on Hsü Sun in four other hagiographic works are substantially the same as that in the *Yü-lung chi*. The 3-ch. HY 448 *Hsi Shan Hsü Chen-chün pa-shih-wu hua lu* 西山許真君八十五化錄 [A Record of the Eighty-five Metamorphoses of the Perfected Lord Hsü of Hsi Shan] appears to have been compiled approximately 25 years after the *Yü-lung chi*.¹⁹¹ The outstanding innovation of this particular edition is the series of 85 heptasyllabic *lü-shih* 律詩 (regulated verse) interspersed throughout the prose text. These verses either summarize or expand upon the passages immediately preceding them.¹⁹² The narrative itself is very close to that of the *Yü-lung chi*, with virtually the same inter-linear commentary. While the passages on the history of the cult vary somewhat, the official proclamations of Sung Hui-tsung and the supplementary biographies closely correspond to Pai Yü-ch’an’s record.

The name of the editor given at the head of each *chüan* of the 85-part hagiography is Shih Ch’en of Hsi Shan, the Perfected of Intrepid Enlightenment 西山勇悟真人施岑編. This is the name of one of Hsü Sun’s eleven original disciples. The honorific title Yung-wu chen-

jen (Perfected of Intrepid Enlightenment) was bestowed upon Shih by Sung Hui-tsung in 1112, at the same time that he canonized Hsü and all the other disciples. Clearly the name is used here as an allonym. It may be that the editor's choice of alias reflects his awareness of the hagiographic legend that Shih Ch'en was the one disciple to whom Hsü Sun reputedly bestowed all his sacred texts.¹⁹³ Three statements signed by "Shih Ch'en" trace the history of this publication. It was apparently first compiled in 1246, the date of the preface. An undated colophon, which precedes the preface, explains how the editor happened to undertake the project.¹⁹⁴ A colleague named Sung Tao-sheng 宋道昇 is said to have presented him with a manuscript entitled *Shih-erh chen-chün chuan* 十二真君傳 [A Hagiography of the Twelve Perfected Lords], with the request that he prepare it for publication.¹⁹⁵ This he did by reorganizing the text into a series of 85 units, with one verse attached to each. Those who helped him collate and proofread are cited by name. One of his assistants, a disciple named Hsing Tao-chien 邢道堅, is even reported to have pledged a subscription to help out with the expense of printing. Akizuki suggests that Hsing, whose name appears most prominently in this colophon, may himself be the editor hiding behind the persona of Shih Ch'en.¹⁹⁶ If so, he evidently had little success in convincing others to follow his example, for the afterword dated 1250 carries a very blunt condemnation of every "Tom, Dick, or Harry who came up with excuses left and right" in refusing him a subscription.¹⁹⁷ If it had not been for Sung Tao-sheng's intervention, "Shih" implies, the work, which at that time was simply entitled *Hsü Chen-chün shih-chuan* 許真君詩傳 [A Prosodic Hagiography on the Perfected Lord Hsü], might never have appeared.

Another postscript suggests that the edition printed in the Canon came from the archives of the Yü-lung Kung. The author of this closing note identifies himself as the Ling-pao ta-shih 靈寶大師 (Great Master of Ling-pao) Sun Yüan-ming 孫元明, Abbot of the Yü-lung wan-shou Kung 玉隆萬壽宮 (Palace of the Longevity of Jade Beneficence) of Hsiao-yao Shan 逍遙山.¹⁹⁸ Sun reports that a spirit appeared before him on the eve of the Chung-yüan festival and told him to expect a visitor bearing texts the following day. True to the prophecy, a recluse named Chia Shou-ch'eng 賈守澄 arrived from Shih-ch'eng 石城 (Kiangsi) and submitted to him a copy of the *Ching-yang pa-shih-wu hua shih-chuan* 旌陽八十五化詩傳 [An Account in Verse of the Eighty-

five Metamorphoses of Ching-yang].¹⁹⁹ Chia is, in fact, among seven devotees whom Shih Ch'en singles out in his undated colophon as familiar with the history of Hsü Sun's life. His devotion to the cult is made all the more apparent to Abbot Sun Yüan-ming by his immediate recitation of the entire text he had handed over. Sun then says that he announced the presentation of the text to the large crowds gathered at the temple in commemoration of the departed and thereafter placed it in the temple archives. Three days later he added his own postscript, giving the year as *ting-wei* 丁未 (1247).²⁰⁰

A variant redaction of the core biography is found in HY 447 *Hsü Chen-chün hsien-chuan* 許真君仙傳 [A Transcendent Hagiography of the Perfected Lord Hsü]. The commentary found in both the *Yü-lung chi* and Shih's edition is missing, as is the historical survey of the cult. The supplementary biographies of the eleven disciples and Hu Hui-ch'ao are included, although in a much briefer form, without any citation of Hui-tsung's entitlements. One remarkable interpolation, which occurs in the opening line of the text, is the title bestowed upon Hsü in 1295, which dates this edition at least 75 years after the *Yü-lung chi*.

Basically the same text is also found in the 2-ch. HY 440 *Hsü T'ai-shih chen-chün t'u-chuan* 許太史真君圖傳 [An Illustrated Hagiography of the Perfected Lord Hsü, the Grand Scribe]. As the title indicates, the text is printed with a series of woodcuts illustrating each episode in the life of Hsü Sun.²⁰¹ The introductory passage on his divine birth is considerably expanded in comparison with that in HY 447, but the texts are otherwise closely matched, even in the citation of the honorific title dating to 1295. This edition also includes the same sequence of supplementary biographies. An added feature is the series of twelve woodcuts, one full-length portrait for each of the eleven disciples and for the revivalist Hu Hui-ch'ao.

Seven hagiographic accounts are recorded in the largest collection of materials on the cult, the 6-ch. HY 1102 *Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu* 淨明忠孝全書 [A Comprehensive Compilation on the Ching-ming Tradition of Loyalty and Filiality].²⁰² This anthology was initially compiled by Huang Yüan-chi 黃元吉 (1270–1324) and was augmented later by his understudy Hsü Hui 徐慧 (1291–1352). Huang had been the disciple of Liu Yü 劉玉 (1257–1308), whom Akizuki identifies as the founder of what came to be known as Ching-ming Tao 淨明道 (The Way of Purity and Perspicacity).²⁰³ The original corpus that Huang



Fig. 13. The ascent of Hsü Sun and his entourage in dragon-drawn chariots. Sketch based on HY 440 *Hsü T'ai-shih chen-chün t'u-chuan*, 2.18b-19a. As Hsü ascends with 42 members of his household, together with chickens and dogs, the villagers below, according to the narrative account, beg him not to abandon them.

had printed in 1323 was based on a lifetime record of Liu's discourse, including a hagiography of Hsü Sun that he had acquired in 1303. In 1327, Hsü Hui fulfilled his master's wishes by adding to the text a copy of Huang's dialogic treatise. The edition in the Canon has since been supplemented with a biography of Hsü Hui himself, the last of the series of biographies in chapter 1. The first is an abridged version of the account of Hsü Sun that was standardized in the early thirteenth century. Akizuki finds that the rhetorical flourishes of the original legend have been considerably reduced in this rendition.²⁰⁴ By condensing the text, the editors facilitated the introduction of their own analysis of Hsü's legacy, which is spelled out in the later dialogic treatises of this work.

Essentially, the concepts of *chung* 忠 (loyalty) and *hsiao* 孝 (filiality) were reinterpreted as metaphors for submission to authority and the suppression of rebellion.

The succeeding accounts in chapter 1 are biographies of those considered to be the ordained recipients of the Ching-ming Ling-pao chung-hsiao chih Tao 淨明靈寶忠孝之道 (The Way of Loyalty and Filiality of the Ling-pao Tradition of Ching-ming). The first three concern early disciples: (1) the legendary Chang Yün 張蘊, who refused a summons from the empress T'ang Wu-hou 唐武后 (r. 684–704) but answered one from T'ang Hsüan-tsung 唐玄宗 (r. 713–756); (2) Hu Hui-ch'ao, who refused a summons from T'ang T'ai-tsung 唐太宗 (r. 627–649) but answered one from T'ang Kao-tsung 唐高宗 (r. 650–683); and (3) Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276–324), who protested Wang Tun's 王敦 efforts to usurp the throne from Chin Ming-ti 晉明帝 (r. 323–326). The underlying message appears to be that these adepts are to be regarded as custodians of political stability, a message that is particularly well stated in the elaborate account of Hu Hui-ch'ao's ability to banish malevolent spirits from the countryside as well as from the imperial court.²⁰⁵ The remaining biographies pertain to the last three generations of those known to have taken up the mantle of Hu Hui-ch'ao, namely Liu Yü, Huang Yüan-chi, and Hsü Hui. Liu's revival of the Ching-ming Fa 淨明法 (Rites of Purity and Perspicacity) was said to have been preordained by the patriarch Hsü Sun. For several years after 1282, his role was reputedly confirmed by a series of visits from all those associated with the early history of the cult. Hu Hui-ch'ao is singled out as Liu's authority for a variety of ritual codes. The instructions revealed by Hu were to enable Liu, through the power of *chung-hsiao*, "to venerate the heavens and revere the Tao; to offer salvation to the living and deliverance to the dead"²⁰⁶—goals that over the centuries have been repeatedly articulated in the Ling-pao liturgy. Liu's teachings are reported to have been far more concise than the revelations of the Ching-ming Fa dating to the Shao-hsing 紹興 reign (1131–1162). When questioned by his disciples about the contrast, Liu explained the lack of complexity in his formulation as a reflection of its timeliness.

In 1308, shortly before his demise, Liu designated Huang Yüan-chi to succeed him. Huang, according to his biography in HY 1102, entered the Yü-lung wan-shou Kung at age twelve and was said to have treated Liu and his wife as his parents. By 1323, he arrived in the capital

spreading the teachings of his master, the essence of which was that one's mind should be rooted in purity and perspicacity (*ching-ming*) and one's actions regulated by loyalty and filiality (*chung-hsiao*). A year later his devoted followers spoke highly of their mentor to the 39th Celestial Master Chang Ssu-ch'eng 張嗣成 (d. 1343), who then recommended that Huang Yüan-chi be made Abbot of the Yü-lung Kung. On his first encounter with Hsü Hui, Huang is reported to have announced that he had dreamed of his coming the night before and had immediately recognized him as his spiritual heir. According to the biography here, Hsü later sought instruction on Ch'üan-chen from a Lan Chen-jen 藍真人 in residence at the Ch'ang-ch'un Kung 長春宮 (Yenching).²⁰⁷ Other than a few verses that are quoted in this biography, there is apparently no further record of the direction Hsü's thinking took thereafter. Although several hundred disciples were reputedly drawn to him, including a number of senior literati, he does not seem to have singled out any one of them as his immediate successor.²⁰⁸

Among the more interesting features of Hsü Hui's biography are the episodes concerning his success in alleviating drought and in ridding communities of various baleful spirits thought to be the cause of illness. No other biography in this text since that of Hu Hui-ch'ao puts such weight on the therapeutic role of the Ching-ming Master. Indeed, the healing mission of the cult continued to inform later ritual traditions, namely, variant Thunder Rites in which visions of the demon-slaying patriarch himself stand paramount.²⁰⁹ Such texts may well prove to offer further clues as to the identification of later generations who sought to emulate the example of Hsü Hui. At any rate, the spirit of Hsü Sun lives on even today, most notably in Taiwan, where shrines erected in his name are still maintained.²¹⁰ Moreover, the Wan-shou Kung of Nanch'ang 南昌 (formerly Yü-chang), quite remarkably, is now regarded as a national historical monument worthy of preservation.²¹¹

7. Three Wardens of Hua-kai Shan

A short distance south of Hsi Shan lies Hua-kai Shan 華蓋山, the seat of the T'ien-hsin revelations. This central Kiangsi range has long served as the backdrop to divine manifestations, a full accounting of which is given in the 6-ch. HY 777 *Hua-kai Shan Fou-ch'iu Wang Kuo san chen-chün shih-shih* 華蓋山浮丘王郭三真君事實 [A Case History of the Three Perfected Lords Fou-ch'iu, Wang, and Kuo of Mt. Hua-

kai]. The text is a composite work, based on various writings dating from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. Central to all of the texts is the history of veneration for a trio of local guardians to whom the welfare of the region was traditionally entrusted: Lord Fou-ch'iu 浮丘公 and his disciples Wang Tao-hsiang 王道想 and Kuo Tao-i 郭道意.²¹² As the number of prefaces attached to this text indicates, the received version passed through the hands of many editors and copyists.

The original compilation was apparently first printed in 1261, through the cooperative efforts of Liu Hsiang 劉祥 and Wang K'o-ming 王克明 on behalf of an unnamed temple at Hua-kai Shan.²¹³ They undertook the project as the result of a vow they had made during a pilgrimage to Hua-kai Shan from their native Lu-ling 廬陵 the previous year. When they arrived at the site in the autumn of 1260, according to their chronicle, they found a newly refurbished temple presided over by an abbot named Ch'en Yüan-ying 陳元應 (*tzu*, Hsien 顯; *hao*, Ching-shan 荆山). Ch'en confided that although the temple grounds and statuary were in good order, their historical records (*shih-lu* 實錄, lit., veritable records) had not been replaced after having been reduced to ashes in a fire two years earlier, in 1258. He no doubt realized that his visitors were men of some means, for the abbot beseeched Liu and Wang to find a way to have a new account printed up. This they agreed to do, and the next day, it is said, the pair bowed down before the images of the three Perfected Lords and formally pledged their support to seeing the venture through. On their return to Lu-ling, they report, a search for texts turned up a compilation by a Taoist Master named Huang Mi-chien 黃彌堅. Nothing, regrettably, is known about the man himself, but the preface by Liu and Wang does provide a fairly detailed summary of the contents of his work. What they describe corresponds very closely to the text in the Canon: a chronological survey, the entitlements of the three Perfected for succeeding reign periods, the pertinent prefaces and accounts of notable writers throughout the ages, and a comprehensive record of the personal cultivation and ascent of the Hua-kai trio and verification of their divine efficacy. Although they remark on the need for a careful collation of Huang's text, Liu and Wang modestly decline to pursue the work themselves and simply arrange the text in fourteen *chüan* for immediate printing.

Although we do not have the good fortune to find a postscript by the abbot Ch'en Yüan-ying similar to that added to the Hsi Shan hagiog-

raphy by Sun Yüan-ming, two later prefaces indicate that even this text had to be restored. The woodblocks of the work evidently had been lost in the local uprisings of 1352, or so Chang Yen 張顏 states in his preface of 1391. Subsequently, the temple sites, according to Chang, were restored under the direction of another lay person named Chiang Pi-ch'eng 江碧澄 (tzu, Yüan-yüan 源遠). Finding *A Case History* in pieces, Chiang also took steps to reconstruct the entire work. To fill in the lacunae he enlisted the aid of K'ung Te-jung 孔德容, overseer of the Hsüan-miao Kuan 玄妙觀, to supervise the task.²¹⁴ Once the work was done, Chang Yen reports, the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ü 張宇初 (1361–1410) paid a visit to Hua-kai Shan in order to commend Chiang personally for his accomplishments. Master Chang's own preface was composed in 1407, at which time the text circulated under the title *Hua-kai Shan san-hsien shih-shih* 華蓋山三仙事實 [A Case History of Three Transcendents of Mt. Hua-kai].²¹⁵

The first two chapters are attributed to Shen T'ing-jui 沈庭瑞 (d. 985), but, in addition to his *Erh chen-chün shih-lu* = 真君實錄 [A Veritable Record of the Two Perfected Lords], a memorial inscription by Yen Chen-ch'ing 顏真卿 (709–785) and the *San-chen chi* 三真記 [An Account of the Three Perfected], compiled by Li Ch'ung-yüan 李冲元 in 1099, are also included. All of the selections chronicle Lord Fou-ch'iu's induction of his disciples Wang and Kuo into various contemplative and therapeutic techniques. Once they were accomplished in applying talismanic treatments to overcome a variety of misfortunes, the two initiates were said to have been summoned on high by the Jade Emperor. Their apotheosis is dated to 293, only one year after the traditional date given for Hsü Sun's ascent. As was the case with the guardian at Hsi Shan, the worship of these denizens of Hua-kai Shan became a matter of national significance to the Sung court. Four times, in the years 1075, 1100, 1117, and 1237, honorary titles were bestowed by decree upon the master, his disciples, or both. The encyclicals authorizing these awards are recorded in full at the end of chapter 2. Only the last, dating from 1237, specifies the range of protection offered by the three guardians, including, most notably, their ability to ward off marauders and alleviate drought.

The second third of the anthology is derived from the *Hua-kai Shan shih-shih* 華蓋山事實 [A Case History of Hua-kai Shan], compiled by Chang Yüan-shu 章元樞 in 1185. It consists of a series of en-

tries on various topographic and architectural features of the region, each of which generally makes note of the history of the guardians' presence or the ritual traditions indigenous to the site. The last two chapters comprise a selection of biographical and narrative accounts. The provenance of this segment of the text is not indicated, but most of the narratives appear to date to the first five reign periods of the Southern Sung (1127–1189), which suggests they may have come directly from the edition printed by Liu Hsiang and Wang K'o-ming.²¹⁶ Of note among the biographies are those of the compiler Shen T'ing-jui (d. 985) and of Jao Tung-t'ien 饒洞天 (fl. 994), the putative recipient of the T'ien-hsin scriptures. In fact, Jao's biography contains the only direct reference in the entire compilation to the T'ien-hsin ritual tradition born of Hua-kai Shan.²¹⁷ As the closing series of anecdotes confirm, this corpus was designed foremost as a celebration of the apotheosized Wang and Kuo. Invocations to them throughout the Southern Sung are alleged to have brought relief from a multitude of life-threatening forces. Later hagiographies and ritual texts attest to the vitality of the cult throughout the Ming.²¹⁸

8. The Watchman of Lu Shan

Just south of the hometown of Liu Hsiang and Wang K'o-ming lies Lu Shan 廬山, a mountain site that housed, among other well-known retreats, the hermitage of Hui-yüan 慧遠 (334–416) and the White Deer Grotto 白鹿洞 Academy of Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200).²¹⁹ The guardian spirit watching over this region is the subject of the 7-ch. HY 1276 *Lu Shan T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo Kung Ts'ai-fang chen-chün shih-shih* 廬山太平興國宮採訪真君事實 [A Case History of the Perfected Lord of Inquisition at the Palace of the Flourishing State of Great Peace on Mt. Lu]. Yeh I-wen 葉義問 (1098–1170), prefectural vice-administrator of the region, compiled the text in 1154. He speaks in his preface of the five centuries of prosperity resulting from regular tribute to the Perfected Lord. The guardian, known as Chiu-t'ien ts'ai-fang shih-che 九天採訪使者 (Envoy of Inquisition from the Nine Celestial Realms), was first enshrined upon his manifestation before T'ang Hsüan-tsung 唐玄宗 in 731. Nearly two and a half centuries later, in 977, Sung T'ai-tsung 宋太宗 (r. 976–997) decreed that the shrine be given the name of his reign title, T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo, as further endorsement of his mandate.²²⁰ The compiler Yeh himself presided over the ri-

tual offerings at this temple in the spring of 1154. A Taoist Master in residence at the shrine approached Yeh at that time and beseeched him to compile a chronicle of the guardian's divine transformations. Internal evidence reveals that the edition in the Canon, while it may preserve the core of Yeh's compilation, was expanded considerably over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As in most such chronicles, the opening essays in the first chapter concentrate on establishing the cosmic origins of the Envoy within the Nine Celestial Realms and the history of his service as adviser to legendary emperors.²²¹ His role in carrying out the charge of the Jade Emperor 玉皇 is stated obliquely at first. The worship of this guardian, the introduction concludes, should result in a divine beneficence the likes of which none of the local "perverse sacrifices" 淫祀 could hope to match. This cult is thus but another exemplification of the means by which the governmental bureaucracy of China, working in tandem with ranking Taoist Masters, was able to enforce a distinction between acceptable and unacceptable religious practice. As he appears in a dream of T'ang Hsüan-tsung, according to the account that follows, the Envoy presents himself as a sort of local watchman whose job is to determine the extent of transgressions and good fortune.²²² The record of state patronage of the shrine continues through Sung Li-tsung's 宋理宗 reign (1225-1264). Chapter 1 then closes with a more elaborate account of T'ang Hsüan-tsung's encounters with divine messengers, namely the *Ts'ai-fang hsing* 探訪行 [Journeys of the Inquisitor] by Chou Yen-chih 周考績 (*chin-shih*, 1073), which the compiler claims he acquired at the shrine itself.²²³

The next three chapters are composed of various imperial memorials and other texts related to the shrine, dating from 978 to 1318. Those documents pertaining to ritual observances almost invariably call upon the Perfected Lord to carry out his circuit of investigation in order to ensure the welfare of the state and the curtailment of disaster. Some of the texts are more specific, such as the prayer of 1161 appealing for divine protection of the silkworm industry as well as the sweeping away of the ominous forces attacking the borders of the empire.²²⁴ Such pleas continued to be issued in the face of the Jurchen threat. The Mongol regime also called upon the symbolic strength of the Envoy. Of note in the texts dating to the Yüan are references to the participation of the Celestial Masters in upholding the ritual traditions of the shrine. The concluding

entries, moreover, attest to the active part the influential Chang Liu-sun 張留孫 (1248–1321) played in keeping sacred the memory of this guardian figure at Lu Shan.²²⁵

The fifth chapter is devoted to nine narrative accounts concerning the experiences of various transcendents at Lu Shan. The subjects date from the Five Dynasties to Sung Hui-tsung's reign. Many of these stories, according to the compiler's notes, were derived from hagiographic and epigraphic records of the T'ai-p'ing Kung. Chapter 6, the longest in the work, is a collection of inscriptions and other records documenting the origin and maintenance of the temple complex at Lu Shan.²²⁶ The initial inscription marks the establishment of the first shrine in 732. The majority of the texts thereafter date to the Sung. Among the literati serving in the area whose writings are incorporated are Hsiung Pen 熊本 (fl. 1040–1081) and Yao Sui 姚燾 (1238–1313).

Most of the last chapter may well have been from the original work of Yeh I-wen, for it includes narrative accounts testifying to the divine efficacy of the Perfected Lord over the centuries. All but four episodes date from 765 to 1133. The closing narratives concern events dating from 1206 to 1264 and, unlike the preceding ones, include no indication of provenance. Like those in chapter 5, many of the earlier accounts are said to have been drawn from temple archives. Also included are selections from literary anthologies, some of which no longer survive.²²⁷ This chapter is of particular value for the background it provides on popular perceptions of the Lu Shan watchman. To the residents in the area he was looked upon as a healer, a source of revelations, and a helpmate in times of danger. The Envoy of Inquisition, in their eyes, could also mete out justice to wrongdoers and reward those who abstained from meat and from killing any living creature as well as those who proved themselves to be paragons of filiality. The concept of retribution, as reinforced by texts such as this, appears to have been the cornerstone of all local cults authorized by the state.

9. A Guardian of the Northern Sung Empire

Paramount among Sung theogonic hagiographies is the 3-ch. HY 1275 *I-sheng pao-te chuan* 翊聖保德傳 [A Hagiography of the (Perfected Lord) in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit]. It was the work of Sung Chen-tsung's 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022) Commissioner of Military Affairs, Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962–1025), mastermind of a

whole range of auspicious omens verifying the legitimacy of the Sung imperial house.²²⁸ The deity to whom Wang's text pays tribute, the I-sheng pao-te chen-chün 翊聖保德真君 (Perfected Lord in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit), came to be regarded as the special guardian of the Sung empire. The redaction of this account in the Canon, apparently completed in the early twelfth century, introduces some curious textual anomalies. Opening the text, for example, is an imperial preface wrongly attributed to Sung Jen-tsong 宋仁宗 (r. 1023–1063). The title of the text according to this preface, moreover, reflects an honorary title that was not bestowed upon the Perfected Lord until 1104. In fact, the original preface came from the hand of Sung Chen-tsong, as is correctly noted in the copy of this work preserved in an 11th-century anthology, the HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*.²²⁹ According to the Ch'ü-chou 衡州 edition of Ch'ao Kung-wu's 晁公武 (d. 1171+) *Chün-chai tu-shu chih 郡齋讀書志*, Sung Chen-tsong himself ordered Wang to compile the chronicle sometime during the Ta-chung hsiang-fu 大中祥符 reign (1008–1016).²³⁰

The account opens with a description of the Perfected Lord's initial descent to the mundane realm, upon the command of the Jade Sovereign 玉帝. This event is dated just prior to the establishment of the Chien-lung 建隆 reign (960–962), which inaugurated the founding of the Sung. Legend has it that the divine messenger appeared first before a native of Chou-chih 整屋 (Shensi) named Chang Shou-chen 張守真 (948–983).²³¹ While journeying within the Chung-nan Shan 終南山 mountain range, this naive young fellow, as Chang is portrayed, was said to have borne witness to the Perfected Lord's prophecies concerning the imminence of the Sung mandate. When the cosmic lord invited Chang to take up his teachings, the youth reportedly denied that he trafficked with spirits as a medium (*wu* 巫). The Perfected Lord's response once again reiterates the age-old distinction between cultic practices that were traditionally deemed to be acceptable and those considered unacceptable. He asserts that he is not a spectral force, but rather a divine spirit, one to whom incense and tea and fresh fruits and vegetables would be appropriate offerings, in contrast to the fermented beverages and fleshy sacrifices commanded by local cults. Upon this encounter Chang was ordained a Taoist Master under the tutelage of Liang Ch'üan 梁筌 (d. 978), Abbot of the historic Lou Kuan 樓觀 or Tiered Abbey.²³²

Later episodes in this account relate Chang's subsequent training under the Perfected Lord himself. He was taught the procedures for various therapeutic rites and propitiatory fêtes in order that he might, according to this text, ward off disaster and invoke good fortune on behalf of the empire. The efficacy of his practices eventually came to the attention of the Prince of Chin 晉王, the future Sung T'ai-tsung 宋太宗 (r. 976-983). During the Ch'ien-te 乾德 reign (963-967), the prince authorized the construction of the Shang-ch'ing T'ai-p'ing Kung 上清太平宮 (Palace of the Grand Peace of Shang-ch'ing) in honor of the Perfected Lord. His older brother, Sung T'ai-tsu 宋太祖 (r. 960-975), skeptical of the omnipotence of this divinity, invited Chang Shou-chen to the palace so that he might be allowed to witness the phenomenon himself. When the Perfected Lord finally descended in audience with the emperor, he reportedly praised the humanity of the Prince of Chin. The text can thus be viewed as a confirmation of his succession, for it is said that on T'ai-tsu's death the very next day, his brother inherited the throne. T'ai-tsung, the father of Chen-tsung, immediately summoned Chang Shou-chen to preside over a propitiatory *chiao*-fête. A new temple complex was constructed thereafter at an auspicious site in the Chung-nan Commandery 終南鎮. In 981 the title I-sheng chiang-chün 翊聖將軍 (General in Subservience to Sageliness) was authorized. The chronology in chapter 1 ends with Chen-tsung's canonization of the Perfected Lord in 1014 as I-sheng pao-te chen-chün, shortly after which this text first must have been compiled.

Chapters 2 and 3 offer a fuller record of the divine encounters Chang Shou-chen and others experienced. Chang is said at one time to have advised that a shrine on Chung-nan Shan be burned to the ground upon learning that cows and pigs were sacrificed there amidst a cacophony of percussive dance. On many occasions, Chang was said to have expelled fox spirits and other malevolent apparitions that laid siege to the surrounding countryside. More than once he reportedly succeeded in purging troublesome spectral forces where both specialists in exorcism and Buddhist monks had failed. Those to whom the Perfected Lord offered his assistance were almost invariably members of the aristocracy. Overall, this guardian of the Sung appears to have been perceived as a cosmic agent who enforced the traditional values of the literati class, especially those preparing to serve in public office. Closing this record of the divine patron of the elite is Wang Ch'in-jo's presentation statement,

supplemented in the Canon edition with a copy of the imperial decree of Sung Hui-tsung, dating to 1104, that authorized the extended honorific title printed incongruously in the preface. No doubt the significance of this guardian enshrined at Chung-nan Shan was considerably reduced once the Sung court was forced to vacate the northern plains. There is, in this text at least, no record of his veneration beyond the reign of Sung Hui-tsung.

10. Hsüan-wu at Wu-tang Shan

The cult of the Dark Warrior (Hsüan-wu 玄武) is one of the more long-standing religious traditions of Chinese society. According to a late count, there are approximately 300 shrines to this deity in Taiwan alone.²³³ The term *Hsüan-wu*, at least since Han times, has been applied to the northern quadrant of the 28 *hsiu* 宿 (lunar mansions, or *nakṣatra*). As the counterpart to the vermilion bird of the South, Hsüan-wu was long regarded as the name of a divine tortoise associated with the North. Eventually, the tortoise, together with a snake, came to be regarded as an identifying feature in the iconography of a spirit named Hsüan-wu. Precisely when this spirit was first enshrined in China is difficult to say, but Hsüan-wu is invoked as early as the “Yüan-yu” 遠遊 [Distant Journeys] of the *Ch'u-tz'u* 楚辭 [Songs of Ch'u] anthology.²³⁴ Several works in the Canon attest to the popularity of this deity from the Sung to the Ming.

The longest theogonic account on this god of the north is the 8-ch. HY 957 *Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti ch'i-sheng lu* 玄天上帝啟聖錄 [An Account of Revelations Conveyed to the Sages by the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm]. It is a composite work, derived from a large body of oral tradition and written texts attesting to Hsüan-wu's primary role as defender of the empire. Several texts devoted to this almighty guardian figure are known to have circulated under the title *Ch'i-sheng lu* or *Ch'i-sheng chi* 記. Chapters 2 to 8 of the version in the Canon seem to have been drawn from a mid-eleventh century compilation. It should be noted that throughout this portion of the text the name of the deity is consistently given as Chen-wu 真武, to avoid the taboo name Hsüan-lang 玄朗 of the ancestor to the Sung imperial house. The introductory chapter, which serves as a sort of appendix, includes an extensive commentary dating no earlier than the late thirteenth century. As an account focussing largely on Hsüan-wu's cosmic origins and legendary conquests,

the text proper of chapter one seems to be among the earlier codifications of the lore surrounding this figure. The myth of his birth within the mundane realm parallels that of the birth of Lord Lao. Hsüan-wu in fact is said to have been the 82nd metamorphosis of [Lord Lao,] the Most High. One of the major festival days of his cult is the date of his putative descent, the third day of the third lunar month. Among the exploits covered in chapter 1 is his subjugation of the despotic last ruler of Shang, an episode central to the *Feng-shen yen-i*. The image this deity evokes is comparable to that of the *lokapala* of the North, Vaiśravaṇa, who commonly stands guard at Buddhist shrines, with demonic forces underfoot. According to this account, Hsüan-wu was on one occasion dispatched to the nether regions, where he stomped out malevolent vapors in the form of tortoise and snake. The terrestrial site at which this cosmic force of the North took up residence is identified as T'ai-ho Shan 太和山, otherwise known as Wu-tang Shan 武當山, in north Hupeh. There Hsüan-wu reportedly took a vow to eliminate all malign forces of water and fire, as represented by the tortoise and the snake.

Apparently the latest citation included in the annotations to these episodes is taken from a topography on Wu-tang Shan compiled in 1291.²³⁵ Also embedded within the commentary is the closing passage of a preface composed by a Master Tung Su-huang 董素皇 in 1184. A fuller version of this preface, which once preceded a *Chen-wu shih-lu* 真武實錄 [Veritable Records of the Perfected Warrior], is found in the 6-ch. HY 753 *T'ai-shang shuo Hsüan-t'ien ta-sheng chen-wu pen-chuan shen-chou miao-ching* 太上說玄天大聖真武本傳神咒妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of the Sacred Incantation of the Most High on the Fundamental Account of the Perfected Warrior, Great Deity of the Dark Celestial Realm], compiled by Ch'en Chung 陳公 sometime after 1197.²³⁶ The text recorded by Master Tung is said to have been conveyed by divine revelation to the Taoist Master Chang Ming-tao 張明道, Head of the Tzu-hsü T'an 紫虛壇 (Shrine of the Purple Void) at Hsiang-yang 襄陽 (Hupeh). In his lengthy commentary to the *Wondrous Scripture*, Ch'en often cites the account Master Tung transcribed, according to the title *Chiang-pi shih-lu* 降筆實錄, thus reaffirming its origin as a product of *fu-chi* 扶乩 or what is commonly called spirit-writing.

Aside from the divine texts Master Tung made available, Ch'en Chung also draws on several passages from a *Ch'i-sheng chi*, the parallels of which can be found in chapters 2 to 8 of the *Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti ch'i-sheng lu*. These seven chapters of the *Ch'i-sheng lu* appear to be the textual counterpart to a series of temple frescoes dedicated by Sung Jen-tsung 宋仁宗 (r. 1023–1063) in 1057. The commemorative statement issued by the emperor on that occasion is recorded at the end of this compilation and the sequence of wall paintings is outlined in chapter two.²³⁷ Altogether 104 tableaux were rendered according to the five domains over which Chen-wu's protection was sought: (1) national security, (2) military success, (3) meteorological control, (4) healing of the afflicted, and (5) salvation from floods, fires, and epidemics. The numerical distribution of paintings indicated under these categories corresponds remarkably well to the organization of the *Ch'i-sheng lu*. A large number of episodes, for example, attest to the Perfected Warrior's aid in the establishment of the Sung imperial mandate. Equally dominant are the narratives documenting Chen-wu's aid in overcoming the invasions of the Western Hsia, the threat of which appears to have been the major motivating factor behind Sung Jen-tsung's timely tribute to the deity. But as many of the entries in this compilation reveal, Chen-wu was venerated by the people as well as the state, namely for his miraculous ability to relieve both natural and man-made disaster. Temple paintings for centuries after appear to have drawn inspiration from the sequence memorialized in this hagiography. Several of the headings given the episodes here are even matched by the labels Willem Grootaers recorded from the frescoes of shrines in north China.²³⁸

Another compilation, the HY 959 *Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti ch'i-sheng ling-i lu* 玄天上帝啟聖靈異錄 [An Account of the Numinous Marvels Revealed to Sages by the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm], confirms that official homage to Hsüan-wu did not end with the Sung. This collection of laudatory texts dating from 1270 to 1325 testifies to the high degree of reverence with which this deity was held throughout the Mongol regime. Although no compiler is cited, the text was apparently completed by a member of the literati class sometime in the last decades of the Yüan. Among the texts included are reports on shrines sanctioned for Hsüan-wu and the honorary titles granted in tribute to his guardianship of the empire. Those whose names are attached to these encomia were known to be especially active in matters of church

and state, for example, Hsü Shih-lung 徐世隆 (1206–1285), Wu Ch'üan-chieh 吳全節 (1269–1346), Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), Ch'eng Chü-fu 程鉅夫 (1249–1318), Chang Chung-shou 張仲壽 (1252–1324), and Yü Chi 虞集 (1272–1348).²³⁹

Imperial patronage of the Dark Warrior reached new heights during the Ming. As had Sung T'ai-tsu, the founder of the Ming considered the guardian of the North to be his personal envoy in establishing a new imperial mandate. Ming T'ai-tsu's 明太祖 (r. 1368–1398) brother, Ming Ch'eng-tsu 明成祖 (r. 1403–1424), was especially enthusiastic in offering homage to Hsüan-wu. A third compilation, the HY 958 *Ta Ming Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'u-lu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [An Illustrated Account of the Auspicious Responses of the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm during the Great Ming], testifies to the fervor with which this deity was worshipped during his reign. Opening the text is a series of decrees, dating from 1405 to 1418, all of which pertain to Hsüan-wu's shrines on Wu-tang Shan. The earliest are encomia honoring a Ch'üan-chen Master named Li Su-hsi 李素希, before whom Hsüan-wu was said to have appeared. Decrees of 1413 reveal the role that the 44th Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ing 張宇清 (1364–1427) played in the construction of new temples on Wu-tang Shan and the assignment of various Taoist Masters to oversee these shrines. An imperial decree of 1418 reviews the history of Hsüan-wu's assistance in Ming T'ai-tsu's military campaigns and the establishment of several palatial temples on different peaks of the Hupeh mountain range. Among the more remarkable of these sites, all of which are apparently still standing, is a Golden Pavilion 金殿 made of copper.²⁴⁰

The next three-quarters of this text is devoted to a series of vignettes marking the divine manifestations of Hsüan-wu at Wu-tang Shan in the years 1412 and 1413. These episodes also appear to have inspired the frescoes of many temples,²⁴¹ and are almost invariably interpreted as signs of Hsüan-wu's approval of the construction or renovation of his shrines. His endorsement of these efforts was thought, for example, to be reflected by the sudden appearance of a large bell, emerging from the river during a storm. The scenes depicting such occasions convey something of the devotional response generated by faith in Hsüan-wu. The illustrations in the latter part of the text contrast sharply with these narrative landscapes. There are altogether eleven variant portraits of the god himself, an enhaloed figure amidst clouds rising from his shrine at



Fig. 14. The Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm appearing at Wu-tang Shan. Sketch based on HY 958 *Ta Ming Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'u-lu*, 16a–b. The radiant image of Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti was reportedly seen on the 25th day of the fifth lunar month of 1413, following the restoration of the copper pavilion on the topmost peak of Wu-tang Shan.

Wu-tang Shan. His epiphany in one instance is read as a response to the emperor's personal devotion, signaling thus an age of peace and prosperity. The final seven illustrations portray Hsüan-wu in seven different poses on the seventeenth day of the eighth lunar month of 1413, accompanied each time by distinctive divine escorts.²⁴² The emphasis on the cult during the Ming undoubtedly contributed to the assimilation of the hagiographic legacy in several works of fiction. One text was devised entirely on the basis of the lore surrounding the Dark Warrior, namely, the *Pei-yu chi Hsüan-ti ch'u-shen chuan* 北遊記玄帝出身傳 [A Journey to the North: An Account of the Incarnations of the Dark Sovereign]. It was edited by Yü Hsiang-tou 余象斗 (fl. 1588–1609), a Fukien book

dealer who issued a number of early novels in popular editions, proving to be an astute judge of the market for such works.²⁴³

11. The Hung-en Brothers

Ming Ch'eng-tsu appears to have adopted an equally conscientious attitude in his patronage of the apotheosized Hsü Chih-cheng 徐知證 (fl. 937–946) and Hsü Chih-o 徐知訥 (fl. 937–946). A hagiographic work commemorating these Fukien deities, the HY 476 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün shih-shih* 洪恩靈濟真君事實 [A Case History of the Perfected Lords of Vast Mercy and Divine Relief], is a product of his era. The text opens with a copy of an imperial inscription composed upon the establishment of a Ling-chi Kung 靈濟宮 (Palace of Divine Relief), at Peking in 1417. The same title had been granted the original shrine to the deities in Foochow nearly two centuries earlier, following the decree of Sung Li-tsung in 1237. In authorizing the construction of a sister temple within the capital, Ming Ch'eng-tsu expressed the desire that the healing powers of this divine pair be celebrated more widely. The emperor, as mentioned earlier, attributed to them the cure of an illness that had left him incapacitated for a considerable time. Because of his own miraculous recovery, Ch'eng-tsu proclaimed the two Perfected Lords capable of bringing the dead back to life. As transcribed in *A Case History*, his decree of 1417 has been amended so that it incorporates the titles bestowed a year later. The 1418 epithets attest to the promotion of the brothers to the status of national guardians: “Hu-kuo pi-min hung-en chen-chün” 護國庇民洪恩真君 (Perfected Lord of Vast Mercy Who Protects the State and Shelters the People) and “Fu-kuo yu-min hung-en chen-chün” 輔國佑民洪恩真君 (Perfected Lord of Vast Mercy Who Supports the State and Comes to the Aid of the People).

The brief biographical account following the decree highlights the reputed success of the pair in calling forth divine troops to subdue rebel forces in the empire of Min. Other skills noted here include their ability to prevent fires from erupting, to purge locusts infesting crops of grain, and to prescribe talismanic treatments for those suffering difficulties in childbirth. As is characteristic of such local cults, both the parents and wives of the brothers were also canonized, the entitlements of which are all recorded. Closing the text is a memorial calling for the distribution and application of ritual codes invoking the two Perfected Lords on behalf of the people and the military alike.

An abbreviated version of *A Case History* (HY 476) is incorporated in the 5-ch. HY 1458 *Hsü-hsien chen-lu* 徐仙真錄 [A Verifiable Account of the Hsü Transcendents].²⁴⁴ As previously noted, this text is a composite work, reflecting the contributions of editors dating as late as 1486. It was apparently first compiled in 1424, the date of the first preface by a provincial official of Fukien named Ma Mien 麻勉. According to a second preface, authored in 1441 by Chu Hui 朱徽 of Ch'uan-chou 泉州 (Fukien), the original text included illustrations. A third preface, dating to 1443, is signed by Wang Yung-sheng 王用盛, a native of Min-hsien 閩縣 who refers to himself as a student of the Ju classics. Wang reiterates the profound faith his countrymen had in the two Perfected Lords, on whom he says they were known to call for every rite of passage. His decision to compile a record of this cult, not surprisingly, was motivated in part by what he considers to be the primary qualities of the Hsü brothers: "their loyalty to government officials, filiality to their kin, humanity to their community, and love for all living creatures" 忠君孝親仁民愛物.

The first chapter includes variant hagiographic accounts, temple inscriptions, and memorial decrees.²⁴⁵ According to the initial genealogy recorded, Chih-cheng and Chih-o were the fourth and fifth sons of Hsü Wen 徐溫 (862–927). Their father was in effect the power behind the throne of the short-lived state of Wu 吳國 (902–938). Upon his demise, an adopted son named Li Pien 李昇 (883–943; alias Hsü Chih-kao 徐知誥) set up the state of Ch'i 齊國 in 937 in the name of the puppet emperor Yang P'u 楊溥. At the same time, he enfeoffed his stepbrothers Chih-cheng and Chih-o as Prince of Chiang 江王 and Prince of Jao 饒王, respectively. The year in which they were said to have raised troops and entered the neighboring state of Min is given variously as 944 or 945. While there is no indication that the Hsü brothers were aligned with any political faction, they certainly were not alone in responding to the scene of unrest that preceded the partitioning of the Min empire.²⁴⁶ Whatever may have moved the siblings to action, the residents of the Foochow area clearly recognized them as personal saviors. Eventually, the incense fire of the mother shrine was distributed to many new temples established in their name.

Successive chapters in the text trace the history of shrines to this cult and the rituals observed therein. Particular notice is given to the temple grounds established in Peking under the direction of Fang Pin 方

賓, a minister of defense under Ming Ch'eng-tsu. Aside from the Ling-chi Kung itself, most attention appears to have centered around a Chu-sheng T'ang 注生堂 (Hall for Infusing Life), erected on the western side of the 1417 complex. This shrine, founded under the aegis of the wives of Chih-cheng and Chih-o, served those specifically concerned with fertility and childbearing. Two sequences of oracular verse associated with the Ling-chi Kung and the Chu-sheng T'ang are preserved in chapter 3.²⁴⁷ Also of interest in this chapter is a lengthy liturgical work based on ten vows to be recited before the images of the Hsü brothers. Such recitations are common to many scriptural traditions. What stands out in this list is the priority given the ruling class, for the first three vows are to be spoken in guarantee of the emperor's longevity, the high rank and pay of his ministers, and the wealth of the literati.²⁴⁸ Future studies of this cult may want to consider whether this emphasis on the well-being of the elite in the official liturgy in any way led to its eventual decline.

12. Four Additional Accounts Based on Coastal Worthies

Ko Hsüan. Of note among other specialized hagiographic records in the Canon are four works centered on figures emerging from sites along the eastern coast from T'ai-chou 泰州 (Kiangsu) south to P'ing-yang 平陽 (Chekiang). All four were among those canonized during Hui-tsung's reign. The individual of the earliest date under consideration here is Ko Hsüan 葛玄 (164–244), traditionally regarded as the recipient of the sacred script of Ling-pao. The record of his life, HY 450 *T'ai-chi Ko Hsien-kung chuan* 太極葛仙公傳 [A Hagiography of the Transcendent Lord Ko of the Grand Ultimate], was compiled by Chu Ch'o 朱綽 in the year *ting-ssu* 丁巳 (1377).

In a preface of that date, Chu states that he had only recently returned to his native Chiang-ning 江寧 (Kiangsu) when he was approached by an exalted Master named T'an Ssu-hsien 譚嗣先 (*tsu*, Tao-lin 道林), together with five of his colleagues from the local Ch'ing-yüan Kuan 青元觀 (Abbey of Glaucous Primordiality). Their sanctuary had been established at the site of Ko's old homestead shortly after his ascent and, according to T'an, saw many visitors throughout the millennium thereafter. T'an admitted, however, that they were inadequately prepared to answer all the inquiries of their guests, for they lacked a full account of their patron saint's life. In making a direct appeal for assistance from Chu, T'an turned over to him a fragmentary

Hsien-kung chuan 仙公傳 that had been passed down to him from his mentor Kung Wei-lin 貢惟琳 (*hao*, Chu-yen Weng 竹巖翁). Kung, it was said, had sought out this work after an earlier compilation had been lost in the burning of Taoist texts during the Mongol regime. The edition eventually acquired was one that had been recorded at the Ling-pao ordination center of Ko-tsao Shan 閩阜山 (central Kiangsi). Since Chu found the text given him to be somewhat disordered, he reorganized it and added supplementary materials.²⁴⁹

As printed in the Canon, the text is broken down into segments ranging from one line to nearly three pages in length, with commentary added after each. According to this account, Ko Hsüan was orphaned at eight and subsequently chose a path of self-deprivation that led him from one sacred mountain to the next. Finally in the year 179 he was said to have been visited by perfected messengers upon the command of [Lord Lao,] the Most High and to have received from them the sacred scriptures and registers of the Three Caverns and Four Supplements 三洞四輔經錄, i.e., all works in the seven conventional divisions of the Canon. Some forty years later Ko was reportedly favored with additional sacred texts on contemplative arts, together with secret rites for treating illness and exorcising spectral forces. His subsequent career, accordingly, was marked by displays of rainmaking and other magical feats in the audience of the founder of the state of Wu, Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (182–252). He is even credited with applying Thunder Rites to destroy a shrine harboring a wayward spirit. There is, in short, little revealed literature that is not traced to Ko Hsüan. The commentary, presumably the work of Chu Ch'o in part, is drawn from a library of basic resources such as the *Chen-kao* 真誥 and later Shang-ch'ing works, as well as from the *Yun-chi ch'i-ch'ien* and Chia Shan-hsiang's *Kao-tao chuan*. The text closes with the memorial inscriptions of Fang Chün 方峻 (fl. 1030) and T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456–536), along with copies of the imperial decrees of 1104 and 1246 granting honorary titles to the omniscient Lord Ko.

Hsü Shou-hsin. Just across the Yangtze, northeast of Chiang-ning, lies T'ai-chou, home of the prophetic Hsü Shou-hsin 徐守信 (1033–1108). Contrary to what the title implies, the 2-ch. HY 1241 *Hsü-ching ch'ung-ho hsien-sheng Hsü Shen-weng yü-lu* 虛靖冲和先生徐神翁語錄 [A Verbatim Account of the Transcendent Elder Hsü, Master of Piercing Harmony and Spatial Tranquility] is more of an ep-

isodic biographical record than a dialogic treatise. The first edition was completed in 1158 by Chu I 朱翌 (1093–1167), based on what he recovered of the first-hand accounts of Hsü's disciple Miao Hsi-i 苗希頤. Miao's manuscript in turn, Chu states, was based on several decades of study with the master. By 1187 the text had been edited once again, this time by Chu Sung-ch'ing 朱宗卿 of T'ai-chou. Although he found Chu I's version to be fairly detailed, Chu Sung-ch'ing decided it deserved to be more carefully collated. After making inquiries locally of those who knew Hsü or his disciples, Chu acquired a summary of Hsü's activities, which he refers to simply as the *Hsing-hua chuang* 行化狀. He added this new material to Miao Hsi-i's main corpus and then incorporated eighteen more episodes that he had gathered himself from Wei T'ai's 魏泰 (fl. 1050–1110) *Tung-hsüan pi-lu* 東軒筆錄, Su Ch'e's 蘇轍 (1039–1112) *Lung-ch'uan pieh-chih* 龍川別志, Sun Sheng's 孫升 (chin-shih, 1065) *Sun-kung t'an-p'u* 孫公譚園, and Tseng Yüan-li's 曾元禮 (fl. 1124) *T'ung-an chih* 同安志.

The text opens with a brief outline of Hsü's career. All that is revealed about his provenance is that the Hsü family came from Hai-ling 海陵 in T'ai-chou. At age nineteen, Hsü Shou-hsin is said to have entered the T'ien-ch'ing Kuan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Felicities), where he worked in obscurity as sweeper of the grounds. Eventually he received instruction and began reciting the fundamental classic of the Ling-pao tradition, the *Tu-jen ching* 度人經. When asked to foretell the future, Hsü took to reciting phrases from this scripture. In 1103 Sung Hui-tung canonized him as Hsü-ching ch'ung-ho hsien-sheng, the name that appears in the title of the hagiography.²⁵⁰ Three times he was summoned to the capital, and in 1108 he was said to have achieved divine metamorphosis at the Shang-ch'ing ch'u-hsiang Kung 上清信者祥宮 (Palace of the Cumulative Auspices of Shang-ch'ing) in the capital, Kaifeng. During the Hsüan-ho reign (1119–1125), a Sheng-chen Kuan 昇真觀 (Abbey of the Ascendant Perfected) was constructed east of T'ai-chou, at the site where his remains had been interred.²⁵¹ As the successive narratives demonstrate, Hsü was recognized throughout the southeastern coastal region for his skills as a prognosticator. Although some came to ask his advice on specific problems, such as the casting of a bell, many more simply appeared before him seeking their fortune in writing (*ch'iu-tzu* 求字). Hsü's habit was to inscribe a word or phrase in response which, though generally somewhat cryptic, was always borne

out as an accurate prophecy of the fate of the individual in question. It is difficult to say whether he spoke posthumously through any other medium, such as spirit-writing, but this text suggests that his memory, at least, was kept alive by his disciples for several decades after his ascent.

Yeh Fa-shan. Farther south, in the region of Kua-ts'ang 括蒼 (Chekiang), the legacy of the Cheng-i 正一 Master Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善 (616–720/722?) was kept sacred throughout the T'ang and Sung. A comprehensive account of his life is found in HY 778 *T'ang Yeh Chen-jen chuan* 唐葉真人傳 [A Hagiography of Yeh, the Perfected, of the T'ang]. The precise history of this text remains uncertain.²⁵² All that is known about the provenance of this edition is that sometime in the mid-thirteenth century it came into the hands of Ma Kuang-tsu 馬光祖 (fl. 1226–1269) via his older maternal cousin, a “Ch'ung-chen yü-shih” 冲真羽士 (Feathered Master of Piercing Perfection) named Chang Tao-t'ung 張道統. According to a preface dated 1240, Ma was given the text when he took office as the prefect of Kua-ts'ang. Ma, like many regional bureaucrats of the Sung, clearly recognized the value of promoting local worthies. In Yeh he saw someone whose filiality toward kin and loyalty toward officials set the heavens and earth in motion and stirred up both spectral forces and divine spirits 其孝於親忠於君有以動天地感鬼神. What made him stand out, in Ma's eyes, was his ability to whip up the wind and harness thunderbolts. Yeh Fa-shan, in other words, was someone to whom the prefect could appeal in times of drought and deluge. Indeed, at the close of his preface, Ma advises that the incense fires be kept burning on behalf of this local guardian so that prayers for both rain and clear weather might always be answered. His eloquent plea reminds us that such hagiographies were generally put in print not to satisfy antiquarian interests but to reinforce faith in a transcendent figure whose powers were believed to have been tested by time. This work is all the more remarkable for the eulogistic devotion it retains for a local talent of five centuries past.

Following the preface is a one-page genealogical record of the Yeh lineage, dating back to an ancestor of the fifteenth generation. It was a family that boasted three Taoist Masters: Fa-shan; his grandfather, Yeh Kuo-chung 葉國重; and his father, Yeh Hui-ming 葉慧明; but it was the life of Yeh Fa-shan that inspired countless storytellers over the centuries. The text here presents a chronologically organized series of episodes, many of which can be traced back to earlier hagiographies and

ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇 literature.²⁵³ Yeh appears to have established his reputation initially as an exorcist. Upon receiving the sacred rites of Cheng-i in a divine revelation, Yeh is said to have been able to cure those possessed by malevolent forces as well as to annihilate all wayward spirits to whom sacrifices were made upon threats of violence.²⁵⁴ As Ma Kuang-tsu suggests in his preface, Yeh was also noted for his ability to prevail over the powers deemed to be in control of meteorological phenomena. Yeh was not unlike Hsü Sun, with whom Yeh reportedly met, in that no dragon nor any other serpentine agent creating havoc within the aquatic domain remained beyond his reach. Yeh's skill in combatting such agents is highlighted in a talismanic text Yeh was said to have received from Chang Tao-ling himself.²⁵⁵ Although he is credited with serving five rulers of the T'ang, from Kao-tsung 高宗 (r. 650–683) to Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 (r. 712–756), it is Yeh's career under the latter that has most captured the imagination of the literati. One of the best-known episodes from that era concerns his journey with Hsüan-tsung to the lunar palace, where the emperor was held spellbound by the music of the “Ni-shang yü-i” 霓裳羽衣 [Rainbow Skirt and Feathered Dress].²⁵⁶ Upon his ascent, dated here to the year 720, the centenarian Yeh reputedly left behind three pentasyllabic *lü-shih*, all recorded in full here, along with the eulogies of both T'ang Hsüan-tsung and his successor, Su-tsung 肅宗 (r. 756–762). These verses are followed by three communiqués that Yeh dispatched to Hsüan-tsung in 716 and by tomb inscriptions for all three generations of Taoist Masters of the Kua-ts'ang Yeh lineage. The text closes with the decrees of Hsüan-tsung authorizing titles of enfeoffment and those of Sung Hui-tsung granting more esoteric epithets in 1116 and 1120.

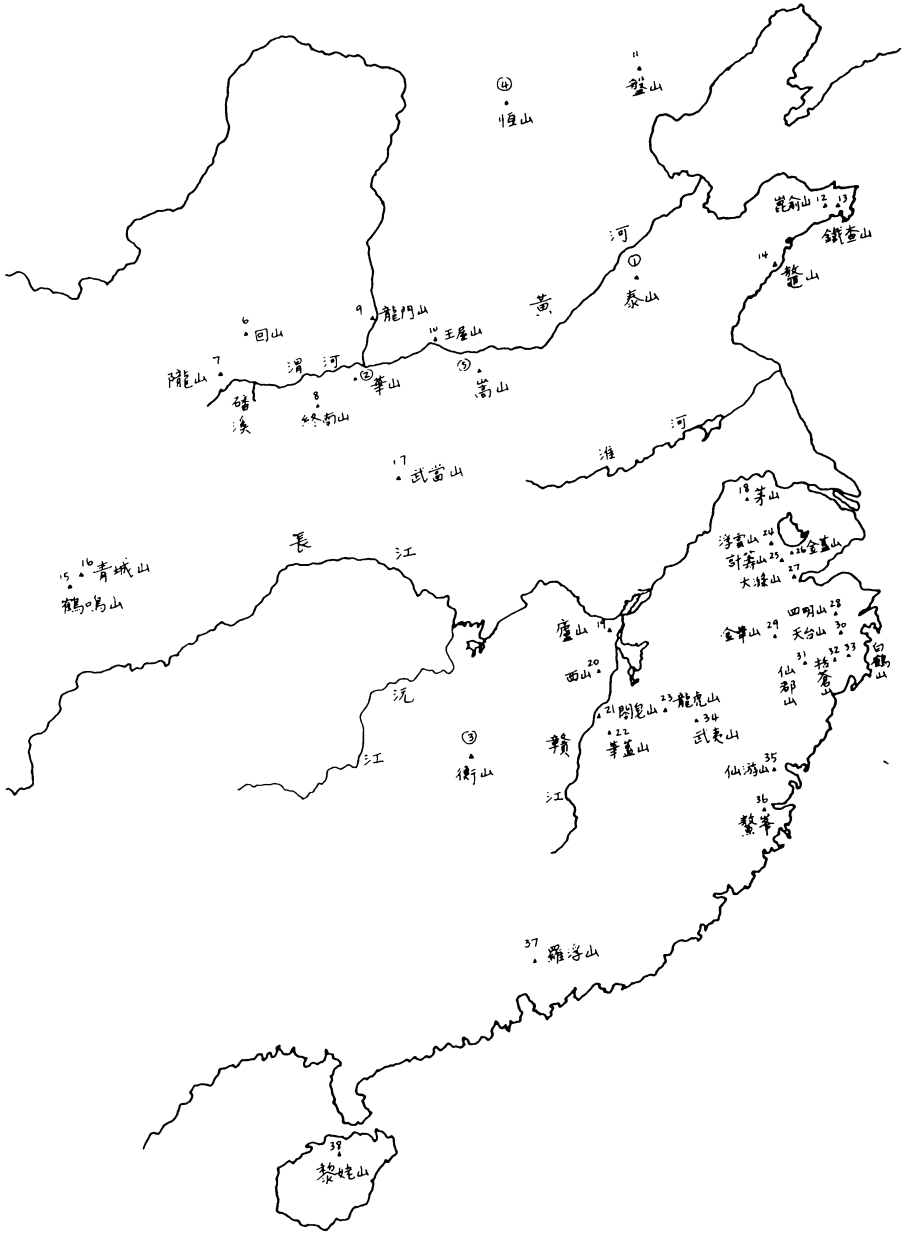
Wen Ch'üung. It appears that HY 779 *Ti-ch'i shang-chiang Wen T'ai-pao chuan* 地祇上將溫太保傳 [A Hagiography of Grand Guardian Wen, Supreme Commander of the Tutelary Deities] was similarly derived from an assortment of narratives. It was collated in 1274 by Huang Kung-chin 黃公瑾, a disciple of Liu Yü 劉玉, (fl. 1258). A colophon of this date that must have accompanied this edition originally is preserved separately in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 253.²⁵⁷ The text is dedicated to Wen Ch'üung 溫瓊 (b. 702) of P'ing-yang 平陽 (Chekiang).²⁵⁸ According to the legend recorded here, Wen was in the vanguard of the troops assigned to Kuo Tzu-i 郭子儀 (697–781), a hero in the suppression of the An Lu-shan rebellion. Wen was said to have been

able to conjure up a dense black fog that confused the enemy and, in the end, caused them to suffer mass fatalities. His career was cut short, however, when Kuo had an ominous dream, which convinced him that Wen did indeed possess miraculous powers. Awe was soon overcome by suspicion, and once Wen sensed that his captain intended to murder him, he fled to the sacred peak of the East, T'ai Shan 泰山. There, according to tradition, he took up butchering cattle and selling wine until a divine emissary challenged him to abandon his unsavory ways. Wen thereafter gave up killing and entered the Tung-yüeh Miao 東嶽廟 (Shrine of the Eastern Peak). At this site he eventually achieved a divine metamorphosis and took over as Grand Guardian of the peak. Later, when prayers were offered before a shrine to T'ai Shan at Wenchow 溫州 (Chekiang) in a plea for rain, there were said to appear clouds capped by a banner on which Wen Ch'üung's name was inscribed. The rescue of his home territory from a drought came to the attention of the 30th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-hsien.

Wen was outstanding in the mind of this patriarch for his refusal to accept blood sacrifices as an expression of thanksgiving. The message of this text overall appears to be that tutelary deities such as Wen were not to be granted shrines nor to be canonized by the state. This position evidently was adopted at a time when such deities were perceived to be in competition for personal glory, having lost sight of the fact that they were merely agents of the celestial bureaucracy. The 30th Celestial Master is credited here with rewarding Wen Ch'üung for his strict adherence to the Cheng-tao 正道 (Correct Way) by creating new talismans and a cloud seal-script (*yün-chuan* 雲篆) on his behalf. Wen's biography would seem to have been compiled foremost as a document on the historical origins of the ritual codes bearing his name.²⁵⁹

Subsequent episodes concern the fulfillment of Wen's vow to assist the Celestial Master "in destroying demonic forces that threaten mankind and in purging specters identified with riotous teachings" 滅害人
之魔去亂教之鬼 (5b). His circuit ranged across the entire continent, from Ch'üan-chou 泉州 (Fukien) west to Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan 青城山 in Szechwan. In this fifteen-page text and the five-page supplement of Huang Kung-chin that follows, there is a wealth of data on the various folk shrines against which the ritual power of Wen Ch'üung was said to have prevailed. The fearsome appearance of this tutelary deity was reported to have startled Master Chang Chi-hsien himself. The vision he

saw soaring down before him on horseback at Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan is depicted as a blue-faced, armored figure, wielding a bludgeon in his hand. Descriptions of Wen in the ritual codes of HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 254–256 are considerably more striking. His demonic face is said to feature buck teeth, fiery red hair and whiskers, and eyes gleaming with golden irises. This image is evoked in countless rites of the Taoist Canon and has inspired many storytelling traditions, as is attested, for example, in the *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記 [Journey to the West] and *Shui-hu chuan* 水滸傳 [Water Margin].²⁶⁰



Map 3. Mountains and Waterways

1. T'ai Shan (Shantung),
Sacred Peak of the East
2. Hua Shan (Shensi),
Sacred Peak of the West
3. Heng Shan (Hunan),
Sacred Peak of the South
4. Heng Shan (Shansi),
Sacred Peak of the North
5. Sung Shan (Honan),
Sacred Peak of the Center
6. Hui Shan (Kansu)
7. Lung Shan (Shensi)
8. Chung-nan Shan (Shensi)
9. Lung-men Shan (Shensi)
10. Wang-wu Shan (Shansi)
11. P'an Shan (Hopeh)
12. K'un-yü Shan (Shantung)
13. T'ieh-ch'a Shan (Shantung)
14. Ao Shan (Shantung)
15. Ho-ming Shan (Szechwan)
16. Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan (Szechwan)
17. Wu-tang Shan (Hupeh)
18. Mao Shan (Kiangsu)
19. Lu Shan (Kiangsi)
20. Hsi Shan (Kiangsi)
21. Ko-tsao Shan (Kiangsi)
22. Hua-kai Shan (Kiangsi)
23. Lung-hu Shan (Kiangsi)
24. Fou-yün Shan (Chekiang)
25. Chi-ch'ou Shan (Chekiang)
26. Chin-kai Shan (Chekiang)
27. Ta-ti Shan (Chekiang)
28. Ssu-ming Shan (Chekiang)
29. T'ien-t'ai Shan (Chekiang)
30. Chin-hua Shan (Chekiang)
31. Hsien-tu Shan (Chekiang)
32. Kua-ts'ang Shan (Chekiang)
33. Pai-ho Shan (Chekiang)
34. Wu-i Shan (Fukien)
35. Hsien-yu Shan (Fukien)
36. Ao-feng (Fukien)
37. Lo-fou Shan (Kuangtung)
38. Li-mu Shan (Hainan)

III

Topographic, Epigraphic, and Historiographic Treatises

Topography

Although a number of the hagiographies, as demonstrated above, prove to be excellent sources on local religious history, the most comprehensive records of this type in the Canon are, to be sure, the gazetteers. Many topographies were undertaken expressly for the purpose of documenting the history of a specific scriptural lineage. Others were designed primarily as tributes to the tutelary spirits identified with a particular geographic region. While considerable attention is invariably given to the beauty of the landscape in question, the scenic quality tends to be appraised primarily in reference to the numinous encounters it invites. It is significant that the topographies under discussion here are all records of mountainous sanctuaries. These high, sometimes extremely remote, mountain ranges were the inevitable choice of both the anchorite and the monastic community. Although topographic accounts on northern sites are by no means unknown, this genre of Taoist literature appears to spring largely from the south. The southern provenance of a number of folk deities and the preponderantly southern orientation of the variant ritual codes that evolved from the Sung to the Ming undoubtedly contributed to this regional emphasis.

Although the compiler of a local gazetteer occasionally took his inspiration from the scenery alone, a personal pilgrimage was more likely to define his literary objective. Such journeys could easily culminate in an audience with resident Taoist Masters. Indeed, it was not uncommon for the pilgrim to find his editorial mission spelled out by a very persuasive host, regardless of how well the compiler of a topography was informed about his subject. His awareness of the religious significance of a

site was often revealed in the commentary supplied on the status of structures within various temple compounds. References to current ritual celebrations at a particular shrine also give ample evidence that the writer's knowledge of local religious traditions was more than passing.

On occasion, a topography took shape not in fulfillment of a pilgrim's initiative but as part of an internal program of record keeping. In such instances the abbot has been known to take on the task himself. But, more often than not, the project was assigned to lower-ranking residents of a monastic community. The chorographic enterprise sometimes turned into a massive collaborative affair, with contributions coming in from several members of a brotherhood, often resulting in a text that presents its readers with many a bibliographic conundrum.

1. Mao Shan, the Shang-ch'ing Axis Mundi

One of the more momentous topographies in the *Tao-tsang*, the 33-ch. HY 304 *Mao Shan chih* 茅山志 [A Treatise on Mao Shan], is the product of a long and involved textual heritage. This edition is the work of Liu Ta-pin 劉大彬 (fl. 1317–1328), Shang-ch'ing Patriarch of the 45th generation.²⁶¹ According to a preface by Chao Shih-yen 趙世延 (1260–1336), dated 1324, Liu was given the title Tung-kuan wei-miao hsüan-ying chen-jen 洞觀微妙玄應真人 (Perfected of Arcane Response, Subtle Wonder, and Penetrating Observation) by imperial decree in 1312. Five years later the three Perfected Lords surnamed Mao 三茅真君, after whom the mountain range is named, were also given honorary epithets, and abbeys were established on the three peaks with which the brothers were identified.²⁶² It was during this age of renewed state patronage of Mao Shan that the *Mao Shan chih* was compiled.

According to a second preface written in 1327, Wu Ch'üan-chieh 吳全節 (1269–1346) enlisted Liu Ta-pin's aid in preparing a local history as early as 1315. Wu reports that upon arriving at Mao Shan in 1310 to preside over ritual offerings, he discovered that records on the history of the site were far from complete. He first spoke of the matter with Liu's predecessor, the 44th Shang-ch'ing Patriarch Wang Tao-meng 王道孟 (1242–1314). The treatise Wang produced shortly thereafter was not, in Wu's eyes, very satisfactory. When Wu supervised offerings on behalf of the state at Mao Shan five years later, he brought up the subject with Liu. By 1326, Wu was back at Mao Shan on the occasion of a *chiao*-fête ordered by the emperor and found a completed text. The work he ap-

plauds comprised fifteen *chüan*. The headings Wu cites for the first and last *p'ien* 篇 (folio) are identical with the subtitles for the first and last chapters of the edition preserved in the Canon.

Liu's own preface of 1328 makes note of a topography in four *chüan* dating to 1150, which he characterizes as nothing more than a list of landscape features and shrine buildings, with only a rough sketch concerning events of historical interest.²⁶³ By way of contrast, he describes his own account as a comprehensive record of the sacred range from legendary to contemporary times. The latter part of his preface is turned over to a summary of the contents, according to twelve categories. The headings he cites correspond in every instance to those under which the version in the Canon is organized:

1. "Kao fu-mo" 誥副墨 [Copies of Entitlements], a collection of imperial decrees and memorials dating from 1 B.C.E. to 1319 (ch. 1-4);²⁶⁴
2. "San-shen chi" 三神記 [A Record of the Three Divine Spirits], biographies of Mao Ying 茅盈 (145-1 B.C.E.) and his younger brothers Mao Ku 茅固 and Mao Chung 茅衷 (ch. 5);²⁶⁵
3. "Kua-shen ch'ü" 括神區 [Sites in Which Spirits Are Embraced], the mountains, caverns, rivers, rocks, altars, bridges, and pavilions (ch. 6-7);²⁶⁶
4. "Chi-ku" 稽古 [Archaeological Sites], including roadways, wells, and tombs (ch. 8);
5. "Tao-shan ts'e" 道山冊 [Fascicles from the Mountain of the Tao], an inventory of texts, from the *Tao-te ching* and the Shang-ch'ing corpus to a catalogue of titles attributed to various perfected writers and a list of all works pertaining to Mao Shan in the bibliographic essay in Cheng Ch'iao's 鄭樵 (1104-1162) *T'ung-chih* 通志 (ch. 9);
6. "Shang-ch'ing p'in" 上清品 [The Ranks of Shang-ch'ing], hagiographic accounts of the Shang-ch'ing celestial hierarchy and the 45 generations of Shang-ch'ing dignitaries, from the one and only Patriarch, Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存 (251-334) to the 45th Patriarch, Liu Ta-pin (ch. 10-12);²⁶⁷
7. "Hsien ts'ao-shu" 仙曹署 [Transcendent Officers], a survey of the divine transcendents in charge of various administrative bureaus at Hua-yang tung-t'ien 華陽洞天 (Grotto-heavens of Hua-yang), i.e.,

- Mao Shan (ch. 13–14);
8. “Ts’ai-chen yu” 采真遊 [Travels of the Select Perfected], accounts of those who took refuge at the site and lists of those who made pilgrimages (ch. 15–16);
 9. “Lou-kuan pu” 樓觀部 [An Inventory of Garrets and Abbeys], discussions of the various temple compounds, shrines, and hermitages (ch. 17–18);
 10. “Ling-chih chien” 靈植檢 [An Investigation into the Numinous Horticulture], on the sacred fungi and rare pharmaceutical agents indigenous to Mao Shan (ch. 19);
 11. “Lu chin-shih” 錄金石 [Keeping Records on Metal and Stone], inscriptions on metal vessels and stelae dating from 520 to 1314 (ch. 20–27);
 12. “Chin-hsieh” 金薤 [Golden Shallots],²⁶⁸ an anthology of verse starting with a sequence by T’ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456–536) and ending with a piece by Chin Yüeh 金鑰 dating to 1279 (ch. 28–32); and a collection of miscellaneous compositions, starting with Hsieh Ling-yün’s 謝靈運 (385–433) preface to his “Lo-fou Shan fu” 羅浮山賦 and closing with Chao Meng-fu’s (1254–1322) preface to a lost tableau entitled “Shang-ch’ing ch’uan-chen t’u” 上清傳真圖 [In Illustration of the Perfected Recipients of Shang-ch’ing] (ch. 33).

As the distribution of *chüan* in this edition reveals, the latter two categories are the largest in the text, making it an invaluable literary archive. There is overall no better source for reconstructing the milieu of the Shang-ch’ing legacy over the centuries.²⁶⁹

2. T’ai Shan, Sacred Peak of the East

The 18-ch. HY 1460 *Tai shih* 岱史 [A History of Tai] is among those texts incorporated into the 1607 *Hsü Tao-tsang* under the imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang (d. 1611). This topography of the eastern branch of the five sacred peaks (*wu-yüeh* 五嶽), T’ai Shan 泰山, was edited by the governor of Shantung Cha Chih-lung 查志隆 (fl. 1554–1586).²⁷⁰ The opening preface, addressed to Ming Shen-tsung 明神宗 (r., Wan-li, 1573–1619), was composed on New Year’s day of 1587 by T’an Yao 譚耀, a censor in the imperial Bureau of Investigation. In discussing the significance of T’ai Shan in the ritual

protocols of the state, T'an points out the need for a definitive monograph on the site.²⁷¹ Toward that end, he gathered together what records he could find and presented them to Cha for collation. According to Cha's own presentation statement, dated two months earlier, the most noteworthy of all the material he received was an anthology of verse composed by literati on their travels to T'ai Shan.²⁷² In the organization of a more comprehensive treatise, he adopted four broad categories favored by early historians: "K'ao" 考 (Background Investigations), "Piao" 表 (Inventories), "Chi" 紀 (Chronicles), and "Chih" 志 (Treatises). The text is further divided into fourteen subheadings. It was originally printed in seven *ts'e*, or fascicles, which were labeled according to the sequence of words in a line from the *Chung-yung* 中庸: "Chih chu kwei-shen erh wu-i" 質諸鬼神而無疑 (Confront all specters and spirits, and you will be devoid of apprehension). Cha's choice of this cataloguing code appears to have been made for its reinforcement of the ritual obligations of the state to T'ai Shan.

The table of contents for chapter 1 lists eight maps, including one for the most popular shrine of T'ai Shan, the Pi-hsia Kung 碧霞宮 (Palace of the Cyan Aurora). Not one of these maps is retained in this edition, but they are included in a 1699 reprint of the *Tai shih* in the British Library (Or. 15287.b.6). All that survives of chapter 1 in the Canon is a brief introductory essay on the chorography of the sacred peak of the East. The remaining sections under the "K'ao" heading (ch. 1-3) comprise various citations on the position of T'ai Shan vis-à-vis constellations above and landmarks below. Passages have been drawn not only from standard historiographic texts, but also from sources as diverse as Tao-shih's 道世 (d. 683) *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 法苑竹林 (T. 2122) and the lost *Mao-chün chuan* 茅君傳 [Life of Lord Mao]. The "Piao" section (ch. 4-5) includes a list of prominent landscape features and a chronological survey of the place names in the region. Under the four subheadings of the "Chi" section are chronologically arranged entries on imperial visits to T'ai Shan (ch. 6), state sacrifices (ch. 7), archaeological sites associated with the ruling house, Confucius and his successors, and various transcendents (ch. 8),²⁷³ as well as accounts of various temple compounds and folk shrines (ch. 9)²⁷⁴ and halls established in honor of Confucius and two Sung literati, Sun Fu 孫復 (992-1057) and his disciple Shih Chieh 石介 (1005-1045), renowned for their study of the classics (ch. 10).²⁷⁵ The closing section, labeled

“Chih,” is subdivided into the following headings:

1. Ch. 11, “Kung-shih” 宮室 (Palatial Structures), including, for example, the T'ai Shan shu-yüan 泰山書院 (Academy of T'ai Shan) on the grounds of the former hermitage of the T'ang poet Chou P'u 周朴 (d. 878).
2. Ch. 12, “Wu-ch'an” 物產 (Material Products), including indigenous botanical and zoological species, as well as mineralogical assets and miscellaneous local commodities such as silk, cotton, and beeswax.
3. Ch. 13, “Hsiang-shui” 香稅 (Incense Tax), concerning the personnel and regulations governing the collection of taxes levied on all those who came to worship at T'ai Shan.²⁷⁶
4. Ch. 14, “Tsai-hsiang” 災祥 (Disastrous and Auspicious Events), on the interpretations of natural and supernatural phenomena from 78 B.C.E. to 1586.²⁷⁷
5. Ch. 15–18, “Teng-lan” 登覽 (On Climbing and Sightseeing), a vast literary anthology of prose and prosodic compositions resulting from journeys into the mountains.

The last section is the most voluminous of the entire monograph. Chapter 15 is devoted to verses dating from the Chou to the Yüan. Chapter 16 covers the Ming up to the year 1554 and chapter 17, from 1554 thereafter.²⁷⁸ The very last chapter, which at 87 pages in length is the longest of this edition, includes *fu* 賦 (rhapsodies) and various other miscellaneous writings taken, for example, from Hung Mai's (1123–1202) *Jung-chai sui-pi* 容齋隨筆. The overwhelming number of compositions in this selection date to the Ming. Both the vintage of the *Tai shih* and its emphasis on belles-lettres recommend the work as a necessary complement to the 18th- and 19th-century gazetteers that served Chavannes so well in his 1910 study, *Le T'ai Chan, essai de monographie d'un culte chinois*.

3. Hua Shan, Sacred Peak of the West

Although only a fraction of the size of the monograph on T'ai Shan, the HY 307 *Hsi-yüeh Hua Shan chih* 西嶽華山誌 [A Treatise on Hua Shan, Sacred Peak of the West] is nonetheless an important resource on the history of sanctified mountains in China. The name of

the editor cited on the title page of this text is “Retiree of Lotus Peak, Wang Ch’u-i” 蓮峯逸士王處一. Contrary to the assumption made in a 19th-century gazetteer entitled *Hua-yüeh chih* 華嶽志, there is no evidence indicating that this Wang Ch’u-i should be identified with the Ch’üan-chen patriarch of the same name.²⁷⁹ All we know about the Wang whose name appears on this work is what Liu Ta-yung 劉大用 (*tzu*, Ch’i-chih 器之) of Ni-yang 泥陽 (Kansu), the author of an 1183 preface, tells us, and regrettably he gives very little background information. Liu simply refers to the compiler as “my friend Wang Tzu-yüan” 吾友王公子淵, which leaves the impression that he was on intimate enough terms to use a familiar name. Wang, he says, took refuge at Hua Shan shortly after his marriage. Whatever the circumstances that may have led to this move, Liu leads us to believe that Wang came to develop an interest in local history. When he came across a copy of a text entitled *Hua Shan chi* 華山記 [A Record of Hua Shan], Wang reportedly made it the foundation of his own compilation. Additional material, according to Liu, was drawn from regional atlases and hagiographies such as Liu Hsiang’s 劉向 (77–6 B.C.E.) *Lieh-hsien chuan* 列仙傳 [Lives of Transcendents]. When a text of over seventy folios had been completed and was ready to be carved on blocks, Liu says that Wang invited him, because of his literary skill, to add a preface. The self-congratulatory language is just one of the many features that suggest Liu may not only have invented the “Retiree of Lotus Peak” but contrived the text as well. He claims that he, too, had a desire to settle at Hua Shan, primarily to compound what he calls “divine pharmaceuticals” (*shen-yao* 神藥), and that his encounter with Wang might finally give him the opportunity to fulfill that desire.

The text that follows, based largely on earlier materials, could just as well have been written by someone who had only known Hua Shan from a distance. Printed immediately after Liu’s introduction is a preface attributed to T’ang Hsüan-tsung that may have accompanied the original *Hua Shan chi*.²⁸⁰ Another passage ascribed to the emperor is found at the end of the text, a statement dating to 714 in authorization of an entitlement for the spirit embodied at Hua Shan, no doubt extracted from the earlier topography. Unlike the treatise on T’ai Shan, the *Hsi-yüeh Hua Shan chih* offers no further documentation of state or local rituals in propitiation of the resident deity.

The opening essay on the geography of the region summarizes the changes in place names from pre-Ch'in to Sung times. The remainder of the text is organized under a series of miscellaneous headings highlighting the geological features, architectural landmarks, and individuals associated with Hua Shan. The first entry concerns one of the dominant peaks, Lien-hua Feng 蓮花峯 (Lotus-Flower Peak), from whence, we are apparently expected to understand, the editor derived his nickname. The peak was known, according to this account, for a thousand-petaled white lotus flower, which when eaten reputedly enabled one to achieve divine transformation. Various other indigenous plants and minerals with similar magical properties are named in succeeding passages—precisely the subject matter in which Liu Ta-yung expressed considerable interest. Imaginative stories are also told about a black dragon to whom the local people prayed for rain and the miraculous exorcism of possessing spirits manifested as foxes and snakes, to give but two examples. The few texts cited are well-known works such as T'ao Hung-ching's (456–536) *Teng-chen yin-chüeh* 登真隱訣 [Concealed Instructions for Ascent to Perfection], the *Shan-hai ching* 山海經 [Classic on Mountains and Seas], and a verse of Tu Fu 杜甫 (712–770). The majority of narrative accounts are set in the Han to T'ang dynasties. Although this treatise was supposed to have been compiled at least five decades after the Jurchen mandate had been established in the region, there is no reference to Chin dynasty reign titles. For the comparable period of history, the editor cites instead the titles of the Southern Sung, and he even refers once to a reign title of the Great State of Ch'i 大齊國, an independent political unit set up at Tung-p'ing 東平 (Shantung) by Liu Yü 劉豫 (1073–1143) as an open challenge to the Jurchen regime.²⁸¹ The *Hsi-yüeh Hua Shan Chih* may thus have been compiled under a pseudonym by someone anxious to see the overthrow of the state of Chin.

4. Heng Shan, Sacred Peak of the South

A third work in the Canon devoted to one of the five sacred peaks is HY 606 *Nan-yüeh tsung-sheng chi* 南嶽總勝集 [An Anthology on the Collective Highlights of the Sacred Peak of the South]. Although no provenance is indicated, a much longer edition of the same title, in three *chüan*, is found in the Buddhist Canon (T. 2097). There the work is attributed to Ch'en T'ien-fu 陳田夫 (*tzu*, Keng-sou 耕叟; *hao*, Ts'ang-

yeh-tzu 蒼野子, fl. 1131-1163). The fuller version includes a comprehensive report on Buddhist and Taoist temples, as well as the folk shrines, of Heng Shan 衡山 (central Hunan). None of the passages dealing with Buddhist temples (*ssu* 寺) nor folk shrines (*tz'u* 祠) is printed in the abridgment of this text in the *Tao-tsang*. Also missing is Ch'en's preface of 1163.²⁸² Internal reference to the Ch'ien-tao 乾道 reign (1165-1173) in both editions indicates that the work was expanded at a later date.²⁸³

Case histories for a total of 28 sanctuaries are retained in the *Tao-tsang* edition.²⁸⁴ This limited selection of material proves to be an excellent condensation of the history of Taoist ritual traditions at Heng Shan, reflecting an intimate awareness of the subject. Opening the redaction here is an entry on the Chen-chün Kuan 真君觀 (Abbey of the Perfected Lord), established in honor of Ch'ih-ti 赤帝, the divine sovereign of the South. For the early history of this and many other shrines, Ch'en apparently chose to adopt the discussions found in HY 453 *Nan-yüeh hsiao-lu* 南嶽小錄 [A Short Account on the Sacred Peak of the South], compiled in 902 by a Taoist Master named Li Ch'ung-chao 李冲昭.²⁸⁵ *Chiao*-fêtes were said to have been scheduled at the Chen-chün Kuan at the beginning of every summer, on the *li-hsia* 立夏 day (sixth day of the fifth lunar month). By 1108, according to Ch'en, six occasions were set aside for such fêtes, each of which was officially announced by a message from the emperor himself. These ritual services were always offered on behalf of the state, in assurance of its prosperity. Similarly, it is said that at another major shrine, the Heng-yüeh Kuan 衡嶽觀 (Abbey of Heng-yüeh), devotions were offered every morning in supplication of both the emperor's longevity and national prosperity. Imperial patronage of these shrines appears to have been especially strong during the Sung. Sung Hui-tsung, in particular, took an uncommon interest in the site. Many of the latest recorded names for the temples here were those he himself had prescribed, and he personally canonized a number of individuals. This work attests to many such entitlements granted in the year 1118. The *Nan-yüeh tsung-sheng chi* offers an outstanding dossier on several generations of Taoist Masters active in south central China. No doubt the editors of this edition were interested in bringing the careers of these disciples of Hua Shan to the attention of a wider audience.

5. Five Accounts on Sacred Mountains of Chekiang

T'ien-t'ai Shan. An intricate network of Taoist sanctuaries once dominated the landscape of Chekiang. A sense of their past glory can be derived from five topographies in the Canon. The provenance of one such work, HY 603 *T'ien-t'ai Shan chih* 天台山志 [A Treatise on the T'ien-t'ai Mountains], remains somewhat of a mystery. The editor of this haphazard collection of geographical summaries, tied together with prosodic and prose compilations, drew heavily on Hsü Ling-fu's 徐靈府 (ca. 760–841) *T'ien-t'ai Shan chi* 天台山志 [A Record of the T'ien-t'ai Mountains] and no doubt considered his own work to be a supplement to this earlier treatise.²⁸⁶ Among the literary selections he chose to cite in full are Sun Ch'o's 孫綽 (ca. 301–380) "T'ien-t'ai fu" 天台賦 [Rhapsody on T'ien-t'ai] and Li Po's 李白 (699–762) "T'i T'ung-po Kuan shih" 題桐柏觀詩 [Verse on the Abbey of T'ung-po].

The Abbey of T'ung-po, situated on a peak of the same name, was for centuries the most prominent temple compound in the T'ien-t'ai range. It was built in 712 as T'ang Jui-tsung's 唐睿宗 (r. 710–712) tribute to the eminent Taoist Master Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承貞 (647–735). By the late tenth century, the temple reportedly housed one of the largest collections of Taoist texts in the country.²⁸⁷ Its significance as a talisman of the state was greatly enhanced after the fall of the Northern Sung. Upon the relocation of the ruling house in Hangchow, a local official named Ts'ao Hsün 曹勳 (d. 1174) undertook the supervision of a vast construction project on temple grounds. The report he filed at the completion of the task some 37 years later, in 1168, is copied out verbatim in the *T'ien-t'ai Shan chih*. Nearly two centuries later, the loss of the temple stimulated the composition of an anonymous lament in which the author describes how the T'ung-po Kuan went up in flames shortly after it was inundated with refugees fleeing from the upheavals of dynastic change. The only vestige of the temple to survive, he reports, was a sandalwood reliquary that had been fortuitously removed before the fire. This nameless observer reveals that he is writing in the *ting-wei* 丁未 year, precisely 199 years after Ts'ao Hsün's expectations for the T'ung-po Kuan had been met, that is, in 1367. Even in the midst of such unrest, he consoles himself and his readers in the end with the remark that "prosperity and decline, exultation and defeat—each has its own time" 盛衰興廢亦自有其時焉 (10a). In such a philosopher we have, perhaps, the compiler of the *T'ien-t'ai Shan chih*.

Ssu-ming Shan. Northwest of the T'ien-t'ai ridge is a parallel band of mountains known as Ssu-ming Shan 四明山, or simply Tan Shan 丹山. The concise HY 605 *Ssu-ming tung-t'ien Tan Shan t'u-yung chi* 四明洞天丹山圖詠集 [An Anthology of Recitations and Maps on Tan Shan, the Grotto-Heaven of Ssu-ming] is a collection of writings on the history of devotional traditions at this site. It was compiled sometime after 1362 by the Han-lin academician Tseng Chien 曾堅 (fl. 1360–1370). Tseng was for some time indirectly acquainted with the region, through his travels by boat. He admits that his interest in preparing a topographical anthology was only aroused after Hsüeh I-fu 薛毅夫 presented him with two maps of the Ssu-ming range. Hsüeh had reportedly obtained the maps from Mao Yung-chen 毛永貞, his master at Ssu-ming. In his preface, Tseng surveys the history of local worthies from the transcendent Liu Kang 劉綱 of the third century C.E. to the Venerable Master Mao 毛尊師, that is, Mao Yung-chen. His selections of prose and verse document that legacy.

Opening the text is a series of 24 heptasyllabic quatrains attributed to a "Mu Hsüan-hsü 木玄虛 of the T'ang."²⁸⁸ The commentary of a self-ascribed "Mad Alien of Ssu-ming" (Ssu-ming k'uang-k'o 四明狂客), Ho Chih-chang 賀知章 (659–744), serves as a sort of mini-topography in and of itself. It consists largely of glosses on geological, botanical, and zoological features, together with brief hagiographic summaries. A short unsigned biography of Liu Kang follows. Succeeding accounts, such as the "Ssu-ming Shan ming" 四明山銘 [Inscription on Ssu-ming Shan] of Wei Su 危素 (1295–1372), offer variant readings on the means by which both Liu and his wife achieved transcendence.²⁸⁹ Wei's inscription was composed in 1362, at the request of Wu Kuo-kung 吳國珙, another disciple of Master Mao. According to Wei, a shrine was established in the mountains shortly after the ascent of Liu and his wife, Ms. Fan 樊氏. Then in 744 T'ang Hsüan-tsung ordered it moved down into the foothills of Ssu-ming. The history of this shrine, which came to be called the Abbey of White Water, is presented more fully in Wei's "Pai-shui Kuan chi" 白水觀記 [A Record of the Abbey of White Water]. The temple compound was enlarged significantly during the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111–1117) of Sung Hui-tsung, and at his behest both Liu and his wife were granted long honorific titles. The leading Taoist Master in residence at that time was Wu Chen-yang 吳真陽 (*hao*, Hun-p'u-tzu 混樸子), a disciple of the 30th Celestial Master,

Chang Chi-hsien. It was Wu's position that the Venerable Master Mao Yung-chen eventually inherited at Ssu-ming Shan. In 1361 Tseng Chien himself composed a "Shih-t'ien shan-fang shih hsü" 石田山房詩序 [Preface to a Verse on the Mountain Habitat of the Rocky Fields], in memory of the hermitage Mao had established next to the Abbey.

The closing two-thirds of the text is turned over to a selection of verses dating from the T'ang to the Yüan, many of which were generated from pilgrimages to Ssu-ming. Included are the works of T'ang poets to which both Wei and Tseng repeatedly refer in their own contributions, namely, Meng Chiao 孟郊 (750-814), Lu Kuei-meng 陸龜蒙 (d. ca. 881), and P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休 (d. ca. 881). Among the later compositions is a verse addressed by Chang Yü (1283-after 1356?) to Master Mao and a verse by Mao's disciple Hsüeh I-fu. Had Hsüeh not approached Tseng Chien with his maps, this anthology may never have been compiled. It is ironic, however, that, while something of the literary legacy has after all been preserved, the precious maps that must have accompanied the text have disappeared.

Hsien-tu Shan. To the south of the T'ien-t'ai range, just outside Chin-yün 縉雲 district, lies Hsien-tu shan 仙都山. This site was for centuries the center of many local cults, the most prominent of which was that devoted to the legendary Yellow Emperor, Huang-ti 黃帝. An outstanding record of popular beliefs in the region is found in the 2-ch. HY 602 *Hsien-tu chih* 仙都志 [A Treatise on Hsien-tu]. The text was compiled by Ch'en Hsing-ting 陳性定 (*tzu*, Tz'u-i 此一) and collated by Wu Ming-i 吳明義 (*tzu*, Chung-i 仲誼), both of whom identify themselves as residents of Hsien-tu. Little else is known about either editor or collator. An anonymous preface dating to 1348, presumably from the hand of Wu Ming-i, praises the detail in Ch'en's compilation and suggests that it will serve the armchair traveler most admirably (可以臥游矣).

The first chapter is organized under three headings: "Shan-ch'uan" 山川 (Mountains and Rivers), "Tz'u-yü" 祠宇 (Shrines), and "Shen-hsien" 神仙 (Divine Transcendents). Included in the opening section on topographical features are numerous citations from local gazetteers and other rare texts, such as a *Hsüan-hsü chih* 玄虛志 ascribed to the T'ang transcendent Liu Ch'u-ching 劉處靜 (*hao*, Yin-chen 隱真; d. 873). Special attention is paid throughout to the history of divine manifestations at Hsien-tu Shan. The dragon-drawn chariot of Huang-ti, for

example, is said to have left permanent ruts on the central peak, Tu-feng Shan 獨峯山. During the Shao-hsing 紹興 reign (1131–1162), moreover, a shrine was reportedly established in propitiation of two giant serpents thought to have brought relief from drought. The most prominent of all landmarks discussed in this chapter is the Yü-hsü Kung 玉虛宮 (Palace of the Jade Void), which was the name by which a shrine established in honor of the Yellow Emperor came to be known after 1065. The original shrine was said to have dated to 748. Incorporated in an unusually detailed description of the Palace are not only the titles of various halls and shrines within the temple grounds, but also the names of those calligraphers responsible for the many dedicatory inscriptions posted throughout. The calligrapher most frequently cited is none other than the eminent Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322). Chapter 1 closes with two biographies, one of a T'ang ascetic named Chou Ching-fu 周景復 and another of Liu Ch'u-ching.

The second chapter is organized in four parts: "Kao-shih" 高士 (Exalted Masters), "Ts'ao-mu" 草木 (Grasses and Trees), "Pei-chieh" 碑石 (Stone Inscriptions), and "T'i-yung shih-chi" 題詠詩集 (Prosodic Anthology of Topical Recitations). The first of the nine biographies at the beginning of the chapter is that of Yu Ta-ch'eng 游大成, a key figure in the restoration of the Yü-hsü Kung following its destruction by rebel forces in 1120. The last generation documented are two contemporaries of the editor and collator, namely, Chao Ssu-ch'i 趙嗣祺 (tzu, Hsü-i 虛一: 1277–1340) and Li Te-ning 李德寧 (tzu, Shou-i 守一; d. 1345). Chao, according to the preface, was appointed head of the Yü-hsü Kung in 1320, and Li held the position of second-in-charge at the temple for over forty years.

Although the section on indigenous plants that follows is for the most part simply a list of species, the initial entries do include brief discussions. Repeated here, for example, is the legend that *lung-hsü ts'ao* 龍鬚草 (dragon-whisker grass), a rush used in making fine mats, was made from the hairs pulled out of the beard of Huang-ti's dragon. Earliest among the inscriptions that reportedly survived at the time this work was compiled is a stele on which the words "Huang-ti tz'u-yü" 黃帝祠宇 (Shrine of Huang-ti) had been carved in the seal script of the famous calligrapher Li Yang-ping 李陽冰 (fl. 756–762). Also recorded in this section is a list of writings by various local authors on the landmarks of Hsien-tu Shan, the majority of which are no longer extant. The literary

selections with which this text closes include a number of verses mentioned in the earlier discussions, for example, those of Lu Kuei-meng, P'i Jih-hsiu, and Po Chü-i 白居易 (772–846). Many of the choices appear to have been made primarily for their reinforcement of the folklore surrounding the Yellow Emperor. Since Huang-ti was regarded as the ancestor of the ruling house of the Sung, the Yü-hsü Kung at one time no doubt hosted many an elaborate fête on behalf of the state.²⁹⁰ This account, on the other hand, is remarkably silent on the ritual calendar observed during both the Sung and Mongol regimes.

Chin-hua Shan. A short distance northwest of Hsien-tu Shan stands Chin-hua Shan 金華山. Because of its association with a legendary adept named Ch'ih-sung-tzu 赤松子, this site is also referred to as Ch'ih-sung Shan 赤松山 or simply Sung Shan 松山 (Pine Mountain).²⁹¹ The cult that evolved around two of his putative disciples, Huang Ch'u-p'ing 皇初平 (b. 328) and his older brother Huang Ch'u-ch'i 皇初起 (b. 325), is a central concern of HY 601 *Chin-hua Ch'ih-sung Shan chih 金華赤松山志* [A Treatise on Chin-hua Ch'ih-sung Shan]. Internal evidence indicates that this text was compiled sometime during the second half of the thirteenth century. It is the work of Ni Shou-yüeh 倪守約, a long-term local resident who signs his name as the "Feathered Gentleman of Pine Mountain" (松山羽士). According to an undated preface, Ni was literally raised in the shadow of the mountain. Consequently, he says, he grew up hearing a great deal about Ch'ih-sung-tzu and the "Erh Huang-chün" 二皇君, or the "Two Lords Huang," as the brothers were known. It was evidently of little surprise to his parents when he decided to leave home in search of a master. Ni claims to have spent over forty years in meditation at Chin-hua Shan. When he discovered that a published account on the lore of the mountain had long since vanished, he took up the task of compiling one himself.

The text opens with a hagiographic account of the Two Lords Huang. At the age of fifteen, the younger of the two was said to have been spirited away from his herd of sheep and into the mountains by a Taoist Master. Later, when the older brother encountered a Taoist Master at the marketplace and asked him to divine the whereabouts of his lost sibling, he, too, was escorted into a rocky chamber of Chin-hua Shan. Both, it was reported, were confronted by the illusory simulacrum (*huan-hsiang* 幻相) of the legendary Ch'ih-sung-tzu. After they, too, could effect magical transformations, the Huang brothers returned home

and taught the art of transcendence to a number of disciples. Their technique was apparently based on the ingestion of pine resin and *Poria cocos* (*fu-ling* 茯苓), a fungus commonly found at the roots of old pine trees. Upon the ascent of Huang Ch'u-p'ing and Huang Ch'u-ch'i, the villagers built a Ch'ih-sung Kung 赤松宮 (Palace of the Red Pine) to honor their master. Subsequent canonizations of the pair, in the years 1189 and 1262, are cited at the close of this introductory account.

The discussions that follow are organized under eight *lei* 類, or categories: (1) "Tan" 丹 (Cinnabar, i.e., sites of elixirs), (2) "Tung-hsüeh" 洞穴 (Caverns), (3) "Shan" 山 (Mountains), (4) "Shui" 水 (Sources of Water), (5) "Kung-yü" 宮宇 (Palaces and Shrines), (6) "Jen-wu" 人物 (Biographies), (7) "Chih-kao" 制誥 (Authorized Entitlements), and (8) "Pei-chi" 碑籍 (Inscriptions and Other Documents). The majority of entries under the first four categories of geological features concern the locations identified with various accomplishments in the lives of the two brothers, from their initial efforts at "refining elixirs" (*lien-tan* 煉丹) to their ascension into the clouds above. The cult appears to have reached its apogee during the Sung. Even the 30th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-hsien, was said to have offered his devotions at the site, leaving a verse behind in commemoration. Sung Li-tsung (r. 1255–1264) reportedly prayed for progeny within the Ch'ih-sung Kung, but, although nothing of the kind is said here, it was to no avail for in fact he never had any sons. Of all the temples at Chin-hua Shan, the Ch'ih-sung Kung was the most important. In 1008 Sung Chen-tsung (r. 998–1022) gave it the official title of Pao-chi Kuan 寶積觀 (Abbey of Precious Abundance).

The seven worthies allotted biographies in this text were all devotees of the Erh Huang-chün, starting with Shu Tao-chi 舒道紀, a strong adversary of the Buddhist monk Kuan-hsiu 貫休 (832–912), and ending with Chu Chih-ch'ang 朱知常 (fl. 1259–1265), who was apparently a contemporary of Ni Shou-yüeh. According to the record here, Chu first took up residence at Chin-hua Shan, and then in 1256 he was put in charge of the prestigious Yü-ch'en Kuan 玉晨觀 (Abbey of Jade Daybreak) at Mao Shan. Later he proved himself capable not only of controlling meteorological phenomena, but also of leading divine troops against invading Mongol hordes. Chu was said to have been decreed the title of 41st Patriarch of Shang-ch'ing sometime around 1263.²⁹² He reportedly went back to Chin-hua Shan two years later and built himself a

hermitage in which to spend his retirement years. At the height of Chu's career, the two Huang brothers were given additional honorary titles. The decrees of 1262 and 1189 are recorded in full here, as well as an earlier one dating to 1099 in canonization of Ch'ih-sung-tzu. Among the inscriptions listed under the closing category in the *Chin-hua Ch'ih-sung Shan chih* is one from an image of Lord Lao, another from the local Chen-wu T'ang 真武堂 (Hall of the Perfected Warrior), and one at the Abbey of Precious Abundance contributed by Master Chang Chi-hsien. The titles of four texts found at Chin-hua Shan are also cited, with the precise location of each clearly specified. A copy of this treatise was selected for the Ssu-k'u library as well. That edition, according to the imperial bibliographers (*SKCS* 1508), includes a short composition by Ming Ying-tsung 明英宗 (r. 1436–1449) that dates to 1439 and apparently at one time adorned a temple facade on Chin-hua Shan. The existence of this composition suggests that the site continued to be a center of ritual activity long after Ni Shou-yüeh compiled his monograph in the thirteenth century.

Ta-ti Shan. Ta-ti Shan 大滌山, located just outside Hangchow, is the northernmost of the five sacred mountains of Chekiang under discussion. This highland region is known to have attracted large numbers of transcendents, including early dignitaries of both Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao scriptural traditions. Two compilations pay tribute to the site, a topography and a literary anthology. Only the topography is printed in the Canon, in a 3-ch. edition entitled HY 781 *Ta-ti tung-t'ien t'u-chi* 大滌洞天圖記 [A Cartographic Record of the Grotto-Heavens of Ta-ti]. This redaction is an abbreviated version of the *Tung-hsiao t'u-chih* 洞霄圖志 [A Cartographic Treatise on the Caverned Empyrean], compiled in 1305 under the editorship of Teng Mu 鄧牧 (1247–1306). It served as a complement to the *Tung-hsiao shih-chi* 洞霄詩集 [An Anthology of Verse from the Caverned Empyrean] that Teng's chief collaborator Meng Tsung-pao 孟宗寶 completed three years earlier in 1302. Both works were the result of a local community project organized by Abbot Shen To-fu 沈多福 (fl. 1290–1306). The endeavor was devised, according to Shen's preface of 1305, in order that the sacred history of Ta-ti Shan would not be forgotten. In reviewing the literature available in the temple archives, Shen observed that both the *Chen-ching lu* 真境錄 [An Account of a Perfected Realm] of T'ang Tzu-hsia 唐子霞, dating to the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111–1117), and another compilation dating to

the Tuan-p'ing 端平 reign (1234–1236) were notoriously unreliable. Two other prefaces attached to this edition strongly commend Shen's own bibliographic enterprise. One was composed in 1305 by the eminent Wu Ch'üan-chieh (1269–1346). The other, much later, preface was contributed in 1398 by the 43rd Celestial Master, Chang Yü-ch'ü (1361–1410). His introduction offers a particularly eloquent summary of the history of spiritual rapture at Ta-ti Shan. The Ssu-k'u editors, who prepared entries for both a 6-ch. *Tung-hsiao t'u-chih* and a 3-ch. *Ta-ti tung-t'ien chi*, suggest that the Taoist Masters who invited Chang Yü-ch'ü to contribute a preface simply made an abridgment of Teng's work and put it out under a new title.²⁹³

The topography is organized under five *hsü* 錄, or headings: (1) "Kung-kuan" 宮觀 (Palaces and Abbeys), (2) "Shan-shui" 山水 (Landscape), (3) "Tung-fu" 洞府 (Cavernous Headquarters), (4) "Ku-chi" 古跡 (Traces of Antiquity), and (5) "Pei-chi" 碑籍 (Inscriptions and Other Documents). The content of each section is summarized in an introductory essay. Opening the text is a lengthy entry on the Tung-hsiao Kung 洞霄宮 (Palace of the Caverned Empyrean), the focal point of ritual activity at Ta-ti Shan for, it is said, nearly fifteen centuries. Its history as an auspicious site reputedly dates back to 108 B.C.E., when Han Wu-ti 漢武帝 (r. 140–87 B.C.E.) ordered a shrine constructed after casting lots. In 683 a T'ien-chu Kuan 天柱觀 (Abbey of the Celestial Pillar) was established at the same locale. By 1012, the temple grounds were substantially enlarged and the Abbey was renamed Tung-hsiao Kung. Propitiatory rites on behalf of the state were offered there every year until the temple was destroyed during the Fang La 方臘 (d. 1121) uprising. After the relocation of the Sung imperial court at Hangchow, Ta-ti Shan took on special significance once again, and by 1155 the Tung-hsiao Kung had been rebuilt. It fell victim to fire more than once thereafter, but from 1284 on, according to this chronicle, the Palace was under continuous restoration. Subsidiary shrines dating from the T'ang to the Yüan were frequently erected in memory of local luminaries such as Ko Hsüan (164–244). One even honored a Lung-wang 龍王, or Dragon King, that had been revered since the beginning of the Southern Sung and had also been canonized as late as 1236.

The headings of chapters 2 and 3 also tend to draw attention to the diversity of transcendents whose presence was thought to have graced Ta-ti Shan. Note is made, for example, of the site of an early homestead

occupied by Chang Tao-ling, of the very spot from which the Shang-ch'ing Patriarch Hsü Mai 許邁 (300–348) reputedly made his ascent, and of the hall in which Yeh Fa-shan (616–720) was known to have lectured. The category under which the latter is cited, “Traces of Antiquity,” includes a number of highly provocative narratives, some of which were drawn from local gazetteers that survive in name alone.

The fullest documentation of life at Ta-ti Shan is to be found in the closing selection of inscriptions and various other written records, by far the largest component of this edition. Included in the three entries from the T'ang is a “T'ien-chu Kuan chieh” 天柱窺見石罅 (Stone Inscription at the Abbey of the Celestial Pillar) by Wu Yün 吳筠 (d. 778). Five accounts date to the Southern Sung, among the more notable of which is one by Pai Yü-ch'an (fl. 1209–1224) written in 1217. Three of the eight entries from the Yüan are works of the editor Teng Mu himself. It can be said that of all available documentaries on Taoist sanctuaries in Chekiang, his has been recognized as the exemplar.²⁹⁴

6. Wu-tang Shan

The final topographical work to be considered was compiled in celebration of Wu-tang Shan 武當山, the fountainhead of variant Thunder Rites and martial codes. The 3-ch. text in question was admitted into the Canon under the title HY 960 *Wu-tang fu-ti tsung-chen chi* 武當福地總真集 [An Anthology on the Assembled Perfected in the Munificent Terrain of Wu-tang]. It is the accomplishment of a Ritual Master named Liu Tao-ming 劉道明 (*hao*, Tung-yang 洞陽). Upon the completion of his work in 1291, Liu simply referred to it as the *Wu-tang tsung-chen chi* 武當總真集 [An Anthology on the Assembled Perfected of Wu-tang]. Liu was a native of Ching-men 荆門 (Hupeh), several kilometers south of Wu-tang Shan. In seeking sanctuary in the mountains, he became one of the many disciples studying under Huang Shun-shen 黃舜申 (1224–ca. 1286), the codifier of the Ch'ing-wei Thunder Rites.²⁹⁵ Liu was evidently motivated to write up this account when he found that the blocks of all the earlier local histories had been lost in the century of conflict between the Jurchens and the State of Sung. As he readily acknowledges, the spiritual strength of Wu-tang Shan was closely related to its tutelary spirit, the omnipotent Hsüan-wu (Dark Warrior).

The first chapter and a half consists of a series of headings on various geological features of the Wu-tang mountain range. Many of the dis-

cussions allude to episodes in the career of the Dark Warrior, especially his subjugation of demonic forces. The peaks and stream beds of Wu-tang, as a result, often evoke the images of various reptilian and chelonian creatures regarded as subject to his jurisdiction. Among local denizens whose names come up more than once in connection with assorted place names are Lord Lao and his putative disciple Yin Hsi 尹喜, Ch'en T'uan 陳搏 (d. 989), and a Southern Sung specialist in Thunder Rites named Teng An-tao 登安道 (fl. 1141).

Following this remarkably detailed introduction to the geography of Wu-tang Shan is a historical survey of major temples. The dominant shrine, and the one in which Liu Tao-ming himself resided, is the Wu-lung ling-ying Kung 五龍靈應宮 (Palace of the Divine Response of the Five Dragons). Legend has it that this temple marks the spot where five dragons conducted the Dark Warrior to the realms above. Additional lore on Hsüan-wu's triumphs is preserved in the succeeding headings on "Shen-hsien ling-chi" 神仙靈跡 (Numinous Traces of Divine Transcendents). The same can be said for the closing sequences of chapter 2, concerning rare species in the animal and plant kingdoms of Wu-tang. Finally, in chapter 3, Liu turns his undivided attention to the theogony of the Dark Warrior. Close cognates to his account are to be found in a series of hagiographic works dating from the Sung to the Ming.²⁹⁶ Liu amplifies his own discussion with copies of decrees dating from 1018 to 1270, in authorization of honorary titles for the deity and his shrine. Following these texts are three very unusual lists pertinent to the cult: (1) the days on which Hsüan-wu was expected to descend, (2) the range of offerings sanctioned for him, including items such as lotus flowers and pomegranates, and (3) the hierarchy of deities present within the shrines of Hsüan-wu.²⁹⁷ In closing his treatise, Liu contributes 21 biographical accounts, many subjects of which are mentioned in earlier discussions. One such figure is Yeh Hsi-chen 葉希真 (hao, Yün-lai 雲萊, 1251-1286), a fellow disciple of Huang Shun-shen who traced his ancestry to the renowned Yeh Fa-shan (616-720). Liu's awareness of both the historical and contemporary aspects of Wu-tang culture apparently contributed to the widespread approval of his work. Lü Shih-shun 呂師順, for one, endorses this treatise without reservation in a colophon dating to 1301.²⁹⁸ Jen Tzu-yüan 任自垣 (fl. 1431), writing over a century later, also spoke highly of Liu's pioneering study and often drew from it in the compilation of his own *Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih* 大嶽太和山志

[Treatise on the Great Sacred Peak of T'ai-ho Shan].²⁹⁹

Epigraphy

Religious epigraphy, whether dedicated to a cultic or a patrilineal tradition, almost invariably carries a hortatory message. Those who composed inscriptions in honor of deities and their shrines and, moreover, those who made anthologies of them seem to have regarded their mission as one of celebration. As testimonials of personal devotion, inscriptions thus tended to serve as eternal memorials for otherworldly figures and their sacred terrain. It is not uncommon to find lists of inscriptions on stelae incorporated in topographic treatises, as, for example, in HY 601 *Chin-hua Ch'ih-sung Shan chih* discussed above. Many of the topographies examined in the preceding section were found to include a special heading for inscriptions copied out on site. Among those texts registering more than a passing interest in stelae are HY 304 *Mao Shan chih*, HY 602 *Hsien-tu chih*, and HY 781 *Ta-ti tung-t'ien t'u-chi*. Also printed in the Canon are a few titles in which epigraphy is the central focus, some of which are simply copies of individual inscriptions dating from the T'ang to the Ming.³⁰⁰

1. Inscriptions Commemorating T'ai-i and Hsüan-wu

Three texts from the tenth and eleventh centuries concern a series of T'ai-i Kung 太乙宮 (Palaces of Grand Unity) erected in the capital at Kaifeng 開封 (Honan). The earliest is HY 963 *Sung Tung T'ai-i Kung pei-ming* 宋東太乙宮碑銘 [A Stone Inscription for the Eastern Palace of Grand Unity of the Sung]. This laudatory piece was composed by Hu Meng 扈蒙 (915–986), a Han-lin academician who served under Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) in the compilation of the encyclopedia *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 and in the compilation of the literary anthology *Wen-yüan ying-hua* 文苑英華. According to Hu, a T'ai-i Kung was erected in the *sun* 巽 (southeastern) corner of the imperial city in the year of 983. Emperors since antiquity, as Hu reports, were accustomed to offering Spring and Autumn sacrifices in propitiation of the astral deity T'ai-i.³⁰¹ Although he acknowledges that there were many schools of thought on the particular domain of T'ai-i, Hu asserts that only the Wu-fu T'ai-i 五福太乙 (Grand Unity of the Five Fortunes) was capable of watching over both celestial and terrestrial realms. The manifestation of

this deity, he claims, guaranteed abundant crops, as well as prosperity and longevity for one and all.

The T'ai-i shrines established after 983 in variant quarters of the city evidently reflect contrasting interpretations of the ultimate source and significance of the cosmic deity. A second text, HY 964 *Sung Hsi T'ai-i Kung pei-ming* 宋西太乙宮碑銘 [A Stone Inscription for the Western Palace of Grand Unity of the Sung], was composed by the bibliophile Sung Shou 宋綬 (991–1040) in commemoration of a new temple set up in the southwest corner of the capital in 1028. A third selection, HY 965 *Sung Chung T'ai-i Kung pei-ming* 宋中太乙宮碑銘 [A Stone Inscription for the Central Palace of Grand Unity of the Sung], refers to the construction of another temple in 1071. It is the work of Lü Hui-ch'ing 呂惠卿 (1031–1100), the only one of the three with any other text to his name in the Canon.³⁰² Further investigation of historical materials should reveal more about the roles of Lü and his predecessors in perpetuating the T'ai-i cult as part of the imperial ritual programme. Taoist Masters at court no doubt also had a hand in shaping this tradition.

Another inscription printed separately in the Canon reflects imperial solicitude of what came to be regarded as an equally important state cult, that of Hsüan-wu (Dark Warrior), also known as Chen-wu (Perfect-ed Warrior). The text entitled *Yü-chih Chen-wu Miao pei* 御製真武廟碑 [An Imperial Inscription on the Shrine of the Perfected Warrior] dates to 1415 and immediately follows the work documenting manifestations of the deity from 1405 to 1418, that is, HY 958 *Ta Ming Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'u-lu* 大明玄天上帝瑞應圖錄 [An Illustrated Account of the Auspicious Responses of the Supreme Sovereign of the Dark Celestial Realm during the Great Ming].³⁰³ Both bear witness to Ming Ch'eng-tsu's extraordinary reverence for the Dark Warrior. Whereas the hagiographic compilation addresses the history of the shrines at Wu-tang Shan, the inscription articulates Ch'eng-tsu's desire for the erection of a sister temple in the capital at Peking—indeed, it is his authorization for such a shrine. The emperor justifies the construction on two counts. He argues first that a shrine in the capital would facilitate the conveyance of regular oblations, and secondly, that it could only enhance the range of Hsüan-wu's divine protection. The imperial house, in short, entrusted this guardian to purge the state of ill-boding supernatural forces and to ensure its immunity from floods, drought, and

epidemic diseases. Similar statements of faith are found in many other inscriptions preserved in the Canon and elsewhere. Until the comprehensive anthology of Taoist epigraphy by Ch'en Yüan and Ch'en Chih-ch'ao becomes available in print, the best aid in searching out such inscriptions in epigraphic collections, as a complement to *Tao-tsang* sources, is Yang Tien-hsün's 楊殿珣 *Shih-k'o t'i-pa so-yin* 石刻題跋索引.³⁰⁴

2. Anthologies Attesting to the Ch'üan-chen Legacy

In the post-T'ang period, the most prominent epigraphic collections are those prepared on behalf of the Ch'üan-chen tradition. Those sympathetic to this new dispensation emerging from the northern plains were apparently the only ones to maintain separate archives of epigraphy. While such records do not entirely make up for the lack of local gazetteers on sites sacred to Ch'üan-chen, they do fill a big gap in the history of this syncretic codification. There is regrettably, no comparable body of epigraphic materials in documentation of the diverse ritual traditions that prevailed south of the Yangtze. The inscriptions recorded in the topographies of the south are, in almost every case, statements on the construction and maintenance of temple grounds. Such texts are not supplemented, as they are in the Ch'üan-chen anthologies, by tomb inscriptions. It is difficult to say whether this reflects regional differences in the educational and class background of northern and southern Taoist Masters. The elite scribes of the north may have been more conscientious about putting up tombstone eulogies, or they may simply have been more diligent copyists of tombstone inscriptions.

The four diverse works cited here provide a valuable supplement to the vast literary corpus of the Ch'üan-chen tradition, thus confirming the extent to which this heritage dominated the northern frontier. The largest reference work is the 10-ch. HY 971 *Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu* 甘水仙源錄 [An Account of the Origins of Transcendents at Kan-shui], compiled by the major archivist of Ch'üan-chen, Li Tao-ch'ien 李道謙 (1219–1296), a native of Kaifeng. The place name in the title refers to the Kan-ho Garrison 甘河金真, west of Hsi-an, where the Ch'üan-chen founder Wang Che 王嘉 (1112–1170) reputedly gained enlightenment in the year 1159. The legendary Chung-li Ch'üan and his disciple Lü Yen are commonly credited with inspiring his spiritual awakening. According to Li's preface of 1288, however, an unnamed perfected transcendent

(*chen-hsien* 真仙) gave Wang divine water to drink and left him sacred codes of instruction, thereby leading him to forsake his mundane life and prepare himself for a mission of teaching that eventually took him to the Shantung peninsula. This text is thus a testimony to the impact of Wang's teachings for well over a century.

Chang Hao-ku 張好古 (fl. 1284–1289) of Chien-an 建安 (Fukien), who was one of Li Tao-ch'ien's disciples, explains in a colophon how his master went about acquiring copies of inscriptions. It seems that he traveled widely throughout north China, tracking down inscriptions on bronze and stelae at some one hundred different shrines. In the end, Li came up with over ninety folios of transcriptions which, according to Chang, were then reduced to a single folio for printing. Li's text, like many Ch'üan-chen compilations, opens with the decree of 1269 granting titles to the early patriarchs and the Seven Perfected. In the first eight chapters of this edition, altogether 57 tomb inscriptions are reproduced in chronological order, starting with a memorial to Wang Che and ending with a eulogy for Shen Chih-chen 申志貞 (1210–1284), written by Chang Hao-ku himself. The last two chapters are for the most part devoted to inscriptions that trace the history of Ch'üan-chen shrines. Among the more noteworthy is an account in commemoration of the burial site of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi at the Pai-yün Kuan of Peking. The temple records are followed by a short sequence of prefaces and verses dedicated to various Ch'üan-chen dignitaries.

Chu Hsiang-hsien 朱象先 (fl. 1279–1308) of Mao Shan 茅山 compiled two epigraphic anthologies in homage to the cult surrounding Yin Hsi 尹喜, the legendary guardian of Han-ku Pass 函谷關 who was said to have inspired Lao-tzu to leave behind his teachings in the form of the *Tao-te ching*. Central to both collections is the Lou Kuan 樓觀 (Tiered Abbey) established at Yin Hsi's reputed homestead in the Chung-nan Shan 終南山 (Shensi) region, a shrine that eventually came under the guardianship of the Ch'üan-chen patriarchy. The earlier of the two texts is HY 955 *Chung-nan Shan Shuo-ching T'ai li-tai chen-hsien pei-chi* 終南山言先師聖臺歷代真仙石壁記 [An Epigraphic Record of the Successive Generations of Perfected Transcendents at the Pavilion for Explaining Scriptures on Chung-nan Shan]. In an undated afterword, Chu explains that this text came about as the result of a pilgrimage he made to the Tiered Abbey in 1279. There he spent the summer, he says, familiarizing himself with the temple archives in the Pavilion for Explaining Scrip-

tures. The earliest hagiographic account on Yin Hsi, according to Chu, was the *Lou Kuan hsien-shih chuan* 樓觀先師事 [A Biography of the Ancestral Master of the Tiered Abbey], compiled by a putative cousin named Yin Kuei 尹軌. A millennium later the text reappeared under the name of Wei Chieh 韋節 (497–569), a Taoist Master at the court of Northern Chou. Eventually, Yin Wen-ts'ao 尹文操 (d. 688), a T'ang Taoist Master who apparently was regarded as a descendant of Yin Hsi, issued an expanded version of the work.³⁰⁵ It is this edition, comprising altogether thirty biographical accounts, that inspired Chu's own composition. Only a few fragments have survived outside of Chu's compilation. Chu no doubt hoped to ensure the permanency of his contribution by having it carved on stone, a task he reports that an Abbot Nieh 宗主聶公 and the Superintendent Chao 提點趙公 undertook.³⁰⁶

The lengthy inscription opens with a biography of Yin Hsi, followed by a tetrasyllabic *tsan* 贊, or encomium. The encomia found at the end of the 34 succeeding entries in this text are all heptasyllabic quatrains. Among the new contributions of Chu Hsiang-hsien are biographies of Yin Wen-ts'ao, Liang Ch'üan 梁筌 (d. 978), Yin Chih-p'ing 尹志平 (1169–1251), and Li Chih-jou 李志柔 (1189–1266), all four of whom figured prominently in the history of the Tiered Abbey.

By the early T'ang the Tiered Abbey had become a major center of state ritual propitiation. T'ang Kao-tsu 唐高祖 (r. 618–626) issued a decree in the year 620, designating it as the Tsung-sheng Kuan 宗聖觀 (Abbey of the Venerable Sage). Fifty-seven years later, Yin Wen-ts'ao was put in charge of the shrine. Subsequently, it appears to have served as a talisman for both the Sung and Mongol empires. The abbot Liang Ch'üan is remembered for his role in training Chang Shou-chen 張守真, the medium through whom the I-sheng pao-te chen-chün 翊聖保德真君 (Perfected Lord in Subservience to Sageliness and in Assurance of Merit) expressed his prophecies concerning the succession of the throne.³⁰⁷ By 1232 the Abbey apparently had been reduced to ashes following clashes between the Jurchens and the Mongols. It was Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's hand-picked successor, Yin Chih-p'ing, who later paved the way for its restoration.³⁰⁸ Once the Tiered Abbey had been restored, Yin appointed Li Chih-jou its abbot. In this way, Chu concludes, "The well-springs of transcendence flowed into the Sea of Ch'üan-chen" (仙源流到全真海).³⁰⁹

The history of the Abbey of the Venerable Sage and its community is examined in greater depth in Chu Hsiang-hsien's second compilation, the 3-ch. HY 956 *Ku Lou Kuan Tzu-yün yen-ch'ing chi* 古樓觀紫雲衍慶集 [An Anthology from the Abundant Felicity of Purple Clouds at the Tiered Abbey of Antiquity]. The title of this text is derived from the name of one of three separate galleries added to the temple compound in 1242, the Tzu-yün yen-ch'ing Lou 紫雲衍慶樓.³¹⁰ Three accounts date to the T'ang. One is a history of the Abbey written by the imperial adviser Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢 (557-641) and recorded on a stele in 625. Another is the tomb inscription of Yin Wen-ts'ao, composed by the academician Yüan Pan-ch'ien 袁半千 (d. 714) and carved in stone in 717. The third text, written by an officer in the Census Bureau named Liu T'ung-sheng 劉同昇 and erected in 742, commemorates the divine manifestations of Lord Lao, ancestor of the imperial house.

The first chapter of Chu's *Anthology* closes with a copy of the text on the restoration of the Abbey during the Mongol regime, for which a monument was set up in 1262 and then remounted in 1295. Included in the second chapter are the tomb inscriptions of Yin Chih-p'ing and Li Chih-jou, together with miscellaneous accounts of various landmarks in the area, two of which were composed by Chu Hsiang-hsien himself. One final inscription recorded in chapter 3 appears to have been devised as a confirmation of the Tiered Abbey's priority over the other famous shrine built in memory of Yin Hsi, the Ch'ing-yang Kung 青羊宮 (Palace of the Blue Goat) in Ch'eng-tu 成都 (Szechwan). The Hsüan-chiao 玄教 exegete Tu Tao-chien 杜道堅 (1237-1318) composed this piece in 1303 and then passed it on for the endorsement of Sun Te-yü 孫德踐,³¹¹ a coordinator of Taoist affairs for both Shensi and Szechwan. The remainder of Chu's text is turned over to a collection of poetry dating from the T'ang to the Yüan. Among the poets represented are Wang Wei 王維 (699-759), Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036-1101), and Su Ch'e 蘇轍 (1039-1112), as well as several leading Ch'üan-chen and Hsüan-chiao leaders, such as Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (1183-1247), Yin Chih-p'ing, Li Tao-ch'ien, Chang Hao-ku, Tu Tao-chien, and even Sun Te-yü.

Another anthology of inscriptions in the Canon, HY 970 *Kung-kuan pei-chih* 宮觀碑誌 [Epigraphic Memorials of Palaces and Abbeys], proves to be an exceptional resource on ecclesiastic history from the tenth to thirteenth centuries. It is an anonymous work, compiled sometime after 1264 by an archivist whose primary interest appears to have

been the state patronage of various shrines, especially the temple that came to serve as the national headquarters of Ch'üan-chen. Of the nine inscriptions recorded in this heterogeneous collection, one dates to the Sung, six date to the Chin, and two are from the early Yüan. The territory covered extends from Ching-chou 涇州 (Kansu) east to Peking and south to Po-chou 亳州 (Anhui). The earliest inscription, composed by the Han-lin academician T'ao Ku 陶穀 (903–970), marks the restoration of the Wang-mu Kung 王母宮 (Palace of the Royal Matriarch) at Hui Shan 回山, just outside Ching-chou. In keeping with the precedent of Chou Mu-wang 周穆王 and Han Wu-ti 漢武帝, both of whom reputedly paid homage to the Royal Matriarch of the West 西王母 at this site, Sung T'ai-tsu 宋太祖 (r. 960–975) determined that he, too, would make the pilgrimage. The announcement of the emperor's intention in 968, T'ao reports, led to a flurry of activity at the shrine in preparation for the imperial entourage.³¹² Similarly, the later of the two Yüan inscriptions, dating to 1264, commemorates the restoration of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung 太清宮 (Palace of Grand Clarity) at Po-chou, the putative birthplace of Lord Lao. It was written by an imperial adviser named Wang O 王鶚 (1190–1273), at the invitation of a commission of Ch'üan-chen Masters headed by Chang Chih-ching 張志敬 (1220–1270). Clearly, the significance of this venerable shrine was not lost on Khubilai, who was, at the time, completing his campaign to annex all the territory of the Southern Sung empire. The second Yüan inscription was composed following the performance of a Huang-lu *chiao*-fête at the Ch'ang-ch'un Kung 長春宮 (Palace of Everlasting Spring) in the capital at Yenching (modern-day Peking). The abbot Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193–1256) presided over this seven-day ritual of salvation in 1254, at the behest of Möngke (Hsien-tsung 憲宗, r. 1251–1259). The Ch'ang-ch'un Kung, predecessor to the Pai-yün Kuan, was named after Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, whose office Li had inherited.

The most outstanding feature of the *Kung-kuan pei-chih* is without a doubt the selection of inscriptions dating from the Jurchen era. These texts offer a rare view of early archival and ritual activities in the northern plains. The majority of inscriptions from the Chin focus on the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan 天長觀, prior to 1227. It was at this temple that a new edition of the Canon was prepared, by the command of Chin Shih-tsung 金世宗 (r. 1161–1189). An inscription recorded here announces the completion of the *Ta Chin hsüan-tu pao-tsang* 大金玄都寶藏 [Pre-

cious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis of the Great Chin] in 1191. Two additional stelaë dating a year earlier attest to the elaborate propitiatory *chiao*-fête staged on behalf of the ailing Empress Dowager.³¹³ Another stele of considerable interest celebrates the conclusion of a massive renovation of the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan in 1179. Five years earlier, a Taoist Master named Yen Te-yüan 閔德源 (1094–1189) had been summoned from Hsi-ching lu 西京路 (Western Capital, modern-day Ta-t'ung 大同, Shansi) to oversee the project. In spite of the prominent role he played in the history of the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan, there appears to be no further reference to Yen in the Canon. Fortunately, however, his tomb was recently discovered outside Ta-t'ung, and among the artifacts found inside is a stele erected by his disciples in tribute to their master's 96 years in the mundane realm. Yen's tomb is one of three such excavations thus far to yield material of incomparable value to the study of such texts as the *Kung-kuan pei-chih*.³¹⁴

Historiography

Historians of Taoist traditions appear to have had less interest than their Buddhist counterparts in creating large-scale historical surveys.³¹⁵ This is not to say that there is no evidence of historiography in the Canon. History writing, in some form or other, is to be found in a wide variety of *Tao-tsang* literature. As noted earlier, for example, a fair number of ritual codes are based largely on a specific chronicle of revelation. This is a very limited type of history, written generally for no other reason than to establish the primacy of one ritual formulation vis-à-vis both its antecedents and its contemporaries. In many cases, it was simply thought that an appreciative audience was to be gained only when the legacy of a new dispensation could be traced back to a well-established tradition of revealed literature. These historical summaries usually appealed to a whole range of scriptural precedents in an effort to reinforce the comprehensiveness of a freshly codified ritual tradition. Thus, what at first may seem to be a thoroughgoing overview of antecedent traditions is usually no more than an idiosyncratic variation on the fundamental assumption that antiquity plus multiple forbears produces authority.

By establishing their credentials in this way, the codifiers of new rituals attempted to prove that their work, too, would stand the test of time and likewise capture the imagination and support of a wide consti-

tuency. But it would not be fair, as a consequence, to conclude that those responsible for novel ritual forms merely faked their spiritual genealogy. By singling out prior revelatory traditions, one by one, these pseudo-historians weighed the merits of one tradition against the other. Their own predispositions are revealed by the order in which they align established scriptural traditions vis-à-vis new codifications. In the end, innovative dispensations always seem to have arisen from a particularized, if not slightly distorted, view of how revelations were to be chronicled. The degree and type of distortion varies from source to source and cannot be discerned by examining any one ritual code in isolation. The historical surveys included in ritual codes should not only be compared with one another, but must also be examined in light of what external chronicles have to say.

1. An Exemplary History by Tu Kuang-t'ing

Apart from the "internal" histories of ritual texts, with their notably self-serving approach, the *Tao-tsang* also includes a few general historical compilations. Most of these works take the form of the traditional annalistic (*pien-nien* 編年) history. An early example of such a chronicle is HY 593 *Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi* 歷代崇道記 [A Record of Reverence for the Tao over Successive Generations], one of the first compilations of the eminent Taoist Master Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850–933). Tu presented the text to T'ang Hsi-tsung 唐僖宗 (r. 874–888) early in 885, when he was only 35. Although the work falls outside the category of post-T'ang literature, it merits consideration here for the model it provided later generations of historians. Tu evidently intended his history to be regarded as a chronicle of faith from the Chou to the T'ang, but he reveals himself to be far more interested in contemporary than ancient history, for barely fifteen percent of the text is devoted to the pre-T'ang period. Properly speaking, his work is more of a history of state and religion than a history of popular beliefs and practices. His emphasis on the divine experiences of the imperial house is implicit in the title under which the text circulated during the Sung, *Li-tai ti-wang ch'ung-tao chi* 歷代帝王崇道記 [A Record of Reverence for the Tao on the Part of Sovereign Rulers over Successive Generations].³¹⁶

Tu's chronicle opens with a brief statement on Chou Mu-wang's 周穆王 legendary pilgrimages in homage to the Royal Matriarch of the West 西王母. His introduction to pre-T'ang history is overall little

more than a statistical survey of the number of temples established and the number of Taoist Masters ordained following each occasion of state patronage. But once Tu turns his attention to the T'ang, his focus is firmly fixed on the role of T'ai-shang Lao-chün 太上老君 (Lord Lao, the Most High) as the ancestral guardian of the T'ang. From his very first providential appearance before the founder of the empire, it is understood that the fate of the ruling house of Li rested in his hands. In the reiteration of this theme, Tu predictably devotes a significant portion of his account to the legends surrounding T'ang Hsüan-tsung's encounters with the apotheosized Lao-tzu.

Only with his closing discussions does Tu actually lead into material of more profound historiographic interest. Fully one-fifth of the text centers on the years 880–884, the turbulent age of the Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 uprising. Here, as earlier, the timely epiphanies of Lord Lao are the unifying feature of his annals. For example, it was only by his divine intervention, according to Tu, that the domain of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung 太清宮 in Po-chou 亳州 (Anhui) remained secure from rebel forces. T'ang Hsi-tsung 唐僖宗 (r. 874–888), even as he took refuge in Ch'eng-tu, was assured repeatedly, moreover, that Lord Lao would continue to stand guard over the empire. That covenant was confirmed time and again by the appearance of prophetic tokens. By far the most remarkable sign of divine beneficence was the tile brick that came crashing down during a *chiao*-fête at the Hsüan-chung Abbey 玄中觀 in the Blue Goat Marketplace 青羊肆 of Ch'eng-tu, the site where, according to legend, Yin Hsi awaited the return of Lao-tzu. Inscribed on that brick, Tu reports, were the words “[Lord Lao,] the Most High will pacify the upheaval of the Chung-ho 中和 reign (881–885)” 太上平中和災 (16a). Verification of the prophecy came in less than a year's time, whereby T'ang Hsi-tsung magnanimously rewarded the Taoist Master who had been in charge of the *chiao*-fête and authorized an expansion of the Abbey, with the command that thenceforward it be known as the Ch'ing-yang Kung 青羊宮 (Palace of the Blue Goat). As Tu observes in closing, the occasion was celebrated in an inscription composed upon imperial decree by the Han-lin academician Le P'eng-kuei 樂朋龜. The stele was erected at the Ch'ing-yang Kung on the eighth day of the ninth lunar month of 884, just nine weeks after Huang Ch'ao was captured and beheaded.³¹⁷ Tu presented his chronicle to Hsi-tsung on the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month, two weeks following the

emperor's declaration of intent to reclaim the capital of Ch'ang-an at the start of the new year.³¹⁸

2. The Lao-tzu Annals of Chia Shan-hsiang

All later historical surveys preserved in the Canon are similarly organized as chronicles of the prophetic epiphanies of Lao-tzu. An early prototype of this historiographic form survives in a Tun-huang manuscript entitled *Lao-tzu pien-hua ching* 老子變化經 [Scripture on the Transformations of Lao-tzu], composed sometime after 155 C.E. Subsequent exemplars include the *hua-hu* writings, first compiled as early as the fourth century. The formulators of this genre of literature primarily sought to demonstrate a direct continuum from the teachings of the *Tao-te ching* to the lessons of the *sūtra* and eventually proposed that the Buddha was an avatar of Lao-tzu. The record-keepers of Buddhism took pains to censor counterclaims but do reveal a common historiographic approach in that their writings are also framed around the myth of divine birth together with a succession of providential manifestations.³¹⁹ To the chroniclers of both Buddhist and Taoist traditions, in other words, hagiography of the messiah constitutes a history of the faith.

The history of Tu Kuang-t'ing was followed some two centuries later by the 6-ch. HY 773 *Yu-lung chuan* 猶龍傳 [Like unto a Dragon]. The compiler of this text, a Taoist Master named Chia Shan-hsiang 賈善翔 (fl. 1086), traces the appearance of Lao-tzu from his cosmogonic origins to the reign of Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022). The title of the text is derived from Confucius's putative characterization of Lao-tzu, as recorded in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's 司馬遷 (145–86 B.C.E.) *Shih chi* 史記 [Records of a Scribe] 63. There it is said that Confucius reported to his disciples after an encounter with Lao-tzu: "The Lao-tzu I saw today is indeed like unto a dragon" 吾今日見老子其猶龍邪. Confucius thus confesses that he found Lao-tzu unfathomable, just as he admits not being able to comprehend how dragons ascended heavenward via the wind and the clouds. This episode in the biography of Lao-tzu in the *Shih chi* is the first text cited in the preface to the *Yu-lung chuan*. The lengthy introduction provided in the preface serves more or less as an abstract of the entire work.

The first third of Chia's treatise is composed of discussions on the origins of Lao-tzu as the Tao incarnate, emerging prior to the cosmos it-

self. By drawing on the *Lao-tzu*, as well as the *Chuang-tzu* and early Ling-pao literature, Chia expands the opening account with further essays on cosmogonic theory. Lao-tzu, moreover, is portrayed not only as the ancestor of the myriad phenomena, but also as the source of divine revelation. In his role as transmitter of revealed literature, Lao-tzu is understood to have been the universal teacher or master of all sovereigns (*ti-shih* 帝師). According to Chia, various avatars of Lao-tzu appeared before ten generations of legendary monarchs, in order to convey sacred texts and to instruct on various facets of governance.³²⁰

Chapter 3 is devoted to the "historical" incarnation of Lao-tzu. In a manner that recalls the myth of Śākyamuni's birth, Lao-tzu is said to have emerged from the left armpit of his mother, Hsüan-miao yü-nü 玄妙玉女 (Jade Woman of Subtle Wonder). This child of the second millennium B.C.E. was given the name Li Erh 李耳. Legend has it that he, like Śākyamuni, began walking immediately after birth. Lao-tzu is also said to possess 72 distinguishing attributes, in a clear evocation of the Buddha's 32 *lakṣana*. Succeeding episodes reiterate the lore of Lao-tzu's journey west, his detention by Yin Hsi at Han-ku Pass, and his conversion of the masses in the suzerainties beyond. The relation between master and disciple is also explored, initially with regard to Yin Hsi and subsequently with regard to Confucius. Lao-tzu is credited with not only the *Tao-te ching* and *T'ai-p'ing ching* 太平經 [Scripture on Grand Pacification], but also with a substantial quantity of later codifications as well.³²¹ Foremost among the recipients of his revelations was of course Chang Tao-ling, founder of the Celestial Master tradition. To Chang and his successors, Lao-tzu was known as Lord Lao, the Most High. Instead of being perceived as a transubstantial entity, Lord Lao was thought to have assigned his role in bringing order out of chaos to the Celestial Master patriarchy.

By the T'ang, when Lao-tzu as Li Erh was put forward as the cosmic ancestor of the ruling house, epiphanies of the deity were witnessed on a much wider scale. Regular festival days were set aside in anticipation of his descent. The most notable celebration was held on the fifteenth day of the second lunar month, the reputed birth date of Li Erh. The general outline of Chia's chronicle on state patronage of Lao-tzu during the T'ang proves to be taken directly from Tu Kuang-t'ing's account. What sets his work apart is its emphasis on the history of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung established in Po-chou at the birthplace of the "histori-

cal" Lao-tzu.³²² Chia seems to speak from a sense of personal loyalty to the shrine and indeed is reported to have lectured there on the *Tu-jen ching*.³²³ But while he has much to say about the iconographic and ritual traditions associated with the worship of the apotheosized Lao-tzu down through the T'ang, Chia is remarkably silent about the practices of his own age. The single entry he includes regarding the Sung is a copy of the decree of 1014 in which Sung Chen-tsung authorized the canonization of Lord Lao, the Most High.³²⁴

3. The Chronicles of Hsieh Shou-hao

The most voluminous compendium on the history of the Tao is the 9-ch. HY 769 *Hun-yüan sheng-chi* 混元聖紀 [A Chronicle of the Sage from the Primordality of Chaos]. The title of this work is derived from the appellation granted Lord Lao by Sung Chen-tsung's decree of 1014. It was compiled by Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守灝 (1134–1212), a native of Yung-chia 永嘉 (Chekiang) who was initially recognized for his expertise in classical studies. Later in life Hsieh broadened his perspective, and by 1186 he had become a Taoist Master of national repute in residence at Hsi Shan 西山 (Kiangsi), the site sacred to the Hsü Sun cult. In an introduction to chapter 1, Hsieh reveals that he was moved to compile his own chronicle because he found that of Chia Shan-hsiang to be poorly organized and full of inconsistencies. The success of his undertaking was fully appreciated by a fellow classicist, Ch'en Fu-liang 陳傅良 (1137–1203), as is attested by the preface Ch'en contributed in 1193. Hsieh's own statement of presentation is addressed to Sung Kuang-tsung 宋光宗 (r. 1190–1194) in 1191. The edition he offered to the emperor for consideration comprised eleven *chüan* and bore the title *T'ai-shang Lao-chün hun-yüan sheng-chi* 太上老君混元聖記.³²⁵ Hsieh emphasizes that his compilation is based on his readings in works representative of the San-chiao 三教, or Three Teachings.

The first chapter is devoted to a concise chronicle of Lord Lao's manifestations from legendary times to Sung Hui-tsung's era (1101–1125). This inaugural essay serves as an abstract of what follows, for the remaining eight chapters cover the same period but in much greater depth. Hsieh amplifies his account with an impressive selection of supporting materials. He draws his citations from a wide range of sources, including the standard histories, local gazetteers, stone inscriptions, and encyclopedic compilations such as the 10th-century *T'ai-p'ing*

kuang-chi 太平廣記. Hsieh also elicits parallels to Buddhist cosmographic and historical traditions, areas in which he was clearly well versed. Of inestimable value in his work are passages quoted from texts that are otherwise no longer extant. Hsieh, for example, frequently calls on the *Hsüan-yüan huang-ti sheng-chi* 玄元皇帝聖紀, a lost chronicle compiled by Yin Wen-ts'ao 尹文操 (d. 688). According to his introduction, the edition he had at hand comprised 820 *chang* 章, or stanzas.³²⁶ The text, which was originally presented to T'ang Kao-tsung 唐高宗 (r. 650–683), is cited throughout as the *T'ang-chi* 唐紀 [T'ang Annals].

Noteworthy passages concerning bibliographic enterprises of the state include Wang Ch'in-jo's 王欽若 (962–1025) justification for including *hua-hu* 化胡 literature in the Canon of 1016, a position with which Hsieh Shou-hao was in agreement.³²⁷ Also of interest are the decrees issued by Sung Hui-tsung in 1119 and 1121 on the compilation of a *Tao shih* 道史 [A History of the Tao] and a *Tao tien* 道典 [Institutions of the Tao]. The former was intended to document the faith from legendary times to the Five Dynasties, while the latter was envisioned as a reference work on the Sung. According to the decree of 1121, the *Tao shih* was to include a chronicle, twelve topical treatises, and hagiographic accounts on perfected men and women. Hsieh appears not to have known anything further about these works, and indeed there is some question as to whether they were ever completed.³²⁸ As a rule, Hsieh takes pains to inform his readers when a particular text is known to be in circulation. There is, for example, reference to a *T'ien-t'ung hu-ming miao-ching* 天童護命妙經 [Wondrous Scripture of T'ien-t'ung on the Guardianship of Life] in a narrative account concerning Liang Kuang-ying 梁光映 (fl. 1112) of Mao Shan, a victim of leprosy (*lai-chi* 癩疾). Lord Lao, the Most High, reportedly appeared before him to convey this sacred scripture of antiquity, with the advice that Liang would be cured and would be able to heal others if he but bathed with water over which he had recited the scripture. Hsieh not only verifies the existence of this therapeutic text in his age, but also includes a preface to it composed by Sung Chen-tsung (r. 998–1022) sometime after 1014. Several versions of this apotropaic incantation are in fact preserved in the Canon, and a copy of it is even found in the *I-chien chih*.³²⁹

Two other chronicles ascribed to Hsieh appear to be earlier drafts. The shorter and presumably the first redaction, HY 770 *T'ai-shang Lao*

chün nien-p'u yao-lüeh 太上老君年譜要略 [A Concise Summary of the Annals of Lord Lao, the Most High], is a more succinct version of the first chapter of the *Hun-yüan sheng-chi*.³³⁰ The name of the editor is given simply as Hsieh Shou-hao of Yung-chia 永嘉謝守灝編集. Also cited is a collator by the name of Li Chih-tao of Yin Shan 陰山李致道校正.³³¹ Nearly all of the sources mentioned in the interlinear commentary match those given in chapter 1 of the *Hun-yüan sheng-chi*. One exception is the *Chü-ch'ü chih* 句曲志, a gazetteer of the Mao Shan region compiled by Chang K'an 張侃 (fl. 1205–1207). Assuming that the collator Li Chih-tao was responsible for the citation from this text, it would appear that his contribution dates at least one generation after Hsieh Shou-hao.³³²

The third reference printed under Hsieh's name is the 3-ch. HY 772 *T'ai-shang hun-yüan Lao-tzu shih-lüeh* 太上混元老子史略 [A Historical Summary on Lao-tzu from the Primordality of Chaos of the Most High]. The editor of this text is identified as Hsieh Shou-hao, Taoist Master of the Ch'ing-hsü An (Retreat of the Clarified Void) of Lu Shan 廬山清虛菴道士謝守灝. Although no mention of relocation at Lu Shan is made in Hsieh's biography, it appears that he may have settled there prior to 1186, the year that he was invited to be in charge of the shrine to Hsü Sun, the Yü-lung wan-shou Kung 玉隆萬壽宮 at Hsi Shan. At the beginning of the Shao-hsi 紹熙 reign (1190–1194), Sung Kuang-tsung granted Hsieh the title Kuan-fu ta-shih 觀復大官師 (Great Master Who Contemplates Restoration), and this is the title by which Hsieh refers to himself in the *Hun-yüan sheng-chi*.³³³ Chapters 2 and 3 of this intermediary chronicle correspond to chapters 2 and 3 of the *Hun-yüan sheng-chi*, starting with a brief summary on the cosmogonic Lao-tzu and ending with an abridged version of the inscription by Le P'eng-kuei carved on stone and erected at the Ch'ing-yang Kung of Ch'eng-tu in 884. The first chapter repeats the same concise chronology found in the other two works. In each case, Hsieh closes with the caveat that he terminates his survey with the episode of 1112 regarding Liang Kuang-ying because, to his mind, later accounts of portentous incidents did not in truth attest to the actual descent of Lord Lao in a "transformed incarnation" (*hua-shen* 化身).³³⁴ The fact that all three of Hsieh's chronicles have been preserved in the Canon, in spite of their redundancy, seems to suggest not only that his work was widely used but also that it was highly regarded. As mentioned earlier, the

hagiographer Chao Tao-i 趙道一 (fl. 1297–1307) found Hsieh's work indispensable for establishing dates in his own encyclopedic compilation.

IV

Literary Anthologies and Dialogic Treatises

A wide variety of verse and prose writings are to be found both in the Canon and in subsidiary collections such as the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*. These compositions reveal a great deal about the strata of society from which they arose. The subject matter is diverse and yet distinctly religious in tone. Discourses range from the purely theoretical to the plainly homiletic. Each writer seeks to communicate something about his or her choice of pursuits, be they pharmaceutical or alchemical experimentations, exorcistic rites, ascetic contemplative exercises, or any number of related activities. The language he or she uses can be highly symbolic, so abstruse in its nuances that only the initiated could begin to comprehend. It can also be as straightforward as a letter sent from one brother to another, marking the occasion of a liturgical function.

Many of the texts examined below were compiled expressly upon the initiative of a devotee. All too often, it was the disciple alone who saw the need and had the means to make his master's teachings available for posterity. While one so motivated may have had his own ambitions at heart, many no doubt considered their editorial endeavors to be an act of faith. Whatever the underlying impetus for such compilations, they do in the end reveal much about the ties established between master and disciple. These anthologies, moreover, commonly hold a reservoir of information on the interactions among individual practitioners as well as among monastic communities. They are also at times the only sources extant to reflect the vast exchange of letters and salutatory verse between the clergy and their peers. This network of communications clearly helped to reinforce the social bonds between one mentor and another and to aid in the spread of missions throughout the continent. Those who participated in such exchanges were inevitably members of an elite, well-educated class of society. Their anthologies were thus presumably compiled for an audience of peers rather than for the community at large

to whom they offered their services. Although the readership for whom these works were intended may not have been universally engaged in like pursuits, it was certainly understood that they were sympathetic to the activities described.

With the surge of enthusiasm for written records among adepts of the post-T'ang era, a number of literary forms were revitalized. Many from both north and south, for example, frequently gave rein to their imagination through *tz'u* 言詞 meters. This lyrical mode, retrieved, as it were, from the threat of stifling convention, came to meet new demands as the favored vehicle of sacred poetry. Old tunes were revised and new ones created, thanks to the experimentation of those who rendered their sermon in verse. Sometimes entire sequences were composed to be chanted as a contemplative aid for the adept. *Tz'u* verses were also popular as liturgical recitations. In many cases, *tz'u* lyrics, of both the occasional and meditative strain, outnumber all other metrical verse forms in an anthology. A few writers even chose to write exclusively in this prosodic genre.

Equally characteristic of what was apparently a new age of religious creativity is the *yü-lu* 語錄, or dialogic treatise, a literary form that is also abundantly represented in the *Tao-tsang*. Taoist Masters seem to have favored this genre as an instrument of didactic persuasion nearly as keenly as did their Ch'an counterparts. Regardless of how comprehensive an adept's literary heritage might have been, it was often thought that his pedagogy was best conveyed through the *yü-lu*. Such compilations were largely due to the efforts of disciples, many of whom claimed to have recorded their master's interlocutions firsthand. Those with less foresight no doubt ended up transcribing their instructors' teachings from memory alone. Consequently, it is often difficult to determine whether a dialogic treatise gives an accurate reflection of that legacy. This issue takes on special significance when a dialogic treatise turns out to be the only record of a master's teachings to survive. The image with which we are left in such cases can only be that created by his disciples, just as the persona of Confucius is largely a fabrication of his following. Concocted or not, the dialogic treatise time and again proves to be a showcase of favored parables and occasionally exhibits a level of narrative inventiveness that would make any professional storyteller proud. It is not surprising that the Ch'üan-chen brotherhood took special advantage of this medium. Their assimilation of Ch'an as well as classical

teachings, moreover, may have been a decisive factor in determining the breadth of their literary heritage. No other Taoist tradition represented in the Canon has as many anthologies to its name. But even more important, very few literary collections in the *Tao-tsang*, of the Ch'üan-chen or other traditions, appear in print anywhere else.

1. Writings Associated with Lü Yen

A vast literary corpus is traced to the semi-legendary figure Lü Yen 呂巽 (*izu*, Tung-pin 洞賓, b. 798?). This collection of material developed primarily because of Lü's identification as the preceptor of both the Ch'üan-chen founder Wang Che 王嘉 (1112–1170) and his southern counterpart, Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (d. 1082?), patriarch of the so-called Nan-tsung 南宗 (Southern Lineage).³³⁵ Much of the literature linked with this all-important transcendent is incorporated in the *Tao-tsang*, but an even larger quantity has been printed in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*. Two dialogic treatises traditionally regarded as representative of Lü Yen's legacy are recorded in encyclopedic anthologies of the Canon. One text, entitled *Pai-wen p'ien* 百問篇 [A Folio of One Hundred Questions], takes up nearly all of chapter 5 in the 12th-century HY 1011 *Tao shu* 道樞 [Pivot of the Tao].³³⁶ It is a transcription of what purports to be an exchange between Lü and his mentor, the late Han transcendent Chung-li Ch'üan 鍾離權. Lü is put in the position of asking rather rudimentary questions about the terminology of the meditative tradition of *nei-tan* 內丹 (Inner Elixir, i.e., physiological alchemy).³³⁷ The responses formulated for Master Chung-li give the editor of this text the opportunity to explain how one's corporeal sanctuary corresponds to the cosmos above.

Another, longer, treatise drawn from this master-disciple tradition is printed in chapters 39–41 of the HY 1011 *Tao shu* under the title *Ch'üan-tao p'ien* 傳道篇 [A Folio on the Transmission of the Tao]. A variant redaction is found in chapters 14–16 of the 13th-century encyclopedic anthology HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection]. There the work is entitled *Chung Lü ch'üan-tao chi* 鍾呂傳道集 [An Anthology on the Transmission of the Tao from Chung(-li) to Lü]. A T'ang poet, Shih Chien-wu 施肩吾 (fl. 820), is named as the one responsible for transmitting this particular version. According to hagiographic legend, Shih Chien-wu, once he had established residence at Hsi Shan 西山 (Kiangsi), claimed to



Fig. 15. A portrait of the Perfected Lord Lü Ch'un-yang with talisman. Sketch based on HY 1473 *Lü Tsu chih*, 1.1b. The inscriptions to the left and right of the talisman record Lü's date of birth as the fourteenth of the fourth lunar month and the date of his ascent as the twentieth of the fifth lunar month, traditional festival days according to the Ch'üan-chen calendar.

have been the benefactor of the teachings of both Hsü Sun and Lü Tung-pin on laboratory and physiological alchemy (*wai-tan* and *nei-tan*). The Ming bibliophile Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (fl. 1590), however, suggests that the text is a forgery, dating no earlier than the Sung.³³⁸ The discussion between disciple and master centers on macrobotics.³³⁹ The dialogue is organized under seventeen headings that cover various facets of both the theory and the practice of cultivating the *chin-tan* 金丹 (Golden Elixir or Metallous Enchymoma). The closing statement attributed to Chung-li has him recommending a treatise entitled *Ling-pao pi-fa* 靈寶畢法 [The Conclusive Rites of Ling-pao], a text that is printed immediately after the *Ch'uan-tao p'ien* of HY 1011 *Tao shu*.³⁴⁰

Both the *One Hundred Questions* and the *Transmission of the Tao* appear to be relatively early formulations on the *nei-tan* tradition associated with what came to be labeled Nan-tsung.³⁴¹ Apparently this legacy of meditative practice served as the cornerstone for the textual codification of Ch'üan-chen. It is difficult to say how early it arose, for the master-disciple relation upon which the two treatises are based may have been celebrated in the oral storytelling tradition centuries before it figured in any literary works. As Hu Ying-lin points out, there is no allusion to Lü's discipleship under Chung-li in any of the texts cited in the 10th-century *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*. By the Yüan, both Chung-li and Lü seem to have taken top billing in a number of plays. The role of preceptor in the theatrical repertoire appears to have been given more often to Lü Tung-pin than to Chung-li. David Hawkes has suggested that the plays in which they are featured be called "Ch'üan-chen" plays. Central to all of what have traditionally been labeled "Taoist" plays of this sort is the theme of conversion.³⁴² The early dialogic treatises are perhaps best viewed as a somewhat more sophisticated form of proselytism.

Aside from his distinction as an interlocutor, Lü Tung-pin also acquired the reputation of being a skilled poet. A substantial collection of verse written under his name eventually appeared in late anthologies of T'ang poetry, most notably the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩, but the provenance of many of these lyrics appears to be no earlier than the thirteenth century. Some can be traced back to the 2-ch. HY 1048 *Ch'un-yang chen-jen hun-ch'eng chi* 純陽真人渾成集 [An Anthology of the Perfected Ch'un-yang on Arising from Turbulence] of Ho Chih-yüan 何志淵, a disciple of Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (1183–1247). Ho reportedly took refuge in a Ch'üan-chen community to avoid serving in the Mongol government. Sung Te-fang put him in charge of collecting materials from the T'ai-yüan 太原 (Shansi) area for incorporation into a new Taoist Canon, the *Hsüan-tu pao-tsang* 玄都寶藏 [The Precious Canon of the Arcane Metropolis] of 1244.³⁴³ Ho apparently came across miscellaneous writings attributed to Lü Yen in the course of pursuing this assignment. According to his preface of 1251, he gathered together over 200 verses from the archives at hand. Ho titled his compilation *Hun-ch'eng chi* because, as he explains it, the heavens were not something mankind was capable of creating but rather arose out of turbulence. To him, in other words, the writings of Lü Yen were to be regarded as the product of divine inspiration. He claims that an unnamed abbot in

charge of the Ch'un-yang Kung 純陽宮 (Palace of Ch'un-yang) in Yung-le 永樂 (Shansi) encouraged him to have the work published. The Ch'un-yang Kung marks the putative birthplace of Lü Tung-pin and is the predecessor to the Yung-le Kung 永樂宮 (Palace of Everlasting Joy) of Jui-ch'eng 芮城 (Shansi). It is one of the few Ch'üan-chen temple compounds of north China to be preserved and is valued both for its architecture and for its murals.³⁴⁴

Given the history of the *Hun-ch'eng chi*, it is no surprise to find that it reflects an era other than the T'ang. Internal evidence suggests that the verses were composed well after the Ch'üan-chen tradition had gained a foothold in the northern plains. Both the subject matter and manner of expression are remarkably similar to what has been recorded of the legacy of the founder Wang Che. The heptasyllabic *lü-shih* is the preferred meter, but both the *chüeh-chü* and longer prosodic forms are also well represented. Although no *tz'u* are included in this corpus, Lü is reputed to have composed an exemplary lyric to the tune of "Ch'in-yüan ch'un" 沁園春 [Spring in the Ch'in Gardens]. This epigrammatic verse on *nei-tan* has invited a number of exegeses. One commentary, entitled "Chieh-chu Lü Kung Ch'in-yüan ch'un" 解注呂公沁園春 [Annotations to "Spring in the Ch'in Gardens" of Master Lü], is printed in chapter 13 of the HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* anthology. It is the work of a second-generation disciple of Pai Yü-ch'an named Hsiao T'ing-chih 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260). Another commentary appears separately in the Canon under the title HY 136 *Lü Ch'un-yang chen-jen Ch'in-yüan ch'un tan-tz'u chu-chieh* 呂純陽真人沁園春丹詞註解 [An Exegesis on the "Elixir" *Tz'u* Lyric to the Tune of "Spring in the Ch'in Gardens" by the Perfected Lü Ch'un-yang]. It is signed by "Ch'üan-yang-tzu" 全陽子, the sobriquet of a later Nan-tsung scholar, Yü Yen 俞琰 (1258–1314).³⁴⁵ This single *tz'u* lyric became a fundamental component of the literary heritage of both Nan-tsung and Ch'üan-chen. Many were so inspired by it that they composed their own lyrics to "Ch'in-yüan ch'un" in response.

The most comprehensive anthology in the *Tao-tsang* dedicated to Lü Yen is the 6-ch. HY 1473 *Lü Tsu chih* 呂祖志 [A Treatise on Patriarch Lü]. This anonymous work seems to have been compiled sometime in the late sixteenth century, just prior to the printing of the *Hsü Tao-tsang*. It opens with woodcut portraits of both Lü and Chung-li Ch'üan, labeled according to the titles decreed under the Ch'üan-chen re-

gency in 1269. The text is organized under two headings, “Shih-chi chih” 事績志 [Accomplishments] and “I-wen chih” 藝文志 [Literary Writings]. According to the opening hagiographic account under the first heading, Lü Yen was born in Yung-le on the fourteenth day of the fourth lunar month of 798; this date is even in the present century the major festival day for shrines honoring Patriarch Lü.³⁴⁶ The initial summary of Lü’s life is further expanded with a collection of narrative accounts. Included is a summary of the ten trials said to have been administered by Chung-li Ch’üan in testing the character of his disciple. The transcript of ten questions and answers that follows appears to be an abstract of the *Ch’uan-tao chi*. Two episodes recorded thereafter reputedly date from the T’ang, but the bulk of the “Shih-chi chih” is turned over to eight sequences of narratives that generally date from the Shao-hsing 紹興 reign (1131–1162) of the Southern Sung to the Chia-ching 嘉靖 reign (1522–1566) of the Ming. This series of nearly ninety stories bears comparison with the 14th-century HY 305 *Ch’un-yang ti-chün shen-hua miao-t’ung chi* 純陽帝君神化妙通紀, mentioned earlier. A few of the entries in this section include verses reportedly inscribed by Lü Yen on the walls of temples and at various other sites, thus serving as a sort of prelude to the “I-wen chih.” Under this second heading, the editor attempts to record all of Lü’s communications, many of which were presumably conveyed through *fu-chi* 扶乩 or so-called spirit-writing. No prosodic genre was regarded beyond his capacity, although the preferred medium, once again, is the heptasyllabic *lü-shih*. Lü’s repertoire of *tz’u* is also considerably enlarged. In addition to the celebrated “Ch’in-yüan ch’un” lyric, he is credited with composing three additional verses to this tune as well as thirty verses to the tunes “Yü-fu tz’u” 漁父詞 [Fisherman’s Lyrics] and “Meng Chiang-nan” 夢江南 [Dreaming of Chiang-nan].³⁴⁷ The master of *lü-shih* and *tz’u* becomes in this text, moreover, a master of *ch’ü* 曲 arias as well. Although the authenticity of this literary corpus is dubious, the *Lü Tsu chih* is nonetheless an invaluable document on the multifarious personae granted Lü Tung-pin from the Sung to the Ming.³⁴⁸

2. Wang Che, Founder of Ch’üan-chen

The founder of Ch’üan-chen could hardly be regarded as less accomplished than Lü Yen in literary arts. Thus, it is no surprise to find an impressive assortment of texts identified with Wang Che 王吉

(1112–1170). The most extensive collection of writings ascribed to Wang is the 13-ch. HY 1145 *Ch'ung-yang ch'üan-chen chi* 重陽全真集 [The Ch'üan-chen Anthology of Ch'ung-yang]. Attached to this work is a preface dating to 1188 by Fan I 范曄, Superintendent of Schools in Ning-hai 寧海 (Shantung). Wang established himself in Ning-hai following his alleged encounter with divine transcendents in Kan-ho chen 甘河鎮 (Shensi).³⁴⁹ Many of his first disciples were natives of the Shantung peninsula area. The significance of the two regions of Kan-ho and Ning-hai in the history of Ch'üan-chen is not lost on Fan I. According to him, “The winds of Ch'üan-chen arose in the West and flourished in the East” 全真之風起於西興於東. This large anthology is dedicated to the legacy of Wang's teachings along the eastern seaboard. Fan claims that Wang's writings at one time filled more than a thousand folios. It appears that one of the Seven Perfected, Liu Ch'u-hsüan 劉處玄 (1147–1203), may have been responsible for the compilation of this text, for Fan reports that Liu ordered several of his disciples, including Ts'ao T'ien 曹填 (d. 1207) and Liu Chen-i 劉真一 (d. 1206), to convey the invitation that led to his contribution of a preface.

The edition printed in the Canon, while somewhat disorganized, is generally arranged according to categories of verse, with chapters 1, 2, and 10 exclusively devoted to *shih*; chapters 3–8 and 11–13 to *tz'u*; and with a mixture of *ko* 歌 songs, *tz'u*, and *shih* in chapter 9. The titles of the *shih* reveal Wang's role as preceptor to a number of visitors who came seeking instruction (*ch'iu-wen* 求問). Some of the more provocative titles include “Master Sun Inquires about the Three Teachings” 孫公問三教 (1.8a), “What Are Ch'an and Tao, You Ask?” 問禪道者何 (1.10a), and “An Old Monk Inquires about Life and Death” 老僧問生死 (1.11b). Other verses evidently were evoked upon the utterance of a single word, such as the series of compositions on “Drink” 酒, “Sex” 色, “Money” 財, and “Anger” 氣, which, according to Wang's way of thinking, were the four major deterrents to self-cultivation (1.18a–19a).³⁵⁰ Wang often turns to the imagery of fire to explain the sensation of enlightenment, as is exemplified in the statement “Overall, cultivation of the Tao is fundamentally like being set on fire” (大)凡修道本如然 (2.1a) or in the advice given to his disciples Ma Yü and T'an Ch'u-tuan, “To holler out one's awareness is just like being set on fire” (口)呼知已亦如然 (2.26a). The experience of mental self-incineration apparently encouraged those not similarly awak-

ened to view Wang and his crowd as lunatics. Wang early on even took to referring to himself as “Hai-feng” 害風 (Wild and Crazy) or “Feng-tzu” 瘋子 (Crazy Man), names that his disciple Ma Yü also came to favor.³⁵¹ If this anthology is any measure, the madman of Ning-hai found the *tz'u* repertory most accommodating to his demands. These lyrics, numbering in the hundreds, range from the purely personal, autobiographical statement to the eloquent exposé on the intricacies of *chintan* meditation. The extent of Wang’s influence is perhaps best revealed by the titles given his verses, for they often name the intended recipient of his communication.

Fan I also endorsed a set of three works compiled as a tribute to the master-disciple relation of Wang Che and Ma Yü. His preface is one of six composed in 1183 as introductions to the 3-ch. HY 1146 *Ch'ung-yang chiao-hua chi* 重陽教化集 [An Anthology on the Proselytism of Ch'ung-yang]. They were solicited by Chu Pao-i 朱袍一 (*hao*, Ling-chen-tzu 靈真子), a disciple of Ma Yü who took it upon himself to prepare this corpus for publication. Only one of the two other works in this set survives, the 2-ch. HY 1147 *Ch'ung-yang fen-li shih-hua chi* 重陽分梨十化集 [An Anthology of Ch'ung-yang on the Ten Transformations According to the Sectioning of a Pear].³⁵² Chu recruited Ma Ta-pien 馬大辨 of Ning-hai, a fellow clansman of his master, to add a separate preface to this part of the compilation. The foundation of this edition, according to Ma, was an anthology of writings that had been printed up earlier in Kuan-hsi 關西 (Shensi). Ma Yü’s following in the Ning-hai region made the work their own by recollating the texts and expanding them with their own materials. These two texts, like the 13-ch. anthology of Wang’s verse, are thus more representative of the eastern branch than the western branch of the Ch’üan-chen tradition.

Both anthologies are composed largely of the verses Wang addressed to Ma Yü and those Ma composed in response. Each compilation includes a mixture of *shih* and *tz'u*. The exchange of poems, according to Ma Ta-pien, started when Wang locked himself up for one hundred days on the estate of Ma Yü and his wife, Sun Pu-erh, and offered no communication other than a sequence of verses. Legend has it that each poem was submitted with an accompanying gift of food, often a section of pear. Ma is reported thereafter to have dreamed of journeying to the heavens and the netherworld. These hallucinatory experiences led in the end to his enlightenment on the principles of ethical

causality, or so Ma Ta-pien implies. The disciples who compiled the anthologies would have us believe that Ma Yü had an extraordinary talent for matching verses with Wang. Many of their exchanges were written in the form called *ch'ai-tzu ts'ang-t'ou* 拆字藏頭 (opening concealed in a dissected word). Thus, Ma not only had to accommodate the prescribed metrical pattern and rhyme scheme, but also had to evoke the opening word from a component of the last word in the verse.³⁵³ Among other innovations are a number of alternative tune titles. "Pu suan-tzu" 卜算子 [Casting Lots], for example, is rendered as "Huang-ho tung-chung hsien" 黃鶴洞中仙 [Transcendent within the Yellow Crane Cavern], "Jui che-ku" 瑞鹿鳴 [Auspicious Partridge] becomes "Pao shih en" 報師恩 [In Expression of Gratitude toward the Master], and "Ch'ing-yü an" 青玉案 [Green Jade Cup] becomes "Ch'ing-lien ch'ih-shang k'o" 青蓮池上客 [Stranger on the Blue Lotus Lake]. Since these unconventional titles are traditionally attributed to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, it is difficult to determine whether they are in fact original with Wang.³⁵⁴ The titles, if not the verses themselves, may very well be the work of a later generation. But even if the verses are idealized, there is no better record of the development of communication between a master and a disciple, not to mention that of the disciple's changing perceptions of his wife. Wang apparently encouraged the pair to seek independent paths.³⁵⁵ In one of the few verses addressed directly to Sun, he suggests that she would be nothing but an old woman were she simply to stay at home, but promised her everlasting recognition as a transcendent should she devote herself to cultivating self-perfection. Sun Pu-erh's replies have not been recorded.³⁵⁶

Further impressions of the pedagogical approach associated with Wang can be derived from three anonymous compilations. Like the two texts discussed above, HY 1149 *Ch'ung-yang shou Tan-yang erh-shih-su chueh* 重陽授丹陽二十四訣 [Twenty-four Lessons Conveyed by Ch'ung-yang to Tan-yang], was clearly designed to perpetuate the memory of Ma Yü's discipleship. Internal inconsistencies make this putative dialogic exchange a difficult text. It opens with Ma asking Wang to explain a list of terms. After a definition is given for the first term, separate questions are posed for each successive term. The work is made troublesome by the contradiction between the initial list and the actual series of individual questions that follows. The inventory given at the outset turns out to be both incomplete and unrepresentative of the order of items presented in the ensuing question-answer sequence. That se-

quence, moreover, includes a number of redundancies. For example, twice Wang is asked to define *ch'u-chia* 出家 (lit., "to leave home"; i.e., "to become a devotee"). The first response recorded is that one must disentangle oneself from the myriad phenomena before one's numinous qualities can be realized. The second time around, the answer given is that those who have left home are engaged in meritorious acts and the cultivation of perfection (*kung-hsing hsiu-chen* 功行修真). As explained in a subsequent passage, the devotee is expected to speak very little, to control his or her emotions, and to minimize anxiety and cravings. Some of these lessons are reiterated in a concluding summary of citations drawn from sources representative of the San-chiao 三教 or Three Teachings, including the *Meng-tzu*, and the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra*, as well as the sayings of both Wang Che and Ma Yü. Hsü Shen-weng 徐神翁 (i.e., Hsü Shou-hsin 徐守信, 1033–1108), moreover, is reputed to have said that a devotee of the Three Teachings is one who abandons all concern for fame and financial gain and concentrates instead on suppressing both emotions and cravings so that his own spirit may be purified.³⁵⁷

A longer, more technical dialogic treatise is found in HY 1148 *Ch'ung-yang chen-jen chin-kuan yü-so chüeh* 重陽真人金關玉鎖訣 [Lessons of the Perfected Ch'ung-yang on the Jade Lock of the Golden Gateway]. Unlike the preceding text, the name of the questioner is not given. This remarkably eclectic compilation opens instead with a recitation on the two major principles to be observed in the cultivation of perfection: (1) do away with nameless vexations, and (2) desist from greed, yearnings, drink, sex, money, and anger. Here the Three Teachings, referred to as the *San-sheng* 三乘 (Three Vehicles), are all said to have been derived from Lord Lao. The consequences of putting the teachings into action are said to be threefold: (1) the ability of divine transcendents to embrace unity, (2) the prosperity of the state and tranquillity of its inhabitants, (3) the strengthening of armed forces and victory in battles. The latter two points are discussed only briefly, for the emphasis throughout is on the therapeutic aspects of macrobiotics. The title, in fact, is drawn from a sexual technique for the circulation and retention of the *chin-ching* 金精, or golden essence.³⁵⁸ Occasionally the respondent to the questions refers to "my master" 我師 or "Old Lü" 呂翁 (i.e., Lü Tung-pin). More specific clues to the inspiration of this text are found not only in the technical terminology but also in quotations drawn

from texts such as the *Ta-mo ching* 達磨經 and the *Chiu-hsien ching* 九仙經 [Scripture of the Nine Transcendents].³⁵⁹ Among the latest sources cited are Ch'en T'uan 陳搏 (d. 989), the putative founder of Nan-tsung, and the *Ch'uan-tao chi* associated with Lü Tung-pin. While the intended audience of these instructions remains somewhat vague, it would appear that they were designed to serve both male and female adepts, whether Buddhist or Taoist in persuasion.³⁶⁰ The compiler of *Lessons* advises in the end that the text be transmitted very selectively. Implicit in the admonition is the understanding that all recipients were to avail themselves of a qualified master. Not to do so is called *tao-hsüeh* 盜學, or "study by theft."

The third text traced to Wang Che without the benefit of prefatory materials is HY 1223 *Ch'ung-yang li-chiao shih-wu lun* 重陽立教十五論 [Fifteen Discourses on the Teachings Set Forth by Ch'ung-yang]. The work is traditionally regarded as the fundamental manual of Ch'üan-chen practice.³⁶¹ Various aspects of the devotee's life are covered in fifteen separate essays. According to the opening discussions, anyone who takes the step of *ch'u-chia* must first establish his or her own retreat and seek out a *ming-shih* 明師, that is, an illuminating master. Traveling far and wide in search of comrades of like mind is not advised. Instead, Wang suggests that each adept select a single companion on whom to rely in times of sickness. Each member of the pair must likewise be prepared to perform the burial rites upon the other's death. In establishing such a bond, the adept is warned not to become too emotionally attached to his companion. Moderation in all things appears to be the central message of this text, where devotees, for example, are instructed to find a happy medium between activity and quietude. The regulation of one's temperament is compared to the tuning of a zither and the forging of a sword. In analogy with the former, Wang says: "Too tight and it will break; too slack and there will be no response" 緊則有斷 慢則不應. Similarly, in analogy with the sword, he says: "Too hard and it will snap; too inlaid and it will bend" 剛多則折 柔多則捲. Wang counsels in conclusion that departure from the mundane realm is something that is to be accomplished mentally, not physically. In a twist on Kumārajiva's favorite image, he proposes that one's body is like the root stock of a lotus mired in mud, whereas one's heart-mind is like the lotus blossom itself, suspended in space. Thus, as Wang interprets his simile, while one may reside among mortals, one's mind seeks sanctuary in the spiritual realm.

3. Ma Yü, Ch'üan-chen Patriarch

The literary corpus ascribed to Ma Yü 馬鈺 (1123–1183) of Ning-hai 寧海 (Shantung) is even more voluminous than that of his mentor. In addition to the three works cited above that celebrate his discipleship, four separate anthologies of verse and two prose works appear under his name in the Canon. The history of these texts is difficult to determine, for, with but one exception, neither prefaces nor colophons are recorded. The largest collection of poetry is the 10-ch. HY 1141 *Tung-hsüan chin-yü chi* 洞玄金玉集 [An Anthology of the Gold and Jade of Tung-hsüan]. This edition apparently dates to the late thirteenth century, for Ma's name is recorded with part of the honorific title dating to 1269, but it lacks the 1310 registration of "Chen-chün" 真君 (Perfected Lord).³⁶² The provenance of the author is given as K'un-yü 崑崙 (Shantung), the name of a mountain where, according to hagiographic legend, the Taoist Master Li Wu-meng 李無夢 succeeded in refining an elixir only upon the providential arrival of Ma. It was at this point, early in Ma's life, that his divine qualities were said to have been recognized. The title of the collection is derived from the name of a retreat, the Chin-yü An 金玉菴 of Huang-hsien 黃縣 (Shantung), which Ma occupied in the last months of his retirement. Inherent in the antithetic compound *chin-yü* also are a number of symbolic references peculiar to *nei-tan*, such as Golden Dragon 金龍 and Jade Tiger 玉虎, Golden Lotus 金蓮 and Jade Stamens 玉蕊, as well as the Golden Babe 金嬰 and the Jade Lass 玉女宅.³⁶³ It is also significant that the two words, gold and jade, when combined form Yü 鈺, the name Master Wang selected for his first disciple.³⁶⁴

The anthology opens with a pair of verses by Wang and Ma commemorating Wang's dream of an encounter with the legendary Chung-li Ch'üan at K'un-yü Shan. The two poems are written in the heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* meter, as are all those in chapter 1 and 2 and half of those in chapter 3. Of the variant *shih* classifications, this appears to be Ma's preferred mode of communication. There are altogether eleven different prosodic categories represented in this work, attesting above all else to Ma's literary versatility. Many of the selections are autobiographical statements, and a large number served as letters to his compatriots, including his wife, Sun Pu-erh. Ma often indicates in the title of his piece the specific time and place of composition. Lengthy prefaces, moreover, occasionally supply a full narrative account of the circumstances that in-

spired his lyrics. It would seem that this work was an important source to hagiographers in reconstructing the extent of Ma's ministry.

Ma Yü made his home in the Shantung peninsular area until 1173, when he and three other disciples accompanied their master's remains back to the Chung-nan Shan 終南山 region. Thereafter, Ma established himself in a circuit from Hu-hsien 郿縣 (Shensi), just outside Wang's grave site, as far west as Lung-chou 隴州 (Shensi). This compilation permits a rare glimpse of his ritual activities in the central plains. Ma, for example, reveals that on the 24th day of the eighth lunar month of 1180, in Ch'ang-an,

庚子八月二十四日長安祈雨

Barefoot Crazy Ma prays for rain,
With the incense registering my intent,
wafting upward to be delivered before
the Transcendent Headquarters.
How long will we have to wait before the
moisture is sufficient to plough?
Five times five, not beyond the twenty-fifth.

赤脚馬風祈禱雨
心香裊裊投仙府
一犁霑足待何時
五五不離二十五

(1.12b)

Similarly, Ma sometimes addressed Taoist communities on the occasion of a Huang-lu *chiao*-fête, as is the case with a verse written to the *tz'u* tune "Shih pao-en" 十報恩 [Ten Expressions of Gratitude] at Wen-teng 文登 (Shantung).³⁶⁵ Not unlike Master Wang, his disciple seems to have found the *tz'u* repertory to be most accommodating to his literary demands. This genre dominates chapter 7 through 10, fully forty percent of the anthology. Ma even used a *tz'u* tune entitled "Ch'ing-hsin ching" 清心鏡 [Mirror to the Clarified Heart] to exhort Buddhist monks and Taoist Masters to quit slandering one another and come together in accord.³⁶⁶ Perhaps most memorable are the lyrics he composed to the tune "Man-t'ing fang" 滿庭芳 [Fragrance Filling the Courtyard], upon the demise of Master Wang. According to the commentary of one entitled "Tsan Ch'ung-yang chen-jen hsien-i" 讚重陽真人顯異 [A Eulogy on the Phenomenality Displayed by the Perfected Ch'ung-yang], Ma claims to have come across his master one evening at the southern capital 南京 (modern-day Kaifeng 開封) before he realized that earlier in the day Wang had ascended on high. Two other verses printed under the subtitle "Tsan Ch'ung-yang chen-jen ch'u-hsien" 讚重陽真人出現 [A Eulogy

on the Emergence of the Perfected Ch'ung-yang] testify to later manifestations. On one occasion Wang reportedly appeared seated upon a lotus on the back of a white tortoise, a vision Ma Yü says local artists vied to reproduce.³⁶⁷

Two additional collections supply further evidence of Ma Yü's skill in writing *tz'u*. The 2-ch. HY 1134 *Chien-wu chi* 漸悟集 [An Anthology on Gradual Enlightenment] is an especially interesting compilation for what it reveals about the various means by which Ma sought to heighten his awareness. A few of his verses display an experimental approach in the exploitation of the onomatopoetic potential of reiterated phrases. Such a technique appears to be designed to convey the sense of *chien-wu* 漸悟, or gradual enlightenment, to which the title of the work refers. This type of word play is most often demonstrated through the shorter *tz'u* tunes, such as "Ch'ang-ssu hsien" 長思仙 [Transcendent of Eternal Thoughts].³⁶⁸ Elsewhere, Ma Yü seems to propose that enlightenment could be sudden as well as gradual. He wrote, for example, one lyric to the tune "Pu suan-tzu" 卜筮子 [Casting Lots] after being startled out of a dream. According to the preface to this verse, Ma dreamed one night that his master stood within the central courtyard and hollered out: "My life is just like a fine porcelain bowl that falls from my hand and shatters into a hundred pieces." Ma reports that just as he heard these words, a bowl dropped down from out of nowhere and he awoke, crying: "I get it!" The next day, he continues, Wang reappears and confirms that Ma had gained enlightenment precisely as the result of having been startled the night before.³⁶⁹ These lessons and more are reiterated in the large number of *tz'u* that Ma addressed to his peers. Several of his verses are dedicated to female adepts, his wife included, and one in particular offers advice for the betterment of all women of the Tao.³⁷⁰ Ma speaks overall in the voice of one who has undergone many trials of self-deprivation. He vowed on one occasion, for instance, to go without drinking water in the summer and facing a fire in the winter, opting instead to devote himself to the recognition of what he terms the affinity of water and fire within the furnaces of the enchymoma.³⁷¹ On another occasion, Ma writes of the experience of being led by Master Wang out into the streets to beg.³⁷² He also reveals that he forbade himself not only fermented beverages and meat, but also tea and fruit.³⁷³ Such austerities apparently date to the early years of Ma's training under Wang, for the vast majority of verses were written while he was in

residence in the Ning-hai rather than the Chung-nan region.

The second anthology of *tz'u* is entitled HY 1142 *Tan-yang shen-kuang ts'an* 丹陽神光燦 [On the Luster of the Hallowed Radiance of Tan-yang]. It is a collection of one hundred lyrics written to the tune of “Man-t'ing fang” 滿庭芳 [Fragrance Filling the Courtyard]. A devotee by the name of Ning Shih-ch'ang 寧師常 explains the significance of the title in a preface dating to 1175. Although most of the verses have their own subtitles, Ning refers to them simply as the one hundred poems on “Shen-kuang ts'an” 神光燦 [Luster of Hallowed Radiance].³⁷⁴ This expression, according to Ning, conveys something of the manner in which Ma induced enlightenment. The sensation he describes brings to mind a phrase favored by Wang, that is, *ju-jan* 如然, “like being set on fire.” Ning says that once the lantern of one's heart is lit, the refulgence spreads throughout the body and heats up the cortex, imparting thus a state of cleansing purification.³⁷⁵ He goes on to equate this with what he calls the *gangāprajñā* 恆沙般若, or “limitless wisdom,” which arises from the reflection of the Bodhi Tree and results in rescue from the Sea of Bitterness (*k'u-hai* 苦海). Ma himself does not appear to have used this analogy, at least not in this sequence of verse.³⁷⁶ Aside from frequently evoking the “luster of hallowed radiance,” he often repeats some of the basic precepts of Ch'üan-chen.³⁷⁷ Essential to all who pursue the kind of enlightenment Ma counsels is the fourfold abnegation of drink, sex, anger, and money. Another well-known admonition upon which Ma frequently calls is the need to bring under control one's “*i-ma* *hsin-yüan*” 意馬心猿, or “horse of the will and monkey of the mind.”³⁷⁸ His lyrics are also rich in *nei-tan* terminology. In one instance, Ma advises that those who pursue such practices—in other words, those who have faith in the Tao—will have no interest in marriage of the mundane kind.³⁷⁹ These homiletic pieces almost invariably are directed toward one of his many male and female acquaintances. Two of Ma's poems in this anthology are accompanied by an explanatory preface concerning a prophetic dream. One preface refers to a specific episode of divine healing in 1174, upon the appearance of Master Ho Te-chin 和德瑾 (d. 1170), a story that also found its way into the hagiographic corpus of Ch'in Chih-an 秦志安 (1188–1244).³⁸⁰

The fourth collection of verse commonly ascribed to Ma Yü is HY 1136 *Tzu-jan chi* 自然集 [An Anthology of Spontaneity]. The subtitle reads “Tao-tz'u” 道詞 [Lyrics of the Tao]. This work is conspicuously

absent from the hagiographic inventories of Ma's compilations.³⁸¹ It comprises a sequence of 42 verses that have been variously identified as *shih*, *tz'u*, or *san-ch'ü* 散曲 (short song-poems). Closer examination reveals the text to be a series of five *t'ao-shu* 套數, or suites, of arias such as make up a *tsa-chü* script.³⁸² The sequence of modes in which these suites presumably were intended to be sung is Hsien-lü 仙呂, Nan-lü 南呂, Shuang-tiao 雙調, and Cheng-kung 正宮 (2). Hsien-lü and Nan-lü typically are chosen as the modes for acts 1 and 2 of a *tsa-chü*. But the Cheng-kung and Shuang-tiao modes are usually found in the reverse order, that is Cheng-kung for the third act and Shuang-tiao for the fourth act. In spite of the unconventional sequence of modes, the *Tzu-jan chi* appears to be the text of the libretti for a five-act play. A number of the songs are unquestionably cast in the first person narrative voice and imply a certain amount of action. While much of the *chin-tan* terminology is reminiscent of Ma's other writings, it is doubtful that the song cycle was composed until at least a century later. Internal evidence reveals it to be the work of someone who was not only acquainted with Ma's teachings, but who was also well versed in the legacy of the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen as a whole.³⁸³ In fact, the last complete *t'ao-shu* is recorded in an early 14th-century anthology under the name of Teng Hsüeh-k'o 鄧學可 (fl. 1317), apparently a colleague of Chang Yü (1283–1356+?).³⁸⁴

Finally, there are two collateral works in the Canon that purport to be records of Ma's teachings in his later years as a proselytizer of Ch'üan-chen. The shorter of the two texts, entitled HY 1224 *Tan-yang chen-jen chih-yen* 丹陽真人直言 [The Forthright Discourse of the Perfected Tan-yang], is a three-page transcription of the sermon Ma gave at Lung-men Shan 龍門山 (Shensi) before the Ch'ung-yang Hui 重陽會, an assembly named after his mentor. Ma is known to have settled at the Yu-te Kuan 佑德觀 (Abbey in Attendance to Virtue) of Lung-chou 隴州 (Shensi) for a short time late in 1179. This sermon was apparently delivered sometime during that stay. Ma demands absolute trust from the disciples gathered about him and assures them that they are among the privileged few to receive his instruction. He lectures on the importance of pursuing a disciplined program of meditative practice. By this Ma means that one must cultivate a state of purification every minute of each day. In so doing, he advises, one may anticipate the experience of enlightenment a myriad times over. The key, according to Ma, is to con-

concentrate one's mind fully on the Tao for the entire day, without any thought of satisfying hunger or thirst. He concludes his message with a litany of allegorical terms from *nei-tan*. After nine years of persistent practice, Ma concludes, one can expect to have achieved eternal transubstantiation as a divine spirit. The lesson, therefore, is not on how to attain longevity, but rather on how to attain a formless state. It is Ma's view that transcendence of one's physical being is the only means by which one becomes indestructible. This sermon seems to have been his most memorable. Aside from this edition, a partial transcript is included in a collection of Ch'üan-chen teachings compiled no earlier than the late thirteenth century.³⁸⁵

A more diverse record of Ma Yü's instruction is found in HY 1050 *Tan-yang chen-jen yü-lu* 丹陽真人語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise of the Perfected Tan-yang], compiled by a disciple named Wang I-chung 王頤中. The citations, based in part on Wang's reminiscences over the years, reflect the master's teachings during his final months back at Ning-hai 寧海 (Shantung). Ma returned home in the fourth lunar month of 1182 at the age of sixty, and there he remained until his death twenty months later. According to the opening statement in this text, Wang I-chung did not arrive at Ning-hai until the third lunar month of 1183, at which time he immediately presented himself before the master's retreat for training. Thus, this account is all the more remarkable for being the work of a disciple of only nine months. While Ma was apparently impressed that Wang had traveled all the way from Tung-wu 東武 (Hopeh) to seek him out, he repeatedly advised that anyone who studied the Tao had to find enlightenment on his own accord. Among the episodes recorded from firsthand experience is the occasion when Wang explained that he was delayed in answering the master's summons because he had become engrossed in a fascicle of the *Chuang-tzu* that he had discovered at the head of his bed. Ma reportedly told him that the limitations of the written word could only deter enlightenment and that what Chuang-tzu had to say was after all exceedingly fatuous.

Ma also preached on the unity of the San-chiao, or Three Teachings, but he was adamant about the superiority of the way of *ch'ing-ching* 清靜 (pure quiescence) and *wu-wei* 無爲 (limited activity). The sources from which he derives inspiration include the *Tao-te ching*, *Lun-yü*, and the patriarchs Chung-li Ch'üan, Lü Yen, and Liu Ts'ao (fl. 1031). Of special note are the lessons he draws by recalling his experiences as a

disciple of Wang Che, including the hardship of beatings. Ma himself, according to Wang I-chung, was capable of quietly disarming any detractors. In one incident reported, Ma had been invited to address several monks when he found himself facing continual challenges from a querulous novice. The disputations were put to an end after Ma calmly observed that the monk clearly had no awareness of anything but his own person.

4. Sun Pu-erh, Ch'üan-chen Matriarch

Of all the so-called Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen, Sun Pu-erh 孫不二 (1119–1183) is the only one without a literary anthology to her name in the *Tao-tsang*. She was, as I mentioned earlier, the only woman admitted to the inner circle of devotees surrounding Wang Che. Sun, who was four years older than her husband Ma Yü, was the senior disciple of the group. Regrettably little, however, is recorded of her career beyond Sun's initial association with Wang. Once she and her husband had been received as students of the master, the marital bond was broken and they went their separate ways. By her late fifties, Sun had reached Loyang, where she was said to have attracted a substantial following.³⁸⁶ According to the late narrative on the lives of the Seven Perfected, she was able to venture out on her own by adopting the pose of a mad woman, a vision Sun generated in part by intentionally disfiguring her face with hot oil.³⁸⁷ Her determination to lead the life of a female ascetic appears to have inspired countless other women.

Not one of the hagiographic accounts devoted to Sun in the Canon mentions any compilation of her collected writings, and yet they suggest that the matriarch indeed made skillful use of both *shih* and *tz'u* in conveying instruction.³⁸⁸ The lyric to the tune of "Pu suan-tzu" 卜筮子 [Casting Lots] cited in two biographies is among a number of Sun's *tz'u* recorded in the HY 1092 *Ming-ho yü-yin* 鳴鶴餘音 [Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane], a mid-14th-century anthology.³⁸⁹ Separate collections of teachings ascribed to her did not appear before the Ch'ing. The two titles printed under her name in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* are of considerable interest although their authenticity is admittedly in question. The *Sun Pu-erh yüan-chün ch'uan-shu tan-tao pi-shu* 孫不二元君傳述丹道秘書 [The Secret Writings on the Tao of the Elixir Recorded by the Primordial Goddess Sun Pu-erh] in three *chüan* proves to be a set of four scriptural texts recorded separately in the Canon.³⁹⁰ Two series of



Fig. 16. A portrait of the Ch'üan-chen matriarch Sun Pu-erh. Sketch based on HY 174 *Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan*, 41b.

pentasyllabic *lü-shih* and heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* are also attributed to Sun, under the title *Sun Pu-erh yüan-chün fa-yü* 孫不二元君法語 [The Exemplary Sayings of the Primordial Goddess Sun Pu-erh]. The sub-heading given the first fourteen *lü-shih* reads: “K’un-tao kung-fu tz’u-ti” 坤道功夫次第 [A Sequence on the Pursuits of the Feminine Way], and the second set of seven *chüeh-chü* is simply labeled: “Nü-kung nei-tan” 女功內丹 [The Physiological Alchemy of Feminine Excellence].³⁹¹ The selections all pertain to various aspects of the contemplative practices of women. While undeniably conventional, the subjects introduced here, such as *t’ai-hsi* 胎息 (embryonic respiration), *lien-shen* 煉神 (refinement of the spirit), and *pi-ku* 辟穀 (avoidance of grains), suggest that women of the Tao may have strived for purification through amenorrhoea or anorexia rather than with the aid of drugs or steroids as Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen have postulated.³⁹²

5. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, Ch'üan-chen Patriarch

The most accomplished and publicly acclaimed of the Seven Perfected is, of course, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 邱處機 (1143–1227). In the autumn of 1167, Ch'iu made the journey from Ch'i-hsia 棲霞 (Shantung) east to Ning-hai, where Wang Che immediately accepted him as a disciple. At the age of 25, he was the youngest of the inner circle associated with Wang. After taking part in the rituals at Chung-nan Shan in 1173, when the remains of his master were interred, Ch'iu took up residence beside a tributary of the Wei River known as P'an-hsi 番溪. There he remained until 1118, when his solitude was interrupted by a summons from Chin Shih-tsung 金世宗 (r. 1161–1189) to come to the capital at Yenching. Ch'iu served the Jurchen emperor for approximately six months and then returned to the Chung-nan Shan region. By late 1191, he headed back home to Ch'i-hsia and began ministering to several communities along the Shantung peninsula.

According to hagiographic accounts, Ch'iu authored a wide range of texts, including several thousand verses. Only one of the two anthologies to his name survives, the 6-ch. HY 1151 [*Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu*] *P'an-hsi chi* 長春子番溪集 [An Anthology of Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu from the P'an Tributary].³⁹³ The four prefaces printed with it, dating to 1186, 1187, 1206, and 1208, indicate that the edition in the Canon is the product of two redactions. Hu Kuang-ch'ien 胡光謙, who refers to himself as the "Yü-feng Lao-jen" 玉峯老人 (Old Man of Jade Peak), reports in the earliest preface that three transcendents arrived with the text from Lung Shan 隴山 (Shensi) to request his endorsement. The author of the second preface dating to 1187, Mao Hui 毛麾, reveals that a disciple of Ch'iu by the name of Chi 翳 presented the text to him. Since among the offices Mao held was that of collator in the imperial archives, it seems likely that he may have had a hand in recommending Ch'iu to Chin Shih-tsung. The other two prefaces were collected by disciples evidently affiliated with the T'ai-hsü Kuan 太虛觀 (Abbey of the Grand Void), which was constructed for Ch'iu at Ch'i-hsia. Ch'en Ta-jen 陳大任 admits that as of 1208 he had never met Ch'iu, but he adds that, having contributed a summary of the master's life in his preface, he would hope that when the time came he would not be greeted as a stranger.

As the title and sequence of prefaces suggest, the original core of this text dates from Ch'iu's years beside the P'an tributary. There are in addition substantial accretions attesting to his ritual activities in the

Ch'i-hsia region. Internal evidence reveals that the text was further expanded after Ch'en added his preface, for the latest date recorded is 1209. In that year Ch'iu composed a sequence of twenty verses, inspired by a visit to Ao Shan 鼇山 at the invitation of a parish at Chiao-hsi 膠西 (Shantung). A pilgrimage to the shrines of the Shang-ch'ing Kung 上清宮 (Palace of Supreme Clarity) and T'ai-ch'ing Kung 太清宮 (Palace of Grand Clarity) was suggested following the close of a *chiao*-fête. Visions of the mythical P'eng-lai 蓬萊 are evoked by the bizarre rock formations in this coastal range, a site traversed by few but where, according to Ch'iu, the music of transcendents could be heard day and night.³⁹⁴ The verses commemorating his pilgrimage were composed in the heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* meter, but Ch'iu reveals himself to be an expert in more demanding verse forms as well. Not unlike his mentors, he also favors *lü-shih* and *tz'u*, to which chapter 1 and chapters 5 and 6 are devoted, respectively. Both verse forms accommodated his eloquent testimonies on the local *chiao*-fêtes over which he presided, including one to relieve an obstruction in the throat suffered by one of the faithful and another to plead for rain during a drought at Wei-nan 渭南 (Shensi).³⁹⁵ The large number of personal communications Ch'iu composed in verse include tributes to Chin Shih-tsung and inscriptions on fans presented to his friends.³⁹⁶ Among Ch'iu's more didactic exercises is a series of pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* written under the title "Hsiu Tao" 修道 [Cultivating the Tao]. But perhaps the best known of Ch'iu's contemplative verses is the sequence of eight quatrains entitled "Ch'ing-t'ien ko" 青天歌 [Songs of the Blue Skies].³⁹⁷ A detailed study of these verses is found in Wang Chieh's 王介 (fl. 1310?) HY 137 *Ch'ing-t'ien ko chu-shih* 青天歌註釋 [An Exegesis of the Songs of the Blue Skies]. Wang remarks in his preface that he was able to identify three distinct semantic units in the cycle of songs after chanting them repeatedly.

By 1219 Ch'iu's reputation was such that competing political forces began to vie for his allegiance. Not long after Sung Ning-tsung 宋寧宗 (r. 1195–1224) requested his presence at court in Hangchow, Chinggis Khan, while in the midst of an expedition through Central Asia, dispatched a summons through his personal envoy Liu Wen 劉溫. Ch'iu determined that his mission rested with the Khan, and early in 1220 he set out across the northern plains under Mongol escort on a journey that in the end occupied over a year and a half. As noted earlier, Li Chih-ch'ang (1193–1256), who was in the party of nineteen disci-

ples chosen to accompany the 74-year-old master, compiled the 2-ch. HY 1418 *Hsi-yu chi* as a record of their travels to and from the Samarkand frontier. Ch'iu had his first audience with the Khan shortly after he arrived at the Mongol outpost in the Hindu Kush mountains at the close of 1222. A transcript of the instructions he delivered before the Khan is recorded in HY 176 *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu* 玄風慶會錄 [A Record of a Felicitous Convocation on the Sublime Spirit of the Tao].³⁹⁸ The preface of 1232 is unsigned, but the text itself is ascribed to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244), a powerful secretary to the Khan.³⁹⁹ Although initially he appears to have endorsed Ch'iu, Yeh-lü is thought later to have regarded him as a threat to the political and economic stability of the new regime. He was reportedly very critical of the special privileges granted the Ch'üan-chen brotherhood upon Ch'iu's successful tenure in the capital at Yenching, a tenure of increasing concern to Buddhist communities in the area.

In 1228, shortly after Ch'iu's death, Yeh-lü began writing the *Hsi-yu lu* 西遊錄 [A Record of Journeys West]. Although purportedly an account of his own travels with the Khan, the text gives way to a vicious condemnation of Ch'iu and what Yeh-lü took to be the effrontery of all those acting under his authority. Special ridicule is reserved for Ch'iu's audiences with the Khan. Overall the work appears to have been devised in order to appease a disenchanting Buddhist constituency. The fact that it appeared in print in 1229, three years before the *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu*, raises questions regarding the authenticity of the latter as a work of Yeh-lü. The 1232 text, although perhaps an accurate reflection of Yeh-lü's role as a scribe in 1222, was perhaps issued without his knowledge or approval.⁴⁰⁰ If indeed Yeh-lü himself authorized the printing of both accounts, it would seem that he juggled his constituencies with risky abandon.⁴⁰¹

Although the sermon transcribed in the *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu* is presented as if delivered in toto on the eve of the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month, the range of topics discussed suggests that this text may be a summary of more than one session. Several points recall passages in Li Chih-ch'ang's *Hsi-yu chi*.⁴⁰² Both works indicate that the Khan's prime motive in securing the presence of Ch'iu was to gain instruction on the means by which he might prolong his life, and Li states explicitly that the Mongol chieftain was interested in obtaining some sort of elixir.⁴⁰³ Whereas the *Hsi-yu chi* includes little exposition of the

master's teachings beyond an occasional lesson on the importance of filiality and of curtailing the hunt, the central focus of the *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu* is on the advisability of maintaining continence.⁴⁰⁴ The theme of abstinence from sex is repeated throughout, with lessons drawn from the *Tao-te ching* and Ch'iu's own experience in converting Chin Shih-tsung. The master in the end urges the Khan to abandon his harem, with the reminder that the ancients claimed it was far better to sleep alone for one night than to take pharmaceuticals for a thousand days.⁴⁰⁵ As Li reported, Ch'iu had, at the very start of his journey, refused to travel in the same company as the concubines destined for the Khan's camp.⁴⁰⁶ The master was equally outspoken on matters of state, especially as they concerned the welfare of his home territory. In order to restore the prosperity of the Shantung and Hopeh area, a region crucial to the realization of a Mongol mandate, Ch'iu proposed that the citizens there be granted a tax exemption for three years. Such an exemption for Ch'iu's disciples was indeed discussed, according to Li, during his farewell audience with the Khan.⁴⁰⁷ No further record of Ch'iu's teachings other than a text on *chin-tan*, the 2-ch. HY 244 *Ta-tan chih-chih* 大丹直指 [Straightforward Notes on the Great Elixir], is found in the Canon. But, since the author of this work is identified according to the honorary title bestowed on Ch'iu in 1269, it may actually be more representative of the thinking of later devotees of Ch'üan-chen than of the master's own teachings.⁴⁰⁸

6. T'an Ch'u-tuan, Ch'üan-chen Patriarch

When in 1167 T'an Ch'u-tuan 譚處端 (1123–1185) learned of Wang Che's arrival in the Ning-hai area, he abandoned his wife to join the ranks of the master's early disciples. Seven years later, T'an was among those who relocated in the central plains after the burial of Master Wang at Chung-nan Shan. For almost ten years he served in various communities east and west of Loyang along the Yellow River. Wherever he preached, T'an was said invariably to have attracted a large following. At one time there were said to have been more than one hundred folios of T'an's teachings, including prosodic collections and dialogic treatises. Now the only record extant is the 3-ch. HY 1152 [*T'an Hsien-sheng*]/*shui-yün chi* 譚先生水雲集 [The Water-Cloud Anthology of Master T'an], and even this is but a fragment of the original compilation. The first printing was prepared by Wang Liu-hui 王琉輝 of the Ch'üan-chen Re-

treat *全真菴* in Chün-chou 濬州 (Honan). After the woodblocks of this edition were lost in a flood at Chün-chou in 1186, Liu Ch'u-hsüan 劉處玄 (1147–1203) brought together what texts could be recovered so that a new edition could be printed. He sent several of his disciples to request a preface for the work from Fan I. Fan's introduction, dated 1187, is considerably more personal than those he inscribed for other collections, for he and T'an Ch'u-tuan, both the offspring of well-to-do families in the Ning-hai area, had grown up together. From reminiscences of their childhood days and journeys together, Fan turns to a review of T'an's affiliation with Wang, his mission in Loyang, and the legacy he left behind. Even less of the work survives in the Canon than the sum of the edition put together by Liu Ch'u-hsüan. Two postfaces trace the history of the text down through the late thirteenth century. The first was composed by Fan I's son, following a reengraving of the anthology in Shan-yang 山陽 (Shensi). Another postface accompanied a 1289 reissue of the text, based on a copy saved from the book burning of 1281.

Fortunately, with the three chapters that remain, something of T'an's versatility as a poet can still be appreciated. No prosodic form seems to have been beyond his reach. The opening heptasyllabic *lü-shih* is a tribute to the Ch'ao-yüan Kung 朝元宮 (Palace in Homage to Primordiality), T'an's home base in Loyang. Somewhat more information about his circuit can be retrieved from the scant number of regulated verses recorded. No doubt there was once a far larger collection of commemorative verse than the sampling here. Of note among the last entries in chapter 1 are the songs entitled "K'u-lou" 骷髏 and "Lo-p'o" 落魄, both of which Fan I claims are capable of provoking enlightenment.⁴⁰⁹ On one occasion, T'an composed a heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* in response to what he said were the daily inquiries of the multitudes at Ch'i-men Commandery 淇門鎮 (Honan) for pharmaceuticals. Those in the know, he advises, are skilled in playing dumb, devoting themselves all the while to their contemplative pursuits.⁴¹⁰ With other verses, including a sequence of pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, he seeks to exhort the masses to uphold the principles of Ch'üan-chen, including the relinquishment of drink, sex, money, and anger. These lessons are repeated in a number of the *tz'u* that follow in chapters 2 and 3. Among the tunes favored for these didactic compositions are those that came to be identified with the Ch'üan-chen mission, such as "Man-t'ing fang," "Ch'in-yüan ch'un," and "Shen-kuang ts'an" 神光燦.⁴¹¹ One lyric con-

spicuously absent from this edition is that to the tune of "Hsing hsiang-tzu" 行香子, which T'an reportedly composed as a farewell message to his disciples, just prior to his demise.⁴¹²

7. Liu Ch'u-hsüan, Ch'üan-chen Patriarch

Liu Ch'u-hsüan 劉處玄 (1147-1203) appears to have realized his calling in life long before he had any exposure to Wang Che's instruction. But for some time he suppressed his natural inclinations and took up a military career in Tung-lai 東萊 (Shantung), just as his ancestors had done over the years. Then in 1169, Wang arrived in Tung-lai, together with Ma Yü, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, and T'an Ch'u-tuan. Liu, who by then had vowed never to marry, went together with his mother to pay homage to Wang. Soon after, Liu joined the other three disciples and served Wang faithfully to the end. In 1172 the quartet formed the burial party that bore Wang's remains back to Chung-nan Shan. Thereafter each took a separate path. Liu eventually ended up in Loyang, and from 1178 he lived for three years in a cave northeast of the city. By 1181 he was back in Tung-lai, where he began presiding over local ritual functions. His fame was such that in the winter of 1197 Chin Chang-tsung 金章宗 (r. 1190-1208) summoned Liu to court in Yen-ching, where he served for approximately four months.

The literary legacy Liu left behind has apparently suffered as much loss over the centuries as that of T'an Ch'u-tuan. Hagiographic accounts attribute five separate anthologies to Liu's name, as well as commentaries to the *Tao-te ching*, the *Yin-fu ching* 陰符經, and the *Huang-t'ing ching* 黃庭經.⁴¹³ Only one of the anthologies is extant, namely, the 5-ch. HY 1133 *Hsien-le chi* 仙樂集 [Anthology of Transcendent Joy]. The history of its transmission cannot be traced, for neither prefaces nor colophons have survived.⁴¹⁴ The work includes very little commemorative or epistolary verse in corroboration of the hagiographic data available. But this anthology does offer a wealth of didactic compositions, written in a variety of metric forms. Liu does not seem to have had as much use for the heptasyllabic *lü-shih* as his mentors had. He appears to have favored instead the conciseness of verses with lines of a mere three to five syllables in length. In chapters 2 and 5 combined, there are over three hundred pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, all untitled aphorisms on the basic principles and practices of Ch'üan-chen. Lengthier expositions on these matters are found in the *tz'u* of chapter 4. Here, too, are recorded

a few dated pieces that give some idea of Liu's teachings in his later years. One lyric to the tune of "Shui-lung yin" 水龍吟 [Incantation of the Water Dragon], for example, was written in commemoration of an auspicious rainfall in 1201, on the eve of *hsia-yüan* 下元, the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month. Liu takes the opportunity in this verse to preach that faith in the Tao keeps one safe from disaster.

Liu's overall pedagogical approach is perhaps best exemplified in HY 1051 *Wu-wei ch'ing-ching ch'ang-sheng chen-jen chih-chen yü-lu* 無為清靜長生真人至真語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise on Ultimate Perfection from the Perfected of Long Life, Pure Quiescence, and Limited Action]. This compilation purports to be an account of Liu's responses to a series of questions concerning the definition of eighty terms, such as *sheng* 生 (life), *ssu* 死 (death), *le* 樂 (joy), and *k'u* 苦 (suffering). Each identification ends with a quotation from the *Tao-te ching*, thus preserving something in the way of the commentary that has been lost. Two of Liu's disciples named Hsü 徐 and Li 李 made a special trip west to Huo-tse 獲澤 (Shansi) in order to invite Han Shih-ch'ing 韓士倩 to contribute an introduction to this catechism. Han's comments were added at the close of the New Year's festival of 1202. Liu's teachings, according to Han, were so much a part of local culture that many people were known to recite them verbatim. His quotability was no doubt due in part to an effective use of rhythmic repetitions in both prose and prosodic compositions.

8. Wang Ch'u-i, Ch'üan-chen Patriarch

The two remaining disciples to be ordained within the ranks of the Seven Perfected were also of the younger generation, only a few years senior to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Liu Ch'u-hsüan. Wang Ch'u-i 王處一 (1142-1217) and Hao Ta-t'ung 郝大通 (1140-1212), like Liu Ch'u-hsüan, were regarded as paragons of filial piety. Wang lost his father when but a child and thereafter was said to have looked after his mother with the utmost care. According to hagiographic legend, Wang once stopped breathing suddenly at the age of seven and fell to the ground as if dead. He soon recovered, and from then on was thought to be particularly prescient concerning matters of life and death. His later encounters with transcendents appeared to confirm his destiny, leading Wang eventually to sing and dance about wildly, oblivious to the winter cold although barefoot and scantily clad. Early in 1168 he learned of Wang

Che's arrival in Ning-hai and went to his retreat seeking instruction. In the end, Master Wang received both Wang Ch'u-i and his mother as disciples. Then he commanded Ch'u-i to go into seclusion within the Yün-kuang Cavern 雲光洞 of T'ieh-ch'a Shan 鐵查山. It was in these caves, just outside Wen-teng 文登 on the eastern tip of the Shantung peninsula, that Master Wang himself claimed to have experienced enlightenment. After nine years, Wang Ch'u-i emerged and began to offer his services to communities from the coast inland. As was mentioned earlier, the hagiographic account HY 594 *T'i-hsüan chen-jen hsien-i lu* provides an extraordinary record of the therapeutic demands of his ministry. Once word of his reputation reached the ears of Chin Shih-tsung 金世宗 (r. 1161–1189), Wang was summoned to Yenching. He served in the capital intermittently between 1188 and 1209, but preferred to devote most of his time to the parishes of his homeland.

Substantial background on Wang's mission can be retrieved not only from the *Hsien-i lu*, but also from the 4-ch. HY 1144 *Yün-kuang chi* 雲光集 [An Anthology of Yün-kuang]. This compilation, titled for his subterranean sanctuary, is the only one of two such anthologies associated with Wang to survive. Wang drew on all manner of prosodic forms to give an accounting of his experiences in both contemplative and ritual practices. Many of his commemorative and epistolary lyrics are dated by title or by an explanatory preface. Both heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic meters are well represented in the first three chapters of this work, with the last entirely comprised of *tz'u*. Among the more memorable verses is one Wang addressed to his mother, whom he cared for until her death at age 93 in 1201.⁴¹⁵ A number of other verses were composed on special requests for instruction, in some cases by disciples of Ch'an or by people seeking cures for various ailments.⁴¹⁶ Many verses are directed toward new devotees who had made the decision to abandon their homes in order to strike out on their own.⁴¹⁷ Several lyrics, moreover, reveal how actively Wang promoted the purchase and restoration of temple grounds. One heptasyllabic *lü-shih*, for example, is entitled "Mai Ch'a Shan Shang-ch'ing Kuan" 買查山上清菴 [On the Purchase of the Shang-ch'ing Abbey of Ch'a Shan].⁴¹⁸ Others call for temple renovation or pay tribute to the completion of such projects.⁴¹⁹ Those verses Wang composed for purely didactic purposes range from the straightforward homiletic to the decidedly eclectic. An example of the latter is entitled "Ching San-chiao" 敬三教 [Respect the Three Teachings]:

Upon the simultaneous uplifting of the Three	三教同興仗眾緣
Teachings rests the destiny of the masses.	
Within the void of perfection there are no words,	真空無語笑聲連
the sound of laughter is continual.	
Opening up the <i>dharma</i> -eye brings to	放開法眼全玄理
completion the principles of profundity;	
Lotus petals, layer upon layer, form the	蓮葉重重作渡船
vessel of salvation. ⁴²⁰	

9. Hao Ta-t'ung, Ch'üan-chen Patriarch

Hao Ta-t'ung 郝大通 (1140–1212) was a diviner by profession who upon his first encounter with Wang Che in 1167 immediately vowed to become his disciple. But he purposefully delayed his internship until after his mother passed away in 1168. Once he had received instruction, Hao also went into seclusion at the Yün-kuang Cavern. When he suddenly learned of his master's demise, he headed west in search of the burial party. Eventually he ended up in Wo-chou 沃州 (Hopeh) and, according to hagiographic lore, took refuge under a bridge, depriving himself of food and drink for anywhere from two to six years. By 1183 he was reported to have begun preaching in Chen-ting 真定 (Hopeh), where time and again crowds numbering in the hundreds were captivated by his sermons. After moving northwest to Luan-ch'eng 樂城, Hao was reportedly visited by a divine messenger who conferred upon him secret commentaries to the *I-ching*. Thenceforth his prognosticatory skills were said to have been greatly enhanced, and by 1190 he was back in Ning-hai, preceded by his reputation. Legend also has it that one day he took up a brush and, wielding it with lightning speed, produced 33 diagrams in explication of the *I-ching*.

These diagrams, together with the commentary, fill two chapters in the only extant collection of Hao's writings, the 4-ch. HY 1153 *T'ai-ku chi* 太古集 [Anthology of Grand Antiquity]. Preliminary to these graphic conceptualizations is the *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i chien-yao shih-i* 周易參同契簡要釋義 [A Concise Exegesis on the *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i*]. A sequence of thirty "Chin-tan shih" 金丹詩 [Verses on the Metallous Enchymoma] in the fourth chapter completes the anthology. Hao indicates in his preface of 1178 that the *T'ai-ku chi* was once a far more comprehensive collection of his writings, totaling fifteen chapters of

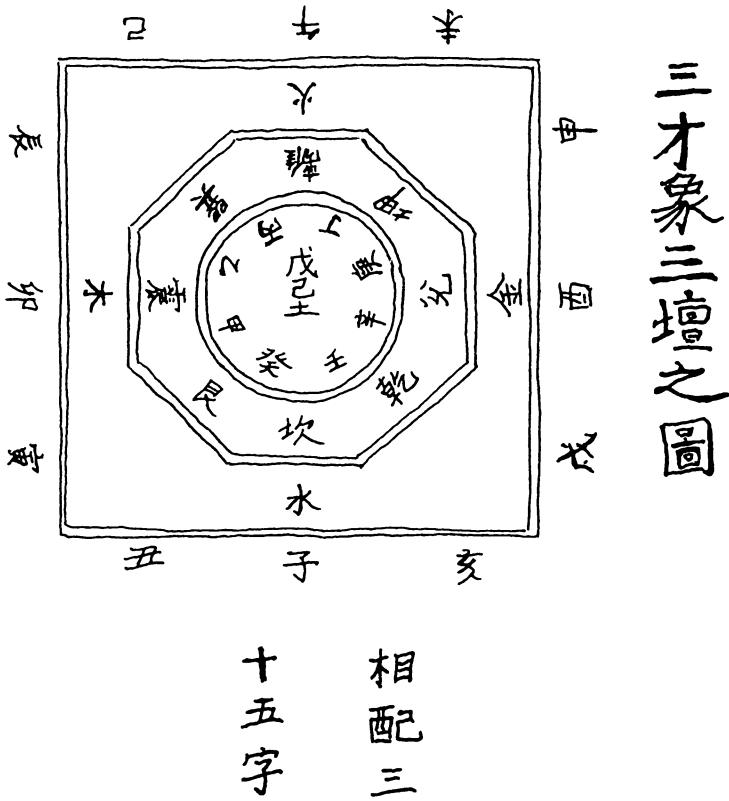


Fig. 17. An overhead view of the three-tiered altar. Sketch based on HY 1153 *T'ai-ku chi*, 3.12b. According to Hao Ta-t'ung, the lower base marked by the twelve *ti-chih* 地支 represents the terrestrial realm, whereas the central octagonal tier marked by the *pa-kua* 八卦 and *wu-hsing* 五行 represents mankind, and the third circular tier marked by the ten *t'ien-kan* 天干 represents the celestial realm.

catechisms together with a variety of prosodic compositions. Three other prefaces confirm the extent of his original literary corpus. All are dated 1236, marking the year that Fan Yüan-hsi 范圓曦 (1178-1249) prepared what was to be a definitive reedition of his master's teachings. As the chief beneficiary of Hao's instruction, Fan contributed an intro-

duction and then invited additional prefaces from Feng Pi 馮璧 (1162–1240) and Liu Ch'i 劉祁 (1203–1250), two prominent literati familiar with Hao Ta-t'ung's legacy. The anthology in the Canon is regrettably only a fraction of Fan's newly restored edition.

10. Later Ch'üan-chen Disciples

The teachings of Wang Che and the Seven Perfected represent but one local response to a national surge of interest in syncretic formulations. From the twelfth century on, new religious syntheses arose with a heightened sense of urgency in the north and the south alike. That the Ch'üan-chen heritage flourished as strongly as it did suggests that it offered a particularly convincing response to the social and political uncertainties of its age. The very firmly rooted convention of discipleship no doubt also contributed to its perpetuity. But when the transmission of religious codes relies largely on an immutable bond between master and disciple, the enforced continuity in teachings can easily lead to stagnation. How much creativity is denied in the literary output of such closed systems is an open question. The literature from the formative stages of the Ch'üan-chen legacy merits further study in this regard, and comparative studies on both diachronic and synchronic developments may also help to answer this question.

Yin Chih-p'ing. Among the more prominent of the succeeding generation of Ch'üan-chen patriarchs is Yin Chih-p'ing 尹志平 (1169–1251) of Lai-chou 萊州 (Shantung). He was the hand-picked successor to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, chosen over seventeen other disciples closely associated with the master.⁴²¹ Early in his youth Yin had brief encounters with both Ma Yü and Liu Ch'u-hsüan, and afterward he set up a retreat at Fu-shan 福山 (Shantung). When in 1190 he became aware of Ch'iu's return to Ch'i-hsia, Yin made the short journey southwest to introduce himself. He immediately devoted himself in service to Ch'iu, and was rewarded with extensive instruction from the master. Thereafter Yin pursued his mission throughout the northeast, and wherever he went he was said to have drawn large crowds and inspired the construction of many new temples. Eventually Ch'iu summoned Yin to preside with him in Yenching. Upon his master's demise, Yin became the highest-ranking ecclesiastic in the Mongol empire, with authority over all other Ch'üan-chen masters. He kept this position for a mere ten years until 1238, when, pleading the vicissitudes of old age, he designat-

ed Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193–1256) as his successor. Shortly after, Li helped to make available an edition of Yin Chih-p'ing's teachings.

Sometime around 1237, several of Yin's disciples had decided to bring together all of their notes so that a permanent record could be made of their master's instruction. At their behest, Li Chih-ch'ang added a preface in 1240 to the resulting compilation, the 4-ch. HY 1299 *Ch'ing-ho chen-jen pei-yu yü-lu* 清和真人北遊語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise on the Northern Journeys of the Perfected Ch'ing-ho]. Although neither Li nor the authors of two other prefaces dating to the autumn of 1237 identify any of the disciples in charge, the name Tuan Chih-chien 段志堅 is cited as editor on the opening pages of each chapter.⁴²² Tuan apparently took the major responsibility for reconstructing the content of Yin's sermons to monastic communities on visits from Yen-ching north in the autumn and winter of 1233. Included in the treatise are extemporaneous remarks as well as Yin's responses to the queries posed by various disciples. In his expositions, Yin frequently alludes to the teachings of past Ch'üan-chen masters and, moreover, seems to enjoy illustrating his points by narrating choice episodes in exemplification of their mission. A question of concern to many in his audience was the distinction between Ch'üan-chen and Buddhism. Yin's inevitable response was that although there were many differences, the two traditions were in principle the same. Of note in chapter 3 is a long exegesis on two passages from the *Tao-te ching*, which had been inspired by the interpretation Yin elicited from a disciple named Kuo Chih-ch'üan 郭志全.⁴²³

Yin's exchange with Kuo is further memorialized in two *tz'u* lyrics preserved in the 3-ch. HY 1138 *Pao-kuang chi* 葆光集 [Anthology of Concealed Radiance].⁴²⁴ Tuan Chih-chien also compiled this collection in honor of his master in 1239. The title is derived from a line in the "Ch'i-wu lun" 齊物論 chapter of *Chuang-tzu*, in a discussion on the apprehension of the limitations of one's knowledge.⁴²⁵ Both works, the anthology and the dialogic treatise, were printed under the sponsorship of Tu Te-k'ang 杜德康, the governor of Ch'in-chou 沁州 (Shansi).⁴²⁶ In 1233, when Ch'in-chou was suffering from a prolonged drought, Tu summoned Yin Chih-p'ing to administer a propitiatory *chiao-fête*. After the success of Yin's rain-making rites, Tu ordered the building of a Shenhsiao Kung 神霄宮 (Palace of the Divine Empyrean) on his behalf. This shrine is prominent among those to which Yin pays tribute in his verses. A large number of his commemorative pieces are cast in the hep-

tasyllabic *chüeh-chü* meter, such as a verse entitled “Tao-jen Liu Chih-hsi hsien tiao-mu Ch’i-chen hsiao-hsiang” 道人劉志希獻同惟木七真小像 [The Taoist Liu Chih-hsi Presents Small Images of the Seven Perfected Carved in Wood].⁴²⁷ Among the few *lü-shih* recorded is one that Yin addressed to a Ch’an Master by the name of Wang who had been suffering from an unusual ailment.⁴²⁸ Overall, it is the *tz’u* meter that Yin appears to favor, for they occupy fully two-thirds of this anthology. Many are epistolary compositions, including exhortations following several *chiao-fêtes*. On one occasion, Yin reveals that his lyric to the tune of “Chiang-ch’eng tzu” 江城子 was inspired by the circumstances surrounding a *chiao-fête* for lost souls held on *ch’ung-yang* 重陽, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. Before the scheduled fête, Yin observes, a strong wind blew from the north, darkening the skies and bringing light snow. But on the eighth day, after the initial communications were dispatched on high, the skies cleared for the duration of the ritual. All the wandering and orphaned souls, Yin claims in his verse, were clearly destined to obtain salvation through the merit of the fête, allowing them to exit from the gateway of the shades.⁴²⁹

An additional account of Yin’s pedagogy is found in the 2-ch. HY 1246 *Chen-hsien chih-chih yü-lu* 真仙直指語錄 [Dialogic Treatise of the Forthright Directives of Perfected Transcendents]. The entire second chapter of this work, compiled by Hsüan-ch’üan-tzu 玄全子, is entitled “Ch’ing-ho Yin Chen-jen yü” 清和尹真人語 [The Sayings of the Perfected Yin Ch’ing-ho]. The lessons recorded here offer practical instruction to devotees on various aspects of conduct and contemplative practice. In one instance, for example, Yin is quoted as declaring that devotees who did not look after their parents would not exert themselves on behalf of the state and should therefore be regarded as useless individuals.⁴³⁰ This dialogic treatise, which also includes the teachings of the preceding generation of Ch’üan-chen masters, was perhaps compiled sometime in the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century.⁴³¹ Its relation to the compilation presented by Tuan Chih-chien in 1237 remains unclear.

Yü Tao-hsien. Most noteworthy among those disciples affiliated with Liu Ch’u-hsüan is Yü Tao-hsien 于道顯 (1168–1232) of Wen-teng 文登 (Shantung). The only substantial source of information on his life appears to be a tomb inscription composed by Yüan Hao-wen 元好問 (1190–1257) in response to a request from Yü’s following.⁴³² Yü reportedly studied under Liu Ch’u-hsüan while in his teens, perhaps sometime

after 1181, when the master returned to Tung-lai from Loyang. To compensate for his lack of literacy, Yü, it is said, at first merely learned to recite texts such as the *Lao-tzu* and the *Chuang-tzu*. After a few years he apparently began to compose his own songs. Legend has it that Yü simply picked up a brush and applied it to paper, as if he were totally unaware of what he was doing. Once he completed a training program of enforced austerities, Yü eventually settled in the Loyang region at the Ch'ang-sheng Kuan 長生觀 [Abbey of Long Life], which had been established at the site of his master's former retreat. Most of the entries in the single extant collection of his writings, the 2-ch. HY 1254 *Li-feng lao-jen chi* 離峰老人集 [An Anthology of the Old Man Li-feng], appear to date from his tenure in Loyang.

In both substance and form, Yü's verse stands in distinct contrast to that of Master Liu. Both heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic meters are recorded in this anthology, but it appears that Yü was most comfortable with the former. Given the limits of his education, the large quantities of regulated verse seem all the more remarkable. The vast majority are epistolary, addressed to a wide range of Yü's mentors in the Loyang region, from local officials to female ascetics. One notable exception is a series of 22 pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* that exhibit the sort of stream-of-consciousness style of writing that no doubt characterized his earlier efforts. The second verse in this set reflects the ease with which Yü blended the terminology of variant traditions.

The great Tao is exceedingly remote
and profound,
Pure and insubstantial, as well
as spontaneous.
Open wide your *samādhi* eye
So that you may perceive yet another
stratum of the celestial realm.⁴³³

大道極幽玄
清虛合自然
撥開三昧眼
別看一重天

Wang Chih-chin. Wang Chih-chin 王志瑾 (1178-1263), perhaps the most renowned of the second generation of Ch'üan-chen masters, was a student of Hao Ta-t'ung. The son of wealthy landowners in Tung-ming 東明 (Honan), Wang enjoyed a far more privileged childhood than did Yü Tao-hsien. Rather than submit to an arranged marriage, he left home and headed east into Shantung. After hearing Master Hao preach

in Ning-hai, Wang settled there as his disciple. Several years later, in 1221, the governor of Chi-chou 荊州 (Hopeh), Hsü Kung-i 許公議, invited Wang to take up residence at the sacred mountain of P'an Shan 盤山. Upon his arrival, a number of scholars in the region were said to have come seeking instruction. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi appeared in 1226, in answer to a request that he perform a *chiao*-fête at the site. Following Ch'iu's visit, a new temple was built in Wang's honor and designated the Ch'i-yün Kuan 棲雲觀 (Abbey Nestled in the Clouds), in accordance with Wang's nickname, Ch'i-yün-tzu 棲雲子. Not long thereafter, it seems that some high-ranking officials in Yenching began lobbying for Wang to take over as supervisor of the T'ien-ch'ang Kuan 天長觀 when the position became vacant at Ch'iu's death. Instead, in the autumn of 1227, Wang began leading large congregations southward in a massive evangelistic mission. Countless new temples were built to accommodate the thousands of converts, and one of Wang's disciples was put in charge of each parish. This undertaking was apparently the first extensive effort to proselytize in new territories on behalf of Ch'üan-chen.

The only record of Wang's teachings available is HY 1052 *P'an Shan Ch'i-yün Wang Chen-jen yü-lu* 盤山棲雲王真人語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise of the Perfected Wang Ch'i-yün of P'an Shan].⁴³⁴ A disciple named Lun Chih-huan 論志煥 is identified as the editor of this work, but, as Lun states in his preface of 1247, the original compilation was the product of another disciple by the name of Liu 劉. In faithfully accompanying his master over the years, Liu is said to have secretly taken notes during Wang's lectures. After collecting over one hundred transcripts, he arranged for the printing of the text as a guide for young novices. The edition in the Canon actually includes only ninety entries, all but the first of which purports to be Wang's responses to specific questions. The opening discussion appears to be a verbatim account of the master's introductory comments on faith to a group of novices at P'an Shan. This statement as well as the subsequent dialogues provide a good illustration of Wang's inductive methods. Above all else, Wang appears to have been a superb storyteller, for he often drew on parables in answering the wide-ranging questions posed by his audience. There is also evidence that he was capable of making his point by means of a sharp repartee worthy of any Ch'an master. Once, for example, when asked to define *hsüan-miao* 玄妙 (profound wonder), Wang challenged: "Who had you ask this question?" His interlocutor is reported to have

clasped his hands together and said: "Your disciple thought it up himself." Wang's response was: "Then you'll be able to figure it out yourself."⁴³⁵

Chi I. Wang's legacy is further documented in the 8-ch. HY 1132 *Yün-shan chi* 雲山集 [Anthology of Cloud Mountain], a collection of the prose and verse composed by his preeminent disciple Chi I 姬翼, or Chi Chih-chen 姬志真 (1193–1268).⁴³⁶ According to a preface dated 1250, this text was originally transmitted under the title *Chih-ch'ang hsiensheng wen-chi* 知常先生文集 [A Literary Anthology of Master Chih-ch'ang] and included a wider variety of prose writings than are now preserved.⁴³⁷ By the time the classicist Wang O 王鶚 (1190–1273) contributed a preface in 1265, the collection was titled *Yün-shan chi*. Wang O and Chi were both of upper-class families and had enjoyed a long friendship. Chi was a member of the Yung 雍 lineage of Ch'ang-an. Upon Chin Shih-tsung's 金世宗 accession in 1161, the family name was changed to Chi to avoid the taboo of the emperor's personal name. Chi I was raised in Kao-p'ing 高平 (Shansi) and early on exhibited a precocity in all subjects of the traditional curriculum. But with the Mongol incursions of 1221, he was forced to flee home and headed north into Hopeh. Thirteen years later, Chi ended up in Chi-chou, where he happened to hear a sermon delivered by Wang Chih-chin. Finding himself in complete harmony with the master's teachings, Chi vowed to become his disciple and accompanied Wang to his retreat at P'an Shan. Chi took over the administration of the Ch'i-yün Kuan after Wang's death and there he served until, in his final years, he presided over the Ch'ao-yüan Kung 朝元宮 (Palace in Homage to Primordality) at Pien-liang 汴梁 (Kaifeng), the southern capital of the Jurchen empire.

The *Yün-shan chi* reveals a man of letters with the heart of an archivist. Rarely is there found such a detailed accounting of the Ch'üan-chen mission in one work. A large number of the prosodic compositions, including the *fu* 賦, or rhapsody, are didactic exercises designed to elucidate the basic principles of contemplative practice. No metric form appears to have been beyond his reach, but the large quantity of heptasyllabic *lü-shih* and both pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* attest to Chi's special fondness for these genres. Two full chapters, moreover, display his competence in writing lyrics to *tz'u* meters. Perhaps the most remarkable parts of this anthology, however, are the two closing chapters, containing inscriptions on stela and commemorative essays

that give lengthy accounts of the ritual activities of Wang Chih-chin and his peers from P'an Shan south.⁴³⁸ Overall, this anthology is an invaluable repository of data on many important Ch'üan-chen temple compounds and the practices associated with them during the thirteenth century.

11. The Ex Post Facto Nan-tsung (Southern Lineage)

Precisely when the term *Nan-tsung* (Southern Lineage) came into use is uncertain, but by the thirteenth century five patriarchs of a textual tradition by this name had been identified: Liu Ts'ao 劉操 (fl. 1031), Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (d. 1082?), Shih T'ai 石泰 (d. 1158), Hsüeh Tzu-hsien 薛紫賢 (d. 1191), and Ch'en Nan 陳楠 (d. 1213). The formulation of the "Nan-tsung wu-tsu" 南宗五祖, or Five Patriarchs of the Southern Lineage, appears to have been inspired by the legacy of the Five Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen. The writings of all but Liu Ts'ao are given a prominent place in the 60-ch. HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection], an anonymous anthology of the late thirteenth century.⁴³⁹ No writings of the first so-called patriarch of Nan-tsung other than fragmentary citations survive in the Canon.⁴⁴⁰ A short piece entitled *Chih-chen ko* 至真歌 [Song of Ultimate Perfection] is ascribed to Liu in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, but the fact that his name is cited according to an honorific title bestowed in 1310 suggests that this edition, if not the composition itself, dates no earlier than the fourteenth century.⁴⁴¹ The hagiographic data on Liu Ts'ao are also scant. His name rarely even comes up for mention in any of the accounts on the life of his putative beneficiary, Chang Po-tuan.⁴⁴² What biographical material exists is found only in Ch'üan-chen compilations, for, as noted above, Liu was claimed as a patriarch of that textual tradition as well. The earliest account appears to be that in HY 173 *Chin-lien cheng-tsung chi*, compiled in 1241, where it is recorded that Liu was a native of Yen-shan 燕山 (Hopeh) who gained enlightenment upon an encounter with the transcendent Chung-li Ch'üan.⁴⁴³ By the early fourteenth century, a number of texts came to assert that it was Liu who conveyed the teachings of the venerable Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Yen to Wang Che in the north and to Chang Po-tuan in the south.⁴⁴⁴ A claim such as this was no doubt extremely useful to textual codifiers who sought to find a common origin for syncretic traditions of diverse provenance.

The equation of Chang Po-tuan's role with that of Wang Che is no accident, for Chang is the most commonly named founder of Nan-tsung. Much has been written about this native of T'ien-t'ai 天台 (Chekiang) on whose shoulders the burden of the Nan-tsung heritage fell. To Chang is attributed an assortment of writings that for years have simply been identified as treatises on *wai-tan* 外丹, or laboratory alchemy. Contemporary research reveals that these works actually fall more into the mainstream of *nei-tan* 內丹, or physiological alchemy. The problems in authenticating Chang's writings and, moreover, determining his dates, have been summarized in Wong Shiu-hon's discussion of an edition of the *Wu-chen p'ien* 悟真篇 [Folios on the Apprehension of Perfection].⁴⁴⁵ For centuries this text has been regarded as the magnum opus of Chang Po-tuan. It circulates in several editions, of which those issued by the commentator Weng Pao-kuang 翁葆光 (fl. 1173) are among the most well known.⁴⁴⁶ Weng seems to have established himself as the supreme guardian of the textual legacy associated with Chang. In HY 143 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p'ien chih-chih hsiang-shuo san-sheng pi-yao* 紫陽真人悟真篇直指詳言三乘秘要 [A Forthright Exegesis on the Secret Essentials of the Three Vehicles of the Folios on Apprehending Perfection of the Perfected Tzu-yang], he offers his own synopsis of the underlying theoretical foundations of the *Wu-chen p'ien* according to a tripartite division of the text.⁴⁴⁷ At the core of Chang's work are three series of verses, all of which articulate some aspect in the pursuit of *chin-tan* 金丹 (metallous enchymoma): (1) sixteen heptasyllabic *lü-shih*, (2) 64 heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, and (3) twelve lyrics to the *tz'u* tune of "Hsi-chiang yüeh" 西江月 [Moon over West River].⁴⁴⁸ The *Wu-chen p'ien* was promoted so zealously that Chang was thought by many to be the originator of the *nei-tan* tradition. But, in fact, the writings attributed to him represent more or less a watershed in Taoist contemplative literature. The textual history of *nei-tan* can be traced back at least one century prior to the putative date of Chang's works. Among the more valuable compilations on this subject is the HY 925 *Ta huan-tan chao-chien* 大還丹照鑑 [A Mirror in Reflection of the Great Regenerative Enchymoma], dating to 962. Included in this anthology are texts such as T'ao Chih's 陶植 *Nei-tan fu* 內丹賦 [Rhapsody on Physiological Alchemy] that, although printed separately in the Canon, would otherwise be difficult to date.⁴⁴⁹

Those identified as Chang's successors in the Nan-tsung patriarchy are credited with the composition of similar prosodic selections. The metaphorical language of *chin-tan* to which the *Wu-chen p'ien* was heir is also found in the writings associated with Shih T'ai 石泰 (d. 1158), the putative recipient of Chang's instruction. The only independent work to survive under Shih's name is the HY 1083 *Huan-yüan p'ien* 還源篇 [Folios on a Return to the Wellsprings], a series of 81 pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü*.⁴⁵⁰ Comparably formulaic verse is part of the literary output identified with Hsüeh Tzu-hsien 薛紫賢 (d. 1191) as well. According to hagiographic tradition, Hsüeh, once a Ch'an master of Shu 蜀, became the disciple of Shih T'ai after journeying to Feng-hsiang 鳳翔 (Shensi) in 1106. To Hsüeh is attributed a commentary on Chang Po-tuan's *Wu-chen p'ien*, the authenticity of which is dubious.⁴⁵¹ The only other text to his name is an anthology of verse, HY 1080 *Huan-tan fu-ming p'ien* 還丹復命篇 [Folios on the Restoration of Life by Means of the Regenerative Enchymoma].⁴⁵² It comprises a sequence of verse imitative of the *Wu-chen p'ien*: sixteen pentasyllabic *lü-shih*, 31 heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, nine lyrics to the tune "Hsi-chiang yüeh," and 34 verses under the title "Tan-sui ko" 丹髓歌 [Songs on the Marrow of Cinnabar].⁴⁵³

Finally, a somewhat more extensive collection of writings is associated with Ch'en Nan 陳楠 (d. 1213), the fifth so-called patriarch of Nan-tsung. Ch'en, a native of Hui-chou 惠州 (Kwangtung), reportedly received instruction from Hsüeh Tzu-hsien at Li-mu Shan 黎姥山, located outside Ch'ung-chou 瓊州 on the island of Hainan. The one text circulating under his name is HY 1082 *Ts'ui-hsü p'ien* 翠虛篇 [A Folio of (Ch'en) Ts'ui-hsü].⁴⁵⁴ It is prefaced by the remarks of Wang Ssu-ch'eng 王思誠 (1291–1357), who concludes, after twenty years of studying the works of Chang Po-tuan, that Ch'en's text represents the culmination of all there was to learn about *chin-tan* procedures. Most notable among the prosodic compositions is a series of one hundred heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* entitled "Chin-tan shih-chüeh" 金丹詩訣 [Instructions in Verse on Chin-tan]. Preceding this sequence are lengthy theoretical discourses, one of which gives an account of Ch'en's initiation of Pai Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (fl. 1209–1224). This event is dated to 1212 and is said to have taken place at the sacred site of Lo-fou Shan 羅浮山 within Ch'en's home territory.⁴⁵⁵

12. Pai Yü-ch'an, Specialist in Thunder Rites

The proponents of the Nan-tsung legacy found an exemplar in the preeminent Thunder Ritual Master Pai Yü-ch'an.⁴⁵⁶ His predecessor Ch'en Nan, according to hagiographic lore at least, was no stranger to Thunder Rites.⁴⁵⁷ But it was his disciple Pai who came to be regarded as the ultimate authority on matters concerning both *chin-tan* and *lei-fa*. A native of Min-ch'ing 閩清 (Fukien), Pai received his early training at Ch'iung-chou, just as Ch'en had before him. His reputation as an adept of divine powers eventually extended from the southeastern coastal region west into Kiangsi. Some even claimed that Pai could inscribe a page of sacred text the instant he put his brush to paper. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that his collected writings are among the most voluminous of his age. For some eight centuries, devoted followers of Pai's teachings have sought to compile definitive editions of his works.⁴⁵⁸ In such an unusually large body of texts questions inevitably arise regarding historical validity. While a number of writings can be dated with some certainty to the early thirteenth century, many others are clearly the product of later inspiration.

Among the works paying tribute to Pai's role as heir to the Nan-tsung heritage is HY 1298 *Hai-ch'iung ch'uan-tao chi* 海瓊傳道集 [An Anthology of Hai-ch'iung's Transmission of the Tao]. A devout disciple by the name of Ch'en Shou-mo 陳守默 compiled this text based on a series of encounters with Pai. Ch'en reveals that he first received instruction in 1215 at Wu-i Shan 武夷山, near Ch'ung-an 崇安 (Fukien), and then three years later he sat in on another session at the sacred Kiangsi site of Lu Shan 廬山. One of the three selections in this anthology, the "K'uai-huo ko" 快活歌 [Song of Joy], was written in commemoration of the Lu Shan meeting. The other two entries are putatively based on the transmission of *chin-tan* theory from Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Yen through the succession of the Five Patriarchs of Nan-tsung. Included are a series of diagrams that elicit comparison with contemporary Ch'üan-chen formulations.

Several compilations complement Ch'en Shou-mo's work, but perhaps the most timely is HY 1297 *Hai-ch'iung wen-tao chi* 海瓊問道集 [An Anthology of Hai-ch'iung's Inquiries into the Tao], another work motivated by the desire of a disciple to preserve his master's teachings on *chin-tan*. One of Ch'en's peers, Liu Yüan-ch'ang 留元長, gathered together the texts that make up this anthology after receiving instruction



Fig. 18. A portrait of the Nan-tsung patriarch Pai Yü-ch'an. Sketch based on the illustration in the *Ch'iung-kuan Pai Chen-jen chi* of the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, vol. 14, p. 6196, following a preface by Ho Chi-kao 何繼高 dated 1594.

from Pai in 1217. He preserves what may be among the few legitimate prosodic compositions of his master, namely two *fu* 賦 (rhapsodies), one *ko* 歌 (song), and one *shih* (verse), all of which are discourses on the various facets of *chin-tan*. Also recorded are three miscellaneous essays that are said either to have been personally delivered to Liu or to have been copied out by him.

Both the contemplative and the ritual activities of Pai Yü-ch'an and his circle of followers are treated at length in the 4-ch. HY 1296 *Hai-ch'iung Pai Chen-jen yü-lu* 海瓊白真人語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise of the Perfected Pai Hai-ch'iung]. This work offers a far more diverse selection of texts than the title suggests. It is actually a collage of firsthand accounts attesting to Pai's mission, compiled at different times

by a number of disciples, including Liu Yüan-ch'ang. P'eng Ssu 彭紹 (fl. 1229–1251), who is commonly regarded as Pai's most preeminent disciple, put the anthology into its final form with the addition of some of his own materials.⁴⁵⁹ The text in the Canon closes with a colophon dated 1362, by the artist and Shang-ch'ing Master Fang Ts'ung-i 方從義. It follows P'eng's colophon of 1251, which Fang copied out from an early edition of the T'ien-ch'ing Kuan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Felicities) of Foochow, a temple where Pai Yü-ch'an's reputation as a Thunder Master was well established. Recorded in this text are a number of sermons Pai delivered in the early thirteenth century, including that in commemoration of the date of Lü Yen's birth.⁴⁶⁰ Among the dialogic exchanges is a lengthy opening transcription of a session in which Liu Yüan-ch'ang and P'eng Ssu were invited to address questions to the master. The subjects they discussed on the eve of the Mid-Autumn festival ranged from the evolution of variant scriptural traditions and disciplinary codes to the rites of sorcerers (*wu-fa* 巫法) and competing therapeutic practices. The syncretic foundation of Pai's legacy is perhaps best illustrated in one of the few verses in this compilation, a piece entitled "Wan-fa kuei-i ko" 萬法歸一歌 [Song on the Unity to Which All Creeds Revert].⁴⁶¹

By far the largest collection of Pai's teachings is recorded in the 13th-century HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書, the basic resource on Nan-tsung. This collection preserves, in addition to a variety of scattered citations concerning *chin-tan* dating from 1216 to 1218, three major anthologies attributed to "Pai Yü-ch'an of Hainan" 海南白玉蟾. The first in the series is the *Yü-lung chi* 玉隆集 [Anthology of Yü-lung], in tribute to Pai's abiding interest in the local religious traditions of Kiangsi. As mentioned earlier, the writings here deal primarily with Hsü Sun 許遜 (239–292/374?), the messianic cult figure who inspired the nationalistic Ching-ming tradition.⁴⁶² Aside from the definitive hagiographic account of the semi-legendary Hsü, this work includes historical accounts on the monuments and ritual celebrations pertinent to his veneration, as well as supplementary hagiographies of those perpetuating his cult. The *Yü-lung chi* is succeeded by the *Shang-ch'ing chi* 上清集 [An Anthology of Shang-ch'ing], a collection of miscellaneous writings attesting to Pai's mastery of both *chin-tan* procedures and apotropaic rites.⁴⁶³ It opens with a selection of biographic accounts, drawn from Pai's experiences in the Wu-i Shan 武夷山 region of Fukien in the years 1215

and 1216. Although a few *ko* 歌, or songs, are recorded, including again the “Song of Joy,” Pai’s skill in composing both *shih* and *tz’u* is more amply represented.⁴⁶⁴ The majority of *tz’u* offer instruction on contemplative practices, but others commemorate special occasions, such as an auspicious rainfall in Wu-chiang 吳江 (Kiangsu) in the autumn of 1216.⁴⁶⁵ The third and final collection of Pai’s writings in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, entitled *Wu-i chi* 武夷集 [An Anthology from Wu-i], is devoted largely to the Thunder Ritual Master’s mission in Fukien.⁴⁶⁶ A set of ritual communications Pai issued from the Ch’ung-yu Kuan 冲佑觀 (Abbey of Infusive Protection) at Wu-i Shan during 1215 and 1216 is of considerable interest, as is an especially detailed exposition on diverse traditions of Thunder Rites that clarifies many of the codifications in the HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* ritual corpus.⁴⁶⁷ A series of elegies dedicated by Pai to the Celestial Master lineage at Lung-hu Shan, the last of which honors the 32nd patriarch, Chang Shou-chen 張守真 (d. 1176), is equally noteworthy.⁴⁶⁸ Also preserved is the earliest known collection of Pai’s epistolary *lü-shih* and *chüeh-chü*. The compilation closes with a statement concerning the search Pai and a disciple named Yeh Ku-hsi 葉古熙 (*hao*, Yen-hu 煙壺) made for an anthology of Ch’en Nan entitled *Ts’ui-hsü miao-wu ch’üan-chi* 翠虛妙悟全集 [A Comprehensive Anthology of Ts’ui-hsü on Wondrous Enlightenment].⁴⁶⁹

13. Li Tao-ch’un and His Disciples

The perpetuity of Pai Yü-ch’an’s legacy is reflected not only in the literary anthologies and the Thunder Ritual texts associated with him, but also in the writings of those who lay claim to his teachings. One of his better known heirs is the syncretist Li Tao-ch’un 李道純 (fl. 1288–1290) of I-chen 儀真 (Kiangsu). Li is traditionally identified as a disciple of a Wang Chin-ch’an 王金蟾, who was said to have been introduced to *chin-tan* practices by Master Pai himself. Altogether nine titles reflecting Li’s literary output are extant in the Canon. The exegetic works alone attest to his thorough awareness of the classical, Taoist, and Prajñāpāramitā textual traditions. The sort of synthesis Li attempted appears to have much in common with that promoted by Ch’üan-chen masters. With the unification of the Mongol empire, it seems that the syncretic approach so popular in the north began, for the first time, to be pursued with equal enthusiasm in the south.

Li's pedagogical methods are conveyed most fully in the 6-ch. HY 1053 *Ch'ing-an Ying-ch'an-tzu yü-lu* 清庵瑩蟾子語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise of (Li) Ch'ing-an, Ying-ch'an-tzu].⁴⁷⁰ A total of six disciples are credited in this compilation with contributing personal records of their master's sermons and dialogic exchanges. Ch'ai Yüan-ko 柴元皋, whose preface dates to 1288, drew together all the available material in commemoration of his first meeting with Li Tao-ch'un at Mao Shan 茅山. His name appears as editor at the head of the first chapter, which offers a series of dialogues concerning in part the teachings of the Ch'an masters Ta-tien 大顛 or Pao-t'ung 寶通 (748–834) and Chia-shan 夾山

頌頭藏字疊

凝形生久成脫
 精固長視丹蛻
 住氣神元
 神靈鍊形
 本心定存氣保
 悟明性神禦精



Fig. 19. An illustrated cyclical verse on generating an enchymoma. Sketch based on HY 1053 *Ch'ing-an Ying-ch'an-tzu yü-lu*, 5.6a. The figure of the enchymoma is literally embraced by the words of the tetrasyllabic verse of Li Tao-ch'un, written out on the left.

(805–881). Another chapter was edited by Miao Shan-shih 苗善時 (fl. 1324), the compiler of the hagiographic chronicle on the life of Lü Yen.⁴⁷¹ Among the occasions highlighted in his account is an assembly held by Li in honor of the birth date of Lord Lao, the Most High 太上老君.⁴⁷² The disciple Chang Ying-t'an 張應坦 transcribes an extensive series of Li's verse for this work, two sequences of which were composed as commentaries to diagrams illustrating *lien-shen* 煉神 (refinement of the spirit) and *huan-tan* 還丹 (regenerative enchymoma).⁴⁷³ Chapter 4 is based on Teng Te-ch'eng's 登德成 notes taken during a session held at Yangchow during which Li challenged his audience to supply the closing line for a series of incomplete heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*. Two of his disciples, Ch'ai Yüan-kao and Chao Tao-k'o 趙道可, were judged successful enough to warrant advanced ranking. Chao was responsible for the contents of chapter 2, entitled “*Tao-te* *hsin-yao*” 道德心要 [Core Principles of the *Tao-te ching*], the record of a lively exchange that took place between Master Li and his disciples on the entire 81 units of the *Tao-te ching*. According to Chao, the discussion evolved after Li had presented him with a copy of his own exegesis, the *Tao-te hui-yüan* 道德會元 [A Corpus on the *Tao-te ching*].⁴⁷⁴ Some of the most challenging discourse on *chin-tan* is reserved for chapter 6 of this dialogic treatise, edited by Ts'ai Chih-i 蔡志頤. The general focus in this final segment is on the unifying principles of the Three Teachings, culminating in an annotated recitation of key phrases drawn from each tradition that Li Tao-ch'un once conferred to Ch'eng An-tao 程安道.⁴⁷⁵

A lengthy conversation between Li Tao-ch'un and Chao Tao-k'o, which opens Ts'ai Chih-i's share of the dialogic treatise, also figures in Ts'ai's own compilation of his master's teachings. Ts'ai completed the 6-ch. HY 249 *Chung-ho chi* 中和集, [An Anthology on Focused Harmony] in honor of Li sometime around 1306, the year he invited the prominent exegete Tu Tao-chien 杜道堅 (1237–1318) to favor him with a preface. Chao's interlocution on meditative practice is recorded in chapter 3, along with a discussion between Li and Ch'eng An-tao on “San-chiao i-kuan” 三教一貫 (The Single Thread of the Three Teachings). The first two chapters are devoted to a number of discourses on *chin-tan* practice and the Three Teachings, the major points of which are depicted in symbolic diagrams accompanying the text. The initial essay explains the fundamental unity inherent in the Taoist concept of *chin-tan*, the Buddhist concept of *yüan-chüeh* 圓覺 (full awakening), and the

Neo-Ju concept of *t'ai-chi* 太極 (grand ultimate).⁴⁷⁶ Li, moreover, seeks to define the *san-sheng* 三乘, or three vehicles, of *chin-tan* according to the goals of *an-le* 安樂 (contentment), *yang-ming* 養命 (sustaining the mandate of years allotted), and *yen-sheng* 延生 (prolonging life). The third and highest stage of attainment he terms the "*Wu-shang chih-chen chih miao*" 無上至真之妙 (Unsurpassed Wonder of Ultimate Perfection), a verification of *hsien-tao* 仙道, or the Path to Transcendence.⁴⁷⁷ The terminology introduced in this section of the anthology dominates the prose and verse of the remaining chapters. Even Li's epistolary *lū-shih* and *tz'u* almost invariably take the form of rather tedious didactic exercises.⁴⁷⁸

Miao Shan-shih. Miao Shan-shih 苗善時 (fl. 1288–1324) of Chinling 金陵 (Kiangsu) is among the disciples associated with Li Tao-ch'un whose teachings are most well represented in the Canon. In addition to a chapter in his master's dialogic treatise and his own chronicle of Lü Yen, a separate anthology of Miao's writings has also been preserved.⁴⁷⁹ The compilation of the 2-ch. HY 1057 *Hsüan-chiao ta kung-an* 玄教大公案 [Great Case Studies in the Teachings of Profundity] was completed in 1324 by Miao's disciple Wang Chih-tao 王志道. Whereas the title of Wang's work suggests the dialogic heritage of the Lin-chi 臨濟 tradition of Ch'an, the text itself is a collection of 64 entries printed under the title "*Sheng-t'ang ming-ku*" 升堂明古 [Taking the Podium to Enlighten on Antiquity] and three entries subtitled "*Ju-shih*" 入室 [On Entering the Oratory]. According to Wang, this numerological sequence corresponds to the 64 *kua* 卦, or hexagrams, of the *Chou-i* and the *san-chi* 三極, i.e., the heavens, earth, and mankind. Just when and where this series of sermons by Miao was delivered is not revealed. The inspiration behind Miao's communications ranges from the *Tao-te ching*, the *Chuang-tzu*, and the *I-ching* to the sayings of Lü Yen, Wang Che, and Pai Yü-ch'an. Each of the 64 podium lectures ends with a brief recapitulation in the form of a *sung* 公頌, or laud. In the first sermon, Miao concludes that the opening lines of the *Tao-te ching* make a clean sweep of the Three Teachings. In the 64th sermon, he reinterprets the Ling-pao vision of the precious pearl, a vehicle of universal salvation, as a manifestation of the golden lotus of Ch'üan-chen.⁴⁸⁰

Miao's synthesis of diverse textual traditions is no mere intellectual exercise. It demonstrates, rather, the dominant trend in religious formulations of the fourteenth century. As an undated preface by K'o Tao-

ch'ung 柯道冲 of Chin-ling explicitly states, the legacies of the Five Patriarchs of Nan-tsung and the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen ultimately were regarded as regional variants of the same tradition.⁴⁸¹ Wang Chih-tao, moreover, explains the impetus behind the ecumenical efforts of Li Tao-ch'un and Miao Shan-shih. According to his preface of 1324, the best weapon for combatting *hsieh-tsung* 邪宗, or perverse, heretical traditions, was a synthesis of the Three Teachings. Once again, those who deemed themselves proponents of the *cheng-tao* 正道, or correct teachings, appear to have viewed their primary mission to be the eradication of unacceptable folk religious traditions. Thus, the unity of intellectual and religious traditions Miao sought to achieve presumably served in part as a guideline to "legitimate" beliefs and practices.

Wang Chieh. Wang Chieh 王玠 (fl. 1310?) of Nan-ch'ang 南昌 (Kiangsi), although apparently not a direct disciple of Li Tao-ch'un, considered his own work to be a continuation of the master's teachings. He established his credentials, so to speak, in an undated postface to the dialogic treatise compiled by Ch'ai Yüan-ko. In fact, Wang reveals that he himself arranged for the printing of the treatise, which he says previously had been circulating only in manuscript form.⁴⁸² His name also appears as the collator of a set of theoretical discourses by Li Tao-ch'un, recorded under the title HY 250 *San-t'ien i-sui* 三天易髓 [The Mutable Marrow of the Three Celestial Realms].⁴⁸³ Wang himself produced an impressive body of exegetic editions, including an analysis of the *Ch'ing-t'ien ko* of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, mentioned earlier. But perhaps the best demonstration of his literary versatility is to be found in the 3-ch. HY 1066 *Huan-chen chi* 還真集 [An Anthology on the Return to Perfection]. This collection of Wang's writings is prefaced with the remarks of the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'u 張宇初 (1361–1410). Included in Chang's introduction is a survey of the history of the Nan-tsung heritage from Chung-li Ch'üan to Li Tao-ch'un. In the end, the patriarch of Lung-hu Shan wholeheartedly endorses Wang's text as a practical guide to *chin-tan*. Although he was no stranger to Wang's writings, Chang admits that it was not until the spring of 1392, the date of his preface, that he acquired a copy of the *Huan-chen chi*, courtesy of his disciple Yüan Wen-i 袁文逸, who had carried it back with him from Wu 吳, i.e., Kiangsu.

Not unlike the *Chung-ho chi* of Li Tao-ch'un, Wang's anthology opens with a series of conceptual diagrams entitled "Chin-tan miao-

chih”金丹妙旨 [On the Significance of the Wonder of the Metallous Enchymoma]. The commentaries and subsequent discussions instruct on the means by which one envisions the generation of the enchymoma within the alchemical reaction-vessel of the corporeal chambers. Chapter 2 is devoted to a selection of discourses and songs on the *huan-tan* 還丹, or regenerative enchymoma, and closes with a set of five lyrics to the tune of “Pu-hsü” 步虛 [Pacing the Void] that herald the goals of prolonged life and ascent to the halls of transcendents. Thirty-six heptasyllabic *lü-shih* 步虛 open the final chapter, under the title “Shu chin-tan kung-fu” 述金丹工夫 [On the Pursuit of the Metallous Enchymoma]. The epistolary verses that follow generally expand on this didactic message. Wang’s *chüeh-chü* and *tz’u* at the close of the text serve overall the same function, although the latter also appear to have been his medium of choice for expounding on the principles in common to the Three Teachings.⁴⁸⁴

14. Ch’en Chih-hsü, Disciple of Chao Yu-ch’in

Central Kiangsi was also home to another, more prominent syncretist known as Shang-yang-tzu 上陽子 or Ch’en Chih-hsü 陳致虛 (fl. 1329–1336). A native of Lu-ling 廬陵 (Kiangsi), Ch’en made a considerable reputation for himself on the basis of his erudite commentaries to such classics as the *Tu-jen ching*, the *Ts’an-t’ung ch’i*, and the *Wu-chen p’ien*.⁴⁸⁵ The theoretical foundations of his exegetic work are given a full accounting in one of the most remarkable compilations of his age, the 16-ch. HY 1059 *Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao* 上陽子金丹大要 [The Great Principles of the Metallous Enchymoma According to Shang-yang-tzu]. With this text Ch’en provides a comprehensive survey of the *chin-tan* textual tradition according to his assimilation and critical analysis of centuries of writing on the subject. Two prefaces dated 1335, contributed by his disciples Ming Su-ch’an 明素蟾 and Ou-yang T’ien-shou 歐欠陽天壽, pay tribute to the Nan-tsung tradition as exemplified in the works of Chang Po-tuan and Pai Yü-ch’an. Ch’en likewise, in the lengthy introductory essay of chapter 1, acknowledges his obligations to the heritage of Chang Po-tuan, but he then identifies himself most emphatically as the direct heir of the Ch’üan-chen tradition conveyed by Master Chao Yu-ch’in 趙友欽 (fl. 1329). He even prescribes the recitation of the *Chin-tan ta-yao* before the images of the trinity of Lü Yen, Wang Che, and Ma Yü.⁴⁸⁶ While the influence of K’ung-tzu’s teachings is also

duly noted, Ch'en's focus overall falls on the natural affinity between the meditative practices of *chin-tan* and Ch'an. More specifically, he attempts to equate the *chin-tan* experience with the phenomenon of "ch'ien-hsing ch'eng Fo" 見性成佛, or the intuitive recognition of one's Buddha-nature, that is *buddhatā*.⁴⁸⁷ In presenting his case through the media of both prose and verse, Ch'en draws extensively on Buddhist sources, from the *Ch'uan-teng lu* 傳燈錄 [A Record on the Transmission of the Lantern] to Lin-chi tracts. But the foremost stimuli to his interpretations, Ch'en admits, are the writings of his Master Chao, a practitioner of Ch'an meditation in his own right. It is only through Ch'en's synthesis that something of his master's legacy is retained, for Chao's *Chin-tan nan-wen* 金丹難問 [Difficult Questions Concerning the Metal-ous Enchymoma] and *Hsien Fo t'ung-yüan* 山佛同源 [The Common Origin of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence] are no longer extant.⁴⁸⁸ The central thesis of this heritage, as Ch'en reiterates throughout his anthology, is that the Three Teachings are of one family (*san-chiao i-chia* 三教一家), for there can never be more than one Tao (*T'ien-hsia wu erh Tao* 天下無二道).⁴⁸⁹ One unusual vehicle for conveying this message is a Ch'an-inspired sequence of verse entitled "Tao-te ching chuan-yü" 道德經轉語 [The *Tao-te ching* Reworded], whereby each of the 81 passages of the *Tao-te ching* is cast as an epigram in the form of a heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*.⁴⁹⁰ But serving Ch'en best are his prose essays, a number of which are addressed to his peers in the Lu Shan 廬山 area, including his disciples Ming and Ou-yang.⁴⁹¹ From such accounts Ch'en's circuit, the length of the Kan River 章貢江 corridor, can easily be reconstructed. Even more important, his corpus offers a rare view of the milieu that inspired a number of syncretic formulations from the Southern Sung on.

Ch'en's magnum opus is amplified with three successive supplements in the Canon: (1) HY 1060 *Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao t'u* 圖, (2) HY 1061 *Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao lieh-hsien chih* 列仙誌, and (3) HY 1062 *Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao hsien-p'ai* 仙階.⁴⁹² The first is a series of conceptual diagrams with commentary in illustration of *chin-tan* practices. The second is a hagiographic account of the Ch'üan-ch'en hierarchy from the original patriarchs down to the four generations preceding Ch'en: (1) Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (1183–1247) of Mien-yang 沔陽 (Hupeh), disciple of both Ma Yü and Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, and the editor-in-chief of the 1244 Canon; (2) Li Chüeh 李珣 of

Ch'ung-ch'ing 崇慶 (Szechwan); (3) Chang Mo 張謨 of Jao-chou 饒州 (Kiangsi); and (4) Chao Yu-ch'in 趙友欽, who instructed Ch'en at Heng-yang 衡陽 (Hunan) in 1329. The last supplement is a transcription of the ritual performed in commemoration of the birth dates of the patriarchs Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Yen. According to the scenario Ch'en records, companies of the Ch'üan-chen and Nan-tsung perfected are evoked, led forth by Lord Lao, the Most High, and a host of venerable worthies. The final unit of celebrants whose presence is requested comprises the four generations from Sung Te-fang to Chao Yu-ch'in together with another, perhaps fifth-generation, ordination master (*tu-shih* 度師) named Liu Ku-yün 劉谷雲. The ritual performance apparently continued for two days, as the birthdays of Lü Yen and Chung-li Ch'üan fall on consecutive days, the fourteenth and the fifteenth of the fourth lunar month, respectively. The ceremony documented in a variant edition of this text in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* is remarkably more elaborate, requiring a much larger congregation of divine forces. Of note among those added to the retinue of Lao-tzu is not only the Buddha, by names of both Gautama 瞿曇古佛 and Śākyamuni 釋迦文佛, but also Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉 and the Ch'an patriarch Bodhidharma 初祖達摩 (fl. 520). Ch'en Shang-yang himself, moreover, is the last figure called forth, after Chao Yu-ch'in and Liu Ku-yün.⁴⁹³

15. Wang Wei-i, Disciple of Mo Ch'i-yen

Only occasionally is there found in the writings of one individual a blend of materials on *chin-tan* and on Thunder Rites such as characterizes the legacy of Pai Yü-ch'an. Wang Wei-i 王惟一 (fl. 1264-1304) of Sung-chiang 松江 (Kiangsu), for one, reflects a comparable breadth of practice. It is doubtful whether anything would be known about Wang had two of his works not been incorporated into the Canon. A brief biographical sketch is included in the author's own preface to the later of the two compilations, HY 273 *Ming-tao p'ien* 明道篇 [Folios on Illuminating the Tao]. Wang reveals that he had been educated since his youth according to the traditional classical curriculum. It was not until some years later, he admits, that he came across the writings of Lao-tzu. The discovery of Lao-tzu's works prompted inquiries into matters concerning life and death and ultimately led Wang to seek the means by which to attain longevity and transcendence. In an effort to achieve these goals, Wang embarked on an extensive journey in search of the

teachings of *chin-tan*, which he terms the “*Shang-sheng chih Tao*” 上乘之道 (Way of the Supreme Vehicle). No text of the Three Teachings, from the invocations for activating thunder to medicine, divination, astrology, and numerology, escaped his attention. After an exhaustive pursuit of masters both foolish and wise, Wang reports that he finally encountered a *chih-jen* 至人, or exemplar, who personally conveyed to him the “*Wu-shang chih-chen miao-tao*” 無上至真妙道 (Unsurpassed and Wondrous Way of Ultimate Perfection). Although he does not name his mentor in the preface, this term suggests that Wang was introduced to the teachings associated with Li Tao-ch'un. Once enlightened, he was determined not to keep the newly acquired learning to himself and sought instead to educate others of like mind by compiling the *Ming-tao p'ien*.

The organization of the *Ming-tao p'ien* is reminiscent of the *Wu-chen p'ien*, for it centers on three series of verse, the numerical significance of which Wang is well aware: (1) sixteen heptasyllabic *lü-shih*, (2) 64 heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, and (3) twelve lyrics to the tune “Hsi-chiang yüeh.” The terminology used to describe the practice of achieving a transmutation of the regenerative enchymoma can also be traced back to writings dating at least three centuries earlier. According to Wang’s vision of the culmination of these contemplative activities, “As a golden radiance fills the oratory, you will perceive the pearl of sublimity.”⁴⁹⁴ The essence of his teachings, Wang counsels, depends on absolute faith.⁴⁹⁵ Two longer expositions complete this compilation, a “*Chin-tan tsao-wei lun*” 金丹造微論 [Discourse on the Subtleties Created by Means of the Metallous Enchymoma] and a “*Te Tao ko*” 得道歌 [Song on Attaining the Tao]. In the former, Wang acknowledges his debt to Chang Po-tuan and also preaches on the innate uniformity of the Three Teachings.

Wang is more explicit about the sources of his inspiration in HY 1243 *Tao-fa hsün-chuan* 道法心傳 [Core Teachings on the Rites of the Tao]. According to his preface of 1294, his search for an exemplar occupied over thirty years. Wang identifies himself in his closing signature as a *Lei-t'ing san-li* 雷霆散吏, or Assisting Deputy of the Thunderclap. Thunder Rites, as he explains, are the outward manifestation and *chin-tan* is the internal generation of his training. He cites as his authorities the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092–1126) and his putative disciple Sa Chien 薩堅 (fl. 1141–1178?). In the text proper,

Wang also repeatedly draws on the teachings of Chang Po-tuan and Li Shao-wei 李少微, a T'ang patriarch of the Ch'ing-wei tradition. Finally, in one of the later essays in this work, Wang reveals that he is the disciple of Mo Ch'i-yen 莫起炎 (1226–1293), the founder of what is called the Lei-t'ing 雷霆, or Thunderclap, Rites.⁴⁹⁶

Mo was a native of Hu-chou 湖州 (Chekiang) whose reputation as a Ritual Master was established largely in the area of Nan-feng 南豐 (Kiangsi).⁴⁹⁷ Wang does not say when or where he benefited from Mo's instruction, but he does confess that prior to his apprenticeship he had indulged in a wide variety of contemplative practices, all of which paled in comparison to what Mo had to offer. According to his understanding, the Lei-t'ing Rites were apparently devised in reaction to those ritual traditions dependent primarily on the application of talismans. Wang refers in his preface to the false trust in these methods he had observed in many of his acquaintances, and the subject comes up again in the quatrains of the first half of this corpus.⁴⁹⁸ The power to purge aberrant elements, he advises, is to be derived instead solely from the concentration of one's forces within.⁴⁹⁹ The messages conveyed in a large number of additional verses seems to foreshadow the sequence of *chin-tan* lyrics in the *Ming-tao p'ien*. The quatrain is also a popular medium for Wang's lessons on the importance of abandoning lust and passion, which he cautions, in one instance, can lead only to a sojourn within the *Huang-ch'uan* 黃泉, or Yellow Springs, or, in another instance, through an endless cycle of death and rebirth.⁵⁰⁰ His concluding essays offer more extensive analyses of various aspects of *chin-tan* and Thunder Rites. The three closing lyrics to the tune of "Man-t'ing fang" supply in addition a particularly apt summary of Wang Wei-i's writings, by reiterating the potency of his Thunder Rites over all other traditions, not only in curbing spectral agents, but in guiding one to the gateway of the *Chin-ch'üeh* 金門, or Golden Portal.⁵⁰¹

16. The *Ming-ho yü-yin* Anthology

One excellent source from which the appeal of the writings of Mo Ch'i-yen and his contemporaries can be measured is the 9-ch. HY 1092 *Ming-ho yü-yin* 鳴鶴餘音 [Lingering Overtones of the Calling Crane]. A Taoist Master from Hsien-yu Shan 仙游山 (Fukien) by the name of P'eng Chih-chung 彭致中 completed this literary collection sometime around 1347. The eminent scholar Yü Chi 虞集 (1272–1348) traces the

history of the *Ming-ho yü-yin* in an undated preface, giving special attention to his own contributions and to those of a Reverend Master Feng 馮尊師 of K'uai-chi 會稽 (Chekiang). Feng once composed a series of twenty lyrics to the tune of "Su-wu man" 蘇武慢, and, according to Yü, the only singer who did them justice was someone named Fei Wu-yin 費無隱, also of K'uai-chi. When Fei invited Yü to compose additional lyrics, he admits to producing only two and a half in two years. But in 1343, while stranded on a boat during a winter storm, he reports that he composed seven and a half more, each of which immediately became part of the repertoire of the singer Fei. A year later, on board again, Yü says he finished another verse as well as two lyrics to the tune of "Wu su-nien" 無俗念 [Lacking Thoughts of Vulgarity]. Three more years passed before the Taoist Master P'eng Chih-chung apparently solicited the compositions of Feng and Yü, while gathering together songs of divine inspiration for publication.

The first eight chapters of the *Ming-ho yü-yin* are composed solely of *tz'u* lyrics. The lyrics of the Reverend Master Feng and Yü Chi are found in chapter 2. This body of verse is, in fact, all that is found in a *Ming-ho yü-yin* preserved outside the Canon.⁵⁰² The larger edition under this title in the *Tao-tsang* opens with lyrics attributed to Lü Yen. A vast quantity of verses thereafter are identified as the work of Ch'üan-chen masters, including Wang Che, Ma Yü, Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, and Hao Ta-t'ung. As mentioned earlier, lyrics ascribed to Sun Pu-erh are also recorded in this anthology, including her farewell address.⁵⁰³ Among representatives of later generations of Ch'üan-chen masters in this work are Sung Te-fang and Wang Chih-chin.⁵⁰⁴ A substantial number of verses in the collection, moreover, were derived from outside this tradition, as, for example, those of Chang Chi-hsien, Pai Yü-ch'an, and Mo Ch'i-yen.⁵⁰⁵ The selection of longer verse forms in the closing chapter is equally eclectic. They range from a "Tsun Tao fu" 尊道賦 [Rhapsody on Veneration of the Tao] of Sung Jen-tsung 宋仁宗 (r. 1023–1063) to the "Te Tao ko" 得道歌 [Song on Attaining the Tao] of Wang Wei-i. Of special note is a series of seven encomia dedicated by Sung Te-fang to the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen. His enumeration of the seven includes Wang Che, thus omitting Sun Pu-erh. A preface outlines the history of their teachings from the initial revelations of Lord Lao, the Most High.⁵⁰⁶

The emphasis on Ch'üan-chen is highlighted in the title of a later edition of this anthology found in at least two rare book collections. The

title of a Ming block print in the National Central Library of Taipei that proves to be an expanded version of the *Ming-ho yü-yin* reads *Ch'üan-chen tsung-yen fang-wai hsüan-yen* 全真宗眼方外玄言 [Profound Sayings from the Venerable Eye of Ch'üan-chen and Beyond].⁵⁰⁷ Following Yü's preface in this redaction are lists of the Five Patriarchs and the Seven Perfected of Ch'üan-chen according to the titles granted in 1310, together with the dates of birth and ascension.⁵⁰⁸ Also recorded are the names of 23 later generations of Ch'üan-chen worthies, from Yin Chih-p'ing (1169–1251) to Chang Chih-hsien 張志仙 (d. 1294) and Ch'ang Chih-ch'ing 常志清. The first of the two *chüan* in this edition opens with the *Tan-yang chen-jen shih-chieh* 丹陽真人十戒 [Ten Admonitions of the Perfected Tan-yang]. The contents thereafter generally match the *Tao-tsang* edition of the *Ming-ho yü-yin*, although the texts have in some cases been rearranged and supplemented by additional entries.⁵⁰⁹ Copies of P'eng's anthology, whatever the edition, were apparently fairly popular, for it is known that the compiler of the *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記 [Journey to the West], for one, adapted selections from it for his own narrative purposes.⁵¹⁰

17. The Guidelines of Chao I-chen

One of the few great syncretic thinkers of the late fourteenth century whose writings are preserved in the Canon is a descendant of the Sung imperial house named Chao I-chen 趙宜真 (d. 1382). As mentioned earlier, Chao played a critical role in codifying the ritual texts of the Ch'ing-wei tradition and may even have had a hand in the compilation of the vast ritual corpus of HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*.⁵¹¹ He devoted himself to ascetic pursuits, according to hagiographic lore, only after experiencing divine revelations during a period of ill health.⁵¹² Chao, like many of his peers, found himself struck down with an affliction so devastating that he could not complete the civil service examinations. It was at this time of great uncertainty in his life that he reportedly dreamed of an encounter with a divine force who claimed him as a kindred spirit and questioned his goal of striving for the riches of the mortal realm. It is said that thereafter Chao began seeking out all Taoist Masters of repute located within the periphery of his home at Chi-an 吉安 (Kiang-si). Among those from whom he received training was Chang Kuang-chi 張廣濟 (d. 1336), a former disciple of the *chin-tan* authority Chin Chih-yang 金志陽 (d. 1336). Later Chao studied under Li Hsuan-i 李

玄一 of Nan-ch'ang 南昌 (Kiangsi), who was himself a second generation disciple of Chin. Since Chang was said to have perpetuated the teachings of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi and Li to have perpetuated the teachings of Pai Yü-ch'an, Chao I-chen is thought to have achieved a synthesis of northern and southern traditions of *chin-tan*. He settled temporarily at Pai-ho Shan 白鶴山 (Chekiang), where he was reported to have attracted disciples from miles away. During the White Lotus uprising of 1352, Chao led his followers west to Shu, but eventually he headed back to his home territory, stopping en route at Wu-tang Shan. After a brief audience with the 42nd Celestial Master, Chang Cheng-ch'ang 張正常 (1335–1377), he settled at the Tzu-yang Kuan 紫陽觀 (Abbey of Purple Sunlight) at Yü-tu 黟都, south of Lung-hu Shan.

Two literary works are printed under Chao's name in the Canon.⁵¹³ His pedagogical approach is perhaps most fully conveyed in the 2-ch. HY 1063 *Yüan-yang-tzu fa-yü* 原陽子法語 [The Exemplary Sayings of Yüan-yang-tzu], compiled by Chao's most eminent disciple, Liu Yüan-*jan* 劉淵然, (1351–1432). The opening piece is a song on the regenerative enchymoma, preceded by a lengthy introductory discourse. Whether one chooses to aim for transcendence, Buddhahood, or sagehood, Chao recommends devoting oneself wholeheartedly to the pursuit. He reminds his readers that Pai Yü-ch'an suffered years of hardship before he achieved transcendence and concludes that only with the utmost determination can this goal be reached.⁵¹⁴ Chao preaches, moreover, that all teachings are in origin one (*wan-fa kuei-i* 萬法歸一).⁵¹⁵ In one summary of the various paths of Shang-ch'ing, he draws not only on the experiences and writings of Taoist adepts such as T'ao Hung-ching and Huan K'ai, but also on the hagiographies of Ch'an masters and on the teachings of Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011–1077) and Chu Hsi 朱熹, (1130–1200).⁵¹⁶ A number of his verses are printed under the label *chi* 偈, or *gāthā*. Chao addressed three such verses on Taoist rites to a Master of Transmutation named Pai 白鍊師 and composed another sequence of sixteen verses under the title "Ching-hsüeh" 警學 [Beware Your Studies]. Among the practices against which Chao repeatedly cautions in the latter compositions are the arts of the bed chamber (*fang-chung shu* 房中術), which he regards as the teachings of perverse masters (*hsieh-shih* 邪師).⁵¹⁷ Also of interest in this anthology is Chao's "Jih-chi t'i-tz'u" 日記題辭 [Introductory Remarks to a Daily Journal]. Here Chao reveals that when he first went to study with Master Li, he

was given a journal and advised to write down his thoughts every day. He was told, moreover, that if he found they could not be articulated on paper, they did not exist.⁵¹⁸ Another introductory note suggests that his faith in the written word led him to actively encourage publishing ventures. Apparently during his visit to the mountainous sanctuary of the Dark Warrior in Hupeh, Chao promoted the printing of both the *Tao-te ching* and the *Wen-shih ching* 文始經 ascribed to Yin Hsi. These two works, according to his preface, were to be given priority over all other texts in the Taoist Canon that had been lost, owing to the ravages of warfare.⁵¹⁹

A somewhat more esoteric side of Chao's teachings is reflected in the HY 568 *Ling-pao kuei-k'ung chüeh* 靈寶歸空訣 [The Instructions of Ling-pao on Surrendering to Emptiness]. The inspiration behind this text, according to Chao's postface, was a text on *kuei-k'ung* 歸空 traditionally thought to be the work of the first Ch'an patriarch, Bodhidharma (fl. 520). But, as he observes, such attributions often arose when compilers attempted to legitimate their own work by linking it to an acknowledged authority. With an old edition at hand, Chao created an abridged version consisting of fourteen heptasyllabic quatrains, which he subtitled "Ko-kua" 歌括 [Singing about the All-inclusive]. In the commentaries added to each verse, he addresses a range of issues, from the physiological terminology associated with meditative practice to instruction on recognizing various spectral manifestations. The latter discussion appears in the context of advice on how to prepare for death. The cessation of breathing, according to Chao, is like experiencing the fall of an ax, but rather than capitulate to fright, he counsels total surrender so that stillness of mind might be achieved.⁵²⁰ Another verse in this series elicits a definition of four classes of exalted beings (*ssu-pei kao-jen* 四輩高人), i.e., men and women who leave home in pursuit of the Tao and lay men and women who remain at home. Their counterparts, as Chao explains, are the *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuni*, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*, all of whom dedicate themselves to subduing the six robbers (*liu-tsei* 六賊) or six sources of pleasure (*liu-yü* 六慾) and the three corpses (*san-shih* 三屍) or three vermin (*san-ch'ung* 三蟲).⁵²¹ To do so, he adds, relieves them from the *k'u-lun* 苦輪, or wheel of suffering.⁵²² His assertion of the uniformity of their endeavors suggests that Chao intended this didactic exercise to serve as a handbook for Taoist and Buddhist devotees alike.

18. Compilations of the Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ü

The legacy of Chao I-chen figures prominently in the 12-ch. HY 1300 *Hsien-ch'üan chi* 峴泉集 [An Anthology of Alpine Spring], one of the largest and most diverse literary anthologies in the Canon. This work is the compilation of the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ü 張宇初 (1361–1410), whose retirement retreat was known as Hsien-ch'üan, or Alpine Spring.⁵²³ It is the only comprehensive collection of belles-lettres to come from the hierocracy of Lung-hu Shan. Three prefaces attest to the high regard Chang's contemporaries had for his literary accomplishments. The text was apparently expanded after Wang Shen 王紳 (1360–1400) of Chin-hua 金華 (Chekiang) contributed his undated remarks, for the latest internal date appears to be 1404.⁵²⁴ The other two prefaces are dated 1407. One remains anonymous, and the other is signed by a Ch'eng T'ung 程通 of Hsin-an 新安 (Hopeh?). The unsigned preface, according to the Ssu-k'u edition of this work, is the work of the Prince of Liao 遼王, that is Chu Chih 朱植 (d. 1424). This son of the royal house is reported in the genealogy of the Celestial Masters to have specially commended the anthology and arranged for its publication.⁵²⁵

Chapter 1, given the subheading "Tsa-chu" 雜著 [Miscellaneous Writings], is devoted largely to lengthy discourses on a range of subjects, from *nei-tan* practice to the origins of the "Ho-t'u" 河圖 [River Chart].⁵²⁶ The second chapter is reserved for the prefaces Chang wrote for a variety of works, including editions of the *Lung-hu Shan chih* 龍虎山志, the *Han T'ien-shih shih chia* 漢天師世家, and Wang Chieh's 王珩 (fl. 1310?) *Huan-chen chi* 還真集. Of special interest are the prefaces to texts that are no longer extant, such as a hagiography of Lao-tzu entitled *T'ai-shang hun-yüan shih-lu* 太上混元實錄 and the local gazetteers *Wu-i Shan chih* 武夷山志 and *Pai-ho Kuan chih* 白鶴觀志.⁵²⁷ The *chi* 記 (records) of chapter 3 are especially valuable, for they concern the temples in and around Lung-hu Shan and reveal the extent to which Chang sanctioned local cults.⁵²⁸ Chapter 4 comprises *shuo* 說 (discourses), *chuan* 傳 (biographies), and *shu* 書 (letters). Of particular note are the three hagiographic accounts for Wei Hua-ts'un 魏華存 (251–334), conveyor of Shang-ch'ing revelations; Chin Chih-yang 金志陽 (d. 1336); and Chao I-chen 趙宜真 (d. 1382).⁵²⁹ A selection of Chang's *ming* 銘 (inscriptions), *chen* 箴 (admonitions), and *tsan* 贊 (encomia) is found in chapter 5. The encomia reveal much about iconogra-

phy, for the majority were inscribed on images of various perfected individuals, including the founder of Ch'üan-chen, Wang Che, and the Thunder Ritual specialists Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093-1153), Huang Shun-shen 黃舜申 (1224-ca. 1286), and Mo Ch'i-yen 莫起炎 (1226-1294).⁵³⁰ In chapter 6 is a rare selection of Chang's *ch'ing-tz'u* 青詞 (Blue-paper Prayers) and *chai-i* 齋意 (statements of intent for retreats), issued during the ritual ceremonies over which the patriarch presided.⁵³¹ Also of considerable interest are copies of the inscriptions taken from the crossbeams of the San-ch'ing Tien 三清殿 (Pavilion of Three Clarities), the Tsu-shih Tien 祖師殿 (Pavilion of the Ancestral Master), and the Triple Gateway of the temple compound at Lung-hu Shan.⁵³² Chapter 7 is dominated by three *p'u-shuo* 普說 (proclamations) on the history of scriptural traditions. In the first essay, Chang traces the revelations of Lord Lao to his ancestor Chang Tao-ling, and, in the second, he summarizes the rites of salvation through transmutation (*lien-tu* 鍊度) of Ling-pao. The third discourse offers a fuller survey of ritual traditions, with an emphasis on variant Thunder Rites from Shenhsiao to Ch'ing-wei. The remaining chapters in this anthology exhibit Chang's skill in accommodating the metrical demands of several different verse forms, including *fu* rhapsodies, regulated verse, and *tz'u* lyrics. The heptasyllabic *lü-shih* in particular, some of which are dated, allow a broad view of the temples and personalities under Chang's influence.

Chang Yü-ch'ü also edited a memorial collection of writings associated with one of his most renowned ancestors, the 30th patriarch Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092-1126). The 7-ch. anthology he compiled, HY 1239 *San-shih tai T'ien-shih Hsü-ching chen-chün yü-lu* 三代天師虛靖真君語錄 [A Verbatim Account of the Thirtieth Generation Celestial Master, the Perfected Lord Hsü-ching], consists of one *chüan* of prose texts and six of verse. The 43rd patriarch states in his preface of 1395 that when he discovered an earlier compilation had been all but lost, he made an effort to recover what he could from various mountain sanctuaries. The authenticity of the texts in this new publication is difficult to determine. Chang Chi-hsien's short and illustrious career under Sung Hui-tsung seems to have been amplified to almost legendary proportions in both hagiographic and narrative works. Thus, many of the literary and ritual texts linked to him may ultimately prove to be later fabrications.

Noteworthy within the brief selection of prose in chapter 1 are letters Chang reportedly addressed to the prefects of Ch'ih-chou 池州 (Anhui) and Chen-ting fu 真定府 (Hopeh), as well as a response to a communication from the influential Lin Ling-su 林靈素 (1076–1120).⁵³³ If this anthology is any measure, Chang would appear to have favored the heptasyllabic *lū-shih* and *tz'u* meters over any other verse form. Many of the latter were dedicated to fellow adepts. Outstanding among the regulated verse of chapter 5, the longest chapter in the work, is a sequence of 48 “Chin-tan shih” 金丹詩 [Poems on the Metallous Enchymoma].⁵³⁴ This series in particular invites comparison with the only independent title printed under Chang Chi-hsien's name in the Canon, HY 977 *Ming-chen p'o-wang chang-sung* 明真破妄章頌 [Statutory Lauds on Exposing Falsehoods and Revealing Truths]. The sequence of 43 heptasyllabic quatrains in this text covers a range of issues regarding *nei-tan* and its outward manifestation in Thunder Rites. Among the more provocative lines is the closing rhetorical question of one stanza: “How can you distinguish Cheng-i from Ch'ing-wei?” 何分正一與清微, which suggests that all ritual traditions are to be regarded as one and the same.⁵³⁵ A variant redaction of the *Ming-chen p'o-wang chang-sung* is found in chapter 71 of the ritual corpus HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, where an additional verse is inserted, with the title “San-chiao i-li” 三教一理 [The Single Principle of the Three Teachings].⁵³⁶ Both verses, as well as a number of others in this work, appear to speak more for the generation of Chang Yü-ch'ü than for that of Chang Chi-hsien.

19. Two Anthologies of the Hung-en Legacy

Two late anthologies in the 1607 supplement to the Canon attest to the vitality of the Hung-en cult from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.⁵³⁷ The earlier work in tribute to the two brothers Hsü Chih-cheng 徐知證 and Hsü Chih-o 徐知訢 (fl. 937–946) of southern Min, the 14-ch. HY 1456 *Hsü-hsien han-tsao* 徐仙翰藻 [Literary Masterpieces of the Hsü Transcendents], was compiled in 1305 by a devotee named Ch'en Meng-ken 陳夢根. His is the only extensive record available of Sung and Yüan writings associated with the two guardians of Fukien. Virtually every major genre of prose and verse is represented in Ch'en's work. Chapters 1 and 2 are devoted to records of regional temples, the latest account of which is dated 1299.⁵³⁸ The author of the opening report, “Ling-chi tsu-miao chi” 靈濟祖廟記 [A Record of the Ancestral

Shrine of Divine Relief], identifies himself as a descendant of the Hsü lineage. According to his detailed survey of the history of the cult, a shrine was not established at the site of the brothers' transcendence on Mt. Ao-feng 鰲峯 (Fukien) until nearly forty years thereafter in 983. In the spring of that year, during a drought, a deep pool of water was reportedly discovered by a diviner outside the Hsü ancestral hall. A succession of further auspicious signs, including a lifesaving rain, led to the construction of a *miao* 廟, or shrine. It acquired the name of Ling-chi Kung 靈濟宮 (Palace of Divine Relief) by imperial decree in 1238, just two years after Sung Li-tsung 宋理宗 (r. 1225–1264) bestowed honorary titles on the two Hsü brothers, giving them the status of national guardians.⁵³⁹ This account was evidently meant to be inscribed on stone, for the author reveals in closing that he composed it after he found the old stele at the shrine had been destroyed. Subsequent entries in these first chapters document the extent of this temple compound and its sister institutions. Also included are the records of many religious sites in the Fukien region external to the Hung-en cult. The last account in chapter 2, for example, provides a history of the Ch'an monastery of Hsi-lin 西林禪寺 in Foochow, founded during the Kuang-ming 廣明 reign of the T'ang (880–881).

A diverse selection of *fu* rhapsodies, *sung* 公頌 lauds, *hsü* 序 prefaces, and *tsan* 贊 encomia are found in chapter 3 to 6. Among the more informative compositions on folk beliefs in spectral forces are a series of dispatches issued in order to purge the threat of malarial afflictions as well as drought.⁵⁴⁰ The verses and memorials of chapter 7 are also revealing with regard to the soteriological mission of the cult. One chapter of largely epistolary *tz'u* lyrics follows, succeeded by three chapters of additional memorials and other divine communications, many of which offer instruction on upholding fundamental cultural values such as filiality. A number of texts in chapter 11 were occasioned by the rites of salvation conducted at shrines to the Hsü brothers, including an Avalāmbana assembly 盂蘭盆會.⁵⁴¹ More details on the establishment and restoration of these temples and the breadth of ritual programmes associated with the cult are found in the *shu* 疏 (statements), *shu* 書 (letters), and *chi* 啓 (communications) of chapters 12 and 13. Recorded in chapter 14 are the inscriptions that once graced the rafters and lanterns of the Palace of Divine Relief. As the compiler Ch'en indicates in his colophon, the majority of the texts in this work were thought

to be communications of the Hsü brothers. The pair was understood, in other words, to have continued to speak through the writing brushes of countless generations of devotees. The cult of Vast Mercy, like many such local traditions, was thus apparently foremost a cult of spirit-writing, or *fu-chi*.

An anonymous collection of writings concerning the history of veneration for the Hsü brothers is printed immediately after Ch'en's work in the Canon. The 4-ch. HY 1457 *Tsan-ling chi* 贊靈集 [An Anthology in Commendation of the Divine], completed presumably sometime during the mid-fifteenth century, serves as a valuable supplement to the earlier compilation. Among the texts recorded in the first chapter is an account marking the restoration of the Palace of Divine Relief in 1293 and an inscription by the eminent Fukien literatus Wang Pao 王葆 (fl. 1380–1411) that once accompanied a painting at the site made by Kao T'ing-li 高廷禮 of Ch'ang-le 長樂 (Fukien) in 1411.⁵⁴² Chapter 2 includes a series of memorials despatched to the Perfected Lords of Divine Relief, many of which express appreciation for their ability as rainmakers. This theme is repeated in several entries of chapter 3, such as the report on the restoration of the Palace of Divine Relief following rescue from a drought in 1410.⁵⁴³ Also of note are the prefaces of texts on the ritual protocols and vows linked with the cult, as well as two undated colophons to the *Hsü-hsien han-tsao*.⁵⁴⁴ A series of verses in the fourth, and final, chapter completes this work. Most are encomia, written in commemoration of the therapeutic powers of the Perfected Lords as witnessed at various sites throughout Fukien and Chekiang. The latest contribution is dated 1432, shortly after which this anthology must have been compiled.⁵⁴⁵

20. Ching-ming Dialogues

Two dialogic exchanges pertinent to the evolution of the Ching-ming Tao are preserved in the 6-ch. HY 1102 *Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu* 淨明忠孝全書 [A Comprehensive Compilation on the Ching-ming Tradition of Loyalty and Filiality].⁵⁴⁶ An introduction to the subject matter of both dialogues is found in the citations within chapter 2 ascribed to Hsü Sun 許遜 (239–292?) and his putative followers Kuo P'u 郭璞 (276–324) and Hu Hui-ch'ao 胡惠超 (d. 703). As mentioned earlier, the major codifier of the Ching-ming scriptural tradition, Liu Yü 劉玉 (1257–1308), was said to have regarded Hu as his authority on ri-

tual codes. Three chapters are dedicated to Liu's teachings in this text, under the collective title *Yü-chen hsien-sheng yü-lu* 玉真先生語錄 [Dialogic Treatise of Master Yü-chen]. Although the interlocutor remains anonymous, the source of inspiration behind this series is no doubt Liu's disciple Huang Yüan-chi 黃元吉 (1270–1324), the original compiler of the anthology. The sequence of questions invites a full exposition on the fundamental tenets of the Way of Ching-ming. Thus, the rudimentary inquiry that opens this treatise, concerning the significance of referring to Liu's teachings as *Ching-ming chung-hsiao* 淨明忠孝, leads eventually into a discussion of the metaphorical implications of the terms *chung* 忠 (loyalty) and *hsiao* 孝 (filiality).⁵⁴⁷ Initially, Liu emphasizes the need to pray for the longevity of the state and to repay parental benevolence, in echo of the earlier essays of chapter 2 attributed to his predecessors. Although he later preaches on the importance of distinguishing between authentic codes of instruction and later fabrications, it is clear that Liu and his disciples engaged in a creative reconstruction of the sayings of their past masters. Liu refers throughout to the Way of Ching-ming as a much more concise alternative to prevailing contemplative and ritual traditions. Overall, he appears to advise his disciples to forsake the more abstruse pursuits of *nei-tan* practitioners in order to concentrate totally on cultivating a life based on the observance of absolute ethical standards. Liu's exhortations to purge all desires and rectify the mind recall the syncretic approach of Ch'üan-chen. In acknowledging the compatibility of the Three Teachings, Liu is actually thought by some to have established his own instruction foremost on the foundation of Ju principles. Such is suggested, for example, in the prefaces of literati such as Chao Shih-yen 趙世延 (1260–1336), Yü Chi 虞集 (1272–1348), and P'eng Yeh 彭瑩 (fl. 1323).⁵⁴⁸

Finally, the *Chung-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu* closes with the *Chung-huang hsien-sheng wen-ta* 中黃先生問答 [Questions and Answers of Master Chung-huang], a sample of the pedagogy of Huang Yüan-chi. The unidentified interlocutor in this single-chapter dialogue may well have been Huang's disciple Hsü Hui 徐慧 (1291–1352), whose name is given as the collator of the entire anthology. When asked initially if those who uphold the Tao by observing various purificatory regulations are in fact "purified," Huang reportedly responded that purification was a matter of cleansing one's mind of all desires and perverse thoughts. The ultimate goal, according to him, was to achieve a *kung-*

hsin 公心, or public spirit, something he claimed adepts engaged in contemplative exercises were unable to attain. As did his mentor Liu, Huang thus emphasized one's responsibilities toward family and state. Students of the Way of Ching-ming, he teaches, literally have the words *chung* and *hsiao* imprinted on their foreheads, thereby ensuring that they fully devote themselves to a lifetime of upright behavior and manifest utmost faith in whatever they pursue. The theme of ethical causality is raised repeatedly throughout Huang's discourse. In supporting his assertion that good conduct brings its own reward and that disreputable actions lead to injury, he draws equally on Buddhist, Taoist, and classical textual traditions.⁵⁴⁹ Gone from the dialogues of both Liu and Huang is the perception of Hsü Sun as the quintessential dragon-slayer. The vision of the guardian figure in the eyes of the proponents of Ching-ming Tao has been thoroughly sanitized, for to them he appears gowned as a paragon of filiality loyal to the state, with no demonifuge sword in sight.

21. The Writings of Wu Shou-yang

One writer who stands out among syncretists of the late Ming is Wu Shou-yang 伍守陽 (1552–1641) of Nan-ch'ang 南昌 (Kiangsi), also known as Ch'ung-hsü-tzu 冲虚子.⁵⁵⁰ Several works in Wu's name are found in both the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* and the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*, accompanied by hagiographic accounts. According to the biography by Shen Chao-ting 申兆定 (fl. 1764), Wu lost his father as a young boy and devoted himself to caring for his mother. It was not until after her death at ninety-odd years, when Wu himself was seventy, that he was said to have taken up the life of a recluse and achieved transcendence. As Shen acknowledges, Wu thought of himself as a disciple of the Lung-men 龍門 branch traditionally thought to have been founded by the Ch'üan-chen patriarch Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (1148–1227). A self-ascribed Lung-men affiliate by the name of Chang Ching-hsü 張靜虛 (fl. 1563–1566) is identified as the mentor of Li Chen-yüan 李真元 (*hao*, Hsü-an 虛庵, 1525–1579), who, in turn, instructed Wu's teacher, Ts'ao Ch'ang-hua 曹常化 (*hao*, Huan-yang 還陽, 1562–1622).⁵⁵¹ Another hagiographic account by Min T'iao-fu 閔苔蓀 (1758–1836) omits the theme of filiality altogether and states instead that Wu became the disciple of Ts'ao several decades earlier. By the age of twenty, he is said to have become well versed in the Buddhist contemplative practice of

samadhi as well as in the more conventional textual legacy of the classicists. When recommended repeatedly for positions at court, Wu fled to Lu Shan 廬山 at the northern border of Kiangsi, and it is there that he reportedly received instruction on *nei-tan* from Ts'ao Ch'ang-hua and Li Ni-wan 李泥丸. Li is also said to have trained Wu in the codes of the Five Thunder Rites 五雷法 in the mountains of Chin-kai 金蓋山 (Chekiang). After serving for some time as a tutor of the Prince of Chi 吉王, i.e., Chu Yu-lien 朱由棟 (d. 1635), Wu chose to take refuge from the political turmoil of his age and settled at T'ien-t'ai Shan 天台山 (Chekiang).⁵⁵² There a fellow adept named Chao Chen-sung 趙真嵩 (*hao*, Fu-yang 復陽) convinced him to seek instruction from Wang Ch'ang-yüeh 王常月 (*hao*, K'un-yang 崑陽, 1522?-1658) at the Ch'ing-hsü caverns 清虛洞天 of Wang-wu Shan 王屋山 (Shansi). Wu reportedly achieved divine transformation at this northern retreat after perfecting the technique of *huan-tan* 還丹, or the regenerative enchyomoma.⁵⁵³

It is doubtful that any of Wu's teachings would have survived had his disciples not made the effort to preserve them. The disciple Chao Chih-hsin 趙執信 is, for example, named as the recipient of the *Chin-tan yao-chüeh* 金丹要訣 [Essential Instruction on the Metallous Enchyomoma]. Wu introduces the principles of *chin-tan* in this undated text through a series of prose essays together with a small selection of verse, to which some commentary, presumably by Chao, has been added.⁵⁵⁴ Two other texts ascribed to Wu appear in annotated editions prepared by his younger brother Wu Shou-hsü 伍守虛 (*hao*, Chen-yang-tzu 真陽子), a figure for whom biographical data are lacking. The *T'ien-hsien cheng-li chih-lun* 天仙正理直論 [A Fortright Discourse on the Authentic Principles of Celestial Transcendents] bears a preface by Wu Shou-yang himself, dated 1639.⁵⁵⁵ This set of nine essays on *chin-tan*, Wu reveals, is based on the teachings of Master Ts'ao. As he explains it, Ts'ao taught that the *hsien-tao* 仙道, or path to transcendence, rested within one's own *shen* 神, spirit, and *ch'i* 氣, or vital force. The preservation of one's *ch'i* leads to longevity, according to him, and the fixation of one's *shen*, to communication with the spirit realm. In explaining the procedures essential to these pursuits, Wu draws extensively on the vocabulary of laboratory alchemy as well as that of the technique of *t'ai-hsi* 胎息, or embryonic respiration. A year after the *T'ien-hsien cheng-li chih-lun* was completed, Wu compiled another sequence of nine essays, which appeared under the title *Wu Chen-jen tan-tao chiu-p'ien* 伍真人

丹道九篇 [Nine Folios on the Path to the Enchymoma of Wu the Perfect-ed]. Wu outlines the history of this dialogic treatise in a preface dated 1640. It apparently represents the culmination of the Prince of Chi's tutelage under Wu. After conveying instruction to the Prince at intervals over some thirty years, Wu notes that in the end he had completely divulged the contents of his *Hsien Fo ho-tsung hsüan-miao ch'üan-chih* 仙佛合宗玄妙全旨 [Comprehensive Directives on the Subtle Wonders of the Compatible Heritages of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence]. These nine essays, he states, serve as a record of the question and answer sessions following his bestowal of what he calls the credentials of the Lung-men tradition of Patriarch Ch'iu. The text closes appropriately with a *sao* 騷 (elegy) said to be a secret transmission from Ch'iu Ch'u-chi.

While no text corresponding to the title cited above is extant, the most ambitious compilation to appear under Wu's name is a 6-ch. work entitled *Hsien Fo ho-tsung yü-lu* 仙佛合宗語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise on the Compatible Heritages of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence].⁵⁵⁶ Neither prefaces nor colophons are found with this text, but Wu Shou-hsü is cited as responsible for providing the critical commentary to his brother's writings. The text is divided into a series of question-answer passages associated with various interlocutors. While some remain anonymous, the majority are identified as disciples of Wu. Aside from his brother Wu Shou-hsü, they include a nephew by the name of Wu T'ai-i 伍太一, Li Hsi-jen 李羲人 (fl. 1636), and Ku Yü-t'ao 顧興發. The range of subject matter covered is remarkably broad, but if there is any thesis central to this work, it is that the pursuit of transcendence is analogous to the attainment of Buddhahood. This theme cannot be said to be original with Wu for, as mentioned earlier, it was undoubtedly the focus, for example, of an earlier text of similar title, the *Hsien Fo t'ung-yüan* 仙佛同源 [The Common Origin of Buddhahood and Taoist Transcendence] of Chao Yu-ch'in 趙友欽 (fl. 1329). Although Chao's compilation is lost, some understanding of his teachings can be retrieved from the writings of his disciple Ch'en Chih-hsü 陳致虛 (fl. 1329–1336). Wu, like Ch'en, draws on a wide variety of readings, from Nan-tsung and Ch'üan-chen literature to the *Hua-yen ching* 華嚴經 [Avataṃsaka-sūtra]. So marked was the influence of Wu's synthesis that his name later came to be linked to Liu Hua-yang 柳華陽 (ca. 1736), a Ch'an monk whose publications gained an appreciative audience in the late eighteenth century. By 1897, an editor by the name of Teng Hui-chi 登

徽績 brought together the compositions of Wu and Liu and printed them under the title *Wu Liu hsien-tsung* 伍柳仙宗 [The Transcendent Heritage of Wu and Liu]. Modern editions of this text are periodically reissued, thus attesting to the sustained popularity of what is now commonly referred to as the Wu-Liu school.⁵⁵⁷

V

Exegeses and Encyclopedic Compilations

Exegeses

Exegetic works, although an integral part of the Taoist literary heritage, remain largely unexplored. Large blocks of the Canon, totaling nearly 150 thread-bound volumes, are devoted to various editions of four major works alone, the *Huang-ti yin-fu ching* 黃帝陰符經, the *Tao-te ching*, the *Chuang-tzu*, and the *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i* 周易參同契.⁵⁵⁸ The exegeses of the Ling-pao corpus are fewer but no less significant. Most commentators, of course, claim to restore the original intent of a text, but their work is almost invariably motivated by other concerns as well. The particular emphasis in any commentary is also shaped in part according to the audience an author seeks to address. Some commentators viewed their task as a means by which the teachings of a specific textual heritage such as *chin-tan* could be promoted among fellow adepts. Others, more interested in reaching a broader readership, chose to extract lessons on the importance of faith and the need to uphold fundamental cultural values such as filiality. The commentary also served as a voice for those of an ecumenical bent keen on establishing the features in common with the Three Teachings. A few exegetic texts were formulated by the compiler according to his own inspiration, but more prevalent are composite works drawn from the writings of several generations, supplemented by contemporary interpretations. The texts discussed below illustrate not only the variety of exegetic forms available in the Canon but also the range of thought that gained expression through the commentary.⁵⁵⁹

1. Editions of Ch'en Ching-yüan

A Taoist Master highly esteemed by Sung Shen-tsung 宋神宗 (r. 1068–1085), Ch'en Ching-yüan 陳景元 (1025–1094) of Nan-ch'eng 南

城 (Kiangsi), produced some of the more enduring critical editions of the Northern Sung.⁵⁶⁰ Ch'en essentially established his career on the basis of restoring lost commentaries, traveling widely from one shrine to the next in search of rare exemplars. He also prepared his own variorum editions, such as the noteworthy 14-ch. HY 736 *Nan-hua chen-ching chang-chü yin-i* 南華真經章句音義 [Phonetic and Semantic Glosses on Stanzas of the *Nan-hua chen-ching*]. Ch'en completed this work in 1084, following his detailed analysis of nine variant editions of the *Chuang-tzu*.⁵⁶¹ Also acclaimed was his 10-ch. HY 714 *Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei p'ien* 道德真經藏室纂微篇 [A Folio of Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the *Tao-te ching*]. The edition of this work in the Canon includes a preface by Yang Chung-keng 楊仲庚 dated 1258.⁵⁶² According to Yang, Ch'en received instruction on the *Lao-tzu* from Chang Wu-meng 張無夢 (fl. 985–1065) of T'ien-t'ai Shan 天台山 (Chekiang). Hagiographers identify Chang as a disciple of Ch'en T'uan 陳搏 (d. 989) and Liu Ts'ao 劉藻 (fl. 1031), both of whom are traditionally regarded as the founders of the Nan-tsung tradition.⁵⁶³ Ch'en's teachings inspired Hsüeh Chih-hsüan 薛致玄 (d. 1271) to compile a supplementary exegesis on the *Lao-tzu*, which has been incorporated into the Canon as the 5-ch. HY 715 *Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei k'ai-t'i k'o-wen shu* 開題科文疏 [Topical Discussions, Assessments, and Amplifications on the Folio of Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the *Tao-te ching*].⁵⁶⁴ Hsüeh also drew selectively from Ch'en's commentary in preparing a stroph by stroph analysis which is recorded in the 2-ch. HY 716 *Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei shou-ch'ao* 手鈔 [A Hand-copied Manuscript Based on the Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the *Tao-te ching*]. The variant readings in the second and only chapter to survive invite comparison with the corresponding chapters 6–10 of Ch'en's original text.

Among the lost editions reconstructed by Ch'en is the 2-ch. HY 733 *Ch'ung-hsü chih-te chen-ching shih-wen* 冲虛至德真經釋文 [An Exegesis on the Classic of Ch'ung-hsü chih-te].⁵⁶⁵ According to Ch'en's preface of 1069, these painstaking glosses to the text more popularly known as the *Lieh-tzu* 列子 were compiled by Yin Ching-shun 殷敬明, who during the T'ang held the post of assistant subprefect of Tang-t'u 當塗 (Anhui). Ch'en reports that he discovered a worm-eaten manuscript of this text at T'ien-t'ai Shan and found that it had been copied out by Hsü Ling-fu 徐靈府 (*hao*, Mo-hsi-tzu 墨(默)希子, ca.

760–841), author of a gazetteer on the region. Eventually Ch'en was able to supply the missing forty to fifty percent of the text by collating the copy he had made with another manuscript by Hsü Ling-fu and a woodblock edition printed by the Imperial Academy during the Ching-te reign 景德 (1004–1007).

Similar discoveries of rare manuscripts led Ch'en to compile the HY 104 *Shang-ch'ing ta-tung chen-ching yü-chüeh yin-i* 上清大洞真經玉訣音義 [Phonetic and Semantic Glosses on the Jade Instruction of the Perfected Scripture of the Great Cavern of Shang-ch'ing].⁵⁶⁶ Ch'en traces the history of this Shang-ch'ing classic in an undated preface, where he reveals that after retiring to Mao Shan 茅山, he sought out old copies of the text in order to aid his recitation of it. Among the versions he consulted were those of the Shang-ch'ing patriarch Chu Tzu-ying 朱自英 (976–1029) and another Taoist Master named Huang-fu Hsi 皇甫希, also said to have been active during the T'ien-sheng 天聖 reign (1023–1031). In addition to citing variant readings, Ch'en draws primarily on the *Shuo-wen* 說文 and the *I-ch'ieh tao-ching yin-i* 一切道經音義 compiled under the direction of Shih Ch'ung 史崇 (fl. 690), abbot of the T'ai-ch'ing Kuan 太清觀 at the putative birthplace of Lao-tzu. All that survives of the latter monumental compilation, originally over one hundred *chüan* in length, is a supplementary selection of essays and what citations are preserved in works such as Ch'en's glossary.⁵⁶⁷

Perhaps the most ambitious of all Ch'en's compilations is his 4-ch. HY 87 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching ssu-chu* 元始無量度人上品妙經四註 [Four Commentaries on the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Primordial Commencement]. In the preparation of his edition of the fundamental scripture of the Ling-pao tradition, Ch'en collated four exegeses dating from the fifth to the eighth centuries, works that otherwise have been lost. Included are the commentaries of one Northern Ch'i writer named Yen Tung 嚴東 (fl. 479–487) and three T'ang scholiasts: Li Shao-wei 李少微, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying 成玄英 (fl. 631–650), and Hsüeh Yu-ch'i 薛幽棲 (fl. 740–754).⁵⁶⁸ By way of an introduction to his work, Ch'en cites in full the preface Hsüeh wrote in 754 at Heng Shan 衡山, the sacred peak of the south. Ch'en's own preface, dating to 1067, is preceded by another preface ascribed to Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 998–1022) that must once have accompanied an exegesis issued earlier under imperial authorization.⁵⁶⁹

2. Additional Commentaries to the *Tu-jen ching*

Of all the early Ling-pao formularies, none has been subjected to as much scrutiny as the *Tu-jen ching*. As noted above, proponents of the Shen-hsiao theocracy appear to have been responsible for recasting this work into a sixty-one chapter ritual manual.⁵⁷⁰ Commentaries to the text were compiled at least as late as the fifteenth century, in accordance with the theoretical foundations of variant contemplative practices. The 5-ch. HY 90 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching nei-i* 內義 [On the Inner Significance of the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Primordial Commencement] is an early 13th-century work based in part on Ch'en Ching-yüan's composite edition. This reinterpretation of the *Tu-jen ching* was completed in 1226 by the Shang-ch'ing Ritual Master and *chin-tan* specialist Hsiao Ying-sou 蕭應叟, apparently as a presentation to Sung Li-tsung 宋理宗 (r. 1225–1264). Hsiao indicates in an illustrated introductory statement that his own annotations were derived initially from a close reading of all four pre-Sung commentaries in Ch'en's edition. He also pays tribute to the inspiration of some of the earliest known writers on *nei-tan*, such as Li Kuang-hsüan 李光玄 and P'eng Hsiao 彭曉 (fl. 947–950).⁵⁷¹ In the commentary itself, Hsiao reveals his acquaintance with a much broader cross section of Taoist literature, from the *Huang-t'ing ching* to the sayings of the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien 張繼先 (1092–1126). He also proves to be well versed in both Buddhist and Ju classical writings, thus demonstrating a breadth in education equaling that of any of his contemporaries.

A similarly syncretic approach is found in the 3-ch. HY 88 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching chu* 註 [A Commentary on the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Primordial Commencement]. This exegetic work evolved from a combination of the efforts of three obscure figures dating perhaps to the late thirteenth century. According to an undated preface by a "Ch'ing-ho lao-jen" 清河老人 (Old Man of Ch'ing-ho), the original commentary can be traced to a "Ch'ing-yüan chen-jen" 青元真人 from Tung-hai 東海.⁵⁷² The "Old Man" himself contributed a summary of each passage in the form of a heptasyllabic *sung* 公頌 quatrain. Supplementary notes were added to the text by a collator named Kuo Kang-feng 郭岡鳳, a self-ascribed protégé of Ching-ming 淨明道子. Kuo reveals a superb bibliographic command of Taoist, Buddhist, and classical writings alike.



Fig. 20. A view of the microcosmic landscape within which an enchymoma is created. Sketch based on HY 90 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching nei-i*, Introduction, 8a–b. According to Hsiao Ying-sou, the process of transmutation by which this divine sanctuary is engendered within the body corresponds to the Yin-Yang cycle manifested within the celestial and terrestrial realms.

Most conspicuous in his analyses are citations from the so-called patriarchs of the Nan-tsung tradition of *nei-tan*, such as Chang Po-tuan, Ch'en Nan, and Pai Yü-ch'an. Among the more diverse writings upon which Kuo draws are those of the Lin-chi 臨濟 Ch'an Master Hsi-yün 希運 (d. 850) and the pedant Ch'ao Chiung 晁迥 (951–1034). Interpo-

lated at the end of the text are five distinct narrative accounts, all of which are set in central Szechwan during the years 1190 to 1204. Each offers a lesson on the benefits inherent in the recitation or copying of the *Tu-jen ching*. To engage in these activities, the reader is assured, will render one impervious to illness and immune to disaster. Such stories appear to come from the same oral tradition that gave rise to the HY 1159 *T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien* 太上感應篇 [Folios on the Divine Response of the Most High], an especially popular treatise on retribution compiled during the Sung and expanded for centuries thereafter.⁵⁷³

The *chin-tan* specialist Ch'en Chih-hsü 陳致虛 (fl. 1329–1336) of Lu-ling 廬陵 (Kiangsi) produced some of the most enduring exegetic works. As did a number of his counterparts, Ch'en composed a commentary to the *Wu-chen p'ien* in homage to the Nan-tsung heritage.⁵⁷⁴ But he is perhaps best known for his annotated edition of the *Ts'an-t'ung ch'i*, widely regarded as the most trustworthy redaction extant.⁵⁷⁵ Ch'en's commentary to the *Tu-jen ching* can be said to be equally accomplished. He completed the 3-ch. HY 91 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching chu-chieh* 註解 [An Exegesis on the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Primordial Commencement] in 1336, just one year after his monumental 16-ch. HY 1059 *Chin-tan ta-yao* had been issued.⁵⁷⁶ Ch'en traces the history of the Ling-pao revelations in a lengthy preface and observes that the commentaries authorized by imperial order during the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111–1117) of Sung Hui-tsung follow the tradition established by Yen Tung, Li Shao-wei, Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, and Hsüeh Yu-ch'i.⁵⁷⁷ Ch'en also expresses high regard for the commentary of Hsiao Ying-sou dating a century later. He then outlines his own efforts to elucidate the instruction on *chin-tan* conveyed to him by Master Chao Yu-ch'in 趙友欽 (fl. 1329). As part of that endeavor, Ch'en reports that he compiled not only the *Chin-tan ta-yao* but also commentaries to the *Tao-te ching* and the *Chin-kang ching* 金剛經 [Vajracchedikā-sūtra]. The loss of these editions makes his reinterpretation of the *Tu-jen ching* all the more valuable. The efficacy of reciting the *Tu-jen ching*, according to Ch'en, leads to the discovery of how to attain eternal life through *chin-tan*. The salvation offered by the teachings of Ling-pao, in other words, was viewed by him as the process of creating the regenerative enchymoma. Aside from Hsüeh Yu-ch'i and Hsiao Ying-sou, the authorities he cites include Chang Po-tuan, Pai Yü-ch'an, the Perfected of Ch'ing-yüan, as well as

the Old Man of Ch'ing-ho. In contrast to the *Chin-tan ta-yao*, Ch'en only rarely calls on the writings of Ch'üan-chen spokesmen in his commentary to the *Tu-jen ching*.⁵⁷⁸ He does further pursue parallels between the nature of Buddhahood and transcendence, equating in one instance the embodiment of the enchymoma (*tan-t'i* 丹體) with the pure *dharmakāya* (*ch'ing-ching fa-shen* 清靜法身).⁵⁷⁹ Ch'en also preaches that transcendence is not defined by internal transmutation alone. An adept, he asserts, must apply his skills on behalf of humanity as well, just as the Celestial Master of the Han distinguished man from specter, Ko Hsüan directed the salvation of lost souls, and the Perfected Lord Hsü [Sun] beheaded serpentine aberrations.⁵⁸⁰

Another commentary circulating under the same title, the 3-ch. HY 92 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching chu-chieh*, was compiled by a Ritual Master at Lu Shan 廬山 (Kiangsi) named Hsüeh Chichao 薛季昭 (fl. 1304–1316). In a presentation statement dated 1304, apparently intended for Yüan Ch'eng-tsung 元成宗 (r. 1295–1307), Hsüeh suggests that although many were known to chant the *Tu-jen ching*, few actually understood it.⁵⁸¹ Since he found the majority of commentaries to be too abstruse and confusing for the layman to understand, he devised his own reading as a remedy. A selection of supplementary writings appended to the text provides additional details about the history of this edition. According to a 1305 postface contributed by Li Yüeh-yang 李月陽, a fellow colleague at Lu Shan, the publication of the work was sponsored by a local scholar named Ts'ai Hsiang-fu 蔡翔夫. Li reports that after the blocks had been cut, the Primordial Commander Wang 王元帥 appeared before Hsüeh to extol his interpretation of the scripture.⁵⁸² Having witnessed this visionary encounter, Li found himself convinced that Hsüeh's work was indeed divinely inspired, and was thus determined to commend it to all who would uphold the teachings of the *Tu-jen ching*.

Three years later, in 1308, Hsüeh writes that the Thunder Ritual Master Lei Shih-chung 雷時中 (*hao*, Mo-an 默庵, 1221–1295) of Wu-ch'ang 武昌 (Hupei) appeared before him in a dream and presented him with a copy of his *Hsü-hsüan p'ien* 虛玄篇 [Folio on the Subtlety of the Void], which he ordered Hsüeh to print with his exegesis of the *Tu-jen ching*. The short text recorded here counsels the importance of becoming well versed in the Three Teachings.⁵⁸³ It is followed by two additional accounts that reinforce this ecumenical understanding of the

Tu-jen ching. Both are exhortations to recite in addition to the scripture a *Pao-kao* 寶誥, or "Precious Declaration," of the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Commencement (Yüan-shih t'ien-tsun 元始天尊), the text of which is included in full.⁵⁸⁴ Central to the recitation is the assertion that the Celestial Worthy, the original conveyor of the Ling-pao corpus, is ultimately the patriarch of the myriad teachings (*wan-tao chih tsung* 萬道之宗).⁵⁸⁵ The syncretic positions expressed in the *Hsü-hsüan p'ien* and the declaration do not appear to have figured in Hsüeh's commentary itself. As he states in his introduction, Hsüeh sought to make the scripture accessible to a wider audience. In so doing, he generally attempted to render each passage in a more readable prose style and to give a fuller context for some of the more problematic terminology, but made little recourse to the observations of his predecessors.⁵⁸⁶

The teachings of Lei Shih-chung are incorporated much more substantially into a third edition of the *Tu-jen ching* compiled in Kiangsi, the 4-ch. HY 89 *Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching t'ung-i* 通義 [A Comprehensive Interpretation of the Wondrous Scripture of Supreme Rank on the Infinite Salvation of Primordial Commencement] of the 43rd Celestial Master, Chang Yü-ch'ü 張守初 (1361–1410). Chang's text opens and closes with some of the same *chin-tan* diagrams that accompany Hsiao Ying-sou's exegesis.⁵⁸⁷ His annotations attest to a masterful assimilation of centuries of writing on the *Tu-jen ching*. Although Chang draws repeatedly on the writings of Li Shao-wei, Hsüeh Yu-ch'i, Hsiao Ying-sou, and the Perfected of Ch'ing-yüan, he cites most fully from the notes of Mo-an 默庵, or Lei Shih-chung, a commentary that has otherwise been lost. Also of interest are the citations from a Lord Hsin 辛君 who espouses the fundamental uniformity of the concepts underlying the Three Teachings. He is quoted in one instance, for example, on the parallels between the *pao-chu* 寶珠 (precious pearl), or Ling-pao vehicle of salvation, and the *t'ai-chi* 太極 (grand ultimate) of the Neo-Ju tradition and *yüan-chüeh* 圓覺 (full awakening) of Buddhists.⁵⁸⁸ Those who achieve the Tao through sagehood, transcendence, or Buddhahood, he asserts, all uphold the rites of the *Tu-jen ching*.⁵⁸⁹

Appended to Chang's edition is Hsiao Ying-sou's explanation of a diagram of *t'ai-chi* that Lei Shih-chung is said to have acquired.⁵⁹⁰ The two colophonic entries that follow are regarded as the personal word of the Celestial Lord Hsin 辛天君 himself, as recorded via the brush of Lei Shih-chung and a disciple named Ch'en Yüan-heng 陳元亨. In the

second entry, dated to the fifth day of the fifth lunar month of *keng-yin* 庚寅 (1410?), Hsin identifies himself as a *Lei-t'ing li* 雷霆吏, or Deputy of Thunderclap, a station within the Thunder Bureau (*Lei-ssu* 雷司) he says he assumed after having achieved the supreme Tao in high antiquity. Part of the message Hsin conveyed through Ch'en recalls the discussion Chang cites concerning the uniform reverence with which students of the Three Teachings alike regard the *Tu-jen ching*. Chang Yü-ch'u, Lei Shih-chung, and Ch'en Yüan-heng were by no means the only ones favored with the vision of this particular Thunder Ritual deity. Variant manuals on the apotropaic rites to be performed in the name of Celestial Lord Hsin are recorded in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, including one set of instructions conveyed by a P'an Sung-nien 潘松年 of Kua-ts'ang 括蒼 (Chekiang).⁵⁹¹

3. Commentaries to the *Sheng-shen ching*

Another scripture of the Ling-pao corpus in which there appears to have been a sustained level of interest throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the *Sheng-shen ching* 生神經 [Scripture on Generating Spirits].⁵⁹² Recitation of this sacred text, like the *Tu-jen ching*, was traditionally thought to effect the salvation of all.⁵⁹³ Among the more comprehensive commentaries to the work is the 4-ch. HY 396 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao tzu-jan chiu-t'ien sheng-shen chang-ching chieh-i* 洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經解義 [An Explication of the Tung-hsüan Ling-pao Scripture in Stanzas on the Spontaneous Generation of the Spirits within the Nine Celestial Realms]. Tung Ssu-ching 董思靖 (fl. 1246–1260), a Taoist Master at the T'ien-ch'ing Kuan 天慶觀 (Abbey of Celestial Felicities) of Ch'ing-yüan 清源 (Shansi), completed this work in 1252, just six years after he compiled the highly acclaimed 4-ch. HY 705 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-chieh* 道德真經集解 [Cumulative Notes on the *Tao-te ching*].⁵⁹⁴ Tung apparently had access to a superb library at his abbey, for his commentary is based on a collation of several different redactions of the *Sheng-shen ching*, including texts from Shu 蜀本 and Che-tung 浙東本.⁵⁹⁵ He draws extensive citations from a large number of supporting materials, the most prominent being Shang-ch'ing instructions on the generation and identification of bodily spirits. According to the author's postface, the *Sheng-shen ching* should be regarded foremost as a lesson on how to cultivate a *sheng-t'ai* 聖胎, or sagely embryo. In Tung's view, the ultimate goals of this endeavor, corpse li-

beration (*shih-chieh* 尸解) and ascent to the cosmic void, are not unlike the pursuit of freedom from rebirth (*wu-sheng* 無生) and *nirvāna* (*chi-mieh* 寂滅) of Buddhist patriarchs such as Bodhidharma. Once one realizes the innate correspondence between the spirit realm embodied within and that of the celestial and terrestrial domains, he concludes, physical union with the Tao will have been achieved (*yü Tao t'ung-t'i* 與道同體).⁵⁹⁶ It is Tung's firm conviction that the first steps on the pathway toward union with the Tao are revealed in the *Sheng-shen ching*.

Among the exegetic works of which Tung made frequent use is the compilation of Wang Hsi-ch'ao 王希纂, a Taoist Master at the Ch'ung-hsü Kuan 中虛觀 (Abbey of the Abyssal Void) in Mien-chou 綿州 (Szechwan).⁵⁹⁷ Wang completed his 3-ch. HY 397 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao tzu-jan chiu-t'ien sheng-shen yü-chang ching-chieh* 玉章經解 [An Explication of the Tung-hsüan Ling-pao Scripture in Jade Stanzas on the Spontaneous Generation of the Spirits within the Nine Celestial Realms] nearly five decades earlier. According to his preface of 1205, the four major points in the *Sheng-shen ching* are (1) show affection toward your corporeal form (*ai-hsing* 愛形), home to the ranks of the divine, (2) preserve your spirit (*pao-shen* 保神), (3) value your vital force (*kuei-ch'i* 貴氣), and (4) secure your roots (*ku-ken* 固根). Wang's discussion of this terminology is drawn largely from the *Chuang-tzu*. The only commentary to the scripture he mentions in his preface is one by a Yü-ch'an-tzu 玉蟾子 or Master Chao 趙先生, the brevity of which, Wang admits, convinced him there was a need for something more comprehensive.⁵⁹⁸ He proves to have availed himself of an even broader selection of literature than did Tung Ssu-ching. In addition to early texts of the Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao traditions, Wang also calls upon sources as diverse as the *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih chuan* 春秋左氏傳 [The Tso Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals], Tu Kuang-t'ing's (850–933) HY 782 *Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu* 壩城集仙錄 [A Record of the Transcendents Assembled at Yung-ch'eng], and Su Shih's 蘇軾 (1036–1101) "Hsing-ying shih" 形影詩 [A Verse on Form and Shadow]. Like Tung, Wang is attentive to the variant readings found in different editions of the *Sheng-shen ching*.⁵⁹⁹ Similarly, it is Wang's conclusion that the whole range of teachings on how to achieve *shih-chieh* 尸解, or corpse liberation, including the *chin-tan* tradition, have their foundation in this scripture.⁶⁰⁰

A third commentary to the *Sheng-shen ching* preserved in the Taoist Canon, the 3-ch. HY 398 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao tzu-jan chiu-t'ien sheng-shen chang-ching chu* 注, is ascribed to a Hua Yang-fu 華陽復. Chang Shou-ch'ing 張守清, a Taoist Master at the T'ai Ch'ing-wei miao-hua Kung 太清微妙化宮 (Grand Palace of the Wondrous Transformation of Ch'ing-wei) of Wu-tang Shan 武當山 (Hupeh), contributed a preface to this compilation in 1332. According to the hagiography in the Ming gazetteer on Wu-tang Shan, Chang had a traditional classical upbringing as a child in I-tu 宜都 (Hupeh) and eventually entered the civil service. But at the age of 31, he abandoned his official career and went to Wu-tang Shan in order to pursue the *Chin-tan ta-tao* 金丹大道, or Great Teachings of the Metallous Enchymoma. He was said to have studied under Yeh Hsi-chen 葉希真 (1251-1286), Liu Tao-ming 劉道明 (fl. 1291), and Chang Tao-kuei 張道貴, three disciples of the Ch'ing-wei patriarch Huang Shun-shen 黃舜申 (1224-ca. 1286). After a successful career as a rainmaker, Chang reportedly retired to the Ch'ing-wei miao-hua yen 清微妙化巖 (Grotto of the Wondrous Transformations of Ch'ing-wei), at which time he apparently wrote the preface to this work.⁶⁰¹

Far less is known about Hua Yang-fu. All Chang can say is that a visitor from the Wu 吳 (Kiangsu) region brought him a copy of the text. He found that it included choice selections from many earlier commentaries and thus commends it as a guidebook for all students of the Tao. Among the commentators of the past that Chang singles out in his preface as exemplars are Wang Hsi-ch'ao, Hsiao Chen-yu 蕭真祐, and a Fou-shan chen-shuai 浮山真率, all three of whom are widely quoted in the body of the text.⁶⁰² Also of note are citations from Wang's authority, Chao Yü-ch'an, as well as the T'ang Taoist Master Hsü Ling-fu 徐靈府 (*hao*, Mo-hsi-tzu 默希子, ca. 760-841), and Li Ch'ang-ling 李昌齡 (fl. 1233), compiler of the *T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien*. The work overall is particularly valuable as a resource for reconstructing lost or fragmentary *nei-tan* texts, such as the *Chin-shu pi-tzu* 金書秘字 [Secret Words in Golden Script] and the writings of Tou the Perfected of the Sacred Peak of the West 西岳竇真人.⁶⁰³ The text attributed to Hua Yang-fu also contains a pronunciation guide to some forty terms, printed as an appendix. The most remarkable innovation, however, is the series of nineteen talismans incorporated into the last chapter of the scripture, diagrams that have otherwise apparently not survived. Given the emphasis on

nei-tan and the lack of data on Hua, it may be that Chang Shou-ch'ing himself will prove to have been responsible for something more than the preface.

4. Additional Commentaries to the *Tao-te ching* and Cognate Texts

In the year 735 a commentary to the *Tao-te ching* appeared in the name of T'ang Hsüan-tsung.⁶⁰⁴ Sung Hui-tsung, who held similar views about the theocratic nature of his regime, was said to have issued his own commentary nearly four centuries later, in the year 1118.⁶⁰⁵ This text was engraved in stone and became a part of the Taoist Canon compiled under imperial sponsorship. The 4-ch. HY 680 [*Sung Hui-tsung yü-chieh*] *Tao-te chen-ching* [宋徽宗御解] 道德真經 [An Imperial Explication of the *Tao-te ching* Authorized by Sung Hui-tsung] is printed in the Ming *Tao-tsang* following the annotated editions of Ming T'ai-tsu and T'ang Hsüan-tsung.⁶⁰⁶ Although such commentaries are often the product of team efforts, they tend to reveal much about the positions on statecraft, especially in regard to military matters, held by imperial policy makers, if not by the emperor himself. The range of texts cited in this commentary is generally limited to the early writings of Chuang-tzu, K'ung-tzu, and Meng-tzu, as well as Yang Hsiung 楊雄 (53 B.C.E.–18 C.E.), with the citations from Chuang-tzu by far the most numerous. Among the notes that appear to be of a more personal nature is that submitted in explanation of the line “Pu-chien k'o-yü shih hsin pu-luan” 不見可欲使心不亂 (By not viewing the desirable, the mind will not be disturbed). The commentary here closes with lines from both K'ung-tzu and Meng-tzu on the peace of mind to be achieved at the age of forty.⁶⁰⁷ Hui-tsung was 37 at the time this commentary was printed.

The Hui-tsung commentary is reproduced in a number of other exegetic compilations, serving, it seems, primarily as a sort of exemplar for later commentators. Among those presenting their own expanded editions to the emperor was a Chang An 章安, who is identified simply according to the low-ranking prestige title of *Teng-shih lang* 登仕郎.⁶⁰⁸ His work, the 10-ch. HY 681 [*Sung Hui-tsung*] *Tao-te chen-ching chieh-i* [宋徽宗] 道德真經解義 [An Explication of the *Tao-te ching* of Sung Hui-tsung], is printed in the Canon immediately after the imperial commentary of 1118. Chang expresses the hope in an undated preface that his text will alert thousands of generations to the peaceful reign of

his sovereign. The emperor's role in maintaining order within his domain is an issue Chang raises repeatedly in his own supplementary notes, often by drawing lessons from past history. The sources he cites, although few, attest to an education in the classics. The small number of citations may be a reflection of his youth or of his deference toward the imperial commentary. A comparable work, the 14-ch. HY 694 *Tao-te chen-ching shu-i* 疏義 [An Amplified Commentary to the *Tao-te ching*], was compiled by a *T'ai hsüeh-sheng* 太學生, or student at the National University, by the name of Chiang Ch'eng 江澂. In his undated presentation statement, Chiang emphasizes the importance of embracing the concept of simplicity in governing the people. He alludes in closing to Tu Kuang-t'ing's (850–933) enlargement upon what he refers to as the superficial commentary of T'ang Hsüan-tsung, but he is quick to acclaim the profundity of the imperial annotations he attempts to supplement.⁶⁰⁹ The text of the *Tao-te ching* itself Chiang characterizes as concise but with far-reaching purport. The same, regrettably, cannot be said for his own verbose contribution.

More comprehensive editions based on the 1118 commentary that take into account a wider range of exegeses did not appear until the late twelfth century.⁶¹⁰ One such work in which Hui-tsung's annotations retain a position of prominence is the 12-ch. HY 718 *Tao-te chen-ching ch'ü-shan chi* 取善集 [An Anthology of Selective Exemplars on the *Tao-te ching*]. This text was apparently completed during the Northern Sung but was not put into print until the Jurchen had taken over the central plains. The compiler Li Lin 李霖 of Jao-yang 饒陽 (Hopeh) remarks in an undated preface that he had recited the *Tao-te ching* since his youth but did not begin collating the highlights of various commentaries until his later years. In a second preface, dated to the *jen-ch'en* 壬辰 year of the Ta-ting 大定 reign (1172), Liu Yün-sheng 劉允升 of Ho-chien 河間 (Hopeh) claims that the exhaustive exegesis actually represents a lifetime's work. Liu identifies an old friend of Li's, by the name of Wang Pin-nai 王賓迺, as the one who arranged for the publication of a six-*chüan* edition. To say that Li was widely read would be an understatement. He clearly had a superb library at hand, replete with exegeses dating from Wang Pi 王弼 (226–249) to Su Ch'e 蘇轍 (1039–1112) and Sung Hui-tsung. The latter's *Yü-chu* 御註 [Imperial Commentary] opens Li's text and leads off many of the selections of notes that follow. Of special interest are the passages Li cites from the

texts that are now no longer extant, works such as Chung Hui's 鍾會 (225-264) *Lao-tzu chu* 老子注 [Notes to the *Lao-tzu*], Fu I's 傅奕 (555-639) *Lao-tzu yin-i* 老子音義 [Phonetic Glosses on the *Tao-te ching*], Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen's 司馬承禎 (647-735) *San-t'i Tao-te ching* 三體道德經 [The *Tao-te ching* in Three Embodiments], and Lin Ling-su's 林靈素 (1076-1120) *Lao-tzu chu* 老子注 [Notes on the *Lao-tzu*].⁶¹¹ Li's own commentary consists primarily of a summary of each of the 81 traditional subdivisions of the *Tao-te ching*. His text ends with an essay entitled "Tao-te i-ho lun" 道德-合論 [A Discourse on the Comprehensive Unity of *Tao* and *Te*] and a brief explanation of the origins of the title of the *Tao-te ching* by Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (*hao*, Wen-kung 溫公, 1019-1086).

Another exegetic text that appeared in print at approximately the same time is the 10-ch. HY 684 *Tao-te chen-ching ssu-tzu ku-tao chi-chieh* 四子古道集解 [A Collective Explication of the Ancient Teachings of Four Scholars on the *Tao-te ching*]. This edition is the work of K'ou Ts'ai-chih 寇才質, who, according to the opening words of his own preface dated 1179, was but an unknown rustic from the countryside. K'ou admits to having enjoyed quiet pleasures in his youth, during which time he studied *nei-tan* classics and divinatory techniques. Only in his later years, he says, did he begin reading the texts of antiquity and their various commentaries.⁶¹² K'ou recalls that in his past visits to the central capital, he often heard lecturers of exalted teachings (*kao-tao Chiang-shih* 高道講師) holding forth in public forums. But never did he find anyone who could explain the first thing about the *Tao* for, he claims, all they talked about was the concept of *k'ung-hsing* 空性, or *sūnyatā*. In attempting to remedy what he considered to be a failing on their part, K'ou prepared his own annotated edition of the *Tao-te ching* based on citations from four fundamental pre-Han sources: the *Nan-hua ching* 南華經 of Chuang-tzu, the *Ch'ung-hsü ching* 冲虛經 of Lieh-tzu, the *T'ung-hsüan ching* 通玄經 of Wen-tzu 文子, and the *Tung-ling ching* 洞靈經 of Keng Sang-ch'u 庚桑楚. Liu O 劉訥 of Fan-chih 繁峙 (Shansi), the author of a colophon dated 1180, finds himself in complete agreement with K'ou's reactionary approach. According to his own count, more than one hundred distorted interpretations and more than eight hundred false redactions of the *Tao-te ching* were in circulation. The excesses of past commentators, Liu asserts, had led everyone to embrace *hsieh-shuo* 邪言說 (perverse theories) such as *sūnyatā*. Liu

commends K'ou Ts'ai-chih's commentary as an effort to restore a true understanding of the foundation behind the principles of *Tao* and *Te*. Too little, unfortunately, is known about the religious teachings in the north after the downfall of the Sung to identify the precise source of their discontent. Liu, since he is writing of conditions in 1180, could perhaps be referring to early disciples of Ch'üan-chen. But K'ou makes it clear that his disenchantment with the Yenching lecturers began long before the Ch'üan-chen patriarchy was established. Thus, it is more likely that he, like Chu Hsi, viewed spokesmen on behalf of the Mādhyamika tradition as his adversaries.

Li Tao-ch'un 李道純 (fl. 1288–1290), the syncretist of I-chen 儀真 (Kiangsu), also advocated a conservative approach toward the *Tao-te ching*. As noted earlier, Li made his commentary to the work available to his disciples for discussion sometime before 1288, the date a dialogic treatise in his name was compiled.⁶¹³ The edition in the Canon, the 2-ch. HY 699 *Tao-te hui-yüan* 道德會元 [A Corpus on the *Tao-te ching*], includes a preface by Li dated 1290, so it would appear that he may have taken into account some of the points raised in that session. He, like K'ou, contends that his generation was generally ignorant about the teachings of Lao-tzu on the concepts of *Tao* and *Te*, even though, in his view, they served as the foundation of all later scriptural codifications. Li admits that he in fact had composed his summary of the Three Teachings, HY 250 *San-t'ien i-sui* 三天易髓 [The Mutable Marrow of the Three Celestial Realms], long before he made a comprehensive study of the *Tao-te ching*. It was not until a disciple had presented him with a copy of the *Tao-te pao-chang* 道德寶章 [Precious Stanzas on the *Tao-te ching*] of Pai Yü-ch'an that Li began to devote his attention to the work.⁶¹⁴ He remarks at length on the number of unreliable redactions he found available. In the end, Li endorses the Ho-shang Kung version, three editions of which he collates in establishing variant readings. The interlinear commentary he adds for each passage of the text is modeled directly on the work of Pai Yü-ch'an. His glosses are supplemented with more extensive discussions at the end of each subdivision, followed by a synoptic *sung* 公頁 quatrain in pentasyllabic meter. Overall, Li attempted to offer a corrective to the range of idiosyncratic interpretations the *Tao-te ching* had invited over the centuries. As he observes in his preface, the text has been regarded variously as a manual on statecraft, military strategy, and even Ch'an principles. Li concludes that these in-

terpretations obscure the original intent of Lao-tzu's writings, something he vows to try and recover. How well he has succeeded is an open question.

Another exegete with considerable influence in the Chiang-nan region compiled two studies on the heritage of Lao-tzu some fifteen years after Li Tao-ch'un's work appeared. Tu Tao-chien 杜道堅 (1237–1318) of Tang-t'u 當塗 (Anhui), a special envoy on behalf of the Mongol regime in the south, was responsible for the 4-ch. HY 702 *Tao-te hsüan-ching yüan-chih* 道德玄經原旨 [The Original Intent of the Sublime Scripture on Tao and Te] and the 2-ch. HY 703 *Hsüan-ching yüan-chih fa-hui* 玄經原旨發揮 [An Elucidation of the Original Intent of the Sublime Scripture].⁶¹⁵ The first is a highly readable and remarkably personal commentary that gained much support among Tu's contemporaries. Five laudatory prefaces were contributed by the 38th Celestial Master Chang Yü-ts'ai 張與材 (d. 1316) and the classicists Li Li-wu 黎立武 (1243–1303), Mou Yen 牟巖 (1227–1311), Hsü T'ien-yu 徐天佑 (fl. 1275), and Wang I-chien 王易簡 (fl. 1279).⁶¹⁶ Master Chang, Mou, and Wang point out the value of the *Tao-te ching* as a handbook on statecraft. Wang, in addition, joins Li and Hsü in their evaluation of Tu's commentary as an erudite synthesis of the teachings associated with Lao-tzu and Confucius. Another classicist, Jen Shih-lin 任士林 (1253–1309), and a Taoist Master at Lu Shan 廬山 (Kiangsi) named Huang Shih-weng 黃石翁 (fl. 1307–1310) are equally complimentary with regard to the comprehensiveness of Tu's writings in their colophons to the second work.⁶¹⁷ As Tu remarks in his own preface of 1306, the supplementary text was designed in part to correct the internal discrepancies he found in the HY 769 *Hun-yüan sheng-chi* 混元聖紀 [A Chronicle of the Sage from the Primordially of Chaos] of Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守灝 (1134–1212).⁶¹⁸

Tu organizes his own historical survey under twelve headings. The first six essays take into account the cosmological origins of the Tao and its historical manifestations down through the Chou. Following these summaries are hagiographic entries on Lao-tzu, covering his epiphany, his disciples, and his journey west. Discussions on the history of the *Tao-te ching* together with a substantial glossary of terms complete the work. Tu's commentary on the writings of Lao-tzu's putative disciple Wen-tzu 文子, moreover, serves as an additional supplement to his study of the *Tao-te ching*. His 12-ch. HY 748 *T'ung-hsüan chen-ching*

tsuan-i 通玄真經總贊義 [Successive Interpretations of the Perfected Scripture of Pervading Sublimity] is regarded by the Ssu-k'ü bibliographers as the most reliable redaction of Wen-tzu's work.⁶¹⁹ As both Master Huang Shih-weng and the eminent Wu Ch'üan-chieh 吳全節 (1269–1346) point out in their 1310 prefaces, Tu proved himself to be the rightful heir to Wen-tzu's literary legacy by virtue of his discovery of a complete copy of the scripture at the T'ung-hsüan Kuan 通玄觀 (Abbey of Pervading Sublimity) of Chi-ch'ou Shan 計籌山 (Chekiang). This temple stood at the site where Wen-tzu, according to hagiographic lore, was said to have taken refuge and eventually to have set forth his teachings in writing.

Among the more innovative exegeses on the *Tao-te ching* recorded in the Canon is the 4-ch. HY 687 *Tao-te chen-ching san-chieh* 道德真經三解 [A Threefold Explication of the *Tao-te ching*] of Teng Ch'i 鄧錡. In a preface dating to 1298, Teng explains how he devised this work to accommodate three types of commentaries to the Ho-shang Kung edition. His notes to each of the 81 passages of the text are organized under the following three headings: (1) *Ching* 經, a rephrasing of the original text in a more comprehensible language, achieved by the addition or deletion of *hsü-tzu* 虛字, or "empty words"; (2) *Tao* 道, glosses on individual words and phrases according to numerological and cosmogonic theories; and (3) *Te* 德, a reinterpretation according to *chin-tan* procedures. Teng's approach is further clarified by his selection of introductory materials. Included after his preface are a pentasyllabic verse entitled "Chen-ch'ang san-pai tzu" 真常三百字 [Three Hundred Words on the Perpetuity of Perfection], a biography of Lao-tzu, and an essay on "Ta Tao li-shu" 大道歷數 [A Chronicle of the Great Tao] by a Perfected of Ch'ing-ch'eng 青城真人.⁶²⁰ Most significant of all is an essay entitled "Ta Tao cheng-t'ung" 大道正統 [The True Succession of the Great Tao], composed by Hsiao T'ing-chih 蕭廷芝 in 1260. Hsiao is traditionally identified as the recipient of the Nan-tsung teachings inherited by P'eng Ssu 彭耜 (fl. 1229–1251).⁶²¹ Opening Hsiao's account is a genealogical chart tracing the history of the transmission of the Tao from its origin as a cosmic manifestation of Lao-tzu. The list of names continues sequentially down to the patriarch Liu Ts'ao (fl. 1031), after which two lines branch off under Wang Che and Chang Po-tuan, the recognized founders of Ch'üan-chen and Nan-tsung, respectively.⁶²² Whereas the Ch'üan-chen branch terminates after a citation of the Seven Perfected,

the Nan-tsung branch is carried one generation beyond the so-called Five Patriarchs to P'eng Ssu, Hsiao's immediate benefactor. Although he does not directly identify himself as a disciple of Hsiao, Teng appears to have regarded himself as a direct heir to the Nan-tsung legacy. Chang Po-tuan is in fact the only source cited with any frequency in his commentary.⁶²³ The only known work of Teng Ch'i, this text is substantial enough to warrant comparison with the writings of contemporaries holding similar views, such as Miao Shan-shih (fl. 1288–1324).

Seven decades prior to the appearance of Teng's commentary, P'eng Ssu compiled the 18-ch. HY 707 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu* 集註 [Collective Annotations on the *Tao-te ching*], the most extensive work of its kind in the Canon. According to a preface written in 1229 for a twelve-*chuan* edition of this work, P'eng envisioned his text as a continuation of the exemplary work of Ch'en Ching-yüan 陳景元 (1025–1094).⁶²⁴ But whereas Ch'en drew upon early commentaries in the preparation of his 10-ch. HY 714 *Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei p'ien* 藏室纂微篇 [A Folio of Subtleties Collected from the Archives on the *Tao-te ching*], P'eng chose to concentrate on those dating from the Sung. His monumental treatise opens with annotated copies of the *Shih chi* 史記 biography for Lao-tzu and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's editorial summary of the biography of Yüeh I 樂毅, a putative disciple of Ho-shang Kung. Following these accounts are extracts from various historical sources on imperial decrees and other pronouncements dating from 972 to 1178, most of which point out the importance of the *Lao-tzu* as a code of government.⁶²⁵ P'eng closes his introductory section with a list of the twenty commentaries that figure in his edition. The citations from the following twelve commentators whose texts are no longer extant make his work invaluable: (1) Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021–1086), (2) Lu T'ien 陸佃 (1042–1102), (3) Liu Kai 劉棨 (fl. 1071), (4) Liu Ching 劉涇 (fl. 1085), (5) Ts'ao Tao-ch'ung 曹道冲 or Ts'ao Hsien-ku 曹仙姑, (6) Ta-ch'en-tzu 達真子 (fl. 1229), (7) Li Wen-ho 李文恕 (fl. 1229), (8) Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得 (fl. 1077–1148), (9) Liu Chi 劉馬冀 (fl. 1134), (10) Huang Mao-ts'ai 黃茂材 (fl. 1174), (11) Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang 程大昌 (1123–1195), and (12) Lin Tung 林東.⁶²⁶ The eight commentators whose works are still available are (1) Sung Hui-tsung, (2) Ch'en Ching-yüan, (3) Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019–1086), (4) Su Ch'e 蘇轍 (1039–1112), (5) Wang P'ang 王雱 (1042–1076), (6) Ch'en Hsiang-ku 陳象古 (fl. 1101), (7) Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200), and (8) Shao Jo-yü

邵若愚 (fl. 1159). This selection attests to P'eng's overall interest, as observed in the preface, in establishing the common heritage of Lao-tzu and Confucius. The Hui-tsung commentary of 1118 given the place of honor in this compilation serves as the base text for the first of two supplements, the HY 708 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu shih-wen* 釋文 [Glosses to Collective Annotations on the *Tao-te ching*]. In addition to citing the textual variants found in the other nineteen editions, P'eng also includes phonetic glosses based on Lu Te-ming's 陸德明 (556-627) *Ching-tien shih-wen* 經典釋文 [Glosses to the Classical Canon] together with the readings given in the editions of Li Wen-ho and Lin Tung. The second supplement, the 2-ch. HY 709 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu tsa-shuo* 雜說 [Miscellaneous Narratives Related to Collective Annotations on the *Tao-te ching*], is devoted to anecdotal accounts pertaining to the history of veneration for Lao-tzu and his teachings from the Han to the Sung. Among the sources cited are the standard histories, hagiographies, as well as a wide range of literary anthologies, such as Li Te-yü's 李德裕 (787-849) *Li Wen-jao wen-chi* 李文饒文集 and Li Chao-ch'i's 李昭玘 (d. 1126) *Le-ching chi* 樂青集. In compiling these three works, P'eng has provided an invaluable synthesis of the diverse writings inspired by the *Tao-te ching* up to his time.

An even more ambitious composite edition of *Tao-te ching* commentaries was attempted about the time Teng Ch'i produced his text. The editor of the project was Liu Wei-yung 劉惟永, abbot of the Hsüan-miao Kuan 玄妙觀 (Abbey of Sublime Wonder) at Ch'ang-te 常德 (Hunan). Unfortunately, the 17-ch. HY 724 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-i* 集義 [Collective Exegeses on the *Tao-te ching*] incorporated into the Canon represents but a fraction of Liu's intended corpus. The history of the text can be traced from a series of four colophons at the end of an introductory supplement, the 3-ch. HY 723 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-i tachih t'u-hsü* 大旨圖序 [Illustrations, Prefaces, and the Major Points of Collective Exegeses on the *Tao-te ching*]. The earliest colophon, dating to 1296, was contributed by the classicist Yang K'o 楊格 to an edition simply entitled *Tao-te ching chieh* 解 [An Explication of the *Tao-te ching*]. According to his own colophon of 1299, Liu devoted more than ten years to compiling 31 *chüan*, an enterprise that, he claims, occupied his mind even as he ate and slept. After collating the writings of one hundred commentators, Liu reports that he combined his efforts with the notes Ting I-tung 丁易東 (fl. 1285) of Wu-ling 武陵 (Hunan) had taken

應心為用圖



Fig. 21. The anatomical correspondence of the 28 lunar mansions. Sketch based on HY 723 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-i ta-chih* [t'u-hsü], 1.16a. The instructions on the internal visualization of the 28 *hsiu*, or *nakṣatra*, are ascribed by Liu Wei-yung to a Perfected named Wang 王真人.

from the editions in his family archives. Ting, the author of studies on the *Chou-i* 周易, is identified by the editors of the *Tao-tsang* as the collator of this text. Yü Ch'ing-chung 喻清中 of Ch'ang-sha 長沙 (Hunan), on the other hand, states in a colophon dating to 1299 that only a third of the text was in print at the time he wrote, which, according to him, was long after Ting's demise.⁶²⁷ According to the 38th Celestial Master Chang Yü-ts'ai 張與材 (d. 1316), who added a preface in 1300, Liu's 31-*chüan* work was based on a collation of 78 texts.

The segment printed in the Canon apparently came from an even larger edition than that commended by Master Chang, for a total of 81

sources is listed in the first chapter of the introductory text. The chronological tabulation of commentators alone begins with Ho-shang Kung and Wang Pi and ends with eight writers of the Yüan, from Hsüeh Chih-hsüan 薛致玄 (d. 1271) to Li Shih-ts'ung 李晁從 (fl. 1295). The two works cited from the T'ang are the 735 and 901 commentaries of Hsüan-tsung and Tu Kuang-t'ing, respectively. The majority of exegeses date to the Sung, with only eleven of the 24 duplicating those cited in P'eng Ssu's work. The three introductory chapters include, in addition to the inventory of commentators and the colophons, a set of *nei-tan* diagrams, the *Shih chi* biography of Lao-tzu, eight prefaces to earlier exegeses, as well as a selection of introductory and topical essays. Some of the prefaces, such as those written by Chao Tao-sheng 趙道昇 (*hao*, Shih-an 寶庵, fl. 1152), Huang Mao-ts'ai 黃茂材 (fl. 1174), and even Yü Ch'ing-chung (fl. 1299) are otherwise unknown. As for the main text, the only portion preserved in the Canon comprises the annotations Liu selected for eleven of the 81 units of the *Tao-te ching*, in other words, less than fifteen percent of the total. But from the scope of the seventeen *chüan* in print, it is clear that were it intact Liu's edition would very nearly have made P'eng Ssu's work obsolete.

The Taoist Canon includes only one commentary to the *Tao-te ching* linked to the Celestial Master hierarchy. The 39th patriarch, Chang Ssu-ch'eng 張嗣成 (d. 1343), son of Chang Yü-ts'ai, is credited with the compilation of the slight 2-ch. HY 698 *Tao-te chen-ching chang-chü hsün-sung* 章句訓公頌 [Preceptorial Hymns to the Stanzas of the *Tao-te ching*]. In a preface dated 1322, Master Chang echoes the displeasure voiced by Li Tao-ch'un over three decades earlier. It is his conclusion that those who think of themselves as disciples of Lao-tzu have in fact no understanding of his teachings. Such ignorance, he claims, is comparable to satiating oneself all day long without being able to recognize the five grains, or to holding a candle all night long without being aware of the flame. In an effort to educate his contemporaries, Master Chang composed an interpretive *sung* 公頌 hymn for each of the 81 passages of the *Tao-te ching*. Recitation of the text, he observes initially, is the means by which one cultivates one's person, attains equilibrium in a family, pacifies the people, and establishes peace within the empire. The verses themselves, some of which are amplified with inter-linear commentary, expand upon this set of themes. But overall the central message of the commentary appears to be drawn from Chang's part-

ing advice in the preface, namely, that true enlightenment is to be gained solely through the practice of *chin-tan*.⁶²⁸ Unlike many of his predecessors, Chang only rarely draws parallels with the terminology of classical and Buddhist traditions.⁶²⁹ Equally remarkable is Chang's lack of reference to any earlier writings on the *Tao-te ching*, a feature which gives his own commentary the illusion of being all the more original.

As mentioned earlier, the commentary to the *Tao-te ching* composed by Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋 (1328–1398), the founder of the Ming, appears in the Canon ahead of the exegeses ascribed to T'ang Hsüan-tsung and Sung Hui-tsung. This third imperial edition, the 2-ch. HY 676 [*Ta Ming T'ai-tsu kao huang-ti yü-chu*] *Tao-te chen-ching* [大明太祖高皇帝御註] 道德真經 [The *Tao-te ching* Annotated by the Authority of His Highness, the Sovereign T'ai-tsu of the Great Ming], was completed late in 1374, just six years after Chu took the throne. Ming T'ai-tsu, like many of his predecessors, viewed the *Tao-te ching* as an inimitable authority on the art of governance. It was, in the words of his preface of 1374, the supreme master of sovereigns and the ultimate treasure of the ministers of state as well as the people themselves. The emperor also takes a forceful stance against the prevalent tendency to regard the *Tao-te ching* as a manual on the techniques of *chin-tan*. Inherent in his outspokenness is the condemnation of a number of earlier exegeses. The only commentary on which Ming T'ai-tsu himself draws with any regularity is, fittingly, that of the conservative classicist Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249–1333) of Lin-ch'uan 臨川 (Kiangsi).⁶³⁰ He even adapts Wu's idiosyncratic division of the text into 68 units rather than the conventional 81. The only point at which he differs is in the omission of the 65th (no. 78 of 81) passage, thus coming up with a total of 67 units. The missing passage concerns the means by which rulers establish authority, as symbolized, for example, by the rituals of offering sacrifices to the *she-chi* 社稷, or gods of soil and grain. An untimely rainstorm early in his reign in fact hindered Ming T'ai-tsu in submitting the prescribed offerings. After suffering through one downpour, the emperor suggested a change in the construction of the altars and eventually managed to reschedule the sacrifices in conjunction with others, thus reducing their significance to his mandate. It appears, therefore, that the passage specifying the obligations of the *she-chi* offerings may have been deleted in order to eliminate the grounds for challenging a revised program of imperial ritual.⁶³¹

In his refusal to view the *Tao-te ching* as anything more than a handbook on good government, Ming T'ai-tsu clearly set himself apart from the majority of his contemporaries. Most generally seem to have had no need to promote one interpretation to the exclusion of another. The same text, it was felt, could just as well serve as a resource on contemplative pursuits as a guide to statecraft. This was the position taken, for instance, by Wei Ta-yu 危大有 of Nan-ch'eng 南城 (Kiangsi). Wei makes a strong case for the compatibility of these viewpoints in a 1387 preface to a two-*chüan* edition of what came to be known as the 10-ch. HY 712 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-i* 集義 [Collective Interpretations of the *Tao-te ching*]. Another preface dated 1393 by the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'u 張宇初 (1361–1410) reinforces Wei's stand. Whereas Master Chang speaks of the many ways in which the teachings of the *Tao-te ching* may be applied internally and externally, Wei states more succinctly that the *Wu-ch'ien wen* 五千文, or *Five Thousand Words*, of Lao-tzu offers the essentials for cultivating one's person and regulating the state (*hsiu-shen chih-kuo chih yao* 修身治國之要). The text, according to him, moreover, is to be regarded as the ancestor of all Taoist scriptures as well as the ultimate source of all writings associated with the Three Teachings. While acknowledging imperial patronage of the faith and the required recitation of the scripture by candidates for ordination, Wei observes that during his time the populace in general was unacquainted with Lao-tzu's teachings.

Thus, in an effort to introduce a broader audience to the *Tao-te ching*, Wei began collating Ho-shang Kung's commentary together with texts dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. A list of eleven commentaries in addition to that of Ho-shang Kung is appended to his preface. Those whose works are still extant include Su Ch'e 蘇轍 (1039–1112), Lin Hsi-i 林希逸 (*chin-shih*, 1235), Wu Ch'eng (1249–1333), Tung Ssu-ching (fl. 1246–1260), and Li Tao-ch'un (fl. 1288–1290).⁶³² The six commentators whose works have otherwise been lost are Ch'ao Chiung 晁迥 (951–1034), Lü Chih-ch'ang 呂知常 (fl. 1188), Liu Shih-li 劉師立 (fl. 1194), Ni Ssu 倪思 (1147–1220), Ch'ai Yüan-ko 柴元臯 (fl. 1288), and Ho Hsin-shan 何心山 (fl. 1387). An examination of the text itself reveals that Wei consulted other sources as well. He cites, for example, passages from a Mr. Wang 王氏 and a Mr. Lu 陸氏, which prove to be the glosses of Wang Pi 王弼 (226–249) and Lu Te-ming 陸德明 (556–627).⁶³³ Wei also draws on the *Hsü*

Tzu-chih t'ung-chien [ch'ang-pien] 續資治通鑑 [長編] of Li Tao 李燾, (1115–1184), and the writings of Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and Ch'in Kuan 秦觀 (1049–1100).⁶³⁴ Of the commentaries in his core list, he relies most heavily on the later ones dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Lü Chih-ch'ang is the only Sung writer cited at any length. Those whom he favors closer to his own generation are Lin Hsi-i, Wu Ch'eng, Li Tao-ch'un, and Ho Hsin-shan. The commentators less frequently mentioned, such as Liu Shih-li, Ni Ssu, and Ch'ai Yüan-kao, generally express sympathy with the teachings of Chu Hsi.⁶³⁵ While Wei himself had no apparent conflict with their approach, he did find it necessary to point out the obvious influence of Chu Hsi on at least one commentator, namely Wu Ch'eng.⁶³⁶ As his commentary suggests, he seems to have been concerned with identifying the common legacy of the Three Teachings. Even so, Wei includes few passages that reflect the heritage of Buddhist teachings.⁶³⁷

Two centuries later the expert bibliophile Chiao Hung 焦竑 (1541–1620) of Chiang-ning 江寧 (Kiangsu) compiled the 6-ch. HY 1475 *Lao-tzu i* 老子翼 [Wings to the *Lao-tzu*] and the 8+1-ch. HY 1476 *Chuang-tzu i* 莊子翼 [Wings to the *Chuang-tzu*]. These texts are the last two works printed in the *Hsü Tao-tsang*. Both have been substantially abridged by the editors of the Canon. Neither of Chiao's prefaces, dating to 1587 and 1588, respectively, is recorded. According to the *Lao-tzu i* preface, Chiao was led to make a study of the *Tao-te ching* following several discussions on the text with his friend Chai Te-fu 翟德孚.⁶³⁸ Chiao reports that his method was to read a copy of the *Lao-tzu* from his personal library side by side with 64 works in the *Tao-tsang*, a list of which is provided in editions available outside the Canon. All 81 units of the *Tao-te ching* are immediately followed by a glossary of terms based on Chiao's outside reading. In the full version of the text, the introductory analysis for each passage of the *Tao-te ching* is amplified by extensive quotations from a wide range of commentaries. The *Lao-tzu i* of the *Tao-tsang*, however, follows up merely with the notes of Su Ch'e for every unit but the 28th, where the commentary of Lü Chi-fu 呂吉甫 (fl. 1078–1085) is cited instead. The only other annotations included in the Canon edition are those of Chiao Hung himself, which appear under the label "Pi-sheng" 筆乘 [Author's Notes] at the close of altogether sixteen units. It is clear from the selection of quotations in the initial glosses of the first chapter alone that Chiao also drew on sources outside

the Canon. Interspersed among passages from the works of Wang Pi, Ch'en Ching-yüan, and Ting I-tung, for example, are citations from the *K'ao-kung chi* 考工記 of the *Chou li* 周禮 and from Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什.⁶³⁹ Chiao's work is of considerable value for reconstructing commentaries no longer extant, such as the *Lao-tzu hui-chu* 老子彙註 of Shao Pien 邵弁 (fl. 1131–1162).⁶⁴⁰ The Ssu-k'ü editors characterize Chiao's discussions as far-fetched, the result of what they consider to be his misguided efforts to trace the inspiration of both Lao-tzu and Śākyamuni back to Confucius.

The last two chapters of the *Lao-tzu i* are *fu-lu* 附錄, or supplements, based on a collection of readings reminiscent of the two supplements to P'eng Ssu's work. The first part of chapter 5 includes extracts from a variety of sources, ranging from historical and narrative accounts to epigraphy, on the life of Lao-tzu and the early history of the *Tao-te ching*. A partial roster of the sources Chiao consulted can be derived from the subsequent biographies and the prefaces of commentators, beginning with Wang Pi and ending with Li Hung-fu 李宏甫 (fl. 1574). Chapter 6 closes with a "*Lao-tzu k'ao-i*" 老子考異 [An Investigation of Textual Variants in the *Lao-tzu*], compiled according to a collation of several redactions of the text, including a stone inscription.

The *Chuang-tzu i* is reputed to be the culmination of Chiao's close reading of 48 texts. The 1607 imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611), which authorized the emendation and printing of the text in the Canon, appear at the close of chapters 5 and 8. Whereas the original text includes commentaries dating from Kuo Hsiang 郭象 (d. 312) to Fang Yang 方揚 (fl. 1581), the redaction Master Chang approved cites little more than the annotations of Kuo and Chiao himself. According to the Ssu-k'ü editors, the full version of the *Chuang-tzu i* calls most frequently on the writings of Kuo Hsiang, Lü Hui-ch'ing 呂惠卿 (1031–1100), Ch'u Po-hsiu 褚伯秀 (ca. 1230–after 1287), Lo Mien-tao 羅勉道 (d. 1367), and Lu Hsi-hsing 陸西星 (fl. 1578).⁶⁴¹ The 1-ch. Supplement following chapter 8, which is reproduced intact in the Canon, includes seven texts: (1) the *Shih chi* biography of Chuang-tzu, (2) Juan Chi's 阮籍 (210–263) "[Ta-]Chuang lun" [達]莊論 [A Discourse on Summing Up the *Chuang-tzu*], (3) Wang An-shih's 王安石 (1021–1086) "*Chuang-tzu lun*" 莊子論 [A Discourse on the *Chuang-tzu*], (4) Su Shih's 蘇軾 "*Chuang-tzu tz'u-t'ang chi*" 莊子祠堂記 [An Account of the Ancestral Hall of Chuang-tzu], dated 1078,

(5) P'an Yu's 潘佑 (938–973) "Tseng-pieh" 曾別 [Farewell Address], inspired by Chuang-tzu, (6) Wang P'ang's 王雱 (1042–1076) "Tsa-shuo" 雜說 [Miscellaneous Discussions], based on the sayings of Chuang-tzu, and (7) Li Shih-piao's 李士表 "Chuang-tzu chiu-lun" 莊子九論 [Nine Discourses on the *Chuang-tzu*]. The full texts of the latter two selections appear elsewhere in the *Tao-tsang*. Li's analyses are found in HY 1253 *Chuang Lieh shih-lun* 莊列十論 [Ten Discourses on the *Chuang-tzu* and *Lieh-tzu*].⁶⁴² Wang's text is recorded in HY 744 *Nan-hua chen-ching shih-i* 南華真經拾遺 [Remnant Notes on the *Nan-hua chen-ching*], a supplement to his 20-ch. HY 743 *Nan-hua chen-ching hsin-chuan* 新傳 [A New Account of the *Nan-hua chen-ching*].⁶⁴³

Encyclopedic Compilations

The 20-ch. HY 1010 *Chen-kao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfect-ed] compiled by T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景 (456–536) in 499 is among the earliest encyclopedic collectanea of literature in the Canon.⁶⁴⁴ T'ao's anthology of the Shang-ch'ing revelations bestowed upon Yang Hsi 楊羲 (b. 330) and the Hsü 許 lineage of Chien-k'ang 建康 (Kiangsu) has been succeeded by a number of categorically organized works. A recluse named Wang Hsüan-ho 王懸和 (fl. 683) compiled two such compendia, the 4-ch. HY 1124 *Shang-ch'ing tao-lei shih-hsiang* 上清道類事相 [A Categorical Survey of the Tao of Shang-ch'ing] and the 10-ch. HY 1131 *San-tung chu-nang* 三洞珠囊 [A Satchel of Pearls from the Three Caverns].⁶⁴⁵ The second, larger, work is a record of citations distributed under 34 headings covering various contemplative practices and behavioral codes. The *Shang-ch'ing tao-lei shih-hsiang* is a more specialized work, based on a selection of writings concerning six types of sacred chambers. Both texts appear to have been compiled as handbooks for fellow adepts.

By far the largest encyclopedic anthology attempted in pre-Sung times is the 100-ch. HY 1130 *Wu-shang pi-yao* 無上祕要 [The Essentials of Unsurpassed Arcana].⁶⁴⁶ The editors of this work remain anonymous, but it is known to have been compiled at the order of Chou Wu-ti 周武帝 (r. 561–578), apparently as part of an effort to signal the eventual political and ideological reunification of the empire. While only approximately two-thirds of the text survives, the table of contents reveals that it originally encompassed 288 headings, from cosmology to the protocols for transmitting divine revelations. It is an invaluable reposi-

tory of Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao writings in particular but preserves very little of the Cheng-i literature circulating in the sixth century. Just how much this work may have influenced later compilations is difficult to say, but certainly it supplied a model for others to emulate.

The value of encyclopedic compilations rests foremost in their preservation of large bodies of literature that are otherwise difficult or impossible to retrieve. They allow the dating of many texts that appear separately in the Canon without any indication of provenance. Each encyclopedic anthology, or *lei-shu* 類書, is a product of its age. Both the selection of texts cited and the organization of that material have much to reveal about the outlook of an individual editor and the audience he seeks to address. The demand for such works is not always easy to discern. But the urge to compile digests of vast collections of writings has long been documented in Chinese literary history, no doubt in part a response to the demands of the civil service examination system. Whatever their various motives might have been, the compilers of literary condensations inevitably helped to reinforce if not determine prevailing standards of selection. Redundancy is nearly unavoidable in such collectanea, but individual citations need only be restored to their original social context to be appreciated for their innate vitality.

1. The *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* of Chang Chün-fang

The largest collectaneum printed in the *Tao-tsang* is the 122-ch. HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 雲笈七籤 [Seven Lots from the Bookbag of the Clouds] compiled by Chang Chün-fang 張君房 (fl. 1008–1029), supervisor of the printing of the 1019 Canon.⁶⁴⁷ The work was apparently intended to serve as a personal reference work for Sung Chen-tsung 宋真宗 (r. 993–1022), under whose command the preparation of a new *Tao-tsang* was achieved. Chang summarizes his own work on the project in an undated preface to the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*, but internal evidence suggests that he did not complete the anthology itself until 1028 or 1029, and, thus, could only present it in the end to Sung Jen-tsung 宋仁宗 (r. 1023–1063).⁶⁴⁸ There is some question regarding the extent to which the work has been altered since the writing of the preface. Chang speaks, first of all, of a compilation totaling 120 instead of 122 *chüan*. There appears to be an even more significant discrepancy between the original organization of the text and its present format. The *ch'i-ch'ien*, or “seven lots,” are said by Chang to reflect the seven-part division of the Canon,

but in fact the arrangement of the work as it is preserved in the Canon and elsewhere does not correspond to this traditional bibliographic categorization of scriptural traditions. Chang's allusion to the Manichae-an writings in the Fukien archives, moreover, has led to the expectation that such texts are to be found in the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*. None, however, has been identified.⁶⁴⁹ Early fragments of the text printed in fascicles of the 1244 edition of the Canon which are preserved in the National Library of Peking and the Palace Museum collection of Taipei reveal chapter divisions consistent with those of the redaction in the 1444-45 *Tao-tsang*.⁶⁵⁰ Thus, if Chang's encyclopedic anthology was radically altered, the changes seem most likely to have taken place sometime between 1114, the date a recompilation of the Canon was begun during Sung Hui-tsung's reign, and 1244.

There has also been some disagreement over whether the text should be considered an abridged version of the Canon of 1019. The Ssu-k'u editors, in agreement with Sung bibliographers, promoted the view that after Chang submitted the Canon in 1019, he selected altogether 10,000 essential items from the work in the compilation of the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*.⁶⁵¹ But Schipper concludes that it cannot be regarded as a digest of the early Sung Canon because it does not include any liturgical programmes for *chai* 齋 retreats and *chiao*-fêtes.⁶⁵² Strickmann contends, on the other hand, that the lack of such texts reflects the more conservative ritual traditions of an earlier time, and he thus views the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* as the mark of the end of an era, the harbinger of the massive ritual innovations that began with Sung Hui-tsung's reign.⁶⁵³ I would suggest that the dearth of ritual materials actually reflects no more and no less than the nature of the compilation which, in Chang's own words, was meant simply to provide "bedtime reading" for the emperor.⁶⁵⁴ It seems unlikely, in my opinion, that liturgical manuals ever would have figured in such a text. The question of just how closely Chang's monumental work otherwise may have tallied with the contents of the 1019 Canon invites further consideration.

Regardless of the degree to which the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* parallels the Canon of Sung Chen-tsung's reign, the fact remains that the majority of texts Chang includes evoke an earlier epoch, for his sources largely date to the Six Dynasties and the T'ang. Among the exceptions are a few *nei-tan* works dating to the Five Dynasties as well as three prefaces by Sung Chen-tsung and Wang Ch'in-jo's account of the state guardi-

an.⁶⁵⁵ Among the more remarkable contributions of Chang's anthology is his collection of protochemical writings together with various instructions on ancillary macrobiotic techniques, including the pursuit of *chintan*, or the metallous enchymoma.⁶⁵⁶ The *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* is also an indispensable repository of works associated with the formative years of early revelatory traditions. Incorporated within the opening essays on cosmogony and scriptural transmissions (ch. 1–9), for example, are copies of 5th-century prefaces to the earliest catalogues of both Shang-ch'ing and Ling-pao literature.⁶⁵⁷ In the selection of scriptures that follows (ch. 10–20) are recorded similarly rare redactions of manuals on contemplative practices critical to the development of both traditions. Chang also explores in depth the foundations of these and cognate scriptural legacies, citing an extensive library of texts, both paraphrastically and in extenso, under a series of topical headings. Among the subjects covered are cosmology (ch. 21–22), astral meditation (ch. 23–25), topography of sacred space (ch. 26–28), birth and destiny (ch. 29–31), hygiene, diet, and physical therapy (ch. 32–36), codes of behavior (ch. 37–40), ritual purification (ch. 41), techniques of visualization (ch. 42–44), additional instructions on the cultivation of perfection and miscellaneous applications (ch. 45–53), control of the vital forces of the body (ch. 54–55), embryonic respiration (ch. 56–62), *chin-tan/nei-tan* (ch. 63–73), prescriptive pharmaceuticals (ch. 74–78), talismans and diagrams (ch. 79–80), *keng-shen* 庚申 lore, (ch. 81–83), *shih-chieh* 尸解, or corpse liberation (ch. 84–86), theoretical issues, such as whether divine transcendence can be learned (ch. 87–95), selections of verse (ch. 96–99), chronicles (ch. 100–102), and hagiography (ch. 103–122).⁶⁵⁸ Never in the literary history of Taoism has anyone synthesized under one title such a breadth of material. There is no other source comparable to the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* in the Canon.

2. The *Tao shu* of Tseng Ts'ao

Two remarkable collectanea specializing in *nei-tan* writings appeared during the Southern Sung. The earlier one, the 42-ch. HY 1011 *Tao shu* 道樞 [Pivot of the Tao], was compiled by the bibliophile Tseng Ts'ao 曾慥 (fl. 1131–1155) of Chin-chiang 晉江 (Fukien). Tseng enjoyed a conventional career as a government servant, first as a *Shang-shu lang* 尚書郎, or Secretary to the Prime Minister, and later as the magistrate of Ch'ien-chou 虔州 (Kiangsi), Ching-nan 荊南 (Hupeh), and Lu-



Fig. 22. Animals symbolic of the four directions. Sketch based on HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*, 72.3a-4b. The depictions of the Blue-Green Dragon of the East, the White Tiger of the West, the Vermilion Bird of the South, and the Black Warrior (symbolized by the tortoise and snake) of the North, are included in a *nei-tan* text entitled *Ta huan-tan ch'i pi-t'u* 大還丹契秘圖 [Secret Illustrations of the Documents on the Great Regenerative Enchymoma]. Although no indication of authorship is given, van der Loon (1984: 162) notes that Sung bibliographies ascribe the text to a Ts'ao-i-tzu 草衣子 or a Tung-chen-tzu 洞真子, the name that appears with the citation immediately following in the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien*.

chou 廬州 (Anhui).⁶⁵⁹ Best known among his literary accomplishments is the 60-ch. *Lei-shuo* 類說 [Classified Sayings], an anthology of quotations drawn from over two hundred works dating from the Han to the Sung.⁶⁶⁰ The *Tao shu* similarly demonstrates Tseng's bibliographic expertise and his critical capacity as an editor. Included in the work is a wide selection of writings from the Han to the early twelfth century under 108 headings, each of which is summarized by a rhyming quatrain.⁶⁶¹ Tseng's own comments and essays based on his extensive reading are interspersed throughout under the nom de plume Chih-yu-tzu 致游子 (Ultimate Wanderer). Particularly noteworthy is the text he prints under the title *Ts'an-t'ung ch'i* 參同契, a version strikingly different from the standard edition of this resource on *nei-tan* procedures.⁶⁶² Those linked to the Nan-tsung legacy whose writings were inspired by this work, such as Ch'en T'uan 陳搏 (d. 989), Liu Ts'ao 劉棻 (fl. 1031), and Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (d. 1082?), are well represented in the *Tao shu*, as are a number of lesser known formulators of *nei-tan* theory from an earlier generation, including Li Kuang-hsuan 李光玄, Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善 (616–720/722?), Liu Chih-ku 劉知古 (fl. 713–755), and Shih Chien-wu 施肩吾 (fl. 820). Of note among later contributions is the set of twelve verses extracted from a series of one hundred *lü-shih* that Chang Wu-meng 張無夢 (fl. 985–1065) of T'ien-t'ai 天台 (Chekiang) composed under the title "Huan-yüan shih" 還元詩 [Verses on Reverting to Primordality].⁶⁶³ Chang, as mentioned earlier, was the putative disciple of Liu Ts'ao. His discourse on *chin-tan* practice in these verses invites comparison with the writings of his most eminent protégé, the exegete Ch'en Ching-yüan 陳景元 (1025–1094). Tseng also devotes a considerable portion of his anthology to the writings ascribed to the semi-legendary Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Yen, with a special emphasis on the dialogic tradition associated with them. In addition to including the *Pai-wen p'ien* 百問篇 [A Folio of One Hundred Questions] and the *Ch'uan-tao p'ien* 傳道篇 [A Folio on the Transmission of the Tao] cited above, he records the entire text of the *Ling-pao p'ien* 靈寶篇 [A Folio on Ling-pao] in the last chapter of the *Tao shu*. A variant redaction of this work is separately printed in the Canon as the 3-ch. HY 1182 *Pi-ch'uan Cheng-yang chen-jen ling-pao pi-fa* 秘傳正陽真人靈寶畢法 [A Secret Transmission of the Conclusive Rites of Ling-pao According to the Perfected Cheng-yang].⁶⁶⁴

Tseng's own views about the diverse teachings falling under the rubric of *nei-tan* vary markedly.⁶⁶⁵ Certain aspects of this contemplative pursuit he praised and others he condemned. Most well known perhaps are his criticisms of the sexual rites outlined in Ts'ui Hsi-fan's 崔希範 (fl. 940) *Ju-yao ching* 入藥鏡 [A Mirror on the Induction of Pharmaceuticals]. A copy of this text and Tseng's summary are found in *chüan* 37. Elsewhere, within an earlier discussion in the *Tao shu*, Tseng expresses his disdain for Ts'ui's instruction on *yü-nü chih chan* 御女之戰, or the "battle" of copulation with women. Such practices, the so-called *Huang-ch'ih chih Tao* 黃赤之道, or Teachings of the Yellow and Red, Tseng claims, had been abandoned long before his time. There is in fact no trace of such passages in the *Ju-yao ching* he reproduces in *chüan* 37. Thus, while Tseng apparently had access to an unexpurgated version of the text, he, as did many of his counterparts, declined to make it available to his readers.⁶⁶⁶

3. The *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*

Two variant editions of the *Ju-yao ching* as well as additional writings of Tseng Ts'ao are among the texts incorporated into a collectaneum dating a century later, the 60-ch. HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書 [Ten Compilations on the Cultivation of Perfection]. One version of Ts'ui Hsi-fan's text is printed under the title *T'ien-yüan ju-yao ching* 天元入藥鏡 [A Mirror of Celestial Primordality on the Induction of Pharmaceuticals], with a preface of the author dated 940.⁶⁶⁷ It is succeeded, somewhat ironically, by a series of verses entitled "Ch'üan Tao ko" 籙力道歌 [Songs in Exhortation of the Tao] that were exchanged by Tseng and an instructor in K'uei-chou 夔州 (Szechwan) named Wang Ch'eng-hsü 王承緒. In their advice to avoid fermented beverages and to curb avarice and passion, these didactic communications offer more background on the foundation of Tseng's conservatism. Such instructions, together with an emphasis on the innate kinship of the Three Teachings, moreover, recall the precepts of Ch'üan-chen patriarchs.⁶⁶⁸

The anonymous compiler of the *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* appears to have been particularly interested in pointing out the common ground between Ch'an instruction and the legacy of Chang Po-tuan. As mentioned earlier, this anthology is foremost a repository of writings associated with the Nan-tsung patriarchy.⁶⁶⁹ The most outstanding collection of materials in the entire text by far is found in chapter 30. This chapter, which



Fig. 23. The bellows and tuyère of the metallous enchymoma. Sketch based on HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, 9.7a. This symbolic representation of the creation of the enchymoma within the body is recorded in the *Chin-tan tach'eng* of Hsiao T'ing-chih (fl. 1260). For a discussion of the diagram and the accompanying "Song of the Bellows and Tuyère," see Needham and Lu 1983: 120-121.

is intended to serve as a résumé of the *Wu-chen p'ien* of Chang Po-tuan (ch. 26-29), is exclusively devoted to Ch'an. The teachings of Chang's corpus, according to an unsigned introductory statement, are threefold: first, to induce the cultivation of transmutation by means of the techniques ordained by divine transcendents (先以神仙命術誘其修鍊); next, to expand upon communication with the divine by means of the wondrous applications of the several Buddhas (次以諸佛妙用廣其神通); and, in the end, to banish illusion by means of an absolute awakening, thereby resulting in a return to the primal wellsprings of ultimate immateriality (終以真如覺性遣其幻妄而歸於究竟空寂之本源矣). Outside of an essay on the *San-hsüeh* 三學, or Three

Studies, entitled “Chieh ting hui chieh” 戒定慧解 [An Explication of *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*], the texts that follow are all verses, ranging from heptasyllabic quatrains to lengthy *ko* 歌 songs. Included is a tribute to the Ch’an Master Hsüeh-tou 雪竇禪師, i.e., Ch’ung-hsien 重顯 (980–1052), composed after reading an anthology of his writings. Those with any insight, the unnamed author of a postface concludes, will find after examining the *Wu-chen p’ien* that Chang was a beneficiary of the highest level of instruction, namely, that of the six patriarchs of Ch’an from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng 慧能 (638–713). With that remarkable declaration, the subdivision of the *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* labeled *Wu-chen p’ien* ends.

Among the latest collections of writings preserved in this collectaneum is the *Chin-tan ta-ch’eng chi* 金丹大成集 [An Anthology on the Great Completion of the Metallous Enchymoma] of Hsiao T’ing-chih 蕭廷芝 (fl. 1260), a second-generation disciple of Pai Yü-ch’an, whose own works dominate a full 22 chapters.⁶⁷⁰ Hsiao’s writings are modeled in part on the sequences of verse found in the *Wu-chen p’ien*. The text opens with several diagrams in illustration of the principles of *chin-tan*.⁶⁷¹ The “Chin-tan wen-ta” 金丹問答 [Questions and Answers Concerning the Metallous Enchymoma] recorded thereafter is based largely on the sayings of five generations of Nan-tsung patriarchs, from Chang to Pai. The closing chapter is set aside for Hsiao’s annotations to the “Ch’in-yüan ch’un” 沁園春 *tz’u* lyric associated with Lü Yen and to the *Ju-yao ching*, the second version of the text to appear in the *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*.⁶⁷²

While Hsiao, as noted earlier, compiled a joint roster of Nan-tsung and Ch’üan-chen patriarchs, there is no apparent evidence that he drew inspiration from the latter.⁶⁷³ It is of some significance, however, to find that one text linked to the Ch’üan-chen legacy is included in the *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, that is, the *P’an Shan yü-lu* 盤山語錄 [Dialogic Treatise of P’an Shan].⁶⁷⁴ This record of Wang Chih-chin’s 王志瑾 (1178–1263) teachings, discussed above, is printed separately in the Canon, with a preface dated 1247 by a disciple named Lun Chih-huan 論志煥.⁶⁷⁵ No clue concerning the provenance of the abridged version is given in the *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*. It immediately precedes the final corpus of texts to be preserved in the collectaneum, a full seven chapters centered around the venerable *Huang-t’ing ching* 黃庭經 [Yellow Court Scripture].⁶⁷⁶ The fact that editions of this early scripture, so prominent

in the Shang-ch'ing revelatory tradition, appear here attests to its importance as a resource to the codification of *nei-tan* terminology. Clearly, the compilers of this eclectic anthology disclose an extraordinarily broad perception of the textual history of *nei-tan*. Further research into the origins of this work will no doubt unveil some of the mystery not only behind the admission of Ch'üan-chen and Nan-tsung teachings under the same title, but also behind the forthright presentation of Ch'an writings, a synthesis apparently without precedent in the Canon.⁶⁷⁷

4. Ming Reference Works

Large collectanea on the order of the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* or even the *Tao shu* do not seem to have been produced after the Sung, or, if they were, they have not survived. During the Ming, however, smaller, more general encyclopedic references on Taoist traditions began to appear in print. One such text is the 8-ch. HY 1472 *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e* 天皇至道太清玉冊 [The Jade Fascicles of T'ai-ch'ing on the Ultimate Tao of the Celestial Sovereign]. This modest compilation proves to be an indispensable compendium on the beliefs and practices of the early Ming empire as seen through the eyes of a member of the imperial house. The editor of the work identifies himself merely by the sobriquet Ch'ü-hsien 矚人山, or Gaunt Transcendent. This is the pseudonym adopted by Chu Ch'üan 朱權 (1378–1448), the sixteenth son of Chu Yüan-chang, founder of the Ming. Theater was by all accounts Chu's main passion, for he not only compiled anthologies of *ch'ü* 曲 arias, but is also said to have authored twelve *tsa-chü* 雜劇 plays.

Chu's preface to the *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e* is dated the ninth day of the first lunar month of 1444. Had it been completed earlier, his text would presumably have been included in the new edition of the Canon begun initially under the auspices of his older brother, Ming Ch'eng-tsu (r. 1403–1424). It is preserved instead in the *Hsü Tao-tsang* Supplement of 1607. According to Chu's introductory statement, this anthology is to be viewed as the product of several decades of mature reflection. He recalls vividly the day when at the age of eleven he was approached by an old woman dressed in blue who cautioned him never to forget the past. Only after some sixty years, Chu confides, did he find himself ready, literally, to open his mouth. With this text, he seeks to convey a sense of the history of what he calls the *T'ien-huang chih ta Tao* 天皇之大道 (Great Tao of the Celestial Sovereign) or,

more simply, the *T'ien Tao* 天道 (Way of Heaven). While he acknowledges the contributions of both Lao-tzu and Confucius in articulating the principles behind the *T'ien Tao*, Chu traces the origins of these teachings ultimately back to Huang-ti 黃帝, the Yellow Emperor, whom he calls *Tao-tsu* 道祖, or Ancestor of the Tao. Above all else, he stresses the Chinese origins of the *T'ien Tao* and its vast superiority over any of the lesser teachings associated with non-Chinese peoples. Although the Jurchens are the only ones singled out for direct criticism in the opening essay, Chu was clearly responding to more immediate constraints of his age. His closing comments reveal, for example, that he sought to counter those who advocated the wholesale destruction of the teachings of the Ju heritage. Chu reminds his readership that it was Lao-tzu who taught that rivalry was characteristic of inferior, not superior, gentlemen. Further research on the author and his text will doubtless uncover the various factions that provoked this admonition.

The eight chapters of the *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e* are subdivided into a series of nineteen *chang* 章, or sections.⁶⁷⁸ Chapter 1 opens with essays on cosmogony, presented as discussions under headings ranging from *T'ien Tao* to various meteorological and astronomical terms. Immediately following this section on "K'ai-pi t'ien-ti" 開闢天地 [Cleaving Open the Heavens and Earth] is a sequence of entries under the title "Tao-chiao yüan-liu" 道教源流 [On the Source and Diffusion of Taoist Teachings]. Included in this segment are hagiographic accounts of Lao-tzu together with a chronicle of his transmission of sacred writings from the Ch'in to the Sung. Of considerable interest are the closing entries of the Nan-p'ai 南派 (Southern Branch) and the Pei-p'ai 北派 (Northern Branch). Although the term *Nan-tsung* is not used here, the Southern Branch is traced back from Pai Yü-ch'an beyond the traditionally identified Nan-tsung patriarchs Liu Ts'ao, Lü Yen, and Chung-li Ch'üan to Chao Sheng 趙昇, a renowned disciple of Chang Tao-ling. The entry on the Northern Branch, on the other hand, pursues the history of contemporary Ch'üan-chen teachings only as far back as the founder Wang Che.

Chapter 2 follows up with an inventory of sacred texts and ordination registers, supplemented by accounts of the infamous book burnings during the Mongol regime. Chu also inserts repeated reminders that the people of China must revere the teachings of China. The five headings of chapter 3 offer instruction on the various patterns for pacing constella-

tions, the ritual protocols of *chiao*-fêtes, an enumeration of ritual traditions and the ranks of office, as well as regulations governing the activities of *fa-kuan* 法官 (Ritual Officers). The party of functionaries at a *chiao*-fête and the hierarchy of members in Taoist communities are spelled out in chapter 4, as are various behavioral codes, including, for example, the rules on offering the seat of honor to Buddhist monks who visit Taoist temples and, in turn, to Taoist Masters who visit Buddhist temples. Chu reiterates that rivalry should be forbidden and also counsels that the people of China should uphold the teachings of China and not turn their backs on the country in which they were born to follow alien teachings. The terminology for various temple structures is introduced in chapter 5. Also recorded are the proper terms of reference for divine powers as well as details on ritual music and accoutrements, and the placement of images, pennants, lanterns, and various offerings. Most remarkable of all in this chapter is a set of instructions on a Ch'üan-chen meditation rite called *tso-po* 坐鉢 (Seated within the Almsbowl).⁶⁷⁹ The regulations governing this contemplative exercise, scheduled for three ninety-day periods of the year, invite comparison with the practice of *tso-Ch'an* 坐禪.

Chapter 6 opens with explanations on items of ritual garb and utensils. Subsequent essays cover a wide selection of topics, including the controversial *hua-hu* 化胡 theory and the religious traditions of non-Chinese communities, such as the shamanistic practices of Korea. Also recorded here is a list of sixteen rules on conduct, including, for example, the prohibition of sexual intercourse for Taoist Masters seeking transcendence, one violation of which is said to negate the strength of an entire year's pharmaceutical intake. An unusually comprehensive calendar of holy days dominates chapter 7, with notations on the days of birth and ascent for numerous deities and cult figures as well as the dates on which their epiphany is anticipated.⁶⁸⁰ A large portion of chapter 8 is devoted to numerical terminology, from *i-li* 一理 (one principle) to *ch'i-shih-erh fu-ti* 七十二福地 (72 prosperous regions). At the close of this lexicon is a tabulation of the appropriate offerings for *chiao*-fêtes, including various dried meats and *tou-fu* as well as fermented beverages and teas. Throughout the text, Chu draws widely on a diverse assortment of readings, from the *Chen-kao* and *Shen-hsien chuan* 神仙傳 [Biographies of Divine Transcendents] to imperial decrees and the collected writings of Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249–1333). The copy printed in

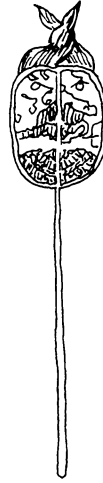


Fig. 24. Ritual implements of the Ming. Sketch based on HY 1472 *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e*, 5.19b-23a. The silken pennants, fan, and lantern are among the standards carried by acolytes in ritual processions, according to Chu Ch'üan. As indicated by the labels, the phoenix-drawn chaise served as a censer, whereas the dragon-drawn chariot was designed to hold an icon.

the *Tao-tsang* apparently came from Chu's personal library, for his own seals are reproduced in the introductory materials. This edition, like many such texts, ends with a note advising that anyone undertaking the publication of the work who is void of transgressions can expect to add twelve years to his life as well as to guarantee the prosperity of three future generations.

The latest text cited in Chu Ch'üan's handbook appears to be the HY 1222 *Tao-men shih-kuei* 道門十規 [Ten Statutes Regarding the Gateway of the Tao].⁶⁸¹ This concise treatise is the work of the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ü 張宇初 (1361–1410). Master Chang evidently submitted the text to Ming Ch'eng-tsu sometime in the latter half of 1406. According to his statement of presentation, the compilation came about as the result of Chang's commission to collate Taoist texts, an appointment that led eventually to a new edition of the Canon.⁶⁸² In surveying the collection of literature in the imperial archives, Chang concluded that certain guidelines had to be established. The content of this manual suggests that he was as much interested in ensuring the welfare of Taoist institutions as he was in setting standards for the compilation of a new Canon. Whereas the initial essays trace the history of Taoist revelations and the codification of vast bodies of scriptural materials, the later discussions attest to Master Chang's concerns about the economic stability of Taoist communities.

In the opening essay, Chang identifies Cheng-i, Ching-ming, Ling-pao, and Shang-ch'ing simply as different names for the teachings conveyed by Lord Lao, the Most High. He follows up this account with a survey of the contents of the *San-tung* 三洞, or Three Caverns, and distinguishes two types of scriptural writings, those applied in personal cultivation and those that offer salvation to the masses.⁶⁸³ The third essay summarizes various aspects of meditative practice, particularly as pursued by Ch'üan-chen adepts. But in counseling against the confrontational approach of Ch'an, Chang provides a reading list on *wai-tan* and *nei-tan* that reflects the predominant influence of writings associated with the Nan-tsung legacy.⁶⁸⁴ The fourth and fifth essays address various liturgical matters, including the diverse ritual codes on the performance of *chai* 齋 retreats and *chiao*-fêtes as well as the history of Thunder Rites such as Ch'ing-wei and Shen-hsiao. In the subsequent two discussions, Chang offers advice on the qualities required of an abbot and the implications underlying the abandonment of one's home for study of the Tao.

Finally, Chang devotes the closing three essays to the role of the state vis-à-vis the maintenance of temple grounds. Among the issues covered are the official authorization of monastic estates, the rate of taxation, and the need for carefully timed programmes of restoration. Whether or not Chang's guidelines influenced the formulation of imperial policy is difficult to determine. There is no question, however, that his influence as the first editor-in-chief of the Ming Canon was far-reaching. Although he was unable to see the enterprise through to its completion, Chang's *Tao-men shih-kuei* gives some indication of the understanding he had of the diversity of Taoist ritual practices prevailing in his era. The state of the 1444–45 Canon can be regarded in part as a reflection of the degree to which this Cheng-i patriarch was able to bring order out of disorder.

Epilogue

In closing, I would like to point out some additional research aids, including forthcoming and ongoing publications, for Taoist studies. A broader perspective on the field as a whole can be derived from a number of bibliographies. An early index to Western-language sources is found in Michel Soymié and F. Litsch's "Bibliographie du taoïsme: Études dans les langues occidentales" (1968 and 1971), which, although outdated, is still a valuable reference. A much less accurate and less complete list of Western-language secondary sources is found in Donna Au and Sharon Rowe, "Bibliography of Taoist Studies" (1977). An especially useful bibliography of Japanese research is Sakai Tadao's 酒井忠夫 *Dōkyō kenkyū bunken mokuroku [Nihon] 道教研究文献目録[日本]*, produced on mimeo by the author in Tokyo in 1972 and organized under nine subject headings. A more current index to Chinese periodical literature on Taoist studies, compiled by Yang Kuang-wen 楊光文, is included in the *Tsung-chiao hsueh yen-chiu lun-chi 宗教學研究論集*, a 1985 publication of the University of Szechwan. But for the most comprehensive bibliography of both Oriental and Western language literature on the subject, the third volume of *Dōkyō*, edited by Fukui Kōjun et al., is indispensable.

As mentioned earlier, Sakai and Noguchi Tetsurō prepared a survey of Japanese scholarship on Taoism for *Facets of Taoism*, edited by Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (1979) and its counterpart, the *Dōkyō no sōgōteki kenkyū 道教の総合的研究*, edited by Sakai Tadao (1977). These two volumes were derived largely from the proceedings of the Second International Conference on Taoist Studies held in Tateshina in September 1972. A selection of the papers from the first conference in September 1968 is printed in *History of Religions* (Nov. 1969–Feb. 1970), together with a review of the sessions by Holmes H. Welch entitled "The Bellagio Conference on Taoist Studies." Contributions to a third conference held at Unterägeri in September 1979 are summarized in Nathan Sivin, "A Report on the Third International Conference on

Taoist Studies" (1979). Three of the papers abstracted there have been published as larger monographs, namely, John Lagerwey's *Wu-shang pi-yao* (1981), Barbara Kandel's *Taiping Jing* (1979), and Ch'en Kuo-fu's *Tao-tsang yüan-liu hsü-k'ao* (1983). Others have appeared in print as separate articles, such as Erik Zürcher's "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence" (1980). Most recently, on 11–15 December 1985, the Chinese University of Hong Kong hosted an International Symposium on Studies of Taoist Rituals and Music of Today, the proceedings of which Ts'ao Pen-yeh and John Minford are editing for publication.

The best guide to recent trends in French scholarship in the field are the summaries of current seminars by Professors Soymié and Schipper published in the *Annuaire: Résumés des conférences et travaux* for the IV^e Section des historiques et philologiques and the V^e Section des sciences religieuses, respectively, by the École Pratique des Hautes Études of Paris. The journal *Tōhō shūkyō* 東方宗教, published by the Nihon Dōkyō Gakkai 日本道教学会, is likewise the best measure of research interests in Taoist traditions among Japanese scholars. There is also a remarkable resurgence of publications on Taoist subjects in the *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu* 世界宗教研究 (Peking) since 1979. Equally noteworthy are the comprehensive bibliographies of articles on religious studies in Chinese journals that are published at regular intervals in the *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao tzu-liao* 世界宗教資料 (Peking).⁶⁸⁵

Among additional forthcoming publications is the final volume of the three-volume *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*, edited by Michel Strickmann, in which, among other contributions, Schipper's revised version of "Taoist Ritual and Local Cults of the T'ang Dynasty," centering on the Hsü Sun cult, will appear. Strickmann is also editing a volume of papers, including studies on Taoist traditions, presented at a conference on ritual and theory at Berlin in June 1984, under the title *Classical Asian Rituals and the Theory of Ritual*. Another volume of papers that promises several contributions on Taoist studies is under preparation as a Festschrift for Professor Hans Steininger, under the title *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien*. Several articles on Taoist topics are also planned for *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by Mircea Eliade et al.⁶⁸⁶ Anna Seidel, moreover, has undertaken the completion of a survey of the field begun by Soymié that is based on recent Western publications and that will appear as "Chronicle of Taoist Stu-

dies in the West” in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*. A future issue of this new publication of the Kyoto section of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient will also be devoted to the theme of temples and the sites of cults in East Asia.

A number of other publications are focused on Taoist materials outside the Canon. Of great value to research on Taoist texts discovered at Tun-huang is Ōfuchi Ninji's *Tonkō Dōkyō: mokuroku hen* 敦煌道經目録編, (1978), a revised and expanded version of the earlier Kyoto (1960) edition. The accompanying volume, *Tonkō Dōkyō: zuroku hen* 敦煌道經：圖録編 (1979), provides photo reproductions of all manuscripts indexed. Among recent Japanese studies based on Tun-huang texts is a collection of essays entitled *Tonkō to Chūgoku Dōkyō* 敦煌と中国道經 (1983), complete with a full bibliography on the subject. Publications from France include a series of volumes edited by Michel Soymié, beginning with *Contributions aux études du Touen-houang* (1979), a product of the Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie of the IV^e Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études.

Another, less explored, source of manuscripts more pertinent to the history of Taoist traditions from the Sung on are the archives collected from communities in Taiwan. Two publications by Michael Saso, the *Chuang Lin Hsü Tao-tsang* 莊林緋道藏 in 25 volumes (1975) and the *Dōkyō hiketsu shūsei* 道經秘訣集成 (1978), offer a wide selection of texts gathered largely from a Cheng-i fraternity in Hsin-chu, north Taiwan. A list of manuscripts recovered from the T'ai-nan region is recorded in K. M. Schipper, “Taiwan chih Tao-chiao wen-hsien” (1966). With the publication of his *Chūgokujin no shūkyō girei* 中國人の宗教儀禮, Ōfuchi Ninji, moreover, has provided reproductions of an extensive body of Taoist ritual texts available in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Many of the manuscripts in the collections of Saso, Schipper, and Ōfuchi correspond to texts in the *Tao-tsang*. One scripture in honor of the goddess of seafarers, T'ien-fei 天妃, alias Ma-tsu 媽祖, which is preserved in Schipper's archives, for example, proves to be cognate to HY 649 *T'ai-shang Lao-chün shuo T'ien-fei chiu-k'u ling-yen ching* 太上老君言天妃救苦靈馬竅經 [Scripture of Lord Lao, the Most High, Speaking on the Numinous Efficacy of the Celestial Consort in Relieving Distress]. Internal evidence indicates that the *Tao-tsang* text was composed sometime between 1409 and 1412, whereas the manuscript appears to date to the seventeenth century. Among the more striking

differences revealed in the latter devotional recitative is the vision of the eminent Fukien goddess as an avatar of Kuan-yin. Her assimilation to the all-compassionate bodhisattva appears to reflect the same oral tradition that inspired popular narratives on the life of T'ien-fei compiled during the late Ming.⁶⁸⁷ Further studies on manuscripts in contemporary archives should reveal more about both the continuity and the adaptability of the Taoist textual heritage. The complex relation between Taoist literary traditions and folk beliefs and practices is but one of many areas inviting research for decades to come.

Addendum

In the discussion above (p. 56), I gave the provenance of the hagiographer Chao Tao-i (fl. 1294–1307) as Fou-yün Shan (Chekiang). The full identification preceding Chao's name as the compiler of HY 296 *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* reads: Fou-yün shan sheng-shou wan-nien Kuan Tao-shih 浮雲山聖壽萬年觀道士 (Taoist Master of the Abbey of the Myriad Years of Divine Longevity of Mt. Fou-yün). Kristofer Schipper kindly volunteers (personal communication, 16 March 1987) that an abbey by this precise name is mentioned in the biography of the legendary Li Pa-pai 李八百 (HY 296, 10.3b). One hagiographic tradition claims that Li ascended outside the Fou-yün Kuan 浮雲菴 (Floating Cloud Abbey) of Han-chou 漢州 (Szechwan). A variant legend places Li's ascent at the site of an abbey by the same name in Lung-hsing 隆興 (Kiangsi) which, according to Chao's closing comment, was redesignated sometime during the Sung as the Fou-yün shan sheng-shou wan-nien Kuan. Since Chao apparently thereby reveals the location of his own homestead, my reading of Fou-yün Shan as a place name should be corrected. Thus, at the time Chao Tao-i compiled his hagiography, he was a Taoist Master at the Abbey of Mt. Floating Cloud in Lung-hsing, not a Taoist Master from Fou-yün Shan (Chekiang). The sacred mountain Yü-ssu Shan, where Chao was said to have attained divine transcendence (p. 57, n129), is situated a short distance south of Lung-hsing.

Professor Schipper also reports that the tentative title for the culminating publication of the *Tao-tsang* Project is *A Handbook of the Taoist Canon*, now expected to be in print by 1989/90.

Appendix A

A Comparison of Numbering Systems in Two Indices of the Taoist Canon

Exceptions to the list of correspondences below include seven instances where the *Concordance du Tao-tsang* (CT) of Schipper gives the correct sequence for titles transposed in the *Harvard-Yenching Index* (HY). The titles cited in reverse order to their appearance in the Canon are numbered HY 503-504, 520-521, 618-619, 662-663, 1149-1150, 1170-1171, and 1273-1274. One transposition of titles occurs in the I-wen reprint of the *Concordance* under CT 143-144, an error that is not found in the original Paris edition of 1975. Concise conversion tables are recorded in van der Loon 1984: 189 and Seidel 1984: 350.

CT 1-752 = HY 1-752

CT 753 *Pei-tou ch'i-yüan chin-hsüan yü-chang* 北斗七元金玄羽章, 9 pp.; follows the 3-ch. HY 752 *T'ai-shang hsüan-ling pei-tou pen-ming yensheng chen-ching chu* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經注, annotated by Fu Tung-chen 傅洞真. Fu concludes in an undated preface that the *Pei-tou ching* is the work of either Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933) or Chang Tao-ling 張道陵 (fl. 142). Instructions for recitation of the scripture in CT 753, 7b-8b, refer to incantations in HY 752 that Fu traces ultimately to the Correct Rites of T'ien-hsin 天心正法, a revelatory tradition especially popular during the Sung.

CT 754-959 = HY 753-958 [+1]

CT 960 *Yü-chih Chen-wu Miao pei* 御製真武廟碑 (dated 1415), 3 pp.; follows HY 958/CT 959 *Ta Ming Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti jui-ying t'u-lu* 大明玄天上帝王端應圖錄, compiled after 1418.

CT 961-997 = HY 959-995 [+2]

CT 998 *Tu lung-hu ching* 讀龍虎經, 2 pp.; notes on reading HY 995/CT 997 *Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu* 古文龍虎上經注; see also HY 994/CT 996 *Ku-wen lung-hu ching chu-shu* 注疏, compiled by Wang Tao 王道 in 1185, and the discussion in SKCS 3056.

CT 999-1099 = HY 996-1006 [+3]

CT 1010 *Hsüan-p'in chih men-fu* 玄牝之門賦, 4 pp.; one *fu* and one *shih* by Yü Yen 俞琰 (1258-1314), compiler of the preceding HY 1006/CT 1009 *I-wai pieh-chuan* 易外別傳. The colophon following the verses, written by Yü's son Yü Chung-wen 俞仲溫 in 1356, once accompanied a comprehensive edition of his father's works entitled *Hsüan-hsüeh cheng-isung* 玄學正宗, the text from which the editors of the *Tao-tsang* apparently drew.

CT 1011 = HY 1007 [+4]

CT 1012 *K'ung-shan hsien-sheng I-t'u t'ung-pien hsü* 空山先生易圖通變序, 4 pp.; four prefaces to the 5-ch. HY 1008/CT 1014 *I-t'u t'ung-pien* 易圖通變 of Lei Ssu-ch'i 雷思齊 (fl. 1280-1300). The four prefaces were written by (1) 36th Celestial Master Chang Tsung-yen 張宗演 (1244-1291) in 1286, (2) Chieh Hsi-ssu 揭傒斯 (1274-1344) in 1332, (3) Wu Ch'üan-chieh 吳全節 (1269-1346) in 1332, and (4) Lei Ssu-ch'i in 1300.

CT 1013 *Ho-t'u* 河圖, 2 pp.; annotated diagrams accompanying HY 1008/CT 1014.

CT 1014-1052 = HY 1008-1046 [+6]

CT 1053 *Wu Tsun-shih chuan* 吳尊師傳, 3 pp.; biography of Wu Yün 吳筠 (d. 778) credited to Ch'üan Te-yü 權德輿 (759-818), inserted between two texts ascribed to Wu Yün: HY 1046/CT 1052 *Tsung-hsüan hsien-sheng hsüan-kang lun* 宗玄先生玄綱論 and HY 1047/CT 1054 *Nan-t'ung ta-chün nei-tan chiu-chang ching* 南統大君內丹九章經. See SKCS 3131 on questions of authenticity.

CT 1054-1061 = HY 1047-1054 [+7]

CT 1062 *Chin Tung-t'ien hai-yüeh piao* 進洞天海嶽表, 5 pp.; three declarations by Li Ssu-ts'ung 李思聰 (fl. 1032-1050), concerning his presentation of several illustrations, including the *Tung-t'ien hai-yüeh ming-shan t'u* 洞天海嶽名山圖. These texts, dated 1049-1050, precede Li's 9-ch. HY 1055/CT 1063 *Tung-yüan chi* 洞淵集, compiled in 1050.

CT 1063-1188 = HY 1055-1180 [+8]

CT 1189 *Yin-tan nei-p'ien* 陰丹內篇, 3 pp.; follows HY 1180/CT 1188 *T'o-yüeh-tzu* 橐籥子, apparently dating to the thirteenth century.

CT 1190-1210 = 1181-1201 [+9]

CT 1211 *Cheng-i fa-wen ch'uan tu-kung pan-i* 正一法文傳都功版儀, 5 pp.; follows HY 1201/CT 1210 *Cheng-i fa-wen shih-lu chao-i* 正一法文十籙召儀. Note the separate listings for two similar titles in *Sung shih*

205.5198 (cf. van der Loon 1984:96, 144).

CT 1212-1303 = HY 1202-1293 [+10]

CT 1304 *Kan-chou Sheng-chi Miao ling-chi li* 章州聖濟廟靈跡理, 6 pp.; a stone inscription by Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-1381), dated 1371, tracing the history of the divine manifestations of Shih Ku 石固 (fl. 210 B.C.E.), for whom the Sheng-chi Miao of Kan-chou (Kiangsi) was built. Sung's encomium precedes a series of oracular verse associated with Shih Ku, the HY 1294/CT 1305 *Hu-kuo chia-chi Chiang-tung Wang ling-ch'ien* 護國嘉濟江東王靈籤, apparently the sequence that, according to Sung, was revealed to Fu Yeh 傅煒 during the Pao-ch'ing 寶慶 reign (1225-1227). Compare with *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi*, 5.1a-3b.

CT 1305-1430 = HY 1294-1419 [+11]

CT 1431 Combines the 4-ch. HY 1420 [*Ta Ming*] *Tao-tsang ching mu-lu* [大明] 道藏經目錄 and the 6-pp. HY 1421 *Hsü Tao-tsang ching mu-lu* 續道藏經目錄. The latter closes with the 1607 imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master, Chang Kuo-hsiang 張國祥 (d. 1611). Preceding these texts are a 3-pp. *Tao-chiao tsung-yüan* 道教宗源 and a 2-pp. *Tao-chiao tsung-yüan fan-li* 凡例.

CT 1432-1433 = HY 1422-1423 [+10]

CT 1434 *Sheng-mu k'ung-ch'üeh ming-wang tsun-ching ch'i-pai i* 聖母孔雀明王尊經啓白儀, 23 pp.; the title of ch. 2 of HY 1423/CT 1433 *T'ai-shang yüan-shih t'ien-tsun shuo Pao yüeh-kuang huang-hou sheng-mu t'ien-tsun k'ung-ch'üeh ming-wang ching* 太上元始天尊說寶月光皇后聖母天尊孔雀明王經.

CT 1435 *T'ai-shang yüan-shih t'ien-tsun shuo K'ung-ch'üeh ching pai-wen* 太上元始天尊說孔雀經白文, 21 pp.; the title of ch. 3 of HY 1423/CT 1433, which closes with the 1607 imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master, Chang Kuo-hsiang. According to an anonymous note preceding the imprimatur, the text was printed from the 3-ch. *Tao-men k'ung-ch'üeh ching* 道門孔雀經 discovered in a cavern at Wu-tang Shan by a certain Superintendent Li of the T'ai-ho tzu-hsiao Kung 太和紫霄宮李提點. The *Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih* of 1431 states that Li Hsüan-yü 李玄玉 was appointed Superintendent of the Tzu-hsiao Kung in 1412 (8.8a) so it would seem that this text may very well have appeared in print during the Yung-le reign (1403-1424). It is cognate to the *Mahamayüri [vidyārājñi]*, translated by Amoghavajra 不空 (d. 774?) as the 3-ch. *Fo-mu ta k'ung-ch'üeh ming-wang ching* 佛母大孔雀明王經 (T. 982). An illustrated version of HY 1423, printed with an imperial seal and a preface of Ming Shen-tsung 明神宗 (r. 1573-1619) dated 1616 is available in the British Library (Or. 15103.aa.8).

CT 1436-1472 = HY 1424-1460 [+12]

CT 1473 Combines the 3-ch. HY 1461 *I-yin shang-ching* 易因上經 with the 3-ch. HY 1462 *I-yin hsia-ching* 易因下經, both by Li Chih 李贄 (1527-1602).

CT 1474 = HY 1463 [+11]

CT 1475 Combines the 5-ch. HY 1464 *I-lin shang-ching* 易林上經 with the 5-ch. HY 1465 *I-lin hsia-ching* 易林下經, both of which are attributed to Chiao Kan 焦贛 (tzu, Yen-shou 延壽, fl. 86-74 B.C.E.). The history of the *I-lin* is traced in four postfaces, dated 1241, 1473, 1525, and 1534.

CT 1476-1479 = HY 1466-1469 [+10]

CT 1480 *Hsü Chen-chün yü-hsia chi* 許真君玉匣記, 6 pp., with a preface dated 1433; the second of several titles preserved in HY 1470 *Chu-shen sheng-tan jih yü-hsia chi teng-chi* 諸神聖誕日玉匣記等集. The opening text, printed after a *mu-lu* 目錄 (table of contents), is a calendar entitled *Chu-shen sheng-tan ling-chieh jih-ch'i* 諸神聖誕令節日期.

CT 1481 *Fa-shih hsüan-tse chi* 法師選擇記, 44 pp.; with a postface dated 1488; the third title of HY 1470, followed by the subsequent headings listed in the table of contents.

CT 1482-1487 = HY 1471-1476 [+11]

Appendix B

Sources Cited from the *Tao-tsang*

- CT Code for the serial number assigned to 1487 titles in the Taoist Canon according to the *Concordance du Tao-tsang*, comp. K.M. Schipper. Paris, 1975. Reprinted as *Cheng-t'ung Tao-tsang mu-lu so-yin 正統道藏目錄索引*. Taipei, 1977.
- HY Code for the serial number assigned to 1476 titles in the Taoist Canon according to the *Tao-tsang tzu-mu yin-te 道藏子目引得*, comp. Weng Tu-chien 翁獨健. Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, no. 25. Peking 1935; rpt., Taipei, 1966.
- TT Code for the fascicle number of the 1120-vol. reprint of the *Tao-tsang* of the Pai-yün Kuan 白雲菴見. Peking. Rpt., Shanghai, 1924-26; Taipei, 1962.

HY	CT	TT	Title, with citations in text and notes
1		1-13	<i>Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching</i> , 27
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53		29	<i>T'ai-shang tung-yüan pei-ti t'ien-p'eng hu-ming hsiao-tsai shen-chou ching</i> , n62
63		32	<i>Yü-ch'ing t'ai-yüan nei-yang chen-ching</i> , n390
64		32	<i>Yü-ch'ing wu-shang nei-ching chen-ching</i> , n390
66		32	<i>Yüan-shih tung-chen t'ü-shan hsiao-tzu pao-en ch'eng-tao ching</i> , n183
87		38-39	<i>Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching ssu-chu</i> , 205
88		40-41	<i>Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching chu</i> , 206-208
89		41-42	<i>Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching t'ung-i</i> , 210-211
90		43-44	<i>Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching nei-i</i> , 206, 207
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92		46	<i>Yüan-shih wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching chu-chieh</i> , 209-210

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 111 55 *Huang-ti yin-fu ching chi-chieh*, n440
 136 60 *Lü Ch'un-yang chen-jen Ch'in-yüan ch'un tan-tz'u chu-chieh*, 142
 137 60 *Ch'ing-t'ien ko chu-shih*, 158
 141 61-62 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p'ien chu-shu*, n446
 142 63-64 *Wu-chen p'ien san-chu*, n574
 143 64 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p'ien chih-chih hsiang-shuo san-sheng pi-yao*, 174
 144 64 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p'ien shih-i*, n445
 145 65 *Wu-chen p'ien chu-shih*, n446
 147 67 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'in miao-ching fu-t'u*, 27-28
 163 72 *Hsüan-yüan shih-tzu t'u*, n617
 171 75 *Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u*, 39, 68-70
 172 75 *San Mao chen-chün chia-feng shih-tien*, n264
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 174 76 *Chin-lien cheng-tsung hsien-yüan hsiang-chuan*, 64-65, 156
 175 76 *Ch'i-chen nien-p'u*, 68
 176 76 *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu*, 159-160, n47
 177 77 *T'ai-shang tung-chen chih-hui shang-p'in ta-chieh*, n521
 219 85-99 *Ling-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-ching ta-fa*, 28-29
 220 100-4 *Wu-shang hsüan-yüan san-t'ien yü-t'ang ta-fa*, 36-37
 222 105 *Ch'ing-wei shen-lieh pi-fa*, 39-40
 223 106-10 *Ch'ing-wei yüan-chiang ta-fa*, n77, n78
 224 111 *Ch'ing-wei chai-fa*, n77, n78
 227 112 *Chen lung-hu chiu-hsien ching*, n359
 241 114 *Pi-hsü-tzu ch'in-ch'uan chih-chih*, n569
 244 115 *Ta-tan chih-chih*, 160
 245 115 *Yu-ch'i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao*, n345, n444, n622
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 294 138 *Lieh-hsien chuan*, n291
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959	961	608	<i>Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti ch'i-sheng ling-i lu</i> , 88-89
960	962	609	<i>Wu-tang fu-ti tsung-chen chi</i> , 119-121
961	963	609	<i>Wu-tang chi-sheng chi</i> , n299
962	964	609	<i>Hsi-ch'uan Ch'ing-yang Kung pei-ming</i> , n300
963	965	610	<i>Sung Tung T'ai-i Kung pei-ming</i> , 121-122
964	966	610	<i>Sung Hsi T'ai-i Kung pei-ming</i> , 122
965	967	610	<i>Sung Chung T'ai-i Kung pei-ming</i> , 122
968	970	610	<i>T'ang Wang-wu Shan Chung-yen T'ai Cheng-i hsien-sheng Miao chieh</i> , n300
969	971	610	<i>T'ang Sung-kao Shan Ch'i-mu Miao pei-ming</i> , n300
970	972	610	<i>Kung-kuan pei-chih</i> , 126-128
971	973	611-13	<i>Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu</i> , 123-124, n163
977	979	615	<i>Ming-chen p'o-wang chang-sung</i> , 195

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| 979 | 981 | 616 | <i>Ta Ming yü-chih Hsüan-chiao yüeh-chang</i> , n242, n248 |
| 994 | 996 | 620 | <i>Ku-wen lung-hu ching chu-shu</i> , 247, n684 |
| 995 | 997 | 620 | <i>Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu</i> , 247, n684 |
| 998 | 1001 | 623 | <i>Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i chu</i> , n558 |
| 999 | 1002 | 623 | <i>Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i fen-chang t'ung-chen i</i> , n571 |
| 1000 | 1003 | 624 | <i>Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i ting-ch'i ko ming-ching t'u</i> , n571 |
| 1006 | 1009 | 629 | <i>I-wai pieh-chuan</i> , 248 |
| 1008 | 1014 | 630 | <i>I-t'u t'ung-pien</i> , 248 |
| 1009 | 1015 | 631-36 | <i>Chin-so liu-chu yin</i> , n42 |
| 1010 | 1016 | 637-40 | <i>Chen-kao</i> , 94, 228, 239, n266 |
| 1011 | 1017 | 641-48 | <i>Tao shu</i> , 139, 140, 231-234, 237, n571 |
| 1026 | 1032 | 677-702 | <i>Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien</i> , 15, 58, 84, 94, 229-231, 232, 237, n229, n230, n265, n326, n329, n571, n592, n676 |
| 1029 | 1035 | 704 | <i>Tao-t'i lun</i> , n338 |
| 1034 | 1040 | 705-18 | <i>Huang-chi ching-shih</i> , n558 |
| 1036 | 1042 | 720-23 | <i>I-ch'uan chi-jang chi</i> , n558 |
| 1039 | 1045 | 724 | <i>Hai-k'o lun</i> , n571 |
| 1046 | 1052 | 727 | <i>Tsung-hsüan hsien-sheng hsüan-kang lun</i> , 248 |
| 1047 | 1054 | 727 | <i>Nan-t'ung ta-chün nei-tan chiu-chang ching</i> , 248 |
| 1048 | 1055 | 727 | <i>Ch'un-yang chen-jen hun-ch'eng chi</i> , 141-142 |
| 1050 | 1057 | 728 | <i>Tan-yang chen-jen yü-lu</i> , 154-155 |
| 1051 | 1058 | 728 | <i>Wu-wei ch'ing-ching ch'ang-sheng chen-jen chih-chen yü-lu</i> , 163 |
| 1052 | 1059 | 728 | <i>P'an Shan Ch'i-yün Wang Chen-jen yü-lu</i> , 171-172 |
| 1053 | 1060 | 729 | <i>Ch'ing-an Ying-ch'an-tzu yü-lu</i> , 180-181 |
| 1055 | 1063 | 732 | <i>Tung-yüan chi</i> , 248 |
| 1057 | 1065 | 734 | <i>Hsüan-chiao ta kung-an</i> , 182-183, n444 |
| 1059 | 1067 | 736-38 | <i>Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao</i> , 184-185, 208-209 |
| 1060 | 1068 | 738 | <i>Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao t'u</i> , 185 |
| 1061 | 1069 | 738 | <i>Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao lieh-hsien chih</i> , 185-186 |
| 1062 | 1070 | 738 | <i>Shang-yang-tzu chin-tan ta-yao hsien-p'ai</i> , 185-186 |
| 1063 | 1071 | 738 | <i>Yüan-yang-tzu fa-yü</i> , 191-192 |
| 1066 | 1074 | 739 | <i>Huan-chen chi</i> , 183-184, 193 |
| 1071 | 1079 | 740 | <i>Chen-jen Kao Hsiang-hsien chin-tan ko</i> , n684 |
| 1073 | 1081 | 741 | <i>Chin-tan ssu-pai tzu chu</i> , n684 |
| 1080 | 1088 | 742 | <i>Huan-tan fu-ming p'ien</i> , 175 |
| 1082 | 1090 | 742 | <i>Ts'ui-hsü p'ien</i> , 175 |
| 1083 | 1091 | 742 | <i>Huan-yüan p'ien</i> , 175 |
| 1092 | 1100 | 744-45 | <i>Ming-ho yü-yin</i> , 155, 188-190 |
| 1093 | 1101 | 746-55 | <i>T'ai-p'ing ching</i> , n321 |
| 1102 | 1110 | 757 | <i>Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu</i> , 75-78, 197-199, n620 |
| 1104 | 1112 | 758 | <i>T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao pa-hsien wang-chiao chieh-ching</i> , n183 |
| 1115 | 1123 | 760 | <i>I-ch'ieh tao-ching yin-i miao-men yü-ch'i</i> , n567 |
| 1120 | 1128 | 762 | <i>Tao-men ching-fa hsiang-ch'eng tz'u-hsü</i> , n338 |
| 1124 | 1132 | 765 | <i>Shang-ch'ing tao-lei shih-hsiang</i> , 228 |
| 1130 | 1138 | 768-79 | <i>Wu-shang pi-yao</i> , 228-229 |
| 1131 | 1139 | 780-82 | <i>San-tung chu-nang</i> , 228 |
| 1132 | 1140 | 783-84 | <i>Yün-shan chi</i> , 172-173 |
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1142	1150	791	<i>Tan-yang shen-kuang ts'an</i> , 152
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1145	1153	793-95	<i>Ch'ung-yang ch'uan-chen chi</i> , 144–145
1146	1154	795-96	<i>Ch'ung-yang chiao-hua chi</i> , 145–146
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1148	1156	796	<i>Ch'ung-yang chen-jen chin-kuan yü-so chueh</i> , 147–148
1149*	1158	796	<i>Ch'ung-yang shou Tan-yang erh-shih-ssu chüeh</i> , 146–147
1151	1159	797	<i>[Ch'ang-ch'un-tzu] P'an-hsi chi</i> , 157–158
1152	1160	798	<i>[T'an Hsien-sheng] shui-yün chi</i> , 160–162
1153	1161	798	<i>T'ai-ku chi</i> , 165–167
1157	1165	823-24	<i>Hsin-ch'uan wai-k'o pi-fang</i> , n513
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1159	1167	834-39	<i>T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien</i> , 208, 213
1182	1191	874	<i>Pi-ch'uan Cheng-yang chen-jen ling-pao pi-fa</i> , 233, n340
1201	1210	878	<i>Cheng-i fa-wen shih-lu chao-i</i> , 248
1203	1213	879	<i>T'ai-shang hsüan-t'ien chen-wu wu-shang chiang-chün lu</i> , n242
1209	1219	881-83	<i>Kao-shang shen-hsiao yü-ch'ing chen-wang tzu-shu ta-fa</i> , 27–28, 44
1210	1220	884-941	<i>Tao-fa hui-yüan</i> , 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 39–41, 47–49, 51, 97, 99, 179, 190, 195, 211, n54, n59, n70, n118, n209, n218, n259, n456, n457, n582
1211	1221	942-62	<i>Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa</i> , 66 ch., 42, 43–44
1212	1222	963	<i>Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa mu-lu</i> , 45
1213	1223	963-72	<i>Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa</i> , 44 ch., 42, 45–46
1214	1224	973-75	<i>Tao-men ting-chih</i> , 50–51, 52, n115
1216	1226	984-85	<i>Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi</i> , 49–50, n115
1217	1227	986-87	<i>T'ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao</i> , 34–35, n255
1219	1229	988	<i>Ch'uan-chen tso-po chieh-fa</i> , n679
1220	1230	988	<i>T'ai-p'ing yü-lan</i> , 3 ch., n645
1222	1232	988	<i>Tao-men shih-kuei</i> , 241–242
1223	1233	989	<i>Ch'ung-yang li-chiao shih-wu lun</i> , 148
1224	1234	989	<i>Tan-yang chen-jen chih-yen</i> , 153–154
1225	1235	989	<i>Ch'uan-chen ch'ing-kuei</i> , n679
1226	1236	989	<i>T'ai-shang ch'u-chia ch'uan-tu i</i> , n110
1238	1248	992-95	<i>San-tung ch'ün-hsien lu</i> , 59, n571, n620
1239	1249	996	<i>San-shih tai T'ien-shih Hsü-ching chen-chün yü-lu</i> , 194–195, n251
1240	1250	996	<i>Ch'ung-hsü t'ung-miao shih-ch'en Wang Hsien-sheng chia-hua</i> , n338
1241	1251	997	<i>Hsü-ching ch'ung-ho hsien-sheng Hsü Shen-weng yü-lu</i> , 94–96

* See Appendix A on the inversion of titles numbered HY 1149–1150.

1243	1253	997	<i>Tao-fa hsin-chuan</i> , 187-188
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1247	1257	998-99	<i>Ch'ün-hsien yao-yü tsuan-chi</i> , n385
1253	1263	1001	<i>Chuang Lieh shih-lun</i> , 228
1254	1264	1001	<i>Li-feng lao-jen chi</i> , 170
1272	1282	1005	<i>Kao-shang shen-hsiao tsung-shih shou-ching shih</i> , 26-27, n577
1275	1285	1006	<i>I-sheng pao-te chuan</i> , 83-86
1276	1286	1006-7	<i>Lu Shan T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo Kung Ts'ai-fang chen-chün shih-shih</i> , 81-83
1291	1301	1011	<i>Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün ch'ien</i> , n120, n247
1292	1302	1012	<i>Ling-chi chen-chün Chu-sheng T'ang ling-ch'ien</i> , n120
1294	1305	1012	<i>Hu-kuo chia-chi Chiang-tung Wang ling-ch'ien</i> , 249
1296	1307	1016	<i>Hai-ch'üing Pai Chen-jen yü-lu</i> , 177-178
1297	1308	1016	<i>Hai-ch'üing wen-tao chi</i> , 176-177
1298	1309	1017	<i>Hai-ch'üing ch'uan-tao chi</i> , 176
1299	1310	1017	<i>Ch'ing-ho chen-jen pei-yü yü-lu</i> , 168
1300	1311	1018-21	<i>Hsien-ch'üan chi</i> , 193-194, n215, n512
1418	1429	1056	<i>Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen hsi-yü chi</i> , 66-67, 159-160, n395
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1420	1431	1057	[<i>Ta Ming</i>] <i>Tao-tsang ching mu-lu</i> , 249
1421	1431	1057	<i>Hsü Tao-tsang ching mu-lu</i> , 249
1423	1433	1058	<i>T'ai-shang yüan-shih t'ien-tsun shuo Pao yüeh-kuang huang-hou sheng-mu t'ien-tsun k'ung-ch'üeh ming-wang ching</i> , 249
1431	1443	1063	<i>T'ai-shang yüan-yang shang-ti wu-shih t'ien-tsun shuo Huo-ch'e Wang Ling-kuan chen-ching</i> , n582
1440	1452	1064	<i>Hsien-t'ien tou-mu tsou-kao hsüan-k'o</i> , n218
1450	1462	1065	<i>Huang Ming en-ming shih-lu</i> , n682
1451	1463	1066	<i>Han T'ien-shih shih-chia</i> , 62-63, 193
1452	1464	1067-80	<i>Hung-tao lu</i> , n558
1456	1468	1083-85	<i>Hsü-hsien han-tsao</i> , 195-197
1457	1469	1085	<i>Tsan-ling chi</i> , 197, n244
1458	1470	1086-88	<i>Hsü-hsien chen-lu</i> , 53, 92-93, n539
1459	1471	1089-91	<i>Ju-men ch'ung-li che-chung k'an-yü wan-hsiao lu</i> , n558
1460	1472	1092-96	<i>Tai shih</i> , 105-107
1461	1473	1097-98	<i>I-yin shang-ching</i> , 250
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1464	1475	1101-2	<i>I-lin shang-ching</i> , 250
1465	1475	1103-4	<i>I-lin hsia-ching</i> , 250
1466	1476	1105-6	<i>Sou-shen chi</i> , 61-62, n218
1470	1480	1108	<i>Chu-shen sheng-tan jih yü-hsia chi teng-chi</i> , 250, n147
1471	1482	1108	<i>Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti pai-tzu sheng-hao</i> , n242
1472	1483	1109-11	<i>T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e</i> , 237-241, n118, n147
1473	1484	1112-13	<i>Lü Tsu chih</i> , 140, 142-143
1475	1486	1115-16	<i>Lao-tzu i</i> , 226-227
1476	1487	1117-20	<i>Chuang-tzu i</i> , 226-228

Notes

Notes to the Introduction

1. On rare sets of the *Tao-tsang* in Paris, see Chavannes 1911, 1912, and Pelliot 1912.
2. For a survey of Japanese scholarship on Taoism, see Sakai Tadao and Noguchi Tetsurō 1979; the updated reports of T. H. Barrett in his introduction to Maspero 1981, pp. vii–xxiii; and Ch'en Yao-t'ing 1982. A more general survey of Japanese publications on Chinese religions is found in Durt and Seidel 1986.
3. See Barrett in Maspero 1981, p. x.
4. On the distribution of this edition, see Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:178–179, 190–203. See also van der Loon 1984: 58.
5. For a brief survey on the current operation of this seminary and its publications, see Jan Yün-hua 1984: 50–51, 55.
6. A copy of this account is recorded in the prefatory material attached to the *Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu* in volume 1 of the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu* edited by Ting Fu-pao (1922).
7. Sawada 1981.
8. For the layout of the Pai-yün Kuan, see Yoshioka 1979:250–252. The most comprehensive study of the temple compound available is Oyanagi 1934.
9. Jan Yün-hua 1984: 51.
10. See van der Loon 1984: 59. On the Shanghai copy of the Canon, see Kubo Noritada 1943 and Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:177, 188. Ch'en reports that he was denied access to this set in 1946–48. On 12 June 1983, I found that the Pai-yün Kuan of Shanghai had been converted into the local Research Headquarters for the Authentication of Friendship Store Curios.
11. On Lu Hsiu-ching's definitive catalogue of the Ling-pao scriptures, one of the early texts recovered from Tun-huang, see Ōfuchi Ninji 1974. On the early history of the Canon, see Ōfuchi 1979b, and on the later editions, see Schipper 1981–82a, 1983a, Liu Ts'un-yan 1982, and van der Loon 1984: 29–63. Extensive studies on its compilation include Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:105–231, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1955:1–180, Fukui Kōjun 1958:133–214, and Ōfuchi Ninji 1964:215–434. Briefer summaries are

- found in Kubo Noritada 1948:126–145, Gauchet 1948, Liu Ts'un-yan 1973, Needham, Ho, and Lu 1976:113–117, Boltz 1986a and 1986e. Note that Boltz 1986a should be corrected to read that the manuscripts, not the blocks, of the T'ang Canon were lost.
12. On the ambiguity of the term *chüan*, see van der Loon 1984: 35.
 13. Chang is traditionally credited with not only the collation but also the classification of the manuscripts toward the compilation of the first Sung Canon, largely on the basis of his own claims in a preface to the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* (see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations). for a reassessment of Chang's actual role and the significance of Wang's catalogue, see van der Loon 1984:29–36.
 14. On the Shang-ch'ing tradition, see Strickmann 1977a, 1979a, and 1981, and Robinet 1984.
 15. Ōfuchi 1979b:267. On the *T'ai-ch'ing pu*, see Ch'en Kuo-fu 1983:491–496.
 16. Schipper 1981–82a, 1983a.
 17. Van der Loon 1984: 58.
 18. SKCS 3058. T'ui-keng T'ang was the name of the studio of President Hsü Shih-ch'ang.
 19. Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:183. Sawada 1967:92–93 also notes that Tenri Library possesses a copy of the *Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu* ascribed to Li Chieh, printed with the 1845 account on the restoration of the Canon at the Pai-yün Kuan.
 20. Ting Fu-pao 1922, “Hsü-yen” 緒言 [Introduction], p. 5a.
 21. Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:183–189.
 22. Yoshioka 1955:174 and Liu Ts'un-yan 1973:104.
 23. Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:178.
 24. Needham's *Science and Civilisation in China* cites texts in the Canon according to Wieger numbers. Fortunately, each volume includes a concordance to the Wieger and “Ong” numbers, i.e., those assigned in Weng Tu-chien 1935 (see below).
 25. As Weng Tu-chien (1966:vi) explains, the code words are the names of the 28 *hsiu* 宿, or lunar mansions, that mark the 28 divisions into which the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* is organized.
 26. Among smaller collections of Taoist literature are the *Tao-tsang chü-yao* 道藏舉要, including approximately 175 titles selected from the Canon by the editors of Commercial Press; *Tao-tsang hsü-pien* 道藏續編, with 20 titles; and *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu* 道藏精華錄, including 100 titles. An index to the rare *Tao-tsang chi-yao* edition printed circa 1796–1819 by Chiang Yüan-t'ing 蔣元庭 (1755–1819) is included in Ting Fu-pao 1922, vol. 2.
 27. Strickmann 1977b.
 28. On the compilation of HY 263, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations.

29. Strickmann 1977b: 18. See also Seidel 1984: 349–350.
30. The address of Schipper's headquarters is *Projet Tao-tsang*, Centre de documentation et d'étude du taoïsme, 22 av. du President Wilson, 75116 Paris, France.
31. This summary is based on a personal communication from Professor Schipper dated 18 October 1984 and two circulars describing the project (C.N.R.S.–RCP 625) dated October 1982 and 26 April 1984. For a preliminary description of the data bank, see Schipper 1983b. It should be noted that although the data bank and the Index to the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* (see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations) use the Pinyin romanization system, it has been decided that Wade-Giles romanization will be used in the catalogue of the *Tao-tsang* Project.
32. Personal communication, 27 August 1985.
33. On these publication ventures, see Jan Yün-hua 1984: 63–64. I have not been able to verify the compilation of a *Tao-chiao shih*, and it may be that Jan is referring to Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai's *Chung-kuo Tao-chiao ssu-hsiang shih-kang* 中國道教思想史綱, two volumes of which are now in print (1980, 1985). On the epigraphic project, see Ch'en Yüan 1982: 380–382 and Ch'en Chih-ch'ao 1984.
34. Schipper reports that the catalogue of the *Tao-tsang* Project will not be ready before 1986 (personal communication, 18 October 1984). Jan Yün-hua (1984: 63) states that the first draft of the *Tao-tsang t'i-yao* has been completed, with publication anticipated sometime in 1984, but the Tao-chiao yen-chiu shih reports that, at the very earliest, the work will appear in print sometime in late 1986 or early 1987 (personal communication, 27 August 1985). Professor Chan Hok-lam has informed me that Liu Ts'un-yan of Canberra is also preparing an analytic catalogue entitled *Tao-tsang mu-lu* 道藏目錄, to be published in Hong Kong (personal communication, 20 August 1982), but I know nothing about the current status of this project.
35. Van der Loon 1984: 61, n43.
36. *Ibid.*: 63.
37. The cosmic order of the Shen-hsiao tradition of the Sung dynasty (see Chapter 1) and the problems of establishing its celestial hierarchy are discussed in Boltz 1983.
38. The value of such inventories has been pointed out in Strickmann 1977a and 1978a for the Shang-ch'ing and Shen-hsiao traditions, respectively.
39. Strickmann 1979a: 164ff.
40. Such is the case for a number of local ritual traditions discussed in Chapter 1, particularly those documented in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan*.

Notes to Chapter I

41. Strickmann 1979b. See also the general surveys of Sung Taoist traditions based largely on historical texts in Sun K'o-k'uan 1965 and Chin Chung-shu 1966, 1967.
42. Two outstanding examples are HY 1009 *Chin-so liu-chu yin* 金鎖流珠引, annotated by Li Ch'un-feng 李淳風 (fl. 632) and traced ultimately to Chang Tao-ling; and HY 389 *T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao su-ling chen-fu* 太上洞玄靈寶素靈真符, a composite work attributed to Lu Hsiu-ching (406–477) and received by Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850–933) in 906. The former compilation, however, may not actually date before the Sung.
43. The history of the classification *fa-shih* merits a full study, particularly as it relates to the role of the *hoat-su* 法師 in Taiwanese society. For a brief survey of the *hoat-su* legacy, see Tung Fang-yüan 1975: 148–168. The role of the *fa-shih* as exorcist during the 12th to 14th centuries is examined in Boltz 1985. See also Schipper 1985b: 37.
44. Maspero 1971/1981, Robinet 1976 and 1979, and Schipper 1982 include detailed discussions on various meditation techniques employed by adepts in the realization of a divine microcosm within their bodies.
45. The parallels to the Tantric tradition are obvious. According to Beyer 1977: 72ff., for example, the Tantric practitioner generates himself into a deity, envisioning the entire retinue of the maṇḍala about him. In the end, he exchanges his ego for that of the deity, much as the Taoist Ritual Master was taught.
46. For the term “actualization,” see Schafer 1978. On the metamorphic transformation central to a Shen-hsiao meditation technique, see Boltz 1983.
47. On the dates of Lin Ling-su, see Miyakawa Hisayuki 1975b. The earliest biographical account for Lin appears to have been compiled by the Han-lin academician Keng Yen-hsi 耿延禧 sometime after the fall of the Northern Sung. Keng's account serves as the foundation for the discussion in Chao Yü-shih 趙與峕 (1175–1231), *Pin-t'ui lu* 賓退錄 (TSCC ed.), 1.4–6, as well as for Buddhist chronicles and Taoist hagiographies such as HY 296 *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien*, 53.1a–16a (see Chapter 2, Chao Tao-i's Masterpiece). Lin's name also comes up repeatedly in Hung Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) *I-chien chih* 夷堅志 (ed. Ho Cho 何卓, pp. 7, 177, 494, 518, 1369, 1747). See also the citations concerning Lin from works of the Sung to the Ch'ing in Ting Ch'uan-ching 1981: 1129–1136. Note, further, that Lin Ling-su is prominently mentioned in the sermon Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (1148–1227) delivered before Chinggis Khan in 1222, as recorded in HY 176 *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu*, 6a (see Chapter 4).

48. As pointed out in Boltz 1983:497n15, the array of the nine empyreans follows the pattern of the magic square.
49. See *Ibid.*: 504ff.
50. On the eschatology of the Shang-ch'ing tradition, see Strickmann 1971, 1979a, 1981. The significance of the *jen-ch'en* year in both Shang-ch'ing and Shen-hsiao legacies is discussed in Strickmann 1978a: 337.
51. Also cited in the *Formulary* are Hui-tsung's commentaries to the *Tao-te ching* and *Nan-hua ching* 南華經 (i.e., *Chuang-tzu* 莊子). Mentioned in the supplementary notes as well are ritual sequences, the composition of which also apparently fell within the domain of the theocrat's responsibilities. Examples are preserved in the 3-ch. HY 310 *Chin-lu chai san-tung tsan-yung i* 金錄齋三洞讚詠儀, compiled by Chang Shang-ying 張商英 (1043–1121) and the 3-ch. HY 607 *Yü-yin fa-shih* 玉音法事. For further background, see Schipper 1975b. Comments on the nature of the neumatic notation found in the *Yü-yin fa-shih* are found in Lu Ch'in-li 1948: 327–330 and L.E.R. Picken 1969: 90. See also Boltz 1986f.
52. This is the argument of Strickmann 1978a. Piet van der Loon (1984: 44ff.), on the other hand, finds little evidence in the extant Canon of the scriptural traditions new to Hui-tsung's reign. While Strickmann stands by his position, he now suggests that perhaps it may have been the primacy of the Ch'ing-wei tradition (see section 4) that commended the Shen-hsiao works to the attention of the 15th-century compilers of the Canon.
53. So suggests Strickmann (1978a: 334–346). Wang Wen-ch'ing figures in five episodes of Hung Mai's *I-chien chih*; see pp. 66, 487, 582, 832, 1049.
54. The principal difference between Thunder Rites (Lei-fa 雷法) and other therapeutic procedures is that the practitioner does not simply rely on his ability to call down divine forces at times of need, but must also have stored within him the cosmic power of thunder. In order always to have immediate access to this demonifuge agent, the practitioner must thus be prepared to meditate at times when thunder is imminent. The instruction on the absorption of the power of thunder in HY 1209, 1.9b, bears comparison with that in the *Shang-ch'ing yü-fu wu-lei ta-fa yü-shu ling-wen* 上清玉府五雷大法玉樞靈文 [Numinous Script of the Jade Pivot, from the Great Rites of the Five Thunders in the Jade Bureau of Shang-ch'ing], in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 56 (see section 6), with a preface by Wang Wen-ch'ing. On Thunder Rites, see also Strickmann 1975 and Boltz 1985. Further background on Hui-tsung's theocracy can be found in Yang Chung-liang 楊仲良 (d. 1271), [*Huang Sung*] *T'ung-chien ch'ang-pien chi-shih pen-mo* [皇宋]通鑑長編紀事本末, ch. 127, and Miyakawa Hisayuki 1975a. See also Yang Hua-jung 1985.

55. Translated with annotation in Boltz 1983. The conceptual framework of this scripture is shared by a number of diverse cultural traditions, as R. A. Stein points out in three studies of the microcosmic ideal (1942, 1957a, 1957b).
56. For an introduction to Cheng Ssu-hsiao's literary corpus, see Yang Li-kuei 1977.
57. HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* is discussed in more detail below (section 6). An invaluable survey of the corpus is found in van der Loon 1979.
58. The ritual emphasis on fire is reminiscent of the Homa ritual complex, the central divinity of which is the fearsome Fudō myōō 不動明王, or Acalaśrīyārāja. Indeed, the acclimatization of Tantric rites in East Asia appears to have succeeded in part because of the prevalence of cognate Taoist ritual practice. Research in this area is just beginning, as Strickmann points out in 1983b and 1985a.
59. The colophon is recorded in HY 1210, 198.25b-27a. Liu Yü, or Liu Shih 劉世, as he was originally known, is not to be confused with another, later, Liu Yü (1257-1308) of Kiangsi. Piet van der Loon has kindly pointed out the distinction of the two Taoist Masters named Liu Yü active in the 13th century (personal communication, 3 June 1984). The codifier of Shen-hsiao ritual appears also to be the one who transmitted records on the guardian figure Wen Ch'üung (see Chapter 2, section 12). Liu Yü, whose account of Wen Ch'üung is included in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 253, wrote in 1258 under the title "Wu-lei ching-lu huo-ling hsien-kuan" 五雷經錄火鈴仙官 (Transcendent Officer of the Flaming Tocsin, Recipient of the Scriptures and Registers of the Five Thunders). According to a biographical account (253.10a-12a) composed by a disciple named Huang Kung-chin 黃公瑾 (fl. 1274), the Master Liu Yü was actually Liu Shih, also known as Liu Ch'ing-ch'ing 劉清卿. "Yü" 玉 was his *fa-hui* 法諱, i.e., ritual taboo name. He was the grandson of the famous martyr Liu Chieh 玠 who died trying to defend T'an-chou 潭州 (Hunan) against the Jurchen (*Sung shih* 452). In obeying Chieh's request to be buried in Lin-ch'uan 臨川 (Kiangsi), Liu Yü's father resettled his family in nearby Feng-ch'eng. What makes the history of the Shen-hsiao text confusing here is that the author of the colophon is identified as Liu Yü, "Yü-chen ti-tzu huo-ling hsien-kuan" 玉真弟子火鈴仙官. The latter half of the title matches that by which the author of the Wen Ch'üung text is known. But "Yü-chen ti-tzu," or "Disciple of Jade Perfection," happens to be the name by which the later Liu Yü (1257-1308), *tsu*, I-chen 頤真, is known. This Liu Yü was a key figure in the perpetuation of the legacy of Ching-ming Tao (see Chapter 2, section 6, and Chapter 4, section 20). Like those of the Liu family who settled in Feng-ch'eng, Liu I-chen's ancestors were emigrants from the north who eventually took up residence in Kiangsi. They reestablished their home a little further north at Chien-ch'ang 建昌 in

- Nan-k'ang 南康 prefecture (see the biography in HY 1102 *Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu*, 1.18b–25a). Lu Yeh (tzu, Po-shan 伯善), known as “Liu-yin tung-wei hsien-ch'ing” 六陰洞微仙卿, is not among the mentors cited for this later generation Liu Yü. He is mentioned in the biography of Liu Shih (alias Liu Yü). Since the title “Yü-chen ti-tzu” is not attested for the earlier Liu Yü, we can only assume that an editor of the Shen-hsiao code confused the two masters and added it unknowingly.
60. HY 304, 16.4b–5a, an account taken from a biography compiled by a disciple named Shen Yü 沈育. HY 304 *Mao Shan chih*, a 14th-century gazetteer, is discussed in Chapter 3 under Topography.
61. Chin Yün-chung also compiled a critical compendium of ritual entitled HY 1213 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa*, a discussion of which follows in section 5.
62. For a translation and discussion of this apotropaic incantation in the Shang-ch'ing tradition, see Michel Strickmann 1980: 228 and 1977c, concerning HY 335 *T'ai-shang tung-yüan shen-chou ching* 太上洞淵神呪經 and HY 53 *T'ai-shang tung-yüan pei-ti t'ien-p'eng hu-ming hsiao-tsai shen-chou miao-ching* 太上洞淵北帝天蓬護命消災神呪女少經. The efficacy of reciting the T'ien-p'eng incantation is the subject of three accounts in Tu Kuang-t'ing's HY 590 *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 道教靈驗記 10.6b–8a, 11.11a–b, 12.6b–7b. Similar stories are found in Hung Mai's *I-chien chih*, pp. 40, 369(2), 625, entries which are discussed in Sawada Mizuho 1980.
63. I-sheng pao-te chen-chün and Chen-wu are the subjects of individual encomia discussed in Chapter 2. Images of the four spirits, as well as their shrines, are mentioned in Hung Mai's *I-chien chih*, pp. 329, 799, 837.
64. See Chapter 2.
65. Teng Yu-kung's prefaces are undated, but I identify him with the Teng Yu-kung (1210–1279) of Nan-feng 南豐 (Kiangsi) cited in Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得 et al., 1974–76: 3730. In the preface to HY 566, Teng traces his heritage back five generations: Jao Tung-t'ien, Chu Chung-su 朱仲素, Yu Tao-shou 游道首, Tsou Pen 鄒贇, and Fu T'ien-hsin 符天信, Teng's own master. This is the number of disciples one would expect from the time of Jao's putative discovery to the time of Teng Yu-kung. On 18 November 1983, Dr. Robert P. Hymes of Columbia University wrote, questioning the authenticity of this identification of Teng. Hymes takes the position that the compiler Teng is not the Teng Yu-kung documented in the index to Sung biographies of Ch'ang Pi-te et. al 1974–76 but rather another person of the same name who lived during the 12th century. Teng, like Yüan Miao-tsung, addressed his preface to the emperor. But external and internal evidence seems to suggest he was more likely to have been writing during the reign of Sung Li-tsung 宋理宗 (r. 1225–1264) than of Hui-tsung. If Teng were in fact Yüan Miao-tsung's

- near contemporary, I find it strange that Chin Yün-chung 金允中 (fl. 1224–1225) would not mention him in his discussion of other compilers of T'ien-hsin ritual. Chin seems to be familiar only with Yüan and Lu Chen-kuan 路真官 (i.e., Lu Shih-chung). The latter he identifies as responsible for the reedition of T'ien-hsin rites (HY 1213 *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao ta-fa* 43.16b ff.; on this text see Chapter 1, section 5). Moreover, a close investigation of the texts ascribed to Teng Yu-kung in the Canon suggests that they are works of the 13th, not the 12th, century. For example, Teng identifies Hei-sha 黑煞 (Black Killer) with the spirit Hsüan-wu 玄武 (HY 566, 3.6b), whereas the two cosmic forces were regarded as distinct in texts as late as the ritual corpus compiled by Lü Yüan-su 呂元素 (fl. 1188–1201) and a disciple in 1201 (HY 1216 *Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi* 7.6a; on this text see Chapter 1, section 7). Further comments bearing on this issue are found in notes 66 and 217.
66. The inventory of van der Loon 1984:75 makes note of a 3-ch. *Shang-ch'ing t'ien-hsin cheng-fa* cited in Cheng Ch'iao's 巢中樵 (1104–1162) *T'ung-chih* 通志. The editors of "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an" suggest that this citation refers to the text edited by Teng, whom they therefore date to the end of the Northern Sung (STY 1984.2: 13).
 67. Substantial background on the astral meditation techniques of Shang-ch'ing is found in Robinet 1976. The significance of the San-kuang is discussed in Robinet 1979:281ff.
 68. *I-chien chih*, pp. 232, 237, 403, 479, 684, 1362, 1594. See also Tseng Min-hsing 曾敏行 (1118–1175), *Tu-hsing isa-chih* 獨醒雜志 (TSCC ed.), 10.77. The fame of Lu Shih-chung, as documented in the *I-chien chih*, was first pointed out in Strickmann 1977d. For a survey of the bibliographic history of the *I-chien chih*, see Chang Fu-jui's entry on the text in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:344–345. A concise survey of the text is found in Chang Fu-jui 1964, and a fuller study on its significance as a source for Sung history is found in Chang Fu-jui 1968.
 69. See the discussion in Boltz 1985. For episodes concerning T'ien-hsin Masters in Hung Mai's *I-chien chih*, see pp. 53, 99, 111, 147, 235, 236, 244, 287, 307, 314, 337, 369, 372, 394, 419, 443, 450, 568, 653, 745, 830, 831, 846, 866, 995, 1327, 1456, and 1755. An indispensable aid to tracking down the careers of Taoist Masters is Chang Fu-jui's (1966) index to the *I-chien chih*. Note that a more comprehensive concordance to proper names is available in the four-corner index to Ho Cho's critical edition of the *I-chien chih*.
 70. Chapter 7 of HY 1217 includes what appears to be some of the earliest instruction on exorcizing possessing spirits. More detailed manuals, such as those preserved in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* (see Chapter 1, section 6), occasionally call for the use of a *t'ung-tzu* 童子, or spirit medium, to stand in for the afflicted, a practice that is documented in many episodes of the *I-chien chih*. For a fuller account of T'ien-hsin rituals

- designed to relieve mental disorders, see Boltz 1985.
71. For a definition and analysis of the “demon-story” type, see Hanan 1981: 44ff.
 72. The influence of Taoist traditions on the *Shui-hu chuan* is examined in Boltz 1981. See also Miyazaki Ichisada 1972: 184ff. The significance of the astral identification of the 108-member brotherhood of Liang-shan po is noted in Hou Ching-lang 1979: 226.
 73. The Tenri Library has recently made available a photo-offset copy of an early edition of the 20-ch. *P'ing-yao chuan* attributed to Lo Kuan-chung 羅貫中 (ca. 1330–1400), under the title *Sansui Heiyōden* 三遂平妖傳 and with a historical survey of the text by Yokoyama Hiroshi 木黃山弘. Patrick Hanan (1971) compares the literary interest of the 20-ch. edition with that of the 40-ch. version edited by Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1574–1646). Liu Ts'un-yan (1962) offers speculation on the Taoist background of the author of the *Feng-shen yen-i*. For a more recent study of the work, see Chang Cheng-liang 1982. Chan Hok-lam (1967) surveys the Taoist ritual materials from which the *Ying-lieh chuan* episodes on military strategy are drawn. A study and annotated translation of the *Chung K'uei cho-kuei chuan* 鍾馗捉鬼傳 is found in Eliasberg 1976. See also Hu Wan-ch'uan 1980.
 74. On the textual history and iconography of the Yao ritual tradition, see Shiratori Yoshirō 1975, 1981, and 1982, and Strickmann 1982a. The Yao iconographic vision is further documented in Lemoine 1982. A late set of Yao paintings has recently been acquired by the Wing Luke Museum of Seattle, procured in Thailand by Carolyn Cox of Hanuman Imports.
 75. On Hsüan-wu and Wu-tang Shan, see Chapter 2, section 10 and Chapter 3, Topography.
 76. HY 171 *Ch'ing-wei hsien-p'u* is discussed in Chapter 2.
 77. Among related texts, see the 25-ch. HY 223 *Ch'ing-wei yüan-chiang ta-fa* 清微元降大法 and the 2-ch. HY 224 *Ch'ing-wei chai-fa* 清微齋法.
 78. Cosmic script is amply illustrated in HY 223. The text lists Ch'ing-wei, Shang-ch'ing, Ling-pao, Tao-te, and Cheng-i worthies, closing with eleven generations of synthesizers, from Tsu Shu to Huang Shun-shen (25.8b–12b). Variant lists are found in 1.1a–5b; HY 171, 1a–11a; HY 222, 1.1a–3b; and HY 224, 1.1a–13b.
 79. Note, for example, the four *tsu-shih* cited in HY 222, 1.3a. On Wei Hua-ts'un, see Schafer 1977a.
 80. See, for example, the transmutation rites of ch. 15–16 *Yü-ch'en lien-tu fu-fa* 玉宸鍊度符法 and ch. 32 *Lung-t'ien t'ung-ming lien-tu fu-fa* 龍天通明鍊度符法, and the Thunder Rites of ch. 36 *Ch'ing-wei Ma Chao Wen Kuan ssu-shuai ta-fa* 清微馬趙溫關四帥大法, a composite text based on the cults of Ma Sheng 馬勝, Chao Kung-ming 趙公

- 明, Wen Ch'ing 溫瓊, and Kuan Yü 關羽. Variant rituals associated with each are separately recorded in ch. 222–226, 232–240, 253–256, and 259–260, respectively.
81. See HY 1210, 9.10b, for Huang's colophon and 5.39a, 7.8b, 14.3b, for Chao's imprimatur. Further discussion of Chao's training and literary legacy is found in Chapter 4, section 17. Note that the summary of the Ch'ing-wei tradition in Saso 1978a does not take into account the textual filiation of various sources in the Canon. The sort of Ch'ing-wei ritual transmission sanctioned by the Celestial Master heritage of Saso's informants is documented in Saso 1978b; see especially the "Lung-hu Shan shih-ch'uan Ch'ing-wei ch'uan-tu k'o-fan i-tsung" 龍虎山師傳清微專度科範一宗, pp. 7a–31a.
 82. The implications of an earlier, juridical approach to disease, as exemplified by the Shang-ch'ing legacy, are discussed in Strickmann 1982c. A survey of major oracle sequences in the Taoist Canon, as well as cognate transmissions, that deal specifically with the prognosis of various afflictions is found in Strickmann 1983. Additional material is to be recovered from the prognosticative oracle tradition associated with the Wong Tai Sin 黃大仙 temple complex in Kowloon, as recorded in the *Huang Ta-hsien liang-fang* 黃大仙良方 (N.p., n.d.). The significance of the healing mission as articulated in the early literature classified as "Tao-chia" 道家 is considered briefly in Giradot 1983: 42ff. For further discussion on Taoist therapeutic rites and their Buddhist analogues, see Strickmann 1982b, 1985b, and 1986b.
 83. HY 547, 23.4a, 26.6a.
 84. See, for example, Boltz 1983: 498, n18, concerning the comparison of one feature in a series of illustrations in common to HY 466, 290.12b; HY 547, 27.5a; HY 508, 41.15a; HY 1211, 43.19a; and HY 1213, 33.4a–b.
 85. HY 547, 1.11a.
 86. For a monograph on T'ien-t'ai Shan, see Chapter 3.
 87. HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 244.1a. Here the taboo name (*hui* 諱) of T'ien is given as Ssu-chen 思真 and his *tzu* 字 as Ch'ing-fu 清夫.
 88. *I-chien chih*, p. 1750. Note also that a reference to *Ling-pao ta-fa* is found in another episode on p. 1759.
 89. I am grateful to Dr. John Lagerwey for his discussion of the problems involved in working out the textual filiation of these large ritual compendia (personal communication, 16 October 1984) and for providing me with a copy of his draft for the entry on HY 547 to be included in the catalogue of the *Projet Tao-tsang*. Lagerwey points out that twice in Ning's corpus the practices of a T'ien Chü-shih 田居實 active at Lung-hu Shan are mentioned (HY 1211, 32.4a, 7a). T'ien Chü-shih (*tzu*, Jo-hsü 若虛) is known to have been an instructor of Chiang Shu-yü (HY 508, 57.5a) and to have left behind an incomplete collection of ritual

- manuals that Liu Yung-kuang encouraged Chiang to finish up (HY 508, 57.3b). It is tempting to suggest that this was the inspiration behind the HY 547 *Ling-pao yü-chien*, but T'ien Tzu-chi, not T'ien Chü-shih, is the only patriarch to whom the anonymous compiler of this work pays tribute. Given the difference in the *tzu* recorded for T'ien Chü-shih and T'ien Tzu-chi and what little biographical data are available, it seems unlikely that they were one and the same. Thus, pending the discovery of information to the contrary, all that can be said is that Chiang and Ning were both apparently recipients of T'ien Chü-shih's instruction but that their individual contributions are overall more indebted to the influence of Liu Yung-kuang and T'ien Tzu-chi, respectively.
90. For comments on the Hsüan-hsüeh appointments, made primarily among the southern elite during the Yüan, see Sun K'o-k'uan 1981 and Yüan Chi 1973 and 1974.
 91. Note that the table of contents supplied does not precisely match the received text, indicating that the compilers of the Canon perhaps had at least two editions or a composite text at hand but did not attempt to reconcile internal contradictions. References to "Ta Ming-kuo" 大明國 (Great State of Ming) attest to the contributions of the compilers of the Ming Canon.
 92. A translation and discussion of the texts associated with rites of reimbursement in HY 466 is included in Hou Ching-lang 1975:61-66. On the *p'u-tu* 普度 (universal salvation) rites of HY 466 and related codes, see Pang 1977. A cognate work of similar title, the 40-ch. *Shang-ch'ing ling-pao chi-tu ta-ch'eng chin-shu* 上清靈寶濟度大成金書, was compiled in 1432 by a disciple of the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'u named Chou Ssu-te 周思得 (1359-1451). The compilation was apparently never sanctioned for printing in the Canon, but copies of it are found in the rare book collections of the National Central Library of Taipei and the Harvard-Yenching Library. According to the preface of 1432, recorded in the *Chou Chen-jen chi* 周真人集, Chou traced his heritage directly back to Masters T'ien, Ning, and Lin.
 93. On the T'ung-ch'u rites, see Chapter 1, section 2.
 94. Note that Boltz 1986b:156 should be corrected in regard to Chin Yün-chung's priorities. I am grateful to Piet van der Loon for encouraging me to reconsider Chin's position (personal communication, 3 June 1984), and I have revised my discussion here accordingly.
 95. On the "metallous enchymoma," see Lu Gwei-Djen 1973. *Chin-tan* instruction is common to both the Ch'üan-chen and Nan-tsung 南宗 (Southern Lineage) traditions, as discussed in Chapter 4. Michel Strickmann advises that a "Mo-ch'ao T'ien-ti" 默朝天帝 procedure figures in the posthumous legacy of T'ao Hung-ching (456-536), revealing themes common to the Sung: "1) silence, simplicity, one-pointedness... 2) transcending the Taoist pantheon" (personal communi-

- cation, 10 April 1982). Strickmann 1984 points out that the “madman” Huan K'ai 桓凱, a late disciple of T'ao Hung-ching, reportedly learned the technique of “Mo-ch'ao Shang-ti” from Li Huan 李桓 of W. Shu (see HY 301 *Huan Chen-jen sheng-hsien chi* 桓真人昇仙記, 7b). According to Tu Kuang-t'ing's *Shen-hsien kan-yü chuan* 神仙感遇傳 (cited in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 15.59), Huan when questioned by T'ao, referred to his training as “Mo-ch'ao chih Tao” 默朝之道, or the Way of Silent Homage. This phrase also appears in Tu Kuang-t'ing, HY 782 *Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu* 壩城集仙錄, 6.4a, in reference to the practices pursued by Chang Tao-ling's wife, Ms. Sun 孫夫人. Note also that HY 508, 27.19a-b, includes instruction in “Mo-sung Shang-ti pi-hui” 默誦上帝秘諱 [Silently Reciting the Secret Names of the Supreme Sovereign].
96. HY 1213, 33.6a-b.
 97. This evaluation comes in his closing comments on ordination ritual, the last category listed in the table of contents but actually printed as the penultimate chapter (HY 1213, 43.18a). The passage concerning Yüan Miao-tsung and Lu Shih-chung is cited above (n. 65).
 98. HY 1210, 210.29b. There is much dispute over Chang Yü's dates. Yen I-p'ing, in a preface to his (1974) edition of Chang Yü's HY 780 *Hsüan-p'in lu* 玄品錄 (see Chapter 2), settles on the dates 1277-1350. Chang Kuang-pin (1977) proposes the dates 1283-1350, based on a study of both epigraphic and literary sources. But if there is any validity in the 1356 colophon preserved in the *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, the data deserve to be reexamined.
 99. Van der Loon (1984: 63n50) suggests: “In view of the prominent position which the Ch'ing-wei school occupies in the *Tao-fa hui-yüan*, it is very likely that he was responsible for the whole collection.”
 100. See, for example, HY 1210, 56.1a, 61.1a, 67.21a, 70.1a, 76.3a, 83.1a, 90.1a, 91.2a, 95.7b, 124.1a-b, 212.1a.
 101. See, for example, HY 1210, 1.12a, 70.1a, 76.3a, 77.5b, 82.29b, 104.1b.
 102. HY 1210, 104.1a ff. Other writings attributed to Pai Yü-ch'an and Ch'en Nan are discussed in Chapter 4, sections 11 and 12.
 103. HY 1210, 154-155; see also Chapter 5, Exegeses.
 104. HY 1210, 77.6b, 95.8a. Additional texts ascribed to Mo Ch'i-yen are discussed in Chapter 4.
 105. HY 1210, 67.11a.
 106. The *Sa Chen-jen te Tao chou-tsao chi* 薩真人得道呪籙記 of Teng Chih-mo 鄧志謨 (fl. 1596-1603) is discussed in Ono 1982. This text is available on microfilm from Naikaku Bunko. An anonymous play, the *Sa Chen-jen yeh tuan pi-t'ao hua* 薩真人夜斷碧桃花, traditionally dated to the Yüan, is available in several late editions.
 107. See note 80.

108. See van der Loon 1979 and Boltz 1985. Schipper 1982:65ff. discusses the role of the medium in Taoist rites. The role of the Taoist Master is compared to that of the marionette in Schipper 1966a. For a discussion of the influence of early shamanic practices and the origins of liturgical drama, see Piet van der Loon 1977.
109. The activities of both Lü Yüan-su and Lü T'ai-ku are documented in Wei Liao-weng 魏了翁 (1178–1237), *Ho-shan ta ch'üan-chi* 鶴山大全集 (SPTK ed.), 42.3b–6a. Note that only Lü Yüan-su is indexed in the Sung biographical index of Ch'ang Pi-te, Wang Te-i, et al., 1974–76. In a conversation late in March of 1981 at the Harvard-Yenching Library, Wang Te-i acknowledged that lacunae such as this could be amended easily once the resources of the *Tao-tsang* are taken into account.
110. For a systematic presentation on the rituals of ordination following one's decision to "ch'u-chia" 出家 (lit., "to leave home," i.e., to become a devotee), see the HY 1226 *T'ai-shang ch'u-chia ch'uan-tu i* 太上出家傳度儀 of Chia Shan-hsiang 賈善翔 (fl. 1086). See also Ozaki Masaharu 1982.
111. Note that these accounts are not indexed in the *Harvard-Yenching Index* concordance to the hagiographies.
112. The *Kao-tao chuan* is among those hagiographies reconstructed in Yen I-p'ing 1974. See also Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:241.
113. A separate collection of Chang Shang-ying's encomia is found in HY 310 (see note 51).
114. HY 1214, 3.1a–3a. Wang's text concerns the *Lo-t'ien chiao* 羅天醮. For discussions on the various types of *chiao*-fêtes, see Li Hsien-chang 1968 and Liu Chih-wan 1974. Wang Ch'in-jo's role in promoting the veneration of a guardian spirit to the Sung court is discussed in Chapter 2.
115. HY 1214, 10.4a. In a study of the legacy of Taoist ritual music, Ch'en Kuo-fu (1981) offers a collation of the incantation sequences found in HY 1214 *Tao-men ting-chih*, HY 1216 *Tao-men t'ung-chiao pi-yung chi*, HY 508 *Wu-shang huang-lu ta-chai li-ch'eng i*, and HY 607 *Yü-yin fa-shih* (see note 51). A variant edition of the *Tao-men ting-chih* in the British Library (Or. 15111.a.13,14) actually includes the set of incantations, together with neumatic notation, as recorded in HY 607 *Yü-yin fa-shih*. Also of significance is the attribution of a 1201 compiler's note to a disciple T'ai-huan 太煥 rather than to Lü Yüan-su (HY 1214, 6.15b). On this edition, see Boltz 1986f. See also SKCS 3075.
116. Note also the undated preface to the *Wu-shang hun-tun i-ch'i t'ien-shu* 無上混沌一炁天書 in HY 1158, 41.1a–2a, composed by Li T'ieh-ming 李鐵銘 of the sacred Celestial Master site, Ch'ing-ch'eng Shan 青城山 (west of Ch'eng-tu).
117. For the entire preface, see HY 1158, 45.1a–7a.

118. See the *Tzu-t'ing chui-fa pu-tuan ta-fa* 紫庭追伐補斷大法 in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 217–218 and the reference to the *Tzu-t'ing chui-lao fa* as one of 39 ritual traditions in the HY 1472 *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e* 天皇至道太清玉冊 of Chu Ch'üan 朱權 (1378–1448), 3.27a (see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations).
119. *Ta Ming hui-tien*, comp. Li Tung-yang 李東陽; ed. Shen Ming-hsing 申明行, 93.2a.
120. HY 1458, 1.34a–38b, corresponds to HY 317; 2.76a–86a to HY 1291 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün ch'ien* 洪恩靈濟真君籤; and 2.86a–95b to HY 1292 *Ling-chi chen-chün Chu-sheng T'ang ling-ch'ien* 靈濟真君注生堂靈籤. Further discussion of HY 1458 is included in Chapter 2.
121. HY 1458, 3.10b.
122. See, for example, HY 1458, 2.6a–16a, corresponding to HY 473 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün ch'i-hsieh she-chiao k'o* 洪恩靈濟真君祈謝設醮科; 2.16a–45b to HY 474 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün li-yüan wen* 禮願文; and 2.45b–60a to HY 475 *Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün ch'i-cheng hsing-teng i* 七政星火登儀.
123. The history of veneration for the Hsü brothers is briefly summarized in Strickmann 1980: 245, n56. See also Liu Ts'un-yan 1970: 49–50. Edward L. Davis (1985) puts forward the thesis that the account of the Hsü brothers' intervention in Fukien was fabricated by Sung landlords. Additional resources on this cult are discussed below in Chapters 2 and 4.

Notes to Chapter 2

124. The motives of traditional historiography are examined in Twitchett 1961.
125. See, for example, the 4-ch. HY 302 *Chou-shih ming-t'ung chi* 周氏冥通記, compiled by T'ao Hung-ching (456–536) in documentation of the visionary revelations experienced by his disciple Chou Tzu-liang 周子良. A discussion of this text is found in Strickmann 1978b and 1979a: 158–162. HY 442 *Shang-ch'ing hou-sheng tao-chün lieh-chi* 上清後聖道君列紀, on the coming of the sage Li Hung 李弘, is among the eschatological texts revealed to the Shang-ch'ing patriarch Yang Hsi 楊羲 (b. 330). On this biographical account, see Strickmann 1981: 209ff. Van der Loon (1984:2) notes that of the 27 Taoist hagiographies cited in the bibliographic monograph of the *Sui shu*, most of the accounts on individual worthies belong to the Shang-ch'ing tradition. The antecedents to these Shang-ch'ing hagiographies are the early encomia written in honor of an apotheosized Lao-tzu, examples of which are given thorough analysis in Seidel 1969.
126. This discussion is a revised version of an entry on this text submitted to *The Indiana Companion*.

127. See Liu Shih-p'ei 1936, vol. 63, pp. 17a–19a, and Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963:263.
128. According to Wu's preface on p. 2a, the seals vanished in a flash of lightning during a thunderstorm two years after Chang's disciples had established a shrine in his honor and had been granted an official tablet by the Yüan court. Chao is reported thereafter to have split open a jujube tree by means of thunder and carved new seals from it. The assumption is that Chao was among the disciples in residence at Wu-tang Shan.
129. This may refer to the Yü-ssu Shan east of Lake Tung-t'ing洞庭湖 (Hunan), which is quite a distance from Wu-tang Shan in the northwest corner of Hupeh. Yü-ssu is also an alternative name given Wan-wei Shan 宛委山 of Chekiang, which is located not far from Fou-yün Shan, where Chao apparently finished his hagiography. I am more inclined to think it is the latter. Wan-wei Shan stands east of K'uai-chi 會稽, and Fou-yün Shan is located a short distance southwest of Ch'ang-hsing 長興. On the former, see Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹, *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao 讀史方輿輯要*, 89.3732, and on the latter Shen I-chi 沈翼機, comp., and Chi Tseng-yün 嵇曾筠, ed., *Che-chiang t'ung-chih 浙江通志*, p. 434a. Chao Tao-i's retirement site may also have been Yü-ssu Shan of central Kiangsi, long famed for its network of caverns and well known as a refuge for many transcendents.
130. See the discussion of HY 769 in Chapter 3 under Historiography.
131. This colophon is printed after the table of contents for the HY 298 *Hou-chi* but does not in fact refer to anything other than the initial *Tung-chien* anthology. A separately issued edition of the entire corpus printed in Shanghai (Ai-li Yüan Wen-hai Ko 愛麗園文海閣, 1936), moves the colophon to the end of the *Hou-chi* supplement. This is the edition, minus some of the supporting calligraphic materials, that is reprinted in the *Tao-tsang ching-hua 道藏精華*, series 10, no. 1, with a preface added by Hsiao T'ien-shih 蕭天石. I am grateful to Michel Strickmann for confirming the filiation of these editions (personal communication, 4 June 1982).
132. See note 47 on the source of Lin Ling-su's biography.
133. HY 1026, 100.2b–32a; this work is discussed in Chapter 5. A *Hsüan-yüan Huang-ti chuan 軒轅黃帝傳* is also printed in Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 (1753–1818), *P'ing-chin kuan ts'ung-shu 平津館叢書*. Liu Shih-p'ei (1936) devotes a large part of his commentary on Chao Tao-i's hagiography to a collation of the textual variants found in Sun's edition. This edition might also be compared with the two copies of the text in the Palace Museum Library of Taipei. One is a manuscript version that came from the Yang-hsin Tien 養心殿 Imperial Library and the other is a Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) printing from the Chao-jen Tien 昭仁殿 Imperial Library. The commentary in these redactions is far more extensive than that of the *Tao-tsang* edition. See note 230.

134. Hagiographies specializing in the Ch'üan-chen tradition are discussed in Chapter 2, section 4.
135. HY 297, 5.11b.
136. In the National Central Library of Taipei there is a very interesting Ming woodblock edition of the *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* in 36 *chüan*. This redaction opens with the colophon that precedes the *Hou-chi* in the *Tao-tsang*. A portion of the biographies of divine women from the *Hou-chi* is incorporated in ch. 1-4, and the contents of the *Hsü-chi* are found in ch. 35-36. An additional three biographies complete ch. 36, including that of Chao I-chen. The only clues to the origins of the edition are found on the opening pages of ch. 15, 29, and 30. Three times the collator is identified as the eminent Li Chih 李贄 (1527-1602), on whom, see Hok-lam Chan 1980.
137. The two texts that Ch'en Pao-kuang presumably had in mind were Chi K'ang's *Sheng-hsien kao-shih chuan* 聖賢高士傳 (a reconstructed edition is included in Mao Kuo-han's 馮國翰 *Yü-han shan-fang chi i-shu* 玉函山房輯佚書) and Wu Yün's *Shen-hsien k'o-hsüeh lun* 神仙可學論 (see van der Loon 1984: 129).
138. SKCS 2955.
139. See van der Loon 1984: 102 on the variant classifications of the *Chiang Huai i-jen lu*.
140. The remaining two episodes concern those active during the closing years of the T'ang (618-907).
141. On P'u Sung-ling see Chang Ch'un-shu and Chang Lo Hsüeh-lun 1973, Liu Chieh-p'ing 1970, and Barr 1984, 1985. T'an Cheng-pi (1980) traces the origins of episodes in the works of both Feng Meng-lung and Ling Meng-ch'ü 凌濛初 (1580-1644). Another useful concordance for these anthologies is Levy 1978.
142. SKCS 3080.
143. Note that the breadth of this work is of special appeal to the editors of the "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an," 1984.2: 17. Yen I-p'ing 1974-76, vol. 1, includes an annotated edition of the *Hsüan-p'in lu*, with supplementary biographical data on Chang Yü. See note 98 above on the problems of dating Chang Yü.
144. On Lo Mao-teng, see Dudbridge 1978: 59-62. I am grateful to Piet van der Loon for calling this discussion to my attention.
145. Illustrations are available in a Ming woodblock edition of this text entitled [*Hsin-k'o ch'u-hsiang tseng-pu*] *Sou-shen ta-ch'üan* [新刻] 出像增補] 搜神大全. This edition is cited in the *Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄, p. 285, where it is erroneously attributed to Kan Pao.
146. Li Hsien-chang (1956) concludes that this text contains material dating to the Yüan, primarily on the basis of the heading "Sheng-ch'ao" 聖朝 that precedes honorary titles bestowed by the Mongol court. But the ci-

- tation of an entry from the *Kuo-ch'ao hui-yao* 國朝會要 (HY 1466, 2.11b) concerning a title granted in 1017 suggests that the earliest redaction may have appeared during the Sung. Li's essay takes into account the relation between this text and the 7-ch. *San-chiao yüan-liu sou-shen ta-ch'üan* 三教源流搜神大全, edited and published by Yeh Tehui 葉德輝 (1864–1927) in 1909 at Ch'ang-sha, and proposes that the two were ultimately derived from a common source. There are significant differences in the organization and content of the works, but a collation of like passages reveals the derivative nature of Yeh's edition. See also the discussion in Sakai Tadao 1960: 251–257. The text Yeh reprinted was supplied by Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫 (1844–1919), with the understanding that it was a Ming reprint of the Yüan woodblock entitled *Hua-hsiang sou-shen kuang-chi* 畫像搜神廣記 that Mao Chin 毛晉 (1598–1659) had cited in his *Chi-ku Ko Sung Yüan pi-pen shu-mu* 汲古閣宋元秘本書目. According to van der Loon, the edition Yeh actually published was one that had been printed in Chien-yang 建陽 (Fukien) at the beginning of the 17th century (personal communication, 3 June 1984). Yeh's edition has recently been reprinted as an independent volume (Taipei, 1980) and as vol. 12 of the *Tao-chiao wen-hsien* 道教文獻, edited by Tu Chieh-hsiang 杜潔祥 (Taipei, 1983). The introduction of the former is a Chinese translation of Li Hsien-chang's 1956 article by Li Hsiao-pen 李孝本, originally done for *Taiwan feng-wu* 臺灣風物 13.2 (1963). I am grateful to Ursula Cedzich of the University of Würzburg for supplying me with the data on this edition. An even more comprehensive hagiography covering classical, Buddhist, and Taoist traditions is the *Li-tai shen-hsien t'ung-chien* 歷代神仙通鑑 compiled by Hsü Tao 徐道 in the 17th century and reedited in 1700 by the 54th Celestial Master, Chang Chi-tsung 張繼宗 (1667–1715) and Huang Chang-lun 黃裳綸.
147. The dates given in this text figure prominently in calendars of holy days that are printed in contemporary sources, the HY 1470 *Chu-shen sheng-tan jih yü-hsia chi teng-chi* 諸神聖誕日玉匣記等集 and the HY 1472 *T'ien-huang chih-tao t'ai-ch'ing yü-ts'e* 天皇至道太清玉冊, 7.1a ff. See also HY 482 *Chu-shih sheng-tan ch'ung-chü cho-hsien i* 諸師聖誕冲舉酌獻儀.
148. See van der Loon 1984: 155 on the *Han T'ien-shih nei-chuan* 漢天師內傳 and *Han T'ien-shih wai-chuan* 漢天師外傳 cited in the bibliography of the *T'ung-chih* 通志 (1161).
149. Note that the postface dated 1607, 4.18a, emphatically asserts that the lineage has been in residence at Lung-hu Shan since the end of the Han. This issue was the subject of a recent seminar offered by Schipper, summarized in his "Les Maîtres Célestes à l'époque Song" (1982–83).
150. HY 1451, 2.2b; see also HY 296, 18.3a. According to Schipper (1982–83: 135), this genealogy is based on a text that is no longer extant

but which has been incorporated more fully in Chao Tao-i's work.

151. HY 1451, 2.10a. Chang Lu promoted the site as one in harmony with the cosmos, where many secret texts had been hidden. He is said to have urged his son to make the move so that their teachings could be spread more widely. It is of interest that the patriarchy was initially and throughout most of its history based on primogeniture, but that Chang Sheng was the third son of Chang Lu. This may have encouraged other branches of the family to assert competing patriarchies. Such a possibility would perhaps explain the discrepancy in the name that Tu Kuang-t'ing, writing in W. Shu, gives for the 18th patriarch and that given in the genealogy and Chao Tao-i. This discrepancy is pointed out in Schipper 1982-83:134.
152. HY 296, 19.3b.
153. HY 296, 19.5b-6a. Compare HY 1451, 2.13a, which says nothing about an assembly of disciples and simply refers to his retirement from the Sui court with the ambiguous phrase *huan shan* 還山 (he returned to the mountains). While Lung-hu Shan may be inferred, the context suggests that Sung Shan 嵩山 may be the intended point of reference.
154. Compare HY 590 *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 道教靈驗記, 11.5b, of Tu Kuang-t'ing with the text in HY 296, 19.9a. While Schipper (1982-83:134) takes these citations into account, he concludes on the basis of other passages in HY 590 that the Celestial Masters become more or less permanently associated with Lung-hu Shan circa 770, shortly after the An Lu-shan rebellion. Note that the earliest stone inscription recorded at the site in the *Lung-hu Shan chih* compiled in 1314 dates to 950 and concerns the restoration of the founder's shrine (see n. 157).
155. Writings ascribed to Chang Chi-hsien are discussed in Chapter 4, section 18. On Chang's successors during the Southern Sung, see Matsumoto Kōichi 1982.
156. HY 1451, 3.1b-6b; compare with the shorter entry in HY 296, 19.11a-13a.
157. See the *Lung-hu Shan chih* 龍虎山志, compiled in 1314 by Yüan Ming-shan 元明善 (1269-1322) and enlarged after 1445 by Chou Chao 周召. Yüan contributes accounts for the first 37 patriarchs, and Chou adds biographies for the 38th to 45th patriarchs. Lou Chin-yüan 婁近垣 compiled the *Ch'ung-hsiu Lung-hu Shan chih* 重修龍虎山志 in 1740 on the basis of what remained of a 10-ch. topography by the 43rd Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'u (1361-1410). A copy of this edition is available in the P'u-pan Collection of the Asia Library at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. The last patriarch documented in it is the 55th, Chang Hsi-lin 張錫麟 (d. 1727). A reedition of this text with a colophon by Shu Yün-pen 舒運本 dated 1833 includes accounts for four additional patriarchs (rpt. *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*, vols. 2-3).

158. The 62nd patriarch's text is included in Oyanagi Shigeta 1934: 347–356. Selections from the 64th patriarch's compilation appear in the 1978 issues of *Tao-chiao wen-hua* 道教文化 [Journal of Taoist Culture], printed in Taipei. The early accounts appear to be drawn both from HY 296 and HY 1451. See also the biographies included in the catechism compiled by Li Shu-huan (1971: 144–155).
159. For a concise survey of Ch'üan-chen influence, see Demiéville 1957. This article was an important stimulus to a comparative study of representations of the Ch'üan-chen patriarchs in drama and hagiography by David Hawkes (1981). Monographic studies of Ch'üan-chen include Ch'en Yüan 1941 (rpt., 1962), Kubo Noritada 1967b, and Yao Tao-chung 1980b. I am grateful to Chan Hok-lam for the latter reference. Ch'en Yüan's work is particularly noteworthy for the epigraphic data included. A number of Ch'üan-chen monuments are also transcribed in Ts'ai Mei-piao 1955; critically reviewed in Iriya Yoshitaka 1956.
160. As Hawkes (1981: 166) states, the term *chin-lien* has its origin in the Golden Lotus Hall 金蓮堂 that a patron named Chou Po-t'ung 周伯通 had set up for the founder Wang Che and his followers in Ning-hai 寧海 (Shantung) in 1169; see HY 297, 1.5b. The origin of the name Ch'üan-chen, according to hagiographic legend, dates to 1167 when Wang Che first arrived at Ning-hai. Before his first disciple, Ma Yü 馬鈺 (known initially as Ma I-fu 馬宜甫), even met Wang, he is said to have dreamed that a crane burst out of the ground at a spot in his southern garden. When the master arrived and they began to select a site for his retreat, Wang reportedly pointed to the very same piece of ground that had figured in Ma's dream and he immediately gave it the name Ch'üan-chen (Complete Perfection); see HY 297, 1.4a.
161. See Oyanagi 1934: 91–101 for the variant schools associated with these early Ch'üan-chen disciples. The dates given for Wang Che and the seven disciples are those traditionally recorded; but in four instances, the precise dates given by month and day fall at the very end of the lunar year, thus requiring an adjustment in the date given according to the solar calendar: (1) Wang Che's date of birth, the 22nd of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 11 January 1113; (2) Ma Yü's date of death, the 22nd of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 5 February 1184; (3) Sun Pu-erh's date of death, the 29th of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 12 February 1184; and (4) Hao Ta-t'ung's date of death, the 30th of the twelfth lunar month, corresponds to 23 January 1213.
162. The preface is signed by a "Ch'ang-ch'un hu-t'ien" 長春壺天 of P'ing-shui 平水 (Shansi), whom the editors of the "*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*" (1984.2: 2) identify as Mao Shou-ta 毛收大.
163. These texts are listed in the memorial inscription composed for Ch'in by Yüan Hao-wen 元好問 (1190–1257), the full text of which is preserved

- in his *I-shan wen-chi* 遼山文集 (SPTK ed.), 31.12a–14b. The passage concerning the five texts is missing in an abbreviated version of the inscription printed in HY 971 *Kan-shui hsien-yuan lu* 甘水仙源錄, 7.24a–26b, on which see Chapter 3, section 2. As Schipper (1981–82: 116) points out, these same texts are among the last cited in the catalogue of lost *Tao-tsang* texts, CT 1430 (HY 1419) *Tao-tsang ch'üeh-ching mu-lu* 道藏闕經目錄. See also “*Tao-tsang t'i-yao* hsüan-k'an” 1984.3: 98.
164. The first biography opens with a report on Wang Hsüan-fu's 王玄甫 (*alias* Tung-hua) instruction under Pai-yün shang-chen 白雲上真 (Supreme Perfected of the White Clouds). The preface of 1241 simply states that the heritage of Ch'üan-chen originated with Tung-hua but, as the “*Tao-tsang t'i-yao* hsüan-k'an” (1984.2: 3) notes, the text itself ultimately traces the legacy back to Lord Lao, the Most High. Although no biography for Lord Lao is included, the *tsan* 贊 (encomium) accompanying Tung-hua's biography traces his teachings from Chin-mu 金母 (Golden Matriarch) to Tung-hua's tutor, Pai-yün shang-chen (HY 173, 1.2a).
165. See Arthur Waley's translation of 1931. For an annotated edition with supplements, see Wang Kuo-wei 1937. Ch'iu's biography is also included in the *Yüan shih* 202, on which see Nogami Shunjō 1978. Several works pertaining to Ch'iu are printed in Yen I-p'ing 1974–76, vol. 2. In addition to Wang Kuo-wei's edition, Yen includes the texts of: Ting Chien's 丁謙 (1843–1919) *Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen hsi-yu chi ti-li k'ao-cheng* 長春真人西遊記地理考證, Ch'en Yüan's 陳垣 *Li Chih-ch'ang chih tsu-nien* 李志常之卒年, and Ch'en Ming-kuei's 陳銘珪 *Ch'ang-ch'un Tao-chiao yüan-liu* 長春道教源流 (1879). Among more recent studies, see Kubo Noritada 1963 and Chou Shao-hsien 1982.
166. The Pai-yün Kuan in Peking was established as the headquarters of the Chung-kuo Tao-chiao hsieh-hui 中國道教協會 (Chinese Taoist Association) in 1957. This affiliation has only recently been reestablished. I am grateful to the current Secretary-General of the Association, Wang Wei-yeh 王偉業, and the research associate Ms. Wang I-o 王宜峨 for allowing my husband and me to visit the shrine on 13 June 1983, while it was still under restoration. The iconography of the modern-day Pai-yün Kuan, some of which is pictured in a recent publication of the Association, the [*Pei-ching*] *Pai-yün Kuan* [北京] 白雲觀 (Peking, 1983), bears comparison with that documented in Oyanagi 1934 and Tokiwa Daijō 1941, supp. vol. 12, plates 37–41. It is notable that whereas Ch'iu is the central image in this shrine, it is Lü Yen who holds that position in another temple dedicated to the Lung-men branch, that is, the Ching Chung Koon 青松菴 of the New Territories, Kowloon.

167. See P'u Chiang-ch'ing 1936 and Richard F. S. Yang 1958. As Hawkes (1981: 169) also points out, the "pa-hsien" invoked in the early *tsa-chü* scripts never matched what has come to be regarded as the conventional ensemble: Chung-li Ch'üan 鍾離權, Lü Tung-pin 呂洞賓, Li T'ieh-kuai 李鐵拐, Ts'ao Kuo-chiu 曹國舅, Ho Hsien-ku 何仙姑, Han Hsiang-tzu 韓湘子, Chang Kuo-lao 張果老, and Lan Ts'ai-ho 藍采和. This particular group was not actually specified in any literary work until Wu Yüan-t'ai's 吳元泰 *Pa-hsien ch'u-ch'u tung-yü chi* 八仙出處東遊記, which appeared in the latter half of the 16th century.
168. Compare the account in HY 305, 7.8b-9a, with that in HY 297, 1.2b-3a. It appears that, prior to his reported encounter with Lü, Wang experienced a sort of mid-life crisis and began behaving in a way that encouraged the locals of Kuan-chung 關中 (Shensi) to label him "hai-feng" 害風 (wild and crazy). The pose of madness influenced not only the writings of Wang and his disciple Ma Yü but also the plays about them, on which see Hawkes 1981: 155ff. As mentioned earlier, the recipient of the T'ung-ch'u revelations, Yang Hsi-chen, also adopted this posture, one many religious figures in Chinese history favored. An earlier example is an acolyte of T'ao Hung-ching named Huan K'ai, the subject of Strickmann 1984 (see note 95).
169. See note 344.
170. On the Mongol proscription of Taoist texts, see Chavannes 1904, Kubo Noritada 1968, and Thiel 1961. As Chavannes notes, wall paintings illustrating the *Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua-t'u* are known to have been popular in temples of the 13th century (see also Waley 1931: 17). Such paintings could evidently also be found in the 18th century, judging from the account on the Yüan-t'ung Kuan 元通觀 in the *T'ai-yüan fu-chih* 太原府志, compiled in 1783 by T'an Shang-chung 譚尚忠 (48.10b-11a).
171. On the history of the text, see Kenneth K. S. Ch'en 1945. As Ch'en notes, a *Chin-ch'üeh hsüan-yüan T'ai-shang Lao-chün pa-shih-i hua-t'u shuo* 金闕玄元太上老君八十一化圖說, dating to 1598, was reported to be in the Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin (see Mueller 1911: 409-411). Fukui Kōjun (1957: 307ff.) describes two editions in his own library, which are the subject of further study in Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1959: 172ff. See also Kubo Noritada 1972. Lu Kung (1982) describes a recently discovered edition printed in Liaoning in 1532.
172. Of considerable interest are the popular novels based on the Seven Perfected, editions of which correspond rather faithfully to the chronology established by Li Tao-ch'ien. Werner Eichhorn (1979) summarizes the contents of an edition entitled *Pei-p'ai ch'i-chen hsiu-tao shih-chuan* 北遊七真修道史傳 in *Tao-tsang ching-hua* 道藏精華, series 8, no. 10 (Taipei: Tzu-yu 自由, 1965). According to the editor of the series, Hsiao T'ien-shih 蕭天石, this edition dates to 1893. It was compiled by Huang Yung-liang 黃永亮 and is also known by the title *Ch'i-chen*

yin-kuo 七真因果. The *Chin-lien ch'i-chen chuan-i* 金蓮七真傳義, edited by Ho Ch'i-sheng 何緝生 (Taipei: Shanghai Printing Co., Ltd. 上海印刷廠股份有限公司, 1979), is also said to be based on the work of Huang Yung-liang. Starting in 1979, this edition was published serially in *Tao-chiao wen-hua* 道教文化, the publication offices of which were originally located at the Chüeh-hsiu Kung 覺修宮 of Taipei. Curiously, a less colloquial, perhaps even earlier, edition entitled *Ch'i-chen yin-kuo chuan* 七真因果傳, appeared serially in the *Cheng-yen tsa-chih yüeh-k'an* 正言雜誌月刊 (1981-83), which became the new publication of the Chüeh-hsiu Kung after it came under the leadership of Ch'en Tzu-ts'ung 陳子從. This is the same edition that has been published as the *Ch'i-chen shih-chuan* 七真史傳 (Taipei: Wu-chou 五洲出版社, 1977). Endres 1985 translates the illustrated *Ch'i-chen chuan* of Huang Yung-liang reprinted in 1969 and reissued in 1974 from the archives of the Ching Chung Koon 青松觀 of Hong Kong. Texts with which this edition is collated include the versions printed in Taipei in 1965 and 1977. Among other sources noted by Endres is a Ming dynasty manuscript in the Taiwan National University Library, the *Ch'i-chen hsien-chuan* 七真仙傳 compiled during the Chin (1115-1234) by Chang Pang-chih 張邦直, enlarged by a disciple of Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193-1256) named Wang Sui 王粹 (d. 1243), and reedited by the Ch'üan-chen Master Li Ting 李鼎 (fl. 1241-1242). Unlike the novel, this text presents separate biographical accounts for Wang Che and the six male disciples. See note 387 regarding an 1821 *pao-chüan* version of the narrative text translated by Endres.

173. Li Tao-ch'ien's contributions are discussed further in Chapter 3 under Epigraphy.
174. Yang Hsi and Chang Tao-ling are well known as recipients of the Shang-ch'ing and Cheng-i scriptural traditions, respectively. On Cheng Ssu-yüan's role in the transmission of the Ling-pao legacy associated with Ko Hsüan 葛玄, see Ôfuchi Ninji 1974 and Bokenkamp 1983:439, 450. Yin Hsi, the putative disciple of Lao-tzu, inspired a cult of his own at least as early as the T'ang. Generations of those heir to his teachings are traced in a compilation by Chu Hsiang-hsien (fl. 1279-1308), discussed in Chapter 3 under Epigraphy.
175. See Chapter 1, section 4.
176. The name of this deity is given as Chu Sui 朱大遂. As the one who immediately precedes Tsu Shu in the history of the transmission of Ch'ing-wei, Ling-kuang sheng-mu is cited as the penultimate entry in the initial pantheon of HY 171, 5a-b. Note that the place name Kuei-yang chün was authorized from 1133 until the beginning of the Yüan (Ku Tsu-yü 1973:80.3451), although this episode is traditionally dated to T'ang Chao-tsung's 唐昭宗 reign (889-904). The incongruity suggests that the Tsu Shu legend may be a complete fabrication, the source of which

- can perhaps be traced no earlier than Nan Pi-tao (b. 1196).
177. The Primordial Goddess Wen Yung 文慵元君 is the only divine being other than Tsu cited in the registers of all four scriptural traditions—always immediately preceding the entry for Tsu (HY 171, 8a, 8b, 10b, 11b).
178. For variant tabulations of the hierarchies associated with the Ch'ing-wei synthesis, see note 78. Filiation of the sources is considerably aided by a careful collation of various datable interpolations, such as modifications in honorific titles and amplification of the line of transmission.
179. Akizuki has written several articles on this topic, culminating in a monograph entitled *Chūgoku kinsei Dōkyō no keisei: Jōmeidō no kisoteki kenkyū* (1978). See also further clarifications in Akizuki 1981 and 1982. For a concise summary of Akizuki 1966, see Paul Demiéville's entry in *Revue bibliographique de Sinologie 1966-67* (Paris, 1980), no. 924. A study of an edition of the *Kung-kuo ko* 功過格 associated with the Ching-ming Tao is found in Yoshioka 1970b:287ff. The earlier Hsiao-tao tradition is the subject of Schipper 1981, a revised version of which is forthcoming in *Tantric and Taoist Studies*, vol. 3, edited by Michel Strickmann. On the early history of the cult, see also Liu Ts'un-yan 1984a and 1985b. That Hsü's fame was established from Szechwan to Kiangsi seems to reflect the successful transmission of storytelling traditions from one waterway to the next. This phenomenon has been observed by many folklorists, including Wolfram Eberhard. For a summary of the literature bearing on Hsü Sun, see Eberhard 1968:399ff. The theme of ritual combat is one of the more pervasive if not definitive features in the development of Taoist ritual traditions. It is a subject that bears scrutiny in light of Joseph Fontenrose's 1959 study of the combat theme in Hellenic traditions.
180. Akizuki (1978:23-26) and Schipper (1981:103) suggest that this text preserves the essence of a lost work entitled [*Hsi Shan*] *Shih-erh chen-chün chuan* [西山] 十二真君傳 by Hu Hui-ch'ao 胡惠超 (d. 703), who is credited with a revival of the cult (see below). See also the summary on HY 449 in "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an," 1984.2:10-11. Compare one of the earliest citations of this text in HY 596 *Hsien-yüan pien-chu* 仙苑編珠, 3.20b, compiled by Wang Sung-nien 王松年 sometime after 921. For the bibliographic history of Hu Hui-ch'ao's text during the Sung, see van der Loon 1984:127. Note also that a 2-ch. *Shih-erh chen-chün chuan* ascribed to Yü Pien 余卞 is listed in the bibliographic monograph of the *Sung shih* 宋史 (ibid., p. 73). As Schipper (1981:107n18) points out, the hagiographies give various dates for Hsü's ascent. HY 449 dates it to 292, but the accounts compiled after 1220 consistently place the event in 374, thus making Hsü 136 years old at the time. Schipper suggests that the date of Yüan-k'ang 元康 2 (292) of HY 449 should be read Hsien-k'ang 咸康 2 (336) but acknowledges that

the 374 date is still the one most commonly cited.

181. As Schipper (1981:103) notes, Wu Meng is one of the exemplars highlighted in the ever-popular *Erh-shih-ssu hsiao* 二十四孝 tableaux.
182. This tale is clearly an archetypal "demon story" (see note 71).
183. See the discussion in Schipper 1981:108–110. The T'ang scripture on Hsiao-tao is recorded in the Canon under two titles: HY 66 *Yüan-shih tung-chen tz'u-shan hsiao-tzu pao-en ch'eng-tao ching* 元始洞真應善孝子報恩成道經 and HY 1104 *T'ai-shang tung-hsüan ling-pao p'ahsien wang-chiao chieh-ching* 太上洞玄靈寶八仙王教誡經.
184. An anonymous Ming *tsa-chü* takes up this legend, under the fitting title of *Hsü Chen-jen pa-chai fei-sheng* 許真人拔宅飛昇 [The Perfected Hsü Snatches Up His Household and Soars Upward], in the *Ku-pen hsi-ch'ü ts'ung-k'an ssu-chi* 古本戲曲叢刊四集 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1958). Another work that was also clearly inspired by the hagiographic tradition is a 15-ch. novel entitled *Hsü Ching-yang te-tao ch'in-chiao t'ieh-shu chi* 許旌陽得道擒蛟鐵樹記. The earliest extant edition of this work, by Teng Chih-mo 鄧志謨, dates to 1603. Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) adapted this text as a short story for two different anthologies. The most accessible is the *Ching-shih t'ung-yen* 警世通言, annotated by Yen Tun-i 嚴教易 (Peking: Jen-min ren wen wen, c1956; rpt., 1980), pp. 593–647. Another redaction is found in Feng's *San-chiao ou-nien* 三教偶拈, the only extant copy of which is in the Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo 東洋文化研究所 of Tokyo University. See the discussions in Hanan 1973:24, 75 and 1981:103. According to Li T'ien-i (1957), the content of the two received versions of Feng's story is identical, but the headings differ. The organization of the material is just the reverse of that found in HY 449, with the theme of filiality taking precedence over Hsü's demonifuge exploits. See also Ono 1982.
185. The entire *Yü-lung chi* occupies ch. 31–36 in HY 263. The sections under discussion here are ch. 33 *Ching-yang Hsü Chen-chün chuan* 旌陽許真君傳 and ch. 34 *Hsü Chen-chün chuan* 許真君傳 on the history of the cult, and ch. 35–36 *Hsiao-yao Shan ch'ün-hsien chuan* 遙山群仙傳, the supplementary biographies. For further discussion of HY 263, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations. Pai Yü-ch'an's literary legacy is discussed further in Chapter 4, section 12.
186. HY 263, 34.1a. Note that the first entry in the *Yü-lung chi* (HY 263, 31.1a) is an account of the Yü-lung Kung 宮 (Palace of Jade Beneficence), as the Yü-lung Kuan was relabeled by decree in 1116. See also the entry entitled "Hsü Chen-chün" 許真君 in the *I-chien chih*, p. 759, concerning the active worship of Hsü at the Yü-lung Kung.
187. As Akizuki (1978:50–61) points out, Ching-yang is historically unattested as a place name in Szechwan. He suggests that it may be an error for Te-yang 德陽 district in Han-chou 漢州 (Szechwan) or that it may refer to the Ching-yang district of Ching-chou 荊州 (Hupeh), which fell

under the jurisdiction of the Shu Han 蜀漢 kingdom (221–263).

188. *Sung shih* 20.385. As Akizuki (1978: 30–31) suggests, Hui-tsung's homage to Hsü Sun may have been encouraged by Wang Tzu-hsi 王仔昔, a prognosticator and healer who claimed to be the recipient of Hsü's personal instruction on ritual. Hui-tsung summoned him several times to court, and a year after he had canonized Hsü, he gave Wang the title of "T'ung-miao hsien-sheng" 通妙先生. When Lin Ling-su gained favor at court, Wang was accused of wrongdoing and was sent to prison, where he died (*Sung shih* 462:13528).
189. See, for example, HY 562 *Ling-pao ching-ming hsün-hsiu chiu-lao shen-yin fu-mo pi-fa* 靈寶淨明新修九老神印伏魔秘法, dated 1131, and the discussion in Akizuki 1978: 31–33.
190. See note 180. Note that, according to this late biography, Hu is also credited with ending what he construed to be "perverse sacrifices" (*yin-ssu* 淫祀) at Yü-chang. It is reported that when he found the people propitiating a malign one-legged spirit before a camphor tree, Hu condemned it with a talisman, chopped it into firewood, and burned the remains, after which he established a legitimate temple on the site (HY 263, 36.8b). Taoist communities have long been known to exercise whatever control they could over the "perverse" sacrificial rites indigent to their region. The early history of these efforts at reform is discussed in Stein 1979 and Miyakawa 1979. The threat of human sacrifices, the power of shrines to wayward spirits, and the destruction of those shrines are popular subjects of the *I-chien chih* anthology, e.g., pp. 405–406, 1235–1236, 1238–1239, and 1497–1498. Often the state and local Taoist officials saw eye to eye on the need to curtail practices perceived to pose a threat to social and political order. Even after a Taoist parish had lost its vitality, the temple walls that remained could still serve as a mouthpiece for the state in defining acceptable and unacceptable religious practices. For example, on 20 May 1982, at the Ch'ing-yang Kung 青羊宮 in Ch'eng-tu, the administrative office of the Wen-hua kung-yüan 文化公園, the site of the temple, posted a sign citing regulations to take effect upon the restoration of this famous shrine, curtailing the "superstitious activities" of lawless sorcerers and any others attempting to turn a profit at the site by peddling "tools of superstition," such as incense, candles, and paper money (photographed on site, 26 June 1983). Anna Seidel (1978: 430) cites Clarence B. Day's report of a similar interdiction issued by the Kuomintang in 1928, effective throughout Kwangsi Province.
191. The *Yü-lung chi* itself was apparently compiled sometime after 1220, the date given for the second composition in the work (HY 263, 31.3b).
192. Schipper (1981: 108n23) suggests the text may have been the result of a *fu-chi* 扶乩, or spirit-writing session. It is of interest in this regard that a set of 120 oracular verses (*sheng-ch'ien* 聖籤) attributed to Hsü were

said to have been used at the shrine set up by Hsü's nephew after his uncle's ascension (HY 263, 34.1a; HY 448, 2.13a-b). Note also that a *Shih-erh chen-chün ch'ien-p'u* 十二真君籤譜 is listed in 12th-century bibliographies (van der Loon 1984: 73).

193. HY 596 *Hsien-yüan pien-chu* 3.21b-22a.
194. Note that the date 1224 cited in the opening episode of the colophon, concerning Hsü Sun's epiphany in Chin-ling 金陵, is not to be misconstrued as the date of its composition.
195. The twelve perfected lords in the title refer to Hsü and his eleven disciples. As noted earlier, this is the title by which a composition of Hu Hui-ch'ao was known to have circulated (see note 180), but it is unlikely that this was the text Sung had at hand if the reedition of HY 448 is at all representative of that particular manuscript.
196. Akizuki 1978: 14.
197. HY 448, 3.23a: “或張或李左推右托” was the sort of response he claimed to have gotten in his attempt to collect subscriptions over the previous five to seven years.
198. The epithet “Wan-shou” was added in 1116, when the shrine was relabeled a *kung* 宮 (HY 263, 34.3a). See Akizuki 1978: 39-43 on the location of Hsiao-yao Shan vis-à-vis Hsi Shan. The former is popularly said to be on the sunward side of the latter, and it seems to have become the place name of preference with regard to Hsü's shrine by the 13th century, if not earlier. For the physical layout of the Yü-lung Kung from the Sung to 1871, see *Hsiao-yao Shan Wan-shou Kung chih* 逍遙山萬壽宮志, compiled by Chin Kuei-hsin 金桂馨 and Ch'i Feng-yüan 漆逢源 (1878), 1.20b-37a. This monograph, discussed in Akizuki 1978: 63-86, is an invaluable collection of hagiographic and literary sources related to the Hsü Sun cult.
199. The text was still apparently passed off as the work of Hsü's disciple, for Sun refers to it as “the verse of the Perfected Shih of Hsi Shan” (HY 448, 3.23b).
200. As suggested above, internal evidence seems to support the date 1247, also accepted by Akizuki (1978: 14). Sun Yüan-ming's opening statement in the postscript, however, proves puzzling. He states that he is writing over one thousand years after Hsü Sun's ascension. Thus, one would expect his postscript to date sometime after either 1292 or 1374, depending on whether Sun places Hsü's apotheosis in the year 292 or 374. The text with which he was presented dates the event to 374. If Sun supported that date, he would presumably have been writing in the *ting-wei* year of 1427, but if he believed Hsü's ascent to have taken place in 292 instead of 374, then a postscript written over one thousand years later in the year *ting-wei* would presumably date to 1307. Given his position at the Yü-lung Kung, it is not likely that Sun would speak casually about the date of an event he was in the midst of celebrating. Nonethe-

less, it also seems unlikely that a contemporary of the compiler alias Shih Ch'en 施岑 (fl. 1224–1250) would have appeared at Sun's doorstep in 1307, much less in 1427. There is always the possibility, of course, that Sun's account is fictive, and, although he may have thought himself to have received Chia Shou-ch'eng as a visitor, it may very well have been his avatar whom Sun actually invoked during his preparations for the rites of commemoration. No doubt his own prestige was enhanced considerably by the announcement of the prophetic gift to the temple, regardless of the true origins of the text. The resolution of this contradiction, in short, awaits the discovery of further data on Sun Yüan-ming and the history of this text.

201. Closely cognate to this text is an illustrated biography of Hsü Sun entitled *Chen-hsien shih-chi* 真仙事蹟, presented to the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, by Mrs. P. Yakovleff. The text was compiled by Wang Kung-kuei 王拱楨 of I-yang 弋陽 (Kiangsi) in 1546, and the series of album-leaf illustrations were provided by the landscape and portrait painter Hsieh Shih-ch'en 謝時臣 (1487–1567+). This set, which is not listed in any of the available inventories of Hsieh's works, appears to have been prepared as a gift for Ming Shih-tsung 明世宗 (r. 1522–1566), whose patronage of Taoist ritual commemorations is well known (Liu Ts'un-yan 1971: 35, 42, 55ff.). I am grateful to Mrs. Winnie Louis for kindly supplying me with copies of the original text and her working translation, done while she was on the staff of the Museum of Anthropology. A full collation of this text with the corpus of hagiographic materials on Hsü is under way. For a discussion of two later paintings based on the myth of Hsü's ascension, see Andrews 1984. Apparently the earliest known painting on this theme is the *Hsü Chen-chün pa-chai ch'eng-hsien t'u* 許真君拔宅成仙圖 by Huang Ch'üan 黃筌 (fl. 919–960) of Ch'eng-tu, cited in the catalogue of Hui-tsung's collection of paintings, the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 宣和畫譜, 16.257, classified under the category of "hua-niao" 花鳥 (flowers and birds).
202. Chapter 1 is devoted to biographies; chapter 2 includes texts attributed to Hsü Sun, Hu Hui-ch'ao, and Kuo P'u; and chapters 3 through 6 are dialogic treatises. The latter are discussed below in Chapter 4, section 20. Note that a 1452 edition of the *Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu*, collated by Shao I-cheng 邵以正, is listed in the *Naikaku b:unko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄, p. 321. Wang Chung-min (1983: 412) also makes note of another late corpus of literature on the Ching-ming cult, the 15-ch. *Hsü Chen-chün Ching-ming tsung-chiao lu* 許真君淨明宗教錄, with a 1-ch. supplement entitled *Ching-ming kuei-i nei-ching* 淨明歸一內經 and a preface by Yang Erh-tseng 楊爾曾, dated 1603.

203. Akizuki 1978: 141–155. For the distinction between two individuals with the name Liu Yü, see note 59.
204. Akizuki 1978: 17.
205. The stories here on human sacrifice and fox spirits bring to mind many similar tales in the *I-chien chih* (see note 190).
206. HY 1102, 1.23b: “ching-t’ien ch’ung-tao, chi-sheng tu-ssu” 敬天崇道濟生度死.
207. I have been unable to identify Lan the Perfected. Ch’ang-ch’un Kung may refer to the original residence of Ch’iu Ch’u-chi at the Pai-yün Kuan. The title Ta Ch’ang-ch’un Kung 大長春宮 was bestowed in 1215 on the hall in which Ch’iu settled, according to an inscription dated 1295 (Oyanagi 1934: 15–16).
208. Note that the names of some of Hsü Hui’s disciples are revealed in the titles of the verses recorded. As Akizuki (1978: 155–161) observes, the biographies of Liu Yü, Huang Yüan-chi, and Hsü Hui in the *Hsiao-yao Shan Wan-shou Kung chih*, ch. 5, are followed by those of Chao I-chien 趙宜真 (d. 1382) and his disciple Liu Yüan-jan 劉淵然 (1351–1432). Although Chao, according to this 19th-century text (5.32a), was revered as the heir to the Ching-ming legacy, there is no mention of any contact with Hsü Hui. A disciple of Liu Yüan-jan by the name of Shao I-cheng 邵以正 compiled a later collection of Ching-ming materials (see note 202). On both Chao and Liu, see Chapter 4, section 17.
209. See, for example, HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 125, 219.
210. Three are listed in Ch’ou Te-tsai 1980: 80–82.
211. Cited in Jen Chi-yü 1981: 46, reviewed in Liu Ts’un-yan 1983. I am indebted to Professor Chiang Ying-hao 蔣英豪 of the Chinese University of Hong Kong for reference to Liu’s review. An entry on the Wan-shou Kung is also found in the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz’u-tien* 中國名勝詞典 (1981: 525). One of the latest accounts of religious activity in the region is found in the *Hsing-an hui-lan* 刑案匯覽, a corpus of legal cases compiled ca. 1866; see Bodde and Morris 1973: 272–273.
212. Note the entries of Yüeh Shih 樂史 (930–1007), *T’ai-p’ing huan-yü chi* 太平寰宇記, 110.6b; and Wang Hsiang-chih 王象之 (fl. 1196–1221), *Yü-ti chi-sheng* 輿地紀勝, 29.5b, on Pao-kai Shan 寶蓋山 (alternate name for Hua-kai Shan), regarding the shrine of Fou-ch’iu from which Wang and Kuo were said to have made their ascent. Lord Fou-ch’iu is traditionally dated to the reign of Chou Ling-wang 周厲王 (ca. 550 B.C.E.). The precise identities of the two disciples vary from one account to the next.
213. Although the temple they visited is unnamed, the most prominent site appears to have been the Ch’iao-hsien Kuan 橋仙觀, which in 1075 was renamed Ch’ung-hsien Kuan 崇仙觀. The decree marking this name change is recorded in full, and this site also figures in the subse-

quent decrees of 1117 and 1137 (HY 777, 2.11b–15b).

214. See note 217 below on the Hsüan-miao Kuan.
215. The current title appears to have been devised upon the incorporation of the work in the Canon. It is not known what title was attached to the edition put out by Liu and Wang in 1261. The reference Chang Yen makes to the text in his preface uses the abbreviation *Shih-shih* [A Case History]. For accounts of Chang Yü-ch'u's pilgrimages and ritual activities in the Hua-kai Shan region, see HY 1300 *Hsien-ch'üan chi* 峴泉集, 3.21a–b, 3.33a–34b, 4.3a, 6.6b–7a, and 9.17a–b. This anthology is discussed in Chapter 4.
216. Liu and Wang indicate in their preface that accounts verifying the divine efficacy of the local guardians were in the Huang manuscript that they printed. Only two stories appear to be later interpolations, namely, those that cite the later Southern Sung reign titles of Ching-ting 景定 (1260–1264) and Hsien-ch'un 咸淳 (1265–1274). I am grateful to Robert Hymes for pointing out the Pao-yu 寶祐 (1253–1258) date in one of the entries (for both, see HY 777, 6.13a–14b), giving me cause to reevaluate the history of the text. For an introduction to the state's relations with the elite of the Hua-kai region, see his dissertation, "Elite, State, and Locality in Sung China: A Study of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi" (University of Pennsylvania, 1979).
217. Only once, earlier in the text, is there any further mention of those connected with the T'ien-hsin legacy. In explanation of the origins of ritual texts, the interlinear commentary to Shen T'ing-jui's (d. 985) *Erh chen-chün shih-lu* states: "The ritual texts encased in stone that Jao Tung-ch'i 饒洞氣 [sic] obtained at Hua-kai Shan and that Teng Yu-kung of this day and age promotes are precisely those [cited] here" (HY 777, 2.7b). The author of this commentary is unfortunately not identified. He appears at any rate to have been a contemporary of Teng Yu-kung. If we accept Teng's dates as 1210–1279 (see note 65), that would date the commentator to the generation of Liu Hsiang and Wang K'o-ming. We do not know if Huang Mi-chien was of their generation, for they give no details about how they happened to acquire his work. Internal dates only tell us that the interlinear commentary must have been compiled sometime between 1138 and 1293. The terminus a quo is determined by the citation of Kuang-ch'ang district 廣昌縣, which was not established until 1138 (cited 2.3a). The terminus ad quem is inferred from the citation of a Fu-chou 撫州 temple by its current name of T'ien-ch'ing Kuan 天慶觀 (2.2b). This temple is among those the editors of Chang Yüan-shu's 1185 text list as duplicate entries of Shen's text (3.14b; see editor's note, 3.15b). But in this citation the current name of the temple is given as Hsüan-miao Kuan 玄妙觀, the temple that is known to have been under the supervision of K'ung Te-jung in 1391. According to the *Chiang-hsi t'ung-chih* 江西通志 (1881), 123.44a, the

- Hsüan-miao Kuan of Fu-chou was given its name during the Yüan. Another temple, situated just southwest of Fu-chou, in Chi-an 吉安, was, according to the same source, known as T'ien-ch'ing Kuan from 1018 until 1293, when it was dubbed the Hsüan-miao Kuan. The chronology of name change at the temple of like name in Fu-chou is in all likelihood identical.
218. HY 1466 *Sou-shen chi* (discussed in section 2 above), 4.18b, describes the unending stream of devotees who paid homage to the three guardians. Lord Fou-ch'iu is evoked in one of the Ch'ing-wei ritual texts in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 22.9a, and the three Perfected Lords of Hua-kai figure in a ritual honoring Tou-mu 斗母, avatar of Marici, as recorded in HY 1440 *Hsien-t'ien tou-mu tsou-kao hsüan-k'o* 先天斗母奏告玄科, 3a. Note that the edition of HY 777 printed in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* is preceded by a scriptural recitation entitled *T'ai Hua-kai san-hsien chen-chün chieh-yüan mieh-tsui tu-jen hsin-ching* 太華蓋三山真君解冤滅罪度人心經. The three Perfected Lords are, moreover, regarded as the central patriarchs of the *Tzu-t'ing chui-fa pu-tuan ta-fa* 紫庭追伐補斷大法 in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 217-218. This is apparently the only ritual manual associated with the cult to survive.
219. On the community at Lu Shan during Hui-yüan's time, see Zürcher 1959:208-231. See also T. 2095 *Lu Shan chi* 廬山記 of Ch'en Shun-yü 陳舜俞 (d. 1074) on both Buddhist and Taoist establishments at the site, including the T'ai-p'ing Kuan. This text is the subject of Reiter 1978 and 1980 and a variorum edition of it is found in Wu Tsung-tz'u 吳宗慈, ed., *Lu Shan chih* 廬山志, supp. vol. 11.
220. The shrine was first labeled *kuan* 觀 (abbey). In 1124 it was renamed *kung* 宮 (palace); see HY 1276, 2.7a-b.
221. For chronicles of Lao-tzu based on this format, see Chapter 3, Historiography.
222. On the Envoy of the Nine Celestial Realms during Hsüan-tsung's reign, see also Benn 1977:85ff.
223. Note that two 12th-century Sung bibliographies cite an anonymous 1-ch. *Chiu-t'ien ts'ai-fang chen-chün chuan* 九天採訪真君傳 (van der Loon 1984:71).
224. HY 1276, 2.7b-8a.
225. For background on Chang Liu-sun and a translation of the stone inscription erected in honor of him at the Tung-yüeh Miao 東嶽廟 of Peking, see Ten Broeck and Yiu Tung 1950.
226. Note that, according to Albert H. Stone and J. Hammond Reed (1921:86-87), only the foundations of the drum and bell towers of this temple were found standing in the early part of this century.
227. Note, for example, the story attributed to the *I-chien chih* (HY 1276, 7.13a), which is apparently not in the current edition of the work.

Among the stories of the *I-chien chih* that do survive in the modern edition are two concerning Yeh I-wen's (*tz'u*, Shen-yen 審言) ability to frighten away baleful specters.

228. On Wang Ch'in-jo's role in the manifestation of the ominous Celestial Script (*T'ien-shu* 天書) of 1008, see Sun K'o-k'uan 1965:71ff., and Schmidt-Glintzer 1981. Discussions on this subject and the *I-sheng pao-te chuan* were led by Michel Soymié in a recent series of seminars, reports of which are found in Soymié 1974–75, 1975–76, and 1976–77.
229. The text found in *chüan* 103 of HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* merits collation with this 12th-century recension. Note that the title given there is *I-sheng pao-te chen-chün chuan* 翊聖保德真君傳, whereas Wang Ch'in-jo's presentation statement (HY 1026, 103.29b; HY 1275, 3.10a) proposes the title *I-sheng pao-te chen-chün shih-chi* 事跡. The title according to the preface of 1285 reads: *I-sheng ying-kan ch'u-ch'ing pao-te chuan* 翊聖應感信者慶保德傳.
230. See van der Loon 1984:137. This edition of Ch'ao's bibliography was compiled by his pupil Yao Ying-chi 姚應績 and reprinted in 1249 by the prefect of Ch'ü-chou (Chekiang). Wang also compiled the *Hsien-t'ien chi* 先天紀 upon imperial command. As van der Loon (1984:100) notes, this chronicle of the ruling house's putative ancestor Huang-ti corresponds to the *Hsüan-yüan pen-chi* 軒轅本紀 in HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 100, to which Chen-tsung's preface is attached. See note 133 concerning the relation of this text to the chronicle in HY 296.
231. This Chang Shou-chen is not to be confused with the 32nd Celestial Master of the same name (d. 1176).
232. Lou Kuan is the name of a shrine established in the Chung-nan Shan mountains in honor of the putative disciple of Lao-tzu named Yin Hsi 尹喜. For the history of this shrine, see the discussion on HY 956 in Chapter 3, Epigraphy, section 2.
233. See Ch'ou Te-tsai 1980:283–312. On the cult in North China, see Grootaers 1952. The cult of Chen-wu was the subject of a seminar summarized in Soymié 1973–74.
234. On the history of Hsüan-wu, see Hsü Tao-ling 1947. Iconographic traditions are discussed in White 1940:169–175 and 1945.
235. HY 957, 1.5a. See the discussion on HY 960 *Wu-tang fu-ti tsung-chen chi* in Chapter 3, Topography, section 6.
236. HY 753, 1.4b–5a; see also 6.27a–b. The year 1197 is mentioned in 5.13a. For another copy of the scripture without commentary, see HY 774 *T'ai-shang shuo Hsüan-t'ien ta-sheng chen-wu pen-chuan shen-chou miao-ching*. I am grateful to Professor van der Loon for encouraging me to reexamine the various texts on the Hsüan-wu cult.
237. Whereas the author of the panegyric is not identified here, Sung Jen-tsung's name appears with the copy of this text preserved in HY 959, 3.15a, a discussion of which follows.

238. See Grootaers 1952: 167–181.
239. Wu Ch'üan-chieh was an influential disciple of Chang Liu-sun (1248–1321). For a survey of Wu and his circle, see Ten Broeck and Yiu Tung 1950 and Sun K'o-k'uan 1968: 156–232, partially summarized in Sun K'o-k'uan 1981.
240. See “Hu-pei Chün-hsien Wu-tang Shan ku chien-chu tiao-ch'a” 湖北均縣武當山古建築調查, *Wen-wu* 1959.7: 35–39. and *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien*, pp. 763–768. For a survey of imperial homage to Hsüan-wu during the Ming, based on historical sources, see Taylor 1981.
241. Note the similarity in the headings given various wall paintings, according to Grootaers 1952: 167–181.
242. Compare the dates of Hsüan-wu's epiphanies here with those given as the days on which he can be expected to descend in HY 1471 *Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti pai-tzu sheng-hao* 玄天上帝百字聖号, printed with the 1607 imprimatur of the 50th Celestial Master Chang Kuo-hsiang. Note also that a list of some of the texts related to the Hsüan-wu cult is cited in Liu Ts'un-yan 1971: 36n17. HY 979 *Ta Ming yü-chih Hsüan-chiao yüeh-chang* 大明御製玄教樂章 includes a sequence of ritual incantations with *kung-ch'ih* 工尺 pitch notation under the title “Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti yüeh-chang” 玄天上帝樂章 (5a–7b) and a set of “Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti tz'u-ch'ü” 詞曲 (9a–10b) without musical notation. The illustrations of HY 958 bear comparison with the figure depicted in HY 1203 *T'ai-shang hsüan-t'ien chen-wu wu-shang Chiang-chün lu* 太上玄天真武無上將軍籙, 1b, one of a number of registers apparently issued under the auspices of the 44th Celestial Master Chang Yü-ch'ing. For documentation of veneration for Hsüan-wu down to 1495, see the *Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih* 大嶽太和山志, compiled by Jen Tzu-yüan 任自垣 in 1431. See also Chou Shao-liang 1985 on a rare anthology of precepts putatively revealed by Hsüan-wu.
243. For a concise summary of this novel, see Grootaers 1952: 147–163. Liu Ts'un-yan (1967a: 202–204) reports on a unique illustrated edition of this work printed in 1602, entitled *Ch'üan-hsiang pei-yü chi Hsüan-ti ch'u-shen chuan* 全像. This work, also known as the *Pei-fang Chen-wu tsu-shih hsüan-t'ien shang-ti ch'u-shen chih-chuan* 北方真武祖師玄天上帝出身志傳, no doubt circulated for some time before Yü got around to printing it himself. As Liu suggests, Yü's publication firm in Fukien had a history extending back to the Sung, so it is not unlikely that he simply recycled a number of out-of-print works under his own name. The illustrated edition in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books of the British Library that Liu describes includes a supplement on the ritual protocols for paying homage to Hsüan-wu, thus presenting a remarkable blend of fictive and sacred materials. This unusual liturgical manual bears collation with comparable ritual texts in the Canon. Seaman 1986 suggests the origins of the novel

- can be traced to spirit-writing.
244. The closing memorial is not included in the copy of this text printed in HY 1458, 1.21a–26a, but a variant version is found in HY 1457 *Tsan-ling chi* 2.7b–8b.
245. As mentioned in note 120, the scriptural revelation of HY 317 is included here.
246. Note that Li Pien's name is given erroneously here as Li Sheng 李昇. For biographies of Hsü Wen and Li Pien, see *Hsin T'ang shu* 61.760–762, 62.765–769. On the political chaos in the closing years of the Min, see also Schafer 1954: 46–62.
247. See note 120 for the corresponding texts. Note that the sequence for the Ling-chi Kung comprises 64 verses, whereas only 53 are found in the version printed as HY 1291. A brief introduction to these texts is found in Strickmann 1983c.
248. The text in question is HY 474, the corresponding passages of which are cited in note 122. Note that some of the texts cited in the table of contents of HY 1458 are missing. The *yüeh-chang* 樂章 listed for chapter 3 are not recorded here, but a series of eight verses entitled “Hung-en ling-chi chen-chün yüeh-chang” 洪恩靈濟真君樂章 may be found in HY 979 *Ta Ming yü-chih Hsüan-chiao yüeh-chang*, pp. 7b–8b.
249. On the Mongol book burning, see the Introduction, and note 170. The *Hsien-kung chuan* that had been lost is identified here as a work of Lü Hsien-sheng 呂先生 (Lü Yen 呂岩?). Piet van der Loon (1984: 92) notes that a *T'ai-chi tso hsien-kung shen-hsien pen-ch'i nei-chuan* 太極左仙公神仙本起內傳 cited in the *Sung shih* bibliographic monograph is attributed to Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (182–252), patron of Ko, but that the bibliographic monographs of both the *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 and the *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 cite a work by Lü Hsien-sheng. Whereas the *Hsin T'ang shu*, 59.1519, implies Lü was the author of a *T'ai-chi tso hsien-kung Ko-chün nei-chuan* 太極左仙公葛君內傳, the *Chiu T'ang shu*, 46.2004, names him as commentator. The same title, without indication of author or commentator, is also cited in the *Sui shu* 隋書, 33.979. The editors of the “*Tao-tsang t'i-yao* hsüan-k'an” suggest that Kung recovered the *Hsien-kung chuan* at Ko-tsao Shan before the temples at that site were destroyed on the battlefield of 1352 (1984.2: 11). Thus, it is their conclusion that the date *ting-ssu* given in Chu's preface corresponds to the year 1317. The preface states that the text Kung acquired was recorded, not stored, at Ko-tsao Shan. Moreover, van der Loon notes that Chu Ch'o was among those recommended for office at the beginning of the Ming, according to the *Chu-jung hsien-chih* 句容縣志 (1750; rpt., 1900), 8.22b (personal communication, 9 August 1985). The citation reads: “Chu Ch'o yu Ju-shih jen P'ing-yin chu-p'u” 朱皞由儒士任平陰主簿. That Chu was appointed Registrar of P'ing-yin 平陰 (Shantung) tallies with his own admission

in the preface that he left his post in Shantung to fulfill his mourning obligations on behalf of one of his parents. Although Chu's appointment is undated in the gazetteer, this citation appears between entries with the dates of Hung-wu 洪武 (1368–1398) and Yung-le 永樂 (1403–1424). There is, however, one apparent contradiction in Chu's preface, similar to the one found in HY 448 (see note 120). Chu refers to Ko Hsüan's ascension as an event of approximately 1200 years past, which in itself suggests that *ting-ssu* corresponds to the year 1437.* Were that the case, this text would be the latest work to be included in the 1444–1445 Canon, but it appears that either “1200 years” 千二百年 is a scribal error for 1100 years 千一百年 or Chu simply had a less than accurate recollection of the date of Ko's ascension.

250. Note that, according to van der Loon 1984: 53, a *Hsü Shen-weng yü-lu* 徐神翁語錄 is cited in the catalogue of Yu Mao's 尤袤 (1124–1193) library.
251. Later, more elaborate, biographical accounts suggest Hsü turned into something of a madman following the death of a leprous Taoist Master named Hsü Yüan-chi 徐元吉 whom he alone had attended (HY 296, 52.3a–4b; HY 780, 5.20b–21b). Note that Chang Yü-ch'u's 1395 preface to HY 1239 *San-shih tai T'ien-shih Hsü-ching chen-chün yü-lu* (see Chapter 4, section 18) speaks of Hsü Shen-weng together with the Shenhsiao codifiers Lin Ling-su and Wang Wen-ch'ing. See also the four accounts concerning Hsü cited from the works of the Sung to the Ch'ing in Ting Ch'uan-ching 1981: 706, 1133, 1137.
252. The full title of the text given on page 1a incorporates the official titles of enfeoffment granted Yen in 713 and the epithets of 1120: *T'ang Hung-lu ch'ing Yüeh-kuo kung Ling-hsü chien-su chen-jen chuan* 唐江馬臚卿越國公靈虛見素真人傳. Note that a *Yeh Fa-shan chuan* 葉法善傳 is cited in the *Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu* 崇文總目 and the *Hsin T'ang shu*, according to van der Loon 1984: 150, with Liu Ku-shen 劉谷神 identified as the author in the latter.
253. Eleven episodes in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* alone feature Yeh Fa-shan. The fullest appears in ch. 26 and is based on the *Chi-i chi* 集異記 of Hsüeh Yung-jo 薛用弱 (fl. 823–827) and the *Hsien-chuan shih-i* 仙傳拾遺 of Tu Kuang-t'ing. The opening of this episode is collated with that of HY 778 and the biographical entry on Yeh in HY 296, ch. 39, in Yusa Noboru 1983. The primary source behind this study, as well as behind Ogawa Yôichi 1983, is the *pien-wen* 變文 text entitled “Yeh Ching-neng shih” 葉靜能詩 (S. 6836). Yeh Ching-neng 葉靜能, cited in the genealogy of HY 778, is the grand-uncle of Fa-shan. The tales that evolved around each are clearly derived from a common body of folklore. For a copy of the *pien-wen* text, which apparently dates to the mid-9th century, see Wang Chung-min 1957: 216–229. A translation, entitled “The Wizard Yeh Ching-neng,” is found in Waley

- 1960: 124–144, with notes on pp. 257–258. Edward H. Schafer has also called my attention to a new translation by Alfredo Cadonna (1984). J. Russell Kirkland of the University of Indiana, moreover, has informed me that Yeh Fa-shan is discussed in his dissertation, “Images of T’ang Taoists, 705–756” (personal communication, 24 April 1984). See also Lung Hui 1985.
254. The phrase here, “*Ch’i yü k’uang-hsieh yin-ssu wei tsai-hai che*” 其有狂邪淫祀為災害者 (HY 778, p. 5b), spells out more explicitly than most texts the inherent malevolence of what came to be designated as “perverse shrines.” The *yin-tz’u* 淫祠 differ from legitimate shrines in that the spirit housed within the former essentially blackmails its constituency. The contrast rests between those spirits whose propitiation is regarded as a form of appeasement and those whose propitiation is thought to stimulate auspicious response. Whereas the latter category of authorized spirits are also approached with pleas to ward off disaster, they are not themselves deemed to be the ultimate source of the malevolence at hand. The “perverse” spirits, on the other hand, were thought generally to be innately hostile and therefore capable of a wide range of malign activity. Their shrines were erected out of fear more than anything else. The supporters of these shrines constantly had to placate the spirits with offerings. It is precisely because they were perceived of as ill-boding spirits who could only threaten and not comfort their following that Taoist Masters such as Yeh Fa-shan sought to banish them. The demands they placed on local resources, including blood sacrifices, made them, in short, *spiritus non grati*. How often campaigns against such shrines led to something on the order of a witch hunt is a subject that deserves further study. Certainly it is possible that *yin-tz’u* were initiated so that people could profit from the gullibility of their neighbors. Thus, the attacks on perverse sacrifices are perhaps best viewed as confrontations between supernatural forces and between their mundane representatives. The outcome of these multifaceted encounters no doubt was affected by the socioeconomic or sociopolitical statuses of the different spokesmen for the spirit realm. The disparity of social rank might also explain many of the otherwise inexplicable denouements given stories of such spirit confrontations in the *I-chien chih*.
255. The text of nine talismans is the *Shang-ch’ing yin-shu ku-sui ling-wen* 上清隱書骨髓靈文. It is preserved in the T’ien-hsin corpus of HY 1217 *T’ai-shang chu-kuo chiu-min tsung-chen pi-yao*, 4.1a–7b. A variant version is found in HY 566 *Shang-ch’ing t’ien-hsin cheng-fa*, 3.9b–20a, where the set of talismans is traced from Chang Tao-ling to the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien (1092–1126), with no mention of Yeh Fa-shan.
256. See Soymié 1962: 308–314 for variant accounts of this event, including that of a popular novel entitled *T’ang Ming-huang yü yüeh-kung* 唐明

皇遊月宮

257. Piet van der Loon (1979: 404) points out the clear relation between the colophon of 1274 and HY 780. As mentioned earlier (note 59), Liu Yü of Feng-ch'eng was instrumental in codifying the ritual tradition associated with Wen Ch'ung. The sequence of ritual codes centering on Wen in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 253–256 is given an introduction by Liu Yü, dated 1258.
258. No date of birth is given in the hagiography here which, after all, is no doubt a fictive work. The year 702 is cited in *P'ing-yang hsien-chih* 平陽縣志, 47.1b.
259. The *Ti-ch'i Wen Yüan-shuai ta-fa* 地祇溫元帥大法 of HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 255–256 is identified expressly with Chang Chi-hsien, but the *Tung-yüeh Wen T'ai-pao k'ao-chao pi-fa* 東嶽溫太保考召秘法 of the preceding chapter, 254, is in fact traced to Yeh Fa-shan.
260. The vision of Wen Ch'ung in *Shui-hu chuan* is discussed in Boltz 1981. According to John Lagerwey, his book-length manuscript "Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History" includes a chapter on Wen Ch'ung (personal communication, 11 September 1984).

Notes to Chapter 3

261. Ch'en Kuo-fu (1963:247–251) argues that the *Mao Shan chih* attributed to Liu Ta-pin actually was compiled by Chang Yü 張雨 (1283–after 1356?). His conclusion is drawn primarily from a 1423 preface of Hu Yen 胡榘 (1361–1443) recorded in a 1550 printing of the topography. The crucial line reads: "Chang Po-yü so-shu chi ching-chieh" 張伯雨所書極精潔, which is best read as "That which Chang Po-yü copied is very exacting and neat." While late topographies commonly credit Chang with the compilation of a *Mao Shan chih*, the statement here clearly refers to his calligraphic skills, and indeed Liu is known to have invited him to make a copy of his own work. See the entry on the *Mao Shan chih* in SKCS 1608 and the discussion in Sun K'o-k'uan 1968:75–155 on the topography and the Shang-ch'ing patriarchy. As Strickmann (1981:48) points out, Chang Yü lived for some time at Mao Shan, and nearly all of his poetry refers to the site. Although Chang's topography may not have survived, his HY 780 *Hsüan-p'in lu* (see Chapter 2, section 2) includes what appear to be abstracts of the *Mao Shan chih* biographies for the Shang-ch'ing patriarchy. One work is clearly derivative of the other. A close analysis of these two texts should shed more light on the relation between them. For further background on Chang Yü, see Sun K'o-k'uan 1973.
262. The decrees of 1316 to which Chao refers are reproduced in HY 304, 4.19a–21a.

263. The 1150 “Shan chi” 山記 Liu mentions is one compiled by Tseng Hsün 曾恂 (tzu, Fu-chung 孚仲) and Fu Hsiao 傅霄 (tzu, Tzu-ang 子昂). On Fu Hsiao, see Strickmann 1981:46–47. Another work that may have contributed to Liu’s compilation is the *San Mao Shan chi* 三茅山記 of Chang Yin-lung 張隱龍, cited in the bibliographic monograph of the *Sung shih* (van der Loon 1984:75). Note also that a *Mao Shan hsün hsiao-chi* 茅山新小記 that was originally cited in the *Ch’ung-wen tsung-mu* of 1042 was lost by the year 1144, when the inventory was reconstructed (ibid.: 124).
264. Additional decrees of the 12th and 13th centuries concerning the three Mao brothers are reproduced in HY 172 *San Mao chen-chün chia-feng shih-tien* 三茅真君加封事典, compiled in 1267 by Chang Ta-ch’un 張大淳.
265. Strickmann (1979a: 146n72) notes that the text here is a longer version of the historical narrative preserved in the HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* 104.10b–20a, the origins of which appear to be the lost *Mao-chün chuan* [Life of Lord Mao]. Van der Loon (1984:124) notes that a *Mao san-chün nei chuan* 茅三君內傳 is recorded in three Sung bibliographies and that the name of the author, Li Tsun 李尊, is miswritten as Li Tao 李道 in the redaction printed in HY 1026.
266. The ancestor to this section on topographical features is the “Chi-shen shu” 稽神樞 section of T’ao Hung-ching’s HY 1010 *Chen-kao* 真誥, ch. 11–14, especially ch. 11. I am beholden to Michel Strickmann for bringing this point to my attention.
267. Note that all those ranked as Shang-ch’ing dignitaries are labeled as such in the biographical index of the *Harvard-Yenching Index* no. 25. A good part of this succession, like that in the Celestial Master patriarchy, was no doubt established retroactively. Generally the title *Tsung-shih* 宗師 was passed down from master to disciple.
268. “Chin-hsieh” is an abbreviation of “Chin-ts’o” 金錯 (Golden Inlay) and “Tao-hsieh” 倒薤 (Inverted Shallots), two distinctive types of calligraphy favored by literati.
269. See also the study of Schafer (1980), based largely on the view of T’ang poets. Michel Strickmann has called my attention to the 1 July 1985 issue of the *Asahi shimbun* 朝日新聞, which includes articles on Mao Shan as a site of pilgrimage since autumn of 1982, under the heading “Yomigaeru Dōkyō (Chūgoku)” よみかへる道教(中国), or “Taoism Revived in China.” The head master Chu I-ching 朱易經 is said to preside over fourteen other *Tao-shih* 道士 and 28 assistants. Thousands are reported to have made the ascent to burn offerings of paper money.
270. The five sacred peaks are traditionally identified as (1) Tung-yüeh 東嶽 (Eastern Peak), T’ai Shan 泰山 in Shantung; (2) Hsi-yüeh 西嶽 (Western Peak), Hua Shan 華山 in Shensi; (3) Nan-yüeh 南嶽 (Southern Peak), Heng Shan 衡山 (also known as Huo Shan 霍山) in

- Hunan; (4) Pei-yüeh 北嶽 (Northern Peak), Heng Shan 恒山 in Shansi; and (5) Chung-yüeh 中嶽 (Central Peak), Sung Shan 嵩山 in Honan. T'ai Shan was very early on also known as Tai-tsung 岱宗 or Tai-yüeh 岱嶽. A brief summary of the *Tai shih* is found in STY 1984.3: 99–100.
271. Note that Ming Shen-tsung, whom T'an addresses, offered a prayer to T'ai Shan upon his ascension to the throne in 1573 (HY1460, 7.27a–b). The text is also reproduced and translated in Chavannes 1910: 302. A brief discussion on Ming rites at T'ai Shan is included in Taylor 1981. Taoist Masters, as Taylor points out, have long assumed dominion over the shrines at the five sacred peaks. They prevail yet at the Chung-yüeh Miao 中嶽廟, a temple under restoration that is clearly the scene of cultic veneration for T'ien-chung Wang 天中王 and T'ien-ling Fei 天靈妃, putative daughter of Yü-huang ta-ti 玉皇大帝. Local artisans continue to make clay images for an assemblage in the shrine honoring these deities (photographed on site, 21 June 1983). See also the brief summary in *Sung Shan ti ch'uan-shuo* 嵩山的傳說 (1982), pp. 1–3.
272. Compare this statement of the first day of the eleventh lunar month of 1586 (10 December) with one Cha wrote two weeks earlier (HY 1460, 7.46b–48a) on the fourteenth day of the tenth lunar month (24 November).
273. Of note among the transcendents are Lü Yen (b. 798?) and the eminent Ch'üan-chen Master Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (1148–1227).
274. The table of contents included in the prefatory materials indicates that ch. 9 originally included accounts on Buddhist temples as well as Taoist temples, but the table of contents attached to ch. 9 and the text proper both omit any mention of Buddhist structures. The order of entries in this chapter also differs slightly from the sequence given in the accompanying table of contents.
275. Note that the third member of this trio of Sung scholiasts, namely, Hu Yüan 胡瑗 (993–1059), is not mentioned here, although his name does come up in later chapters. On all three, see Chavannes 1910: 122–123.
276. According to the introductory statement, this state tax was in effect only at T'ai Shan and T'ai-ho Shan (Wu-tang Shan). There is no indication of how long such a revenue system was in effect. The only internal date given is the 37th year of the Chia-ching 嘉靖 reign (1558).
277. The date given for the last episode here (HY 1460, 14.6a) is the eighteenth day of the tenth lunar month, which is four days after the date appearing on Cha's statement in ch. 7, pp. 27a–b (see note 272). Although he could very well have updated his account between the time he composed the earlier statement and the time he composed the one entered into the prefatory material, which is dated the first day of the eleventh lunar month, the context of the passage in ch. 14 suggests a scribal error was made. The episode concerns the trampling to death of

- 61 devotees as they made their way up to the Pi-hsia Kung, a shrine dedicated to the preeminent goddess of T'ai Shan, Pi-hsia yüan-chün 碧霞元君. One would expect, on the basis of her hagiography, which appears earlier in this text (HY 1460, 9.33a-34a), that such crowds would have been more likely to converge upon her shrine on the goddess's putative date of birth, the eighteenth day of the fourth, not the tenth, lunar month. On the tradition of pilgrimages at this time, see Ishii Masako 1983:169. See also the very detailed map of the various landmarks on T'ai Shan inserted between pages 164 and 165. For an early account of the goddess and the shrine, see Chavannes 1910:29-43, 70-72. The shrine still stands on T'ai Shan and reportedly draws worshippers as well as tourists.
278. The year 1554 was apparently the cutoff date of the collection of materials that T'an handed over to Cha. The title of each entry is set off in ch. 15-16, but not in ch. 17. Overall, this edition appears to have been printed from at least three different sets of blocks. According to the editorial note at the head of ch. 16, all names of temples in these writings were changed to accommodate the readings current after 1554. It may be that the earlier records did not go beyond that date because of a crisis of confidence in T'ai Shan around that time. Although one imperial prayer addressed to T'ai Shan in 1554 acknowledges divine assistance in bringing the Yellow River under control after disastrous floods the year before, another prayer two months later laments the nationwide distress caused by invading troops. The next prayer recorded is dated 1569 and pleads again for relief from flooding waters. For these and other decrees in the intervening years, see Chavannes 1910:293-302.
279. *Hua-yüeh chih* 華嶽志 (n.p., 1883), reprinted from the blocks of the 1831 edition that was once preserved at the Yü-ch'üan Yüan 玉泉院 of Hua Shan. The biography of the Ch'üan-chen patriarch Wang Ch'u-i (1142-1198), which was taken from an earlier topography, is a brief account based on standard hagiographic lore, with an interpolation of the claim that he called himself "Lien-feng-tzu" and was the compiler of the *Hua Shan chih* (2.32a). None of the six hagiographic accounts on the Ch'üan-chen patriarch in the Canon gives this nickname nor is there any indication that he ever settled in the Hua Shan region.
280. The preface transcribed here is part of a longer stone inscription printed in full in the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文, 41.6b-8a, under the title "Hsi-yüeh T'ai-hua Shan pei-hsü" 西嶽太華山石碑序. This inscription is among those indexed in "Ch'üan T'ang wen tsung-chiao lei p'ien-mu fen-lei so-yin" 全唐文宗教類篇目分類索引, STY 1981.4:128-158. Note that a *Hua Shan chi* is listed in three Sung bibliographies, none of which gives any indication of authorship (van der Loon 1984:143).

281. HY 307, p. 12a: "Fu-ch'ang" 阜昌, a reign title established by Liu Yü in 1131. See his biography in *Sung shih* 475 and *Chin shih* 77. The latest internal date in HY 307 appears to be 1156, Shao-hsing ping-tzu 紹興丙子 (p. 9b). Note that the date of Liu Ta-yung's preface is given according to the Jurchen reign title Ta-ting 大定. It is of some interest to find a few of the landmarks cited in this 12th-century text also mentioned in a recent guidebook published in Hong Kong, entitled simply *Hua Shan* 華山. The only two temple compounds noted in this text and the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien* (1981:1033-1035) are the Tung-yüeh Miao 東嶽廟 and the Yü-ch'üan Yüan 玉泉院. The latter is said to have been built by Ch'en T'uan 陳搏 (d. 989) and now apparently houses a tourist bureau. Why Wang Ch'u-i's text mentions Ch'en T'uan's name but does not mention the Yü-ch'üan Yüan is a puzzle. It would seem that either the edition in the Canon is incomplete (and Liu Ta-yung did say it totaled over seventy *p'ien*) or it was compiled by someone with little direct knowledge of Hua Shan. Whoever was responsible for this text may actually have been located in the area of Liu Yü's short-lived kingdom. In fact, it is in the Shantung peninsula region that the Ch'üan-chen patriarch Wang Ch'u-i made his career (see Chapter 2, section 4, and Chapter 4, section 8). Since he served Jurchen rulers in the capital at Yen-ching off and on for some twenty years, it hardly appears likely that his name would be associated with a text that refers, if only indirectly, to an anti-Jurchen movement. It is possible, however, that someone wanted to implicate his approval of such activity.
282. In the *Taishō* edition, Ch'en's preface is preceded by one dated a year later, which is signed by a "Cho-sou" 拙叟, perhaps his brother. He identifies Ch'en Keng-sou as a "Tao-jen" 道人 of Lang-chung 閬中 (Szechwan) who established his hermitage beneath the Tzu-kai Feng 紫蓋峰 (Purple-Canopy Peak) of Heng Shan and traveled about in the region for over thirty years. He may have been a member of the Lang-chung Ch'en lineage with which Ch'en Sheng-hua 陳省華 (939-1006) is associated (*Sung shih* 284). The passages corresponding to those in the *Tao-tsang* edition are all found in ch. 2 of T. 2097. A number of other passages pertinent to Taoist traditions at Heng Shan are to be found in ch. 1 and 3 as well. Note that a preface by the Ch'ing bibliophile Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 (1753-1818), dating to 1818, and a colophon by his colleague T'ang Chung-mien 唐仲冕 (1753-1827) are included in the *Taishō* edition, which is reprinted from a copy preserved in the Naikaku Bunko. See also the Sung edition reproduced in the *Lilou ts'ung-shu* of Yeh Te-hui.
283. The Ch'ien-tao reign is mentioned in HY 606, p. 24b, and T. 2097, 1078b, under the respective entries on the Yü-ch'ing Kuan 玉清菴.
284. Of the 28 sanctuaries, fifteen are *kuan* 菴 (abbeys), seven are *kung* 宮 (palaces), four are *yüan* 院 (halls), one is a *ko* 閣 (pavilion), and

- another is a *yen* 巖 (grotto). Some of these terms are discussed in Reiter 1983.
285. For a survey of literature on Heng Shan, see Sun Hsing-yen's preface in T. 2097. As he points out, Li Ch'ung-chao's text was incorporated into the Ssu-k'ü imperial library (SKCS 1506). Note that three Sung bibliographies cite a *Nan-yüeh tsung-sheng chi* in 3 *chüan* but give no indication of authorship (van der Loon 1984: 121).
286. See T. 2096, based on the *Ku-i ts'ung-shu* 古逸叢書 facsimile reproduction of a manuscript in Kyoto.
287. See the account of Hsia Sung 夏竦, dated 1010, in HY 603, 13b-15a, concerning the submission of the temple archives in 985 to the editorial offices set up in Hangchow for the recompilation of the Canon, discussed further in van der Loon 1984: 34.
288. It would be tempting to suggest that the Mu Hsüan-hsü of T'ang is an error for the Mu Hsüan-hsü (fl. 290) to whom the "Hai fu" 海賦 [Rhapsody on the Sea] is attributed in the *Wen hsüan* 文選, 12, but the verses refer to individuals dating as late as the Liu-Sung (420-479) and Liang (502-557).
289. Note that Ho Chih-chang's commentary dates Liu to the Hou Han (25-220 C.E.) but that the late 13th-century hagiography of Chao Tao-i, HY 296, 31.5b, places him in the Chin (265-420). According to the biography in HY 782 *Yung-ch'eng chi-hsien lu*, 6.17a-18a, Liu's wife was the more accomplished in the exercise of divine power and even achieved a superior mode of ascent. See also the derivative accounts in Wang Sung-nien's HY 596 *Hsien-yüan pien-chu*, 3.1b, and HY 298, 4.6a-7a.
290. Wang Ch'in-jo was among those instrumental in promoting this myth. See note 230 and Soymié 1976-77.
291. Ch'ih-sung-tzu is traditionally identified as the Yü-shih 雨師, or Rain Master, of the legendary ruler Shen-nung 神農. See the biography in HY 296, 3.1a, based on the opening account of Liu Hsiang's HY 294 *Lieh-hsien chuan* 列仙傳. A translation of the latter is found in Kaltenmark 1953: 35-42. Note also that Huang Ch'ü-p'ing was sometimes called Ch'ih-sung-tzu, according to HY 601, 2a.
292. The 41st Shang-ch'ing patriarch was actually Wang Chih-hsin 王志心 (d. 1273), according to HY 304 *Mao Shan chih* 12.11a-b, where quite a different story is told. It seems that Chu Chih-ch'ang was regarded as a usurper of authority. When he took the seal and sword of office back to Ch'ih-sung Kung, Wang reported this malfeasance to the emperor and was told to retrieve the symbols of office and bring them back to Mao Shan. This he did, much to the gratitude of those at Mao Shan, or so it is said.
293. With prefaces by Shen, Wu, and Chang, the *Ta-ti tung-t'ien chi* examined by the Ssu-k'ü editors (SKCS 1632) would appear to have been the

same from which HY 781 was printed. The edition of the *Tung-hsiao t'u-chih* accepted into the Ssu-k'ü library (SKCS 1514) includes two additional colophons, one written by Teng's peer Yeh Lin 葉林 (1248–1306) and another by Li Wei-sun 李洵孫 (1243–1329). The TSCC edition of this text, printed from the 6-ch. redaction in the *Chih pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書 records only Yeh's colophon. Note that the TSCC and SKCS editions include an additional heading of "Jen-wu" 人物 (Biographies), inserted between the last two headings given in HY 781. The biographies of Teng and Yeh, printed as a "Hsü-pien" 續編 (Supplement), and a list of Taoist functionaries at Ta-ti Shan appended to this section appear to be the work of later disciples, as the Ssu-k'ü editors suggest. See also the discussion in "*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*" 1984.2:17–18. I am grateful to Piet van der Loon for bringing my attention to the complex textual history of these works (personal communication, 3 June 1984). It is worth noting that the supplementary materials in the *Tung-hsiao t'u-chih* all date to the Yüan, for the term "Kuo-ch'ao" 國朝 consistently refers to the Mongol regime. Also of interest is an editorial note added to the final heading of chapter 6 in the TSCC edition: "The original lacks 33 lines, each of which totals twenty words" 原缺三十三行每行二十字. Although this note is not included in the *Tao-tsang* edition (3.1a), it must apply because the opening entry is identical to that of the TSCC edition. In spite of what the titles suggest, neither edition retains any maps.

294. See, for example, the preface Chu Wen-tso 朱文藻 (1736–1807) composed for his *Chin-ku tung-chih* 金鼓洞志. Note that Sun K'o-k'üan (1981:225, 230) emphasizes Wu Ch'üan-chieh's role in overseeing the reconstruction of the Tung-hsiao Kung but erroneously identifies Wu as the compiler of a *Tung-hsiao Kung t'u-chih* 洞霄宮圖志.
295. A biography of Liu Tao-ming is included in Jen Tzu-yüan's 任自垣 1431 topography of Wu-tang Shan, the *Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih* 大嶽太和山志 (rpt., *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*, vol. 5), p. 426. For background on the milieu in which Jen's compilation took shape, see Mano Senryü 1963. The editors of the "*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*" (1984.2:26) identify Liu Tao-ming as a Ch'üan-chen Tao-shih 全真道士 but offer no documentation to support this claim.
296. See Chapter 2, section 10.
297. Iconographic information is found throughout the text. Note, for example, the reference to a bronze image of Dark Warrior (HY 960, 2.1a-b). The interlinear commentary added after 1295 quotes an inscription composed by Liu Ch'en-weng 劉辰翁 (1232–1297), the author of a preface to Chao Tao-i's hagiography, HY 296. Images of Chen-wu figure in several stories of the *I-chien chih*, pp. 325, 367, 426, 465, 471, 551, 905, 989, 1231, 1538, and 1690.

298. Lü says he acquired a copy of the text when two visitors from Wu-tang, named Wang 王 and Mi 米, arrived at Lu Shan 廬山. Something of the circumstances surrounding their visit appears to be revealed in the interlinear commentary added to a discussion of a bronze image of the Dark Warrior (2.1a-b). It is said that in the year 1295 two Fang-shih 方士 named Wang Tao-i 王道一 and Mi Tao-hsing 米道興 went out seeking subscriptions for the image, which was then cast at Lu-ling 廬陵. Thus, it may be that Lü Shih-shun himself authored the commentary.
299. An enlarged edition of this topography is reprinted in the *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*, vols. 4-5. It also includes a collection of verse on Wu-tang Shan in ch. 14-15. Conspicuously absent are the lyrics of Lo T'ing-chen 羅霆震, the author of an anthology entitled HY 961 *Wu-tang chi-sheng chi* 武當紀勝集. Lo's work, composed primarily of heptasyllabic quatrains, appears to date to sometime after the Mongol conquest.
300. T'ang works include HY 962 *Hsi-ch'uan Ch'ing-yang Kung pei-ming* 西川青羊宮碑銘 of Le P'eng-kuei 樂朋龜, dating to 884; HY 968 *T'ang Wang-wu Shan Chung-yen T'ai Cheng-i hsien-sheng Miao chieh* 唐王屋山中巖臺正一先生廟石碣, in tribute to Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承貞 (647-735); and HY 969 *T'ang Sung-kao Shan Ch'i-mu Miao pei-ming* 唐嵩高山啟母廟石阜銘 of Ts'ui Jung 崔高虫 (652-705).
301. As Schafer (1977:45-47) notes, T'ai-i (which he translates as Grand Monad) is traditionally identified as the star of the Great Dipper called Kochab.
302. See his 4-ch. HY 686 *Tao-te chen-ching chuan* 道德真經傳. While Sung bibliographies make note of Lü's commentaries to the *Lao-tzu* and the *Chuang-tzu* (van der Loon 1984:104, 138), the latter was considered lost until its discovery in 1909. For the history of that text, see L. N. Menshikoff's entry in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:365-366.
303. See Chapter 2, section 10. The inscription is assigned a separate number in the *Concordance du Tao-tsang* (CT 960). See Appendix A below.
304. Yang's index takes into account 137 different collections of epigraphy, a fair portion of which are reprinted in the *Shih-k'o shih-liao ts'ung-shu* 石刻史料叢書, edited by Yen Keng-wang. See also the *Shih-k'o shih-liao ti-erh chi*, 20 vols., and *Shih-k'o shih-liao hsien-pien*, 30 vols. On Yuan inscriptions, see Ts'ai Mei-piao 1955.
305. Yin Wen-ts'ao is traditionally identified as a member of the T'ien-shui Yin 天水尹 (Kansu) lineage, that is, the putative lineage of Yin Hsi. Note that Sung bibliographies list variant titles of a *Lou Kuan nei-chuan* 樓觀內傳 which they ascribe to Yin Kuei and Wei Chieh, or simply to Yin Wen-ts'ao. Wei Chieh is also credited with the compilation of a *Lao-tzu hsi-sheng ching* 老子西昇經 (van der Loon 1984:103, 157). Tseng Chao-nan 1985 suggests that Taoist Masters at the Tiered Abbey

identified an alchemist of Western Chin named Yin Kuei as the cousin of Yin Hsi, primarily to enhance the reputation of their patriarch. Tseng also concludes that references to Shang-ch'ing writings in citations from the *Lou Kuan hsien-shih chuan* preserved in the *Hsien-yüan pien-chu* (HY 596) indicate that the hagiography attributed to Yin Kuei was compiled no earlier than the end of the Eastern Chin. I am grateful to Professor van der Loon for calling my attention to this study and would add that the emphasis on the Shang-ch'ing heritage in the early hagiographic literature on Yin Hsi's cult may help explain Chu Hsiang-hsien's interest in the shrine. On the history of another hagiography based on the Yin Hsi legend and related *hua-hu* 化胡 literature, see Yamada Toshiaki 1982.

306. Note that in Chu's second compilation, the 3-ch. HY 956 discussed below, an inscription by Chia Yü 賈毓, in commemoration of Yin Chih-p'ing 尹志平 (1169–1251), mentions two Superintendents named Nieh Chih-chen 聶志真 and Chao Chih-hsüan 趙志玄 (2.3b)—no doubt the same Nieh and Chao to whom Chu Hsiang-hsien refers here.
307. On Chang Shou-chen and the I-sheng pao-te chen-chün, see Chapter 2, section 9.
308. On the legacy of Yin Chih-p'ing, see Chapter 4, section 10. Unlike Yin Wen-ts'ao, he was apparently not regarded as a descendant of Yin Hsi. His ancestors reportedly lived for many generations in Ts'ang-chou 滄州 (Hopeh) and during the Sung moved to Lai-chou 萊州 (Shantung).
309. This is the third line in the encomium following the biography of Yin Chih-p'ing (HY 955, 18a).
310. See the inscription dating to 1263 on the restoration of the Tsung-sheng Kuan in HY 956, 1.13a–18b; especially 16a–b.
311. HY 956, 3.5a. On the career of Sun Te-yü (1243–1321), see the inscription dated 1314 in Ts'ai Mei-piao 1955: 68–69 and the epitaph by Sung Lien in Sun K'o-k'uan 1968: 439–441.
312. According to the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien* (1981: 1049), a grotto shrine called Wang-mu Kung shih-k'u 王母宮石窟 was carved out at this location in 510 C.E. Over a hundred images are said to survive, dominated by the Royal Matriarch herself. No mention is made of T'ao Ku's inscription, but another stele dating to 1025 and a bronze bell cast in 1211 attest to the continued patronage of the shrine. The editors of the "*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*" (1984.2: 26) point out that the *Tao-tsang mu-lu hsiang-chu* of Pai Yün-chi mistakenly attributes the entire text of HY 970 to T'ao Ku.
313. The T'ai Huang-hou 太皇太后 to which this text refers is the mother of Chin Chang-tsung 金章宗 (r. 1190–1208), née T'u-tan 徒單 (1147–1191), who in fact passed away less than a year after the *chiao-fête* (*Chin shih* 64.1524–1526).

314. Artifacts of Yen Te-yüan's tomb are discussed in an article ascribed to the Ta-t'ung Municipal Museum 大同市博物館, "Ta-t'ung Chin-tai Yen Te-yüan mu fa-chüeh chien-pao" 大同金代陶德源墓發掘簡報, *Wen-wu* 文物 1978.4: 1-13. The tomb of Feng Tao-chen 馮道真 (1189-1265) was excavated over a decade earlier, as reported in an article printed under the auspices of the Ta-t'ung Exhibition Hall of Cultural Relics and the Shansi Office of the Cultural Relics of Yün-kang 大同市文物陳列館, 山西靈岡文物管理所, "Shan-hsi sheng Ta-t'ung shih Yüan-tai Feng Tao-chen, Wang Ch'ing mu ch'ing-li chien-pao" 山西省大同市元代馮道真王青墓清理簡報, *Wen-wu* 1962.10: 34-44. The author identified at the end of both articles is Hsieh T'ing-ch'i 解庭琦. The 1978 article also refers to the excavation of a tomb for a female Tao-shih 女道士 named Li Miao-i 李妙宜, but I have not found a published report on that discovery. On 18 May 1983 I wrote to Mr. Hsieh, care of the Ta-t'ung Municipal Museum, inquiring about all three tombs, with the special request for permission to view the Taoist garments, the talismanic burial cloths, and the seals discovered in them. On 17 June 1983 a Ta-t'ung CITS guide named Li Fang-ming 李方明 made inquiries on my behalf and reported that Mr. Hsieh was on an expedition at the time and was unavailable for consultation. Further inquiries I made on the same day at the Ta-t'ung Municipal Museum headquarters housed in the Lower Hua-yen Ssu 下華嚴寺 were also to no avail, although I did find that a few small items in porcelain and wood from the tomb of Yen Te-yüan were on display in showcases of the gallery at the southeast corner of the so-called Bhagavat Storage Hall 薄伽教藏殿.
315. For a summary of the approaches taken by traditional and Buddhist historians, see Franke 1961 and Jan Yün-hua 1964.
316. Van der Loon 1984: 159. Note that this is one of nine texts attributed to Tu Kuang-t'ing in the *Sung shih* 205.5190. Many more works, particularly ritual collections, are recorded in the Canon under Tu's name. Another historical work by Tu—which evidently chronicled the transmission of various Taoist scriptural traditions—the *Tao-ching Chiang-tai ch'uan-shou nien-tsai chi* 道經降代傳授年載記, does not survive (van der Loon 1984: 151).
317. On the capture of Huang Ch'ao, see *Chiu T'ang shu* 19B.719. Le P'eng-kuei's inscription is separately printed as HY 962 (see note 300). The legend associated with the Ch'ing-yang Kung is examined in Kusuyama 1978. As noted earlier, the Ch'ing-yang Kung was under restoration on 26 June 1983 (note 190). Although the temple was closed to visitors at the time, a foreman named T'ang Ch'ao-ming 唐朝明 explained that over one hundred people were working on the project. T'ang, who came himself from the Wen-shu Yüan 文殊院 (Mañjuśrī Hall) in north Ch'eng-tu, also reported that an 85-year-old scholar by the name of Liu

- Tzu-hua 劉子華 served as an adviser on the intricate design of the Pa-kua T'ing 八卦亭 of the Ch'ing-yang temple grounds. See the description in *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien* 1981:892 and in *Chin-ch'eng Ch'eng-tu* 金城成都 1981:49-51.
318. The fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month corresponds to 4 January 885. On Hsi-tsung's announcement of his intentions to return to Ch'ang-an, issued on the first day of the twelfth lunar month (21 December 884), see *Chiu T'ang shu* 19B.720.
319. For a translation and analysis of the Tun-huang manuscript, which apparently originates from the Ch'eng-tu region, see Seidel 1969. On the Buddhist response to the *hua-hu* literature, see Zürcher 1972:297-320.
320. A graphic depiction of Lao-tzu's sequential incarnations as tutor to legendary emperors is found in a handscroll entitled *Lao-chün pien-hua shih-shih* 老君變化事蹟. The painting is ascribed to Wang Li-yung 王利用 (fl. 1120-1145), and the accompanying text is said to be the work of Sung Kao-tsung 宋高宗 (r. 1127-1162). In discussing this handscroll, Laurence Sickman (1980:30-33) compares its tabulation of emperors and tutors with that in the briefest of Hsieh Shou-hao's chronicles, HY 770, discussed below. The *Yu-lung chuan* sequence is virtually identical to that given in Hsieh Shou-hao's works. Thus, the origin of the variant text in this scroll remains a mystery. I am grateful to Ms. Barbara Sands for bringing this handscroll to my attention by loaning me her set of slides from the Nelson Gallery.
321. Many studies have been made of the 119-ch. *T'ai-p'ing ching*, an incomplete reaction of which survives in the Canon, HY 1093. For a definitive edition, see Wang Ming 1960. Among recent studies of the text, see Kandel 1979, Yang Tseng-wen 1980, Wei Ch'i-p'ing 1981, and Wang Ming 1982. See also *STY* 1984.3:86-89.
322. According to the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien* (1981:692), three buildings of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung dating to the Ch'ing survive. The temple is located in modern-day Lu-i 鹿邑 (Honan). Lao-tzu's "historical" birthplace is traditionally identified as K'u-hsien 苦縣. When the T'ai-ch'ing Kung was established there in 586 (HY 970, 14a), the district was known as Ku-yang 谷陽 and was incorporated as part of Po-chou. By Chia Shan-hsiang's time, the district was named Wei-chen 衛真 and was still considered part of Po-chou. During the Yüan this district was incorporated into Lu-i. Lu-i itself was considered part of Po-chou until the early Ming, when it was incorporated into Kuëi-te fu 歸德府 (Honan). On the history of these place names, see Ku Tsu-yü 50.2151. See also the photographic plates of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung and its image of Lao-tzu in Kaltenmark 1965:8, 10.
323. According to HY 296, 51.15b-16a, an elderly blind woman regained her sight after listening to Chia lecture on the *Tu-jen ching* at the T'ai-ch'ing Kung. Chia also apparently presided over *chiao-fêtes* at the shrine, for it

- is said that once before the opening of ceremonies he dreamed that divine guardians appeared before him and, upon the mandate of [Lord Lao,] the Most High, bestowed feathered garments on him and appointed him abbot of the T'ai-ch'ing Kung. A few days thereafter Chia reportedly attained perfection. Chang Shang-ying (1043–1121) is credited with compiling a *Chen-yu chi* 真遊記 in testimony to Chia's career.
324. Wang Chung-min (1983: 411) suggests that the epithet of 1014 was originally part of the title of Chia's work, as it is in a Ming manuscript version entitled *T'ai-shang hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti yü-lung chuan* 太上混元上德皇帝猶龍傳. Several of the themes raised in the summary here are further discussed in Boltz 1986d. For a detailed study of Lao-tzu's reputation as an adviser to the imperial house, see Seidel 1978a and 1978b.
325. Wang Chung-min (1983: 411) suggests that the original title was actually recorded as *T'ai-shang Lao-chün hun-yüan shang-te huang-ti shih-lu* 太上老君混元上德皇帝實錄, in keeping with the title given for a 6-ch. Ming manuscript which includes a 1190 colophon of Hsieh O 謝諤 (1121–1194), a fellow clansman.
326. Sung bibliographies cite a work in ten *chüan* and, as van der Loon (1984: 97) points out, HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 102 cites an abridged chronicle. The title given there, however, registers the epithet bestowed in 1014: *Hun-yüan huang-ti sheng-chi* 混元皇帝聖紀. The title *Hun-yüan* replaces *Hsüan-yüan* 玄元, the title decreed in 666.
327. For Wang's statement, see HY 769, 9.33b. As van der Loon (1984: 30n3) points out, Hsieh also includes here the full text of Sung Chen-tsung's preface to Wang's catalogue. Hsieh's discussion of the *hua-hu* legacy is found in 3.7a, 4.5b ff. A brief summary of the contents of HY 769 is found in "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an" 1984.2: 16–17.
328. The decrees are cited in HY 769, 9.49a–b, and discussed in Ch'en Kuo-fu 1963: 137–138 and Strickmann 1978a: 336n17.
329. Sung Chen-tsung's preface and the narrative are found in HY 769, 9.39b–40a, 45b–46a. See also a variant account in the last entry of 1.40b–41a. HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 122.16a–18a includes Sung Chen-tsung's preface and a narrative on the effectiveness of this incantation in 892. Liang Wu-chen 梁悟真 of Mao Shan is the name given the recipient of the HY 632 *T'ai-shang t'ai-ch'ing t'ien-t'ung hu-ming miao-ching* 太上太清天童護命妙經. An introduction dated 1144 and ascribed to Fu Hsiao 傅霄 includes a summary of Liang's divine encounter that bears comparison with the account in HY 769. A longer version of the scripture is found in HY 633 *T'ai-shang t'ai-ch'ing huang-lao ti-chün yün-lei t'ien-t'ung yin-fan hsien-ching* 太上太清皇老帝君運雷天童隱梵仙經 and a shorter one in HY 761 *T'ai-shang t'ai-ch'ing t'ien-t'ung hu-ming miao-ching chu* 太上太清天童護命妙經注, with commentary by Hou Shan-yüan 侯善淵 (fl. 1192). See also

- the version in the *I-chien chih*, pp. 1784–1785.
330. Note that Ch'en Kuo-fu (1963:271) refers to this edition as an abridgment of HY 769 but suggests that HY 772, discussed below, was an earlier draft of HY 769.
331. Yin Shan is another name for T'ien-ch'ih Shan 天池山 in the Soochow area. It is also the name of a mountain in Kuei-lin 桂林 prefecture, Kwangsi.
332. Li Chih-tao, at any rate, cannot be identified as the calligrapher Li Shih-min 李時敏 (*tz'u*, Chih-tao 致道), whose work, together with that of his older brother Li Shih-yung 李時雍 (fl. 1101–1106), was included in Sung Hui-tsung's archives, according to the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 12.202–203, 20.311.
333. Hsieh Shou-hao's biography is recorded in HY 297, 5.6b–9a.
334. HY 769, 1.14b–15a; HY 770, 13b; and HY 772, 1.15a–b.

Notes to Chapter 4

335. The Nan-tsung legacy is discussed in section 11 below.
336. The HY 1011 *Tao shu* and HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* mentioned here are discussed in chapter 5 under Encyclopedic Compilations. A translation of the *Pai-wen p'ien* that should be consulted with caution is found in Homann 1976.
337. For a brief introduction to *nei-tan*, see Lu Gwei-Djen 1973. A more detailed presentation is found in Needham and Lu 1983.
338. Hu Ying-lin's evaluation is recorded in the *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 1975:887. Needham and Lu (1983:88, 223), on the other hand, regard the work as a legitimate T'ang compilation. Anyone who intends to pursue the history of the dialogic treatise in the Canon will want to take the following texts into account: (1) the 3-ch. HY 1120 *Tao-men ching-fa hsiang-ch'eng tz'u-hsü* 道門經法相承次序, reputed to be the record of a conversation between T'ang Kao-tsung and the Taoist Master P'an Shih-cheng 潘師正 (585–682); (2) HY 1029 *Tao-t'i lun* 道體論, recorded by a T'ung-hsüan hsien-sheng 通玄先生, whom various indices have identified as either Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen (647–735) or the semi-legendary Chang Kuo 張果, but who may actually be Chang Chien-ming 張薦明 (fl. 940–941), summoned to court by Kao-tsu 高祖 (r. 936–942) of the Later Chin 後晉 to explain the *Tao-te ching*; (3) HY 926 *T'ai-ch'ing yü pei-tzu* 太清玉冊子, a putative conversation between Ko Hung 葛洪 and Cheng Ssu-yüan 鄭思遠; and (4) HY 1240 *Ch'ung-hsü t'ung-miao shih-ch'en Wang Hsien-sheng chia-hua* 冲虛通妙侍宸王先生家話, a dialogue between Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153) and a disciple named Yüan T'ing-chih 袁庭植. Van der Loon (1984:77) also notes that the *Sung shih* lists a *Ta-i chih-t'u ts'an-t'ung ching* 大易志圖參同經, which is reportedly the transcript of a conversation T'ang

- Hsüan-tsung held with Yeh Ching-neng 葉靜能 (see note 253) and the Buddhist monk I-hsing 一行 (683–727).
339. Note that Schipper (1982: 308–78) draws a parallel between a line of this text and the words of a Lin-chi Ch'an Master.
340. The text appears in ch. 42 of the HY 1011 *Tao shu* under the title *Ling-pao p'ien* 靈寶篇. A 3-ch. edition is also printed separately in the Canon as HY 1182, cited in Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations, section 2.
341. For a translation and analysis of the *Ling-pao pi-fa*, see Baldrian-Hussein 1984, based on a doctoral thesis submitted in 1979 to l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, under the title "L'alchimie intérieure des Song: Étude introductive d'un système accompagnée d'une traduction du *Ling-pao-pi-fa*."
342. Hawkes 1981: 158, 168. Hawkes also suggests that Ma Yü (see section 3 below) may have been the one to promote Chung-li Ch'üan to an equal status with Lü Yen as a patriarch of Ch'üan-chen (p. 162). For a study of the "conversion" plays, see Chübachi Masakazu 1976.
343. See van der Loon 1984: 52.
344. For a chronological history of the Yung-le Ch'un-yang wan-shou Kung 永樂純陽萬壽宮, see Su Pai 1962. Unique wall paintings are preserved in the Ch'un-yang Tien 純陽殿 and the Ch'ung-yang Tien 重陽殿, in narration of episodes of the lives of Lü Yen and Wang Che, respectively. The murals within the San-ch'ing Tien 三清殿, portraying a pantheon that owes much to the demonifuge ritual traditions of the Sung, are also of inestimable value. These murals were reproduced for a special exhibition in Tokyo in 1963, an event that stimulated the publication of several background articles in *Wen-wu* (1963.8) and an illustrated volume prepared by the Shansi Archaeological Society, *Yung-le Kung* 永樂宮 (1964). An earlier set of black and white reproductions, *Yung-le Kung pi-hua hsüan-chi* 永樂宮壁畫選集 (1958), was published just prior to the construction of the San-men-hsia 三門峽 dam in the Yung-le chen 永樂鎮 region. Since that area was to be flooded over, the entire temple compound was moved northeast to Jui-ch'eng in 1959–1960. The most recent publication to appear on the murals is the *Yung-le Kung pi-hua* 永樂宮壁畫, prepared jointly by the China Foreign Languages Publishing Company 中國外文出版社 and the Bi no Bi 美の美 Publishing House of Kyoto in 1983. For a study of comparable murals from Shansi now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, see W. C. White 1940. Strickmann has also called my attention to an unpublished paper on the same subject, apparently from a presentation in 1983 by Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt of Bryn Mawr College and the University of Pennsylvania, entitled "Zhu Haogu Reconsidered: A New Date for the ROM Painting and the Southern Shanxi Buddhist-Daoist Style." A series of entries on temples within the Yung-le

Kung compound is included in the *Chung-kuo ming-sheng tz'u-tien* (1981:195–196), and Ch'ai Tse-chün (1981) indicates that the site is once again being promoted as a tourist attraction.

345. On the literary corpus of Hsiao T'ing-chih, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations, section 3. Yü Yen was a renowned scholar of the Classics who late in life turned his attention toward alchemical treatises (Sun K'o-k'uan 1981:246–247). See also the “Chieh Ch'un-yang chen-jen Ch'in-yüan ch'un” 解純陽真人心園卷 of Li Chien-i 李筭易, with a preface of 1266, included in HY 245 *Yü-ch'i-i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao* 玉象子丹經指要, 3.11b–16b. Fu Chin-ch'uan (1825) also published a commentary on the “Ch'in-yüan ch'un.” See also Hsiao T'ien-shih 1981:184–190.
346. Extensive celebrations were held in May of 1983 at the Ching Chung Koon (Ch'ing-sung Kuan) 青松菴 of the New Territories, Kowloon, marking the 1185th anniversary of Lü Yen's birth on this date. A booklet on the teachings and activities of the Ching Chung Koon, the *Ch'ing-sung Kuan ch'ing-chu Ch'un-yang Lü Tsu-shih tan-sheng i-i-pa-wu chou-nien chi-nien t'e-k'an* 青松菴慶祝純陽呂祖師誕辰一一八五週年紀念特刊 (Kowloon: Ching Chung Koon, 1983) was published in commemoration of the occasion.
347. Compare these verses with those included in the *Ch'üan T'ang shih, han* 12, *ts'e* 6, Lü Yen 4.7a–9a (4976–4977) and *han* 12, *ts'e* 10, *Tz'u* 12.1a–3b (5176–5177). Anna Seidel kindly brings to my attention Farzeen Baldrian's study “On Lü Tung-pin in Northern Sung Literature,” forthcoming in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2 (1986).
348. For hagiographic traditions concerning Lü Yen, see Ono Shihei 1968 and Lin Lan 1929. Two of the largest collections of writings ascribed to Lü Yen are *Lü Ti wen-chi* 呂帝文集 and *Lü Ti shih-chi* 呂帝詩集, in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 12.5443–13.5622. Among individual publications of note is the *Lü Tsu chih* 呂祖志 in 3 *chüan*, edited by Kuo Lun 郭倫 and Chang Ch'i-ming 張啟明, a 1606 edition of which is in the National Central Library of Taipei. The filiation of this edition with the *Lü Tsu chih* of the Canon has not been determined. Later anthologies include the *Lü Tsu ch'üan-shu* 呂祖全書 compiled by Liu T'i-shu 劉體恕 in 1742 and enlarged by Shao Chih-lin 邵志琳 in 1775. Also of interest is the *Lü Tsu shan-ting ch'üan-shu* 呂祖刪定全書 (n.d.) in the P'u-pan Collection of the Asia Library, University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Perhaps the best-known treatise linked to Lü Yen in these anthologies is the Ming-Ch'ing compilation known as the [*T'ai-i*] *Chin-hua tsung-chih* [太一] 金華宗旨, the subject of Wilhelm and Jung 1962. A translation and discussion of the work is found in Yuasa Yasuo and Sadakata Akio 1980. See also the discussion in Needham and Lu 1983:243–257.

349. On Wang's encounter at Kan-ho, see Chapter 3, Epigraphy, section 2, and Hawkes 1981:157. See also *STY* 1984.3:93–94 for a summary of this text.
350. Hawkes (1981:160) points out that the reference to these four evils is one of the few features of the “conversion” *tsa-chü* that can be traced directly to Ch'üan-chen teachings.
351. Hawkes (1981:155–156) discusses the significance of this persona in both Ch'üan-chen literature and the *tsa-chü* repertory. See also note 168.
352. The three works, originally said to have totaled over 300 folios, are referred to as [*Chiao-hua*] *hsia-shou ch'ih* [教化] 下手選, *Fen-li shih-hua* 分裂十化, and *Hao li-hsiang* 好離鄉. Although there is no trace of the latter, a postface to HY 1146 gives some indications of the contents of this work. The postface was composed by Wang Tzu 王滋 (*tzü*, *Te-wu* 德務), at the invitation of Wei Hsieh 衛行攜 (*hao*, *Ling-yüan* 靈元), a disciple of Chu Pao-i.
353. This technique can be applied to *shih* or to *tz'u*. Each line of the verse is one word short of the prescribed length. The recipient is expected to derive the first word of each line from a component of the last word in the preceding line, e.g., 可 or 哥 from 歌. The more skilled responses make use of an opening word that differs from that of the verse presented. See Nakata Yūjirō 1955. Note that the *tz'u* of Wang and his followers are recorded in the *Ch'üan Chin Yüan tz'u*.
354. See, for example, Wu Ou-t'ing 1966:70, 118, 131, and the discussion in Wong Shiu-hon 1981.
355. As Hawkes (1981:159) suggests, the term *fen-li* 分裂 in the title of HY 1147 is a pun on *fen-li* 分離, “to separate,” i.e., to divorce.
356. The level of Sun Pu-erh's literacy is open to question. Wang is not the only one to have dedicated verses to her, and, as discussed below, later anthologists and hagiographers quite clearly viewed her as sufficiently educated to compose her own poems. The poem paraphrased here is found in HY 1147, 2.6a.
357. On Hsü Shou-hsin, see Chapter 2, section 12.
358. The passage in explication of the term *chin-kuan yü-so* reads as follows: “The teeth have become the Dark Gateway. Shut off your Cinnabar Field and it becomes the Lower Dark Gateway. When you draw forward your Golden Essence to the Upper Dark [Gateway] (i.e., your teeth), they become the Golden Gateway. Snap your teeth tightly together to make a jade lock” 齒是為玄關閉丹田者為下玄關提
金精上玄者為金關緊叩齒者為玉鎖
(HY 1148, 11b). See also the citation in Maspero 1981:494n109.
359. These titles are cited in HY 1148, pp. 15b and 20b, respectively, and seem to refer to T. 618 *Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an-ching* 達摩多羅禪經 [*Yogācārabhūmi?*] of Buddhahadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (359–429) and HY

- 227 *Chen lung-hu chiu-hsien ching* 真龍虎九仙經, although Hachiya Kunio (1972:95, 135) finds no equivalent passages. The latter text is supposed to be of high antiquity. The *Tao-tsang* edition includes commentaries of Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善 (616–720/722?) and Lo Kung-yüan 羅公遠 (655–758?). According to van der Loon (1984:84), Sung bibliographers differ on whether Yeh composed or annotated the text. I-hsing 一行 (683–727) is also identified as either the author or the commentator.
360. Three categories of persons are specified as undesirable recipients: the unfilial, the unfaithful, and those bad people to whom the precepts have not been transmitted. Outside of these categories, according to the text, one need not distinguish between men and women or between Buddhist and Taoist functionaries (HY 1148, 22b: 此三人者第一對夫不孝之人第二對夫不敬信之人第三對夫不傳戒不善之人莫說此訣除此等人外不分男女僧道官人 ...).
361. According to the *Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions*, n.s. no. 5 (January 1985), p. 14, a study of this text by Florian C. Reiter is forthcoming in *Monumenta Serica* under the title “Ch’ung-yang Sets Forth His Teachings in Fifteen Discourses: A Concise Introduction to the Taoist Way of Life of Wang Che (1112–1170).” This text is also discussed in Kubo Noritada 1963b and 1967a. More recent articles on the Three Teachings and Ch’üan-chen include Lung Hui 1982, Jen Chi-yü 1984, and Ch’en Ping 1984. Longer studies on Ch’üan-chen include Ch’en Yüan 1962, Kubo Noritada 1967b, and Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1970a: 146ff.
362. The full title bestowed on Ma Yü in 1269 reads “Tan-yang pao-i wu-wei chen-jen” 丹陽抱一無為真人 (HY 174, 6b). The author is cited in HY 1141, 1a, as “K’un-yü Wu-wei ch’ing-ching tan-yang Ma Chen-jen” 崑崙無為清靜丹陽馬真人. The epithet *Ch’ing-ching* is not attested for Ma, but it is, as mentioned earlier, the name by which his wife, Sun Pu-erh, was known.
363. According to the verse recorded in HY 1141, 1.23a, Ma was invited to take up residence at a Chin-yü An on the third day of the sixth lunar month of 1183. He passed away on the 22nd day of the twelfth lunar month (5 February 1184); see HY 175, 12a–b, and n161 above. See also the verse on the Chin-yü Retreat written to the tune of “Man-t’ing fang” 滿庭芳 (HY 1141, 10.17a). The symbolic associations of gold and jade are explored in another lyric to “Man-t’ing fang” entitled “Lun chin-yü” 論金玉 (HY 1141, 10.13b). Note also the alternate *tz’u* title “Chin-lien ch’ü yü-hua” 金蓮出玉華 [Jade Blossoms Emerging from the Golden Lotus], proposed for the abbreviated “Mu-lan hua” 減字木蘭花 title (HY 1141, 10.1a). *Chin-lien* (Golden Lotus) and *Yü-hua* (Jade Blossom) were the names given the first two of five assemblies convened by Wang Che (HY 173, 2.5a).

364. Ma's original name was Ts'ung-i 從宜 (*tz'u*, I-fu 宜甫). On the name change, see HY 297, 1.4b.
365. HY 1141, 7.6a: "Wen-teng hsien Huang-lu chiao tseng Tao-chung" 文登縣黃錄西真曾道界. The title "Shih pao-en" is an alternate for the tune conventionally known as "Jui che-ku" 瑞庶烏鳩 and corresponds to Wang Che's "Pao shih en" 報師恩 (see section 2 above).
366. HY 1141, 8.23b: "Ch'üan Seng Tao ho-t'ung" 勸僧道和同. The verse opens:

Taoists are slandering the <i>samgha</i> ,	道毀僧
The <i>samgha</i> are slandering the Taoists.	僧毀道
I respectfully exhort both the <i>samgha</i> and the Taoists	奉勸僧道
To desist and reverse your ways....	各休返倒

The conventional title cited for this tune is "Hung-ch'uang chiung" 紅窗迥 [The Remoteness of the Red Window]. The exemplar of Chou Pang-yen 周邦彥 (1057-1121) recorded in Wan Shu 1958:8.19a is written in the meter 3-3-5-6-3-3; 5-4-4-4-6-3-4-5, totaling 58 words. The variant meter given in HY 1141 is unattested in Wan Shu's *Tz'u lü*: 3-3-4-4-7-5; 3-3-4-4-7-5, totaling 52 words. I have not found any other *tz'u* tune to match, but perhaps what is labeled "Ch'ing-hsin ching" here is actually a variant on a tune other than "Hung-ch'uang chiung."

367. HY 1141, 10.15b-16a, 23a-24a.
368. See, for example, HY 1134, 1.20b, where the second of three verses addressed to "Master Ch'üan of Ling-k'ou" 贈零口權先生 reads as follows: 朝清清, 暮清清, 清淨清閑清淨清, 清淨清更清, 抱靈靈, 固靈靈, 靈顯靈明靈顯靈, 靈靈靈更靈.
369. HY 1134, 1.2a.
370. HY 1134, 1.20b, "Tseng chung nü-ku" 贈眾女姑, written to the tune of "Ch'ang-ssu hsien," opens 女姑哥慈, 女姑哥慈, 學取麻姑至淨清, 依他妙善行.
371. HY 1134, 1.2b, "Che ssu ch'ih-chiao hsia pu-yin shui tung pu-hsiang huo" 誓死赤脚夏不飲水冬不向火, written to the tune of "Pu suan-tzu." On the view of man's body as the furnace from which the enchymoma arises, see Needham and Lu 1983: 211-212, 219-220.
372. HY 1134, 1.10a, "Shih-fu yin Ma Yü shang-chieh ch'iu-ch'i" 師父引馬銜上街求乞, written to the tune of "T'a-yün hsing" 踏雲行 [Treading upon the Clouds]. Liu Ts'un-yan (1985a) points out that Ma's *tz'u* lyrics are among those adapted for use in the *Hsi-yu chi*.
373. HY 1134, 2.1a, "Yü chieh chiu jou ch'a kuo chiu i..." 予戒酒肉茶果久矣, written to the tune of "Nan-k'o tzu" 南柯子.
374. According to Wu Ou-t'ing (1966:94), "Shen-kuang ts'an" is the title Ch'iu Ch'u-chi gave to the *tz'u* "Sheng-sheng man" 聲聲贊.
375. The transfer of heat from the heart to the brain is a component of *nei-tan* exercises, the ultimate goal of which is to produce an enchymoma or

- “inner macrobiogen,” on which see Needham and Lu 1983: 71ff.
376. Ma does speak of escaping the Sea of Bitterness and the *huo-yüan* 火院, or burning hall (HY 1142, 4b), on analogy with the *huo-chai* 火宅, or burning house, parable of the Lotus Sūtra, on which see Hawkes 1981: 160.
377. Note that “Shen-kuang ts’an” is the title of a verse ascribed to Wang Che, which Ma matched with his own composition (HY 1155, 1.7a–b).
378. See, for example, HY 1142, 1a. On the history of these terms in Buddhist texts and their use in narrative works, see Dudbridge 1970: 167–176. See also Hawkes 1981: 162–163.
379. HY 1142, 14b: ... 誰信道並不忤凡俗夫婚女皆姻。
380. The preface appears in HY 1142, 13a–b, and a variant version of the story is found in HY 173, 2.11b–12a. On the latter text, see Chapter 2, section 4.
381. In the biography of Ma Yü in HY 173, 3.13b, seven anthologies were said to have been in print: (1) *Fen-li shih-hua* 分梨十化, (2) *Chien-wu* 漸悟, (3) *Ching-wei* 精微, (4) *Chai-wei* 摘微, (5) *San-pao* 三寶, (6) *Hsing-hua* 行化, and (7) *Chin-yü* 金玉. Six titles are cited in a corresponding list of HY 297, 1.23a. The first and third titles given above are omitted, but *Yüan-ch’eng* 圓成 is added.
382. On the identification of the *t’ao-shu*, consult Johnson 1980.
383. The song “Tai-ku jou” 采骨柔 (HY 1136, 10b–11a) lists all seven of the Ch’üan-chen Perfected: Hao 郝, Wang [Ch’u-i] 王, Sun 孫, T’an 譚, Ma 馬, Ch’iu 邱, and Liu 劉. As Chübachi Masakazu (1976) and Hawkes (1981) point out, there are two plays extant in which Ma Tan-yang has a major role. None of the songs in the *Tzu-jan chi* figures in these plays. On Ma Chih-yüan’s 馬致遠 (ca. 1260–1325) play about the conversion of “Crazy Jen,” *Ma Tan-yang san-tu Jen Feng-tzu* 馬丹陽三度任風子, see also Miyazawa Masayori 1984b.
384. Tao-chung Yao (1980a) notes that six of the songs in the *Tzu-jan chi* (actually seven plus coda, that is, the last complete *t’ao-shu*) appear under Teng Hsüeh-k’o’s name in Yang Ch’ao-ying’s 楊朝英 (fl. 1326) *Ch’ao-yeh hsin-sheng t’ai-p’ing yüeh-fu* 朝野新聲太平樂府, vol. 6, pp. 21–23. The set ascribed to Teng as well as the complete cycle from the *Tzu-jan chi* are recorded separately in the *Ch’üan Yüan san-ch’ü* 全元散曲, pp. 696–698, 1651–1658. Following the last *t’ao-shu* of the *Tzu-jan chi* cycle are two songs written in the Cheng-kung mode. These songs are printed as one unit under the heading “Cheng-kung” in the *Tao-tsang* edition.
385. See HY 1246 *Chen-hsien chih-chih yü-lu* 真仙直指語錄, 1.1a–2a, compiled by a Hai-t’ien ch’iu-yüeh Tao-jen Hsüan-ch’üan-tzu 海天秋月道人玄全子. The latest author represented in this anthology is Yin Chih-p’ing 尹志平 (1169–1251). Note also that a *Ma Tan-yang chen-jen chih-yen* 馬丹陽真人直言 printed in HY 1247 *Ch’ün-hsien yao-yü*

- tsuan-chi* 群仙要語纂集, 2.15a-16a, is a different text altogether. This anthology was edited by Tung Chin-ch'un 董謹醇, who was given the name Huan-ch'u Tao-jen 還初道人.
386. According to HY 174, 41b, Sun headed west in the year 1175, and, after paying her respects at the Tsu-t'ang 祖堂 (Hall of the Ancestor), the shrine set up at the burial site of Wang Che, she took up residence in a cave at Loyang. The account in HY 173, 5.9a-11b, dates her arrival at the shrine to 1172, after which Sun reportedly studied under her husband Ma Yü with the understanding that they would ultimately pursue independent paths toward perfection. Seven years later, in 1179, she is reported to have settled in Loyang, where she converted large numbers of people.
387. According to the *Chin-lien ch'i-chen chuan-i* 11.118, Sun spattered oil on her face in order to convince Wang that she was worthy of going on her own to Loyang. According to the *Ch'i-chen shih-chuan* 10.54 (see note 172), she merely rubbed coals on her face. The *Ch'i-chen t'ien-hsien pao-chuan* 七真天仙寶傳, p. 43a-b, is in accord with the former version. A reissue of this *pao-chuan* 寶卷 dating to 1908 is in the David Crockett Graham collection of the East Asiatic Library at the University of California, Berkeley. A preface dating to 1821 is signed by a "Yü-ch'ing san-jen" 玉清散人 of "Hsi-nan hsiang" 西南鄉 (southwestern village). According to the title page, this text was revealed by planchette through the two patriarchs Chung-li Ch'üan and Lü Yen. The blocks of this text, like those of many of the rare editions collected by Graham, were once stored at Hsü-chou 敘州 in Szechwan. I am grateful to Michel Strickmann for calling my attention to this work.
388. See HY 174, 41a-b.
389. Compare HY 173, 5.10a-b, and HY 174, 42b, with HY 1092, 5.7a. In the latter, see also the lyrics recorded in 6.13a-17a.
390. This title is found in vol. 15, pp. 6828-6832 of the 1977 reprint of the *Ch'ung-k'an Tao-tsang chi-yao* and in vol. 10 of the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*. The four texts included are variant redactions of HY 63 *Yü-ch'ing t'ai-yüan nei-yang chen-ching* 玉清胎元內養真經 and HY 64 *Yü-ch'ing wu-shang nei-ching chen-ching* 玉清無上內景真經, and abbreviated versions of the annotated editions of the *Hsuan-chu hsing-ching chu* 玄珠心經註 (HY 574, 575). Needham and Lu (1983: 304, note b) cites a lost *Tan-tao pi-shu* 丹道秘書 in an unidentified catalogue of the *Tao-tsang*. It is not among those texts listed in the HY 1419 *Tao-tsang ch'üeh-ching mu-lu* 道藏闕經目錄. Note, however, that three works are attributed to Sun Pu-erh in the table of contents for a *Nü-tan ho-pien* 女丹合編 (preface 1905) cited in the *Ch'ung-k'an Tao-tsang chi-yao* 1.245: *K'un-yüan ching* 坤元經, *K'un-chüeh* 坤訣, and *Nü-hsiu ch'eng-t'u* 女修程途.

391. This title is recorded in vol. 15, pp. 6826–6827 of the 1977 reprint of the *Ch'ung-k'an Tao-tsang chi-yao* and vol. 9 of the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*.
392. Needham and Lu 1983: 239.
393. HY 173, 4.12a, and HY 174, 35b, credit Ch'iu with a *Ming-tao chi* 鳴道集, as well as the *P'an-hsi chi*.
394. HY 1151, 2.12a–14a.
395. HY 1151, 6.11a, 18a–b. Nakata Yūjirō (1955) conveys a high regard for Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's *tz'u*. Arthur Waley (1931:ix–x), on the other hand, is less than complimentary about the quality of the verses, both *shih* and *tz'u*, that are included in HY 1418 *Hsi-yu chi*. He terms the selection there “no more than tolerably executed *vers d'occasion*.” Ch'iu, Waley concludes, “has no reputation as a poet and judging from the specimens in the *Hsi Yu Chi*, he deserves none.” Waley's harsh evaluation, in my opinion, is not fully justified. At the very least, Li Chih-ch'ang's compilation should be appreciated for preserving a substantial quantity of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi's verse that has not otherwise survived.
396. The tributes to Chin Shih-tsung are found in HY 1151, 2.7a, 3.6a–7a, and Ch'iu's inscriptions on fans are recorded in 2.2a–3a.
397. The “Hsiu Tao” sequence is found in HY 1151, 4.13a–15a, and the “Ch'ing-t'ien ko” in 3.1a–b.
398. A brief summary of this text is found in Waley 1931:21–25.
399. On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, see de Rachewiltz 1962a.
400. According to HY 1418, 2.5a–b, the Khan early on commanded that the master's words be recorded in Chinese.
401. On the discrepancies between the two texts, see Pelliot 1929:175 and de Rachewiltz 1962b:69–72, n168.
402. As the editors of the “*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*” (1984.2:5) observe, there is a close correspondence between the account on Ch'iu in the *Yüan shih* 元史 202: “Shih-lao chuan” 釋老傳 and the *Hsüan-feng ch'ing-hui lu*.
403. HY 1418, 1.29a.
404. On filiality and the preservation of animal life, see HY 1418, 2.6a, 7a.
405. This citation (HY 176, 5b) is actually an adaptation of a passage from the *Shen-hsien chuan* 神仙傳, ascribed to Ko Hung, in which P'eng-tsu 彭祖, the legendary expert in the arts of the bed chamber, is quoted as saying that it is better to sleep alone than to ingest a hundred pharmaceuticals (*Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*, vol. 11, 1.4a).
406. HY 1418, 1.4a.
407. HY 1418, 2.8a.
408. As the “*Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an*” (1984.2:3–4) points out, the absence of *Chen-chün* (Perfected Lord) in the honorary title suggests this text was compiled sometime between 1269 and 1310. The discussions on *nei-tan* include a number of citations from Shih Chien-wu 施肩吾

- (*chin-shih*, 820) and appear to be cognate to the instructions found in the *Chung Lü ch'uan-tao chi* 鍾呂傳道集 (included in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*; see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations) and HY 246 *Hsi Shan ch'un-hsien hui-chen chi* 西山群仙會真記. On the latter text, see also the discussion in "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an" 1984.2: 4.
409. The verses are found in HY 1152, 1.18b–19b.
410. HY 1152, 1.11a.
411. According to Wu Ou-t'ing (1966: 94), the latter tune title, an alternate for "Sheng-sheng man" 聲聲慢, originated with Ch'iu Ch'u-chi.
412. This verse is recorded in HY 174, 28b–29a, and HY 297, 2.4b–5a.
413. HY 174, 31b; HY 297, 2.9b–10a.
414. Liu's name as it appears at the head of each chapter does not include the epithets of 1269 and 1310.
415. HY 1144, 1.11a.
416. HY 1144, 1.1b, 1.3a, 2.22b–23a..
417. HY 1144, 1.8a, 1.13b.
418. HY 1144, 1.15b. See also 2.33b, 3.13a, on the purchase of temple tablets of insignia.
419. HY 1144, 1.13b, 1.16b.
420. HY 1144, 1.30a.
421. Of the nineteen who had accompanied Ch'iu Ch'u-chi on his journey west for an audience with the Khan, one by the name of Chao Chiu-ku 趙九古 died enroute (see HY 1418 *Hsi-yu chi*, 1.22b.).
422. The other two prefaces are signed by Li Ku-t'ao 李古陶 and Chang T'ien-tso 張天祚.
423. HY 1299, 3.1a ff.
424. HY 1138, 3.20b.
425. Note that A. C. Graham (1981: 57) prefers to read "pao-kuang" as "yao-kuang" 搖光, or Benetnash Star.
426. See the prefaces of Li and Chang in HY 1299, 1b, 2b, and Tuan's preface, p. 4a.
427. HY 1138, 1.32a.
428. HY 1138, 1.35b: "王禪師病以詩書嘗之."
429. HY 1138, 3.2b–3a.
430. HY 1246, 2.13a–b.
431. See note 385 regarding a partial transcript of Ma Yü's sermon in HY 1246. Briefer extracts in chapter 1 of HY 1246 include (1) "Ch'ang-chen T'an Hsien-sheng shih men-jen yü-lu" 長真譚先生示門人語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise Revealed by Master T'an Ch'ang-chen to His Disciples], 1.9b–10b; (2) "Ch'ang-sheng Liu Chen-jen yü-lu" 長生劉真人語錄 [A Dialogic Treatise of the Perfected Liu Ch'ang-sheng], 1.10b–12a; (3) "Ch'ang-ch'un Ch'iu Chen-jen chi Hsi-chou Tao-yu shu" 長春丘真人寄西州道友書 [Letters Sent by the Perfected Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un to Friends of the Tao in Hsi-chou], 1.12a–19a; and

- (4) "Hao T'ai-ku chen-jen yü" 郝太古真人語 [Sayings of the Perfected Hao T'ai-ku], 1.19a-22b.
432. HY 971 *Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu* 4.3a-5b: "Li-feng-tzu Yü Kung muming" 離峯子于公墓銘 .
433. HY 1254, 1.24b.
434. An abridged version of this work under the title *P'an Shan yü-lu* 盤山語錄 is found in a 13th-century anthology, HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* 修真十書, ch. 53. For a discussion of this text, see Chapter 5, Encyclopedic Compilations.
435. HY 1052, 39a.
436. Chi's name is also recorded as I Chih-chen 頤志真 . His tomb inscription is found in HY 971, 8.22b-24a.
437. The preface is signed by a P'ei Hsien 裴憲 (tzu, Tzu-fa 子法) of Ch'ang-an. P'ei reports that Lun Po-yü 論伯瑜 delivered the *Chih-ch'ang hsien-sheng wen-chi* to him. A verse that Chi sent to Lun is included in this anthology, HY 1132, 1.9b-10a. I have not been able to determine whether there is any relation between Lun Po-yü and the Lun Chih-huan whose preface is attached to the dialogic treatise of Wang Chih-chin.
438. Note that Wang O composed the tomb inscription for Wang Chih-chin, recorded in HY 971, 4.19b-24b. Note also that in Boltz 1986b I erroneously suggest that the extent of Wang's evangelistic mission included Nanking, when in fact it is the southern capital of the Jurchens, i.e., Pien-liang, to which Nan-ching 南京 refers.
439. A further discussion of the contents of HY 263 is found in Chapter 5, under Encyclopedic Compilations.
440. See, for example, HY 111 *Huang-ti yin-fu ching chi-chieh* 黃帝陰符經集解. The commentary of this edition is purportedly drawn from ten different sources, many of which are clearly late fabrications.
441. *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 14.6025-6026. The author is identified as Hai-ch'an ti-chün 海蟾帝君. The honorific *Ti-chün* 帝君 (Sovereign Lord) was granted to Chung-li Ch'üan, Lü Yen, and Wang Che, as well as to Liu Ts'ao. For the decree of 1310, see HY 174, 3b-5a. As van der Loon (1984: 163) points out, both the *Hsin T'ang shu* and the *Sung shih* ascribe a *Huan-chin p'ien* 還金篇 to Hai-ch'an-tzu Hsüan-ying 海蟾子玄英, i.e., Liu Ts'ao.
442. There are many, presumably apocryphal, stories on the sources of Chang's inspiration. In the prefaces of the works attributed to him, Chang remains uninformative. Many of the hagiographic accounts attached to his works are equally vague. The entry for Chang Po-tuan in HY 296 *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* 49.7b ff. includes a statement to the effect that Liu Ts'ao conveyed formularies on *chin-tan* to Chang during his visit to the region of Shu in 1069. In later texts, Chang's benefactor almost invariably remains anonymous.

443. HY 173, 1.9a-11b.
444. See the discussion on HY 1057 *Hsüan-chiao ta kung-an* 玄教大公案 in section 13 under Miao Shan-shih. Note also the charts outlining the transmission of sacred literature from Lord Lao to Ch'iu Ch'u-chi, which take into account both Ch'üan-chen and Nan-tsung patriarchs, in HY 245 *Yü-ch'i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao* 玉籟谷子丹經指要, 1.1a-4b. This synthesis, based largely on the Nan-tsung heritage, was compiled by Li Chien-i 李簡易 (preface, 1264) and includes a colophon of 1354 by Wang Kuei 王珪. Compare the chart of Hsiao T'ing-chih 蕭度芝 dated 1260 in HY 687 *Tao-te chen-ching san-chieh* 道德真經三解 (see Chapter 5, Exegeses).
445. See Balazs and Hervouet 1978: 371-372 for Wong's entry on HY 144 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p'ien shih-i* 紫陽真人悟真篇拾遺. See also Needham, Ho, and Lu 1976: 200ff.
446. The 8-ch. HY 141 *Tzu-yang chen-jen wu-chen p'ien chu-shu* 紫陽真人悟真篇註疏 includes a preface by Weng dated 1173, another by Ch'en Ta-ling 陳達靈 dated 1174, and one by Tai Ch'i-tsung 戴起宗, who reedited the work in 1335. The 3-ch. HY 145 *Wu-chen p'ien chu-shih* 悟真篇註釋 is printed with an undated preface by Weng. Further bibliographic data on the former is found in SKCS 3056; on the latter, see Liu Shih-p'ei 1936: 6a-7b. The two editions of Weng Pao-kuang's commentary offer variant readings that are of considerable interest. The filiation of these redactions vis-à-vis other commentaries to the *Wu-chen p'ien* merits further study.
447. This text is supplemented with hagiographic accounts for both Chang Po-tuan and Hsüeh Tzu-hsien, compiled in 1337 by the editor Tai Ch'i-tsung. In his closing discourse, Tai discusses the history of various commentaries to the *Wu-chen p'ien* and suggests that Weng Pao-kuang's commentary has often been mistakenly attributed to Hsüeh Tzu-hsien, a conclusion also reached by Liu Ts'un-yan (1977a).
448. Additional verses are also incorporated in different editions of the *Wu-chen p'ien*, as is an essay entitled "Tu Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i" 讀周易參同契. The latter constitutes the third division of Weng's edition. Note also that "Hsi-chiang yüeh" is an alternate title for the lyric "Puh-sü tz'u" 步虛詞.
449. This text is often incorrectly dated to the Sung. See Liu Shih-p'ei 1936: 13b for a discussion of HY 259 [*T'ao Chen-jen*] *Nei-tan fu* [陶真人] 內丹賦 and a comparable text printed under the title HY 261 *Chin-tan fu* 金丹賦. Van der Loon (1984: 78) notes that two Sung bibliographies cite a *Ta huan-tan chao-ching teng-hsien chi* 大還丹照鏡登仙集 (the *Sung shih* reads *chao-chien* 照鏡).
450. Another redaction of this work is printed in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, ch. 2.

451. See note 447.
452. According to *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 14.6168, Hsüeh is the author of the 1126 preface.
453. This last sequence is also found in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, 7.4b-10b, and closes with a colophon of Shih T'ai that is not recorded in HY 1080.
454. Quite a different text is printed under this title in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, ch. 17.
455. On the lore of Lo-fou Shan, see Soymié 1956; in Appendix 1 note the genealogy of *chin-tan* entitled *Chin-tan shih-hsi chi* 金丹世系記, recorded in the *Lo-fou chih* 羅浮志 (1410) of Ch'en Lien 陳璉.
456. Pai's true name and dates are a matter of some dispute. HY 296, 49.16b, gives only the name Pai Yü-ch'an, but an entry in Ch'en Chen-sun's 陳振孫 (ca. 1190-1249+) *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題 identifies Pai as a member of the Ko 葛 lineage of Min-ch'ing (van der Loon 1984: 149). Ko Ch'ang-keng 葛長庚 is the full name most often recorded for Pai in late hagiographies, but a biography in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 147.1a-4a, compiled by a disciple named Hsüeh Shih-ch'un 薛師享, identifies his master as a native of Hai-ch'iung 海瓊 (Hainan) and gives his original name as Chu-ko Meng 諸葛猛. Miyakawa Hisayuki (1978) concludes that the correct dates for Pai are 1194-1229, and Yang Heng 仰衡, a Taoist Master who was in charge of the Hsüan-miao Kuan 玄妙觀 of Hangchow in 1818, also dates Pai's birth to 1194 in his *Yüan-miao Kuan chih* 元妙觀志, 2.3b. Other hagiographies suggest that Pai lived to be nearly one hundred years of age. See also Ch'en Ping 1985: 37-38.
457. See note 102. Note also that recorded in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 108.15b-16b is a "Ts'ui-hsü Ch'en Chen-jen te-fa chi" 翠虛陳真人得法記, ascribed to Pai Yü-ch'an and dated 1212.
458. The latest edition is the *Sung Pai Chen-jen Yü-ch'an ch'üan-chi* 宋白真人玉蟾全集 (1976), compiled by a committee organized expressly for the purpose of reprinting Pai's collected writings. Included within the introductory materials is a series of prefaces and colophons to various editions of Pai's works, the earliest of which dates to 1234. The last preface was contributed by Hsiao T'ien-shih 蕭天石 in 1969. For an earlier version of this anthology, see *Ch'iung-kuan Pai Chen-jen chi* 瓊瑤宮白真人集 in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 14.6195-6366, with a preface and colophon dating to 1594. Both preface and colophon are also recorded in the 1976 edition. According to a chronology included in the *fu-lu* 附錄 (supplement), pp. 48-55, of the 1976 edition, Pai was born in 1134 and died in 1229. See also Hsiao T'ien-shih 1981: 577-580. On HY 1297 *Hai-ch'iung wen-tao chi* discussed below, see STY 1984.3: 97.
459. A different disciple is listed as responsible for each of the first three chapters: (1) Hsieh Hsien-tao 謝顯道, (2) Lin Po-ch'ien 林伯謙, and

- (3) Yeh Ku-hsi 葉古熙 et al., including Chao Shou-fu 趙收夫 (3.15a). P'eng Ssu was a son of an eminent lineage of San-shan 三山 (Fukien). Other than annotated editions of the *Tao-te ching* (see Chapter 5, Exegeses), the only work to which P'eng's name is attached in the Canon is the 2-ch. HY 913 *Chin-hua ch'ung-pi tan-ching pi-chih* 金華冲碧丹經祕旨. According to Meng Hsü 孟照, who compiled this text in 1225, the first chapter is based on a text of Pai Yü-ch'an's writings that P'eng Ssu reportedly passed on to him. The *tz'u* verses cited here merit collation with those preserved in the anthologies of Pai's writings printed in HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* (see below).
460. HY 1296, 3.13b-15a.
461. HY 1296, 4.6b-9a.
462. See Chapter 2, section 6. The *Yü-lung chi* is in HY 263, ch. 31-36.
463. The *Shang-ch'ing chi* is in HY 263, ch. 37-44.
464. HY 263, 39.4b-8a. Another song under the same title is also recorded in 39.8b-9b.
465. HY 263, 41.8a-b, to the tune of "Shui-tiao ko-t'ou" 水調歌頭.
466. The *Wu-i chi* is in HY 263, ch. 45-52.
467. HY 263, 47.10a-16b, dated 1216.
468. HY 263, 46.1a-5b.
469. HY 263, 51.6b-7a: "Wei jen yü Yen-hu kao-shih ch'iu Ts'ui-hsü miao-wu ch'üan-chi shu i-fu" 為人與煙壺高士求翠虛妙悟全集書一幅.
470. As noted below, the text included in the Canon is the edition Wang Chieh arranged to have printed.
471. See Chapter 2, section 4, for a discussion of HY 305 *Ch'un-yang ti-chün shen-hua miao-t'ung chi*.
472. HY 1053, 3.7a-11a.
473. HY 1053, 5.5b-14a.
474. The 6-ch. HY 699 *Tao-te hui-yüan* is discussed in Chapter 5, Exegeses.
475. HY 1053, 6.21a-27b: "Yung Ju Shih Tao san-chiao tsung tseng Ch'eng Chieh-an" 詠儒釋道三教總贈程潔庵.
476. Further discussions on these three concepts is found in the HY 250 *San-t'ien i-sui* 三天易髓 of Li Tao-ch'un, summarized in the "Tao-tsang t'i-yao hsüan-k'an" 1984.2: 5.
477. HY 249, 2.11b-17a.
478. On the *Chung-ho chi*, see also SKCS 3078. Liu and Berling 1982 includes a brief discussion of Li Tao-ch'un, designating him as a "Ch'üan-chen priest." The entry on HY 1053 in STY 1984.3: 84 also identifies Li as the earliest Ch'üan-chen disciple of Chiang-nan. Such labels can be confusing. Certainly Li does now and then attempt to explain what is meant by *Ch'üan-chen chih Tao* 全真之道 (HY 249, 3.8b, 5.8a-b), and he did author a text under the title HY 251 *Ch'üan-chen chi-hsüan pi-yao* 全真集玄祕要. HY 251, however, is actually an exegesis on the

Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i, which also falls within the mainstream of the Nan-tsung literary heritage. Li himself, unfortunately, does not reveal with any precision his indebtedness to any particular tradition. Prominent among those whom he does cite are Chang Po-tuan and Pai Yü-ch'an. A *tsu-shih* 祖師 is occasionally invoked, but it is not clear if this refers to Wang Chin-ch'an, Pai Yü-ch'an, or a master of a preceding generation, such as Chang Po-tuan. At any rate, it appears that by the time Li was writing, the phrase *Chin-tan chih Tao* 金丹之道 had become nearly synonymous with *Ch'üan-chen chih Tao*.

479. Miao also added a preface in 1324 to a scripture on the origin of the San-kuan 三官, HY 651 *T'ai-shang tung-shen san-yüan miao-pen fu-shou chen-ching* 太上洞神三元妙本福壽真經, p. 9a.
480. On the pearl as a vehicle of salvation according to the *Tu-jen ching*, see Boltz 1983: 504–507. Note that, as the source behind HY 1057, Miao is identified at the head of each chapter as a *Chin-lien Tao-shih* 金蓮道士 (Taoist Master of the Golden Lotus).
481. According to K'o, the teachings of Liu Ts'ao were passed southward to Chang Po-tuan and northward to Wang Che. HY 1057 also includes two additional undated prefaces, signed by T'ang Tao-lin 唐道麟 of Chin-ling and by an imperial scribe named Wang Ts'ung-i 王從義 (fl. 1327).
482. Note that in his postface to HY 1053, Wang only refers to Teng Tsch'eng's accounts, without any mention of the contributions made by other disciples of Li Tao-ch'un.
483. See note 476.
484. See, for example, the three lyrics to the tune of "Pai-tzu ling" 百字令 in HY 1066, 3.40a–41b.
485. See Chapter 5, Exegeses.
486. HY 1059, 1.12b. Note that the trinity honored at the Ching Chung Koon 青松觀 of Castle Peak and at its sister branch in San Francisco is Lü Yen, Wang Che, and Ch'iu Ch'u-chi.
487. HY 1059, 1.13b, 14.13a–15a, 16.1a–14a.
488. HY 1059, 1.2a, 13.19b. The two texts are also cited in Ch'en's biography of Chao, HY 1062, 9a.
489. HY 1059, 14.3b–7a.
490. HY 1059, 10.1a–13a.
491. HY 1059, 12.1a–10b.
492. According to Ch'en's preface, the original edition of the *Chin-tan ta-yao* comprised ten chapters, the eighth of which included diagrams. It is this edition that the Ssu-k'ü bibliographers evidently reviewed (SKCS 3078). The *Tao-tsang chi-yao* edition of the *Chin-tan ta-yao* (16.6975–7086) fills three *chüan*, including supplements. The diagrams found in the last chapter offer interesting variants to those recorded in the Canon.
493. *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 16.7066–7071. Note that the biographical supplement follows rather than precedes the ritual text in this edition. The first five

- accounts on the Ch'üan-chen patriarchs are accompanied by full-sized woodcut portraits together with talismans.
494. HY 273, 10a: 金光滿室見玄珠.
495. HY 273, 8a.
496. HY 1243, 19a–20b.
497. The most extensive biography of Mo is found in Sung Lien's 宋濂 (1310–1381) *Luan-p'o chi* 鑿坡集, 1.4b–6a, included in the *Sung hsüeh-shih wen-chi* 宋學士文集. Sung's account warrants comparison with the hagiographic records in the Canon. As mentioned earlier (note 104), the HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* includes texts associated with the Thunderclap Ritual Tradition of Mo Ch'i-yen.
498. See, for example, HY 1248, 10a. Note also the closing *tz'u* lyric, 32b–33a. Such admonitions contrast sharply with the ritual instructions attributed to Mo Ch'i-yen in HY 1210, 77.6b–8a, “Shu-fu k'ou-chüeh” 書符口訣 [Oral Codes on the Inscription of Talismans] and the elaborate avian talisman printed under Mo's name in 95.8a.
499. See, for example, HY 1243, 9a.
500. HY 1243, 4b, 5b.
501. HY 1243, 32b–33a. Note that a variant redaction of this lyric, to the tune of “Man-chiang hung” 滿江紅, is attributed to Mo Ch'i-yen in the anthology HY 1092 *Ming-ho yü-yin* (discussed in section 16).
502. See, for example, the TSCC edition of the *Ming-ho yü-yin*, based on the printing of the *Han-hai* 涵海 collectaneum. This version opens with thirteen lyrics of Yü Chi to the tune of “Su-wu man,” compared to twelve in HY 1092, 2.9a–13b, and closes with a supplement of the twenty lyrics of Feng. Note also that an old copy of the *Ming-ho yü-yin* in eight *chüan* was reviewed by the Ssu-k'ü bibliographers (SKCS 4479). They identify P'eng Chih-chung as the compiler but were unable to date him, apparently because Yü Chi's preface was not known to them. The *Tao-tsang chi-yao* edition is printed in one *chüan* (19.8309–8372) and also lacks the preface of Yü Chi.
503. See note 389.
504. HY 1092, 1.6a–7b.
505. HY 1092, 1.12a–13a, 16a–17b; 2.16b–17a.
506. HY 1092, 9.17b–20b.
507. The *Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 1956:321 also lists a work of the same title, the second *chüan* of which is entitled *Hsin-k'an ch'ün-hsien wu-tao wu-wai ming-yin wen-chi* 新刊群仙悟道物外鳴音文集.
508. In contrast to the *Tao-tsang* edition, Yü Chi's preface here is specifically labeled as a contribution to a reissue of the *Ming-ho yü-yin*: 重刊鳴鳥餘音跋.
509. Note that both *chüan* in this edition are given the subheading *Hsüan-men tsung-chih* 玄門宗旨.

510. Anthony C. Yu (1977: 39ff.) and Liu Ts'un-yan (1985a) both make this point.
511. See Chapter 1, section 6 and note 99.
512. See the accounts in HY 1300 *Hsien-ch'üan chi* 4.11a–12b (discussed below) and in the *Hsiao-yao Shan Wan-shou Kung chih* 5.31a–32a, *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*, vol. 6. The account added to the National Central Library edition of the *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* 36.37a–39a appears to be derived from the former. Note also the brief summary in Akizuki 1978: 155–159.
513. The 11-ch. HY 1157 *Hsien-ch'üan wai-k'o pi-fang* 仙傳外科秘方, an illustrated medical guide on the diagnosis and treatment of skin conditions and various other disorders, was also compiled by Chao I-chen and is a remarkable testimony to the career of a Taoist Master cum physician. Chao's preface to the work dates to 1378, but the final redaction apparently was prepared by his disciples shortly after his death four years later. Note also that Chao authored a closing note to a scripture identified with the Dark Warrior, HY 663 *Hsüan-t'ien shang-ti shuo pao fu-mu en-chung ching* 玄天上帝說報父母恩重經, 2a–3a.
514. HY 1063, 1.8a.
515. HY 1063, 1.11a.
516. HY 1063, 2.5b–9b.
517. HY 1063, 2.2a. See also Schipper 1982: 197, 307n55.
518. HY 1063, 2.4a–b.
519. HY 1063, 2.9b–10b: "Shuai Hu Kuang Wu-tang Kung hsüeh-che k'an *Tao-te ching Wen-shih ching t'i-tz'u*" 率胡廣武當宮學者刊道德編文始經題辭.
520. HY 568, 4a–5a
521. HY 568, 5b–6b. On the three vermin that cause infirmities of body and mind, see Maspero 1981: 331–338. The six *indriyas* (*liu-ken* 六根), or sense organs, deemed essential to control are the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind (眼耳鼻舌身意). Similarly, codifiers of the Ling-pao scriptural tradition specified the need to obstruct the *liu-ch'ing* 六情, or six senses, which according to HY 177 *T'ai-shang tung-ch'en chih-hui shang-p'in ta-chieh* 太上洞真智慧上品大誡, 6a, are identified as the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, and mind (目耳鼻口手心).
522. HY 568, 8b.
523. See the brief biographical note on Chang Yü-ch'ü by Lienche Tu Fang in Goodrich and Fang 1976: 107–108. A much less sympathetic account of Chang's father, Chang Cheng-ch'ang, is found on pp. 44–45. Note also the entry on a 4-ch. edition of the *Hsien-ch'üan chi* in SKCS 3606, reprinted in the *chen-pen* series. According to the Ssu-k'u bibliographers, Chang Yü-ch'ü at one time studied ritual under Chao I-chen's disciple Liu Yüan-jan 劉淵然, but later the two were at odds and reportedly slandered one another. According to the *Ming shih* 299, Shao I-cheng

- 邵以正, who succeeded Chang in the editorship of the 1444-1445 Canon, was also a disciple of Liu.
524. HY 1300, 6.5a. The date *chia-shen* 甲申 appears at the head of a Blue-paper Prayer issued at the close of a *chiao*-fête of universal salvation.
525. According to HY 1451, 3.27b, the *Hsien-ch'üan chi* published by Chu totaled twenty *chüan*. While it is tempting to suggest that the Ch'eng T'ung named here is the militarist Ch'eng T'ung (d. 1402) of Chi-ch'i 績溪 (Anhui), who held an honorary post under the Prince of Liao, the preface date of 1407 does not support this identification. Sun K'o-k'uan (1977: 320) claims that the Ssu-k'u edition cites Ch'eng Hsün-tao 程訓導 as the author of the second 1407 preface, but the reprint of the text in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen* 四庫全書珍本, series 5, records the same name as the *Tao-tsang* edition, i.e., Ch'eng T'ung. Note that Ch'eng's remarks in the *chen-pen* reprint are found at the close of the text. The Ssu-k'u edition includes a more comprehensive collection of Chang's prose writings but less poetry. For a collation of the contents of the two editions, see Sun 1977: 318-319.
526. Note that the Ssu-k'u bibliographers (SKCS 3606) emphasize the traditional Ju orientation of Chang's writings in this section.
527. HY 1300, 2.1a-3b, 19a-23a. Note that the Canon includes a work of similar title, the HY 953 *T'ai-shang hun-yüan chen-lu* 太上混元真錄.
528. See, for example, the entries concerning the cult of the Three Perfected Lords of Hua-kai Shan (HY 1300, 3.21a-22b, 33a-34b), discussed in Chapter 2, section 7.
529. HY 1300, 4.7b-12b.
530. HY 1300, 5.7a-8b.
531. On *ch'ing-tz'u*, see Liu Ts'un-yan 1970: 51-66.
532. HY 1300, 6.9a-16a.
533. HY 1239, 1.4a-b, 5a-6a.
534. HY 1239, 5.8b-18b.
535. HY 977, 6b.
536. HY 1210, 71.7b. The entire sequence here is entitled "Hsü-ching t'ien-shih p'o-wang chang" 虛靖天師破妄章.
537. On the Hung-en cult, see Chapter 1, section 8, and Chapter 2, section 11.
538. Note that only four of the accounts are dated. The author of the "Ling-chi Kung chi" 靈濟宮記 (HY 1456, 1.5a-9b) states that over four hundred years had passed since the founding of the shrine, which, if we take him at his word, suggests that he was writing ca. 1350. If so, this piece would be an interpolation to Ch'en's original compilation.
539. Note that HY 1458 *Hsü-hsien chen-lu* 1.5b dates the bestowal of the temple title to 1237 rather than 1238.

540. HY 1456, 4.7b-13a. Note that two of the dispatches are dated 975.
541. HY 1456, 11.26a-27a.
542. HY 1457, 1.14a-15b.
543. HY 1457, 3.3a-4a.
544. HY 1457, 3.1a-2b, 4a-5b.
545. HY 1457, 4.5a. Notable by their absence are the titles authorized by Ming Hsien-tsung 明憲宗 (r. 1465-1487) in 1485, raising Hsü Chih-cheng and Hsü Chih-o to the unprecedented rank of *Shang-ti* 上帝 (Supreme Sovereign), according to HY 1458, 3.12a. See also SKCS 3080.
546. On the Ching-ming cult and HY 1102, see Chapter 2, section 6.
547. On the metaphoric interpretations of *chung* and *hsiao*, see Chapter 2, section 6.
548. See also the discussion in Hsü Hsi-hua 1983. There are altogether seven prefaces printed at the head of HY 1102. Those of Chao Shih-yen, T'eng Pin 滕賓, and Tseng Sun 曾巽 are undated. P'eng Yeh's preface is dated 1323 and that of Yü Chi is dated 1324. Chang Kuei 張珪 (d. 1327) apparently wrote his sometime between 1324 and 1327, after he was enfeoffed as Ts'ai-kuo Kung 蔡國公 (*Yüan shih* 175.4083). The last preface by Hsü Hui is dated 1327.
549. HY 1102, 6.12a-b.
550. According to Yoshioka 1970a:254 and Liu Ts'un-yan 1967b:118, the dates of Wu are 1563-1632. Liu Ts'un-yan (1984:185) more cautiously concludes that Wu was born at the latest in 1563. The "Wu Ch'ung-hsü lü-shih chuan" 伍冲虚律師傳 of Min T'iao-fu 閔莒蓀 (1758-1836) included with a collection of Wu's writings in volume 10 of the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu* dates his death to 1644. The dates I cite above are taken from a little-known biographical supplement to Wu's *Hsien Fo ho-tsung yü-lu* (see below), entitled "Wu Chen-jen hsiu-hsien ko" 伍真人修仙歌. According to a commentary apparently by Wu's younger brother Wu Shou-hsü, Wu Shou-yang was born on the first day of the sixth lunar month (22 June) of 1552 and ascended on the twentieth of the eleventh month of *keng-ch'en*, corresponding to 1 January 1641 (*Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7533). Note that the latest preface composed by Wu is that included with the *Wu Chen-jen tan-tao chiu-p'ien* (see below), dated to the spring of 1640.
551. For Shen's account, see *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7542. As Liu Ts'un-yan (1984:186) points out, brief biographical notes on Chang, Li, and Ts'ao are found in the commentary to the *Hsien Fo ho-tsung yü-lu* (*Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7445). The birth date cited for Chang, Hsüan-te jen-tzu 宣德壬子 (1432), appears to be an error, for he reportedly refused a summons from Ming Shih-tsung (r. 1522-1566).
552. Liu Ts'un-yan (1984:208) identifies the Prince of Chi as Chu Ch'ang-ch'un 朱常淳, but according to the genealogical records of the *Ming*

- shih* 104.2922, this royal descendant died in 1618 without inheriting the title. His son Chu Yu-lien 朱由棨 is said to have been enfeoffed as the Prince of Chi in 1621. Note that Wu, in his preface to the *Wu Chen-jen tan-tao chiu-p'ien* speaks of offering instruction to the Prince of Chi between the years 1615 and 1632 (*Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7630).
553. Min T'iao-fu's account is recorded after that of Shen Chao-ting in volume 10 of the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*. It also appears in his *Chin-kai hsin-teng* 金蓋心燈, 2.1a–2b. A reprint of the 1876 edition of this text is found in volumes 10–11 of the *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*. The text is an indispensable resource on Lung-men patriarchs and other worthies of the Chin-kai Shan region. The legacy of Nan-tsung and Ch'uan-chen, as well as that of Lung-men, is traced ultimately to Lü Tung-pin, according to the list of patriarchs and matriarchs that opens this work. Biographies for Chao Chen-sung and Wang Ch'ang-yüeh are found in 1.11a–12b, 15a–17b. Note that Min's chronology closely parallels that in the biographical supplement to the *Hsien Fo ho-tsung yü-lu* (note 550), which documents the early years of Wu's life and also highlights his filial conduct. For a derivative version of Min's biography, see Ch'en Wen-shu's 陳文述 (1771–1843) *Hsi-ling hsien-yung* 西冷仙詠 2.21b–22a.
554. *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7621–7630.
555. See the 1764 summary by Shen Chao-ting on the history of this publication (*Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7541). According to Shen, the text itself was completed in 1622 and the commentary in 1639. Note that the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* prints the text in two components, *chih-lun* 直論 and *ch'ien-shuo* 淺說, whereas both are printed in reverse order as one unit in the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*.
556. This text is found in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 17.7403–7540 but not in the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*.
557. See, for example, the *Wu Liu hsien-tsung ch'uan-chi* 伍柳仙宗全集, published in 1962 and reissued in 1971 with the preface of Ch'en Chih-pin 陳志濱.

Notes to Chapter 5

558. See HY 108–127, 676–725, 734–744, and 996–1005, respectively. On the *Yin-fu ching*, see Miyakawa Hisayuki 1984, and on the *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i*, see Fukui Kōjun 1974. Among the commentaries to the latter text included in the Taoist Canon is the 3-ch. HY 998 *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i chu* 註 of Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Students of Chu Hsi's legacy should note that the *Tao-tsang* also includes editions of the following works: (1) 12-ch. HY 1034 *Huang-chi ching-shih* 皇極經世 of Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011–1077), (2) 20-ch. HY 1036 *I-ch'uan chi-jang chi* 伊川擊壤集 of Shao Yung, (3) 56-ch. HY 1452 *Hung-tao lu* 弘道錄 of

Shao Ching-pang 邵經邦 (*chin-shih*, 1521), and (4) 8-ch. HY 1459 *Ju-men ch'ung-li che-chung k'an-yü wan-hsiao lu* 儒門崇理折衷堪輿完考錄.

559. Unlike Michael Saso (1983: 155), who states that "it must be pointed out that the study of religious Taoism is new enough in the world of sinology not to be burdened with the wealth of detailed commentaries so much a part of the Confucian and Buddhist scholarly traditions," I would argue that exegetic traditions preserved in the *Tao-tsang* are both substantial and deserving of study.
560. The dates I cite for Ch'en are those given in the biography recorded in HY 715 *Tao-te chen-ching ts'ang-shih tsuan-wei k'ai-t'i k'o-wen shu* 1.2b-9b (see below), an account that differs from that in HY 296, 49.4a-5a. An important episode in Ch'en's life omitted from his biography is summarized in van der Loon 1984: 10-11. It concerns Wang Ch'in-jo's recommendation that Ch'en be put in charge of collating the texts in the Canon, a proposal that was rejected out of hand by a very prejudiced Fan Tsu-yü 范祖禹 (1041-1098).
561. The nine editions are listed in a supplementary work by Ch'en, the 1-ch. HY 737 *Nan-hua chen-ching chang-chü yü-shih* 餘事, 12a-b. As Wong Shiu-hon points out in Balazs and Hervouet 1978: 364-365, the 1-ch. *Chuang-tzu ch'üeh-wu* 莊子闕誤 was extracted from HY 736. According to Ch'en (HY 736, preface 1a-b), the archaic title "Nan-hua" was officially authorized by T'ang Hsüan-tsung during the T'ien-pao 天寶 reign (742-756).
562. Also included in the prefatory materials of HY 714 is a "Lao-tzü lun" 老子論 of Ko Pi 葛必卩 (ca. 1131-1196).
563. See the biography of Chang Wu-meng in HY 296, 48.5a-7a. For a chart of the Nan-tsung patriarchs, see Needham 1976: 202. On the legends surrounding Ch'en T'u'an, see Knaul 1981.
564. Three prefaces are attached to this text. The first, by Li T'ing 李庭 of Fou-yang 浮陽 (Hopeh), is undated, but presumably the same Li T'ing is known to have contributed introductory remarks in 1249 to an inscription engraved in 1251 (Ts'ai Mei-piao 1955: 117). The second preface, by Kuo Shih-chung 郭時中 (1195-1255), is dated to the *chi-yü* year of the Great Mongol State of Antiquity 大蒙古國歲己酉. The date *chi-yü* is also given for the preface of Feng Fu 馮復. Although Yen Ling-feng (1965: 129) dates the prefaces to the year 1309, the correct correspondence for the date *chi-yü* is the year 1249. Note also that the date given for Hsüeh Chih-hsüan's demise in the epitaph cited by Yen, the seventh year of the *chih-yüan* 至元 reign, corresponds to 1271, not 1341. According to Kuo Shih-chung, the printing of Hsüeh's exegesis was undertaken by three Taoist Masters: Pai Hsien-tao 白顯道 (*hao*, Ch'ung-su 冲素) of Mei-t'ien 美田 [*sic*], Liu Po-ying 劉伯英 (*hao*, Pao-kuang 葆光) of Ch'ang-an, and a Chang Ta-shih 張大師 of Feng-

- hsiang 鳳翔 (Shensi). Li T'ing cites the same trio in his preface but gives the provenance of Master Pai as Mei-yüan 美原 (Shensi). The place name Mei-t'ien is unattested, but the district of Mei-yüan was administered throughout the Jurchen regime and abolished sometime during the Yüan (Ku Tsu-yü, *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* 53.2356).
565. The title "Ch'ung-hsü" was bestowed on Lieh-tzu by imperial decree at the beginning of the T'ien-pao reign (742–756), after which the *Lieh-tzu* text was retitled *Ch'ung-hsü chen-ching*. In the year 1007, the honorific "Chih-te" was added (HY 733, 1.1a).
566. For a study of the textual history of the *Ta-tung ching*, see Robinet 1983. Ch'en's edition, according to Robinet (1983:401), was compiled on the basis of a text very close to that which is printed in the Canon with the preface of Chu Tzu-ying, HY 6 *Shang-ch'ing ta-tung chen-ching*. Among the activities of note in Chu's career was the ordination ceremony he administered at Mao Shan in 1024 on behalf of the Empress Dowager Liu, shortly after the completion of a mourning period for Sung Chen-tsung (r. 998–1022). An account of this ritual is recorded in HY 776 *Chang-hsien ming-su huang-hou shou Shang-ch'ing pi-fa lu chi* 章獻明肅皇后受上清畢法錄記, a text that is repeated in HY 304 *Mao Shan chih* 25.2a–5a.
567. The supplement, together with T'ang Hsüan-tsung's preface and Shih's statement of presentation, is printed as HY 1115 *I-ch'ieh tao-ching yin-i miao-men yu-ch'i* 妙門由起. See Yoshioka 1955:98–109, 301–302, 398–400; and STY 1984.3:89–90.
568. For biographies of Yen Tung and Hsüeh Yu-ch'i, see HY 296, 28.14b and 39.10b, respectively. Li Shao-wei is among the patriarchs cited in the Ch'ing-wei roster of HY 171, 14a. Sunayama Minoru (1984) concludes that Li Shao-wei predates Ch'eng Hsüan-ying.
569. For further background to Ch'en's compilations, see his HY 241 *Pi-hsü-tzu ch'in-ch'uan chih-chih* 碧虛子親傳直指, an exposition on *chintan* practice prefaced by a short biographical note.
570. See the discussion on Shen-hsiao in Chapter 1.
571. Two works ascribed to Li Kuang-hsüan, also known as Li Hsüan-kuang 李玄光, are extant in the Canon: HY 266 *Chin-i huan-tan pai-wen chüeh* 金液還丹百問訣 and HY 1039 *Hai-k'o lun* 海客論, actually a shorter, variant edition of the former. Although, as van der Loon (1984:163) notes, Li's dates are uncertain, his writings are cited in the HY 925 *Ta huan-tan chao-chien* 大還丹照鑑, compiled in 962, as well as in Tseng Ts'ao's 曾造 (fl. 1131–1155) encyclopedic anthology, HY 1011 *Tao shu* 道樞, 22.6b. On the former work, see the discussion on the Nan-tsung legacy in Chapter 4, section 11, and on the latter, see below. A biographical note on P'eng Hsiao is found in HY 1238 *Santung ch'ün-hsien lu*, 12.21b. The compilations of P'eng preserved in the Canon include the 3-ch. HY 999 *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i fen-chang t'ung-*

chen i 周易參同契分章通真義 and HY 1000 *Chou-i ts'an-t'ung ch'i ting-ch'i ko ming-ching t'u* 鼎器歌明鏡圖 . Note also that HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* 70 (see below) records his *Huan-tan nei-hsiang chin yao-shih* 還丹內象金鑰匙 .

572. The place names Tung-hai and Ch'ing-ho appear to offer some clue concerning the provenance of the text. Both, according to Ku Tsu-yü's *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* 22.1032, 1042, were districts incorporated in Huai-an fu 淮安府 (Kiangsu). Tung-hai has a long history but, apparently in 1286, upon the establishment of the Mongol empire, it was merged with Ch'ü-shan 朐山 district. The district of Ch'ing-ho was established at the end of the Hsien-ch'un 咸淳 reign (1265–1274). Thus, HY 88 may have been compiled sometime between 1274 and 1285. The terminology on which the Perfected of Ch'ing-yüan is said to have focused, *li-hsing* 理性 and *ming-ken* 命根 , moreover, suggests his contribution dates to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Note also that the collator of Shao Jo-yü's 邵若愚 (fl. 1159) HY 688 *Tao-te chen-ching chih-chieh* 道德經直解, Chang Chih-hsin 張知新 , is known as Ch'ing-ho chü-shih 清河居士 .
573. See the entry on the *T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien* by Wong Shiu-hon in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:370–371 and *STY* 1984.3:94. Among early translations of the work, see Suzuki and Carus 1909. As van der Loon (1984:89) notes, Sung bibliographies attribute the compilation of the text to Li Ch'ang-ling 李昌齡 (fl. 1233), a recluse of Chia-chiang 夾江 (Szechwan). Chu Yüeh-li (1983) suggests this work reflects a reformation of Taoist literature upon the establishment of the Southern Sung. Note that Ma Hsüeh-liang (1980) reports on a Ming block-print edition of the *T'ai-shang kan-ying p'ien* discovered in an I 葬 community of Yunnan and now kept in the Peking Library. See also the summary of the history of the text in Kubo Noritada 1977:361ff. and in Ch'ing Hsi-t'ai and Li Kang 1985.
574. Ch'en's commentary appears together with those of Hsüeh Tzu-hsien 薛紫賢 (d. 1191) and Lu Shu 陸野 in the 5-ch. HY 142 *Wu-chen p'ien san-chu* 悟真篇三註 .
575. Needham, Ho, and Lu 1976:54. To these authors, Ch'en is "the greatest Taoist writer of the Yüan" (p. 206). His interpretation of the *Ts'an-t'ung ch'i*, although it demonstrates a working knowledge of the laboratory tradition of *wai-tan*, is firmly rooted in the *nei-tan* tradition. Ch'en's edition, the 3-ch. *Ts'an-t'ung ch'i fen-chang chu* 參同契分章註 , is not included in the *Tao-tsang* but is found in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 11.4539–4581 and the Ssu-k'u Imperial Library (SKCS 3048).
576. See Chapter 4, section 14 for a discussion of HY 1059.
577. Note that HY 1272 *Kao-shang shen-hsiao tsung-shih shou-ching shih*, 3b (see Chapter 1, section 1) cites a *Ling-pao tu-jen ching-i* 靈寶度人經義 by Li Yü-te 李玉德 , to which Sung Hui-tsung as the incarnation of

- the Perfected Sovereign Lord of Shen-hsiao was said to have contributed a preface. The text is no longer extant.
578. See HY 91, 1.42a for a citation from his master, Chao Yu-ch'in.
579. See HY 91, 2.41a, 3.1a.
580. See HY 91, 1.29a–b.
581. Note that the date given is ambiguous. Whereas the seventh year of Tate 大德 corresponds to 1303, the cyclical designation *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 refers to the year 1304.
582. Wang Yüan-shuai 王元帥 or Wang Ling-kuan 王靈官 is traditionally stationed at the entrance of Taoist temple grounds as a guardian figure. See, for example, the photograph of the image in the Ling-kuan Tien 靈官殿, at the White Cloud Abbey in Peking printed in [*Pei-ching*] *Pai-yün Kuan* (1983). Rituals associated with the cult devoted to Wang Ling-kuan are recorded in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 241–243. A cognate scriptural codification is found in HY 1431 *T'ai-shang yüan-yang shang-ti wu-shih t'ien-tsun shuo Huo-ch'e Wang Ling-kuan chen-ching* 太上元陽上帝無始天尊說火車王靈官真經. For a variant redaction of this text, see the *Ling-tsu p'o-tan tsun-ching chen-pen* 靈祖破膽尊經真本 in the David Crockett Graham collection of the East Asiatic Library at the University of California, Berkeley.
583. HY 92, 3.20b–21a. As mentioned earlier, Lei Shih-chung was heir to a Thunder Ritual tradition known as Hun-yüan 混元, instructions on which are recorded in HY 1210 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 154–155 (see Chapter 1, section 6).
584. According to Hsüeh, the “Precious Declaration” was first revealed to Ma Yung 馬泳 upon the establishment of the Eastern Chin empire at Chien-k'ang 建康 (Kiangsu). Ma is said to have dreamed that a spirit led him into the celestial realm and commanded him to face a *pao-t'ai* 寶臺, or precious pavilion, suspended in the void, whereupon the “Yüan-shih pao-kao” 元始寶誥, or “Precious Declaration of Primordial Commencement,” appeared before him inscribed in gold on a jade plaque. By reciting these sacred words, Ma was promised the deliverance of his ancestors. A later account cited by Hsüeh reports on the manifestation of this nine-storied pavilion in the year 1113 during a *chiao-fête*. Among those privy to the vision were the 30th Celestial Master Chang Chi-hsien, Lin Ling-su, Wang Wen-ch'ing, and Hsü Chih-ch'ang. Master Wang was said to have had compassion for the masses, to whom the apparition remained invisible, and to have told them to uphold faithfully the “Precious Declaration” so that their prayers for rain and clear weather would be answered and so that the state would be well protected and families pacified, leading to good fortune and longevity and the curtailment of all disaster. Hsüeh's initial account is dated 1316. The second is undated.

585. HY 92, 3.23a.
586. For citations from Hsüeh Yu-ch'i (fl. 740–754), see HY 92, 2.30b, 40a.
587. Compare HY 89, 1a and 4.26b–27a, with HY 90, preface 6b–9b.
588. HY 89, 1.15a. Compare the statement of Li Tao-ch'un cited above in Chapter 4, section 13.
589. HY 89, 1.23b.
590. Compare HY 89, 4.27a–28a, with HY 90, preface, 7a–8a.
591. Note that, in contrast to the weaponry commonly associated with such Thunder deities, Hsin is envisioned, according to HY 1210, 81.1a, bearing a Thunder roster (*lei-pu* 雷簿) in his left hand and a Thunder brush (*lei-pi* 雷筆) in his right. A variant therapeutic code based on the cult devoted to Hsin, recorded in HY 1210, 81.10aff., is identified as the transmission of Lei Shih-chung. According to the hagiographic account in HY 297, 5.11b–14a, Lord Hsin appeared before Lei and bestowed upon him the teachings of the Lei-t'ing 雷霆 (Thunderclap) tradition in order that he might oversee the universal salvation of the masses.
592. On the *Sheng-shen ching*, see Gauchet 1949. For the unannotated version of this Ling-pao scripture, see HY 318 *Tung-hsüan ling-pao tzu-jan chiu-t'ien sheng-shen yü-chang ching* 同玄靈寶自然九天生神玉章經, also reprinted in ch. 16 of the encyclopedic anthology HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* (see below).
593. Note the narrative account on the efficacy of reciting the *Sheng-shen ching* recorded as a supplement to HY 318. Additional stories attesting to the divine powers of the scripture are found in the HY 590 *Tao-chiao ling-yen chi* 道教靈驗記 of Tu Kuang-t'ing (850–933) and in Hung Mai's *I-chien chih*, pp. 188, 450, 1331. Van der Loon (1984: 30) notes, moreover, that this text was among twelve such scriptures recommended for printing by Wang Ch'in-jo (962–1025), as sources of general benefit to the people.
594. See the colophons of Hsieh Shih 謝寧, a nephew of the empress of Sung Li-tsung, and of the classicist Huang Pi-ch'ang 黃必昌. The former is dated to the *ting-ch'ou* 丁丑 year of the Pao-yu reign, apparently an error for either *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 (1253) or *ting-ssu* 丁巳 (1257). The latter is more likely because the *ting-ssu* year of Pao-yu is the date given to Huang's colophon.
595. See, for example, the discussion in HY 396, 3.2a.
596. HY 396, postface, 5b.
597. Tung refers to this work as the *Shu chu* 蜀註 [Commentary of Shu]. Note also the similarity in comments on the concept of *nirvāna* in HY 396, preface, 4a–b, and HY 397, preface, 4a.
598. See HY 397, 1.5a, for the citation “Yü-ch'an-tzu Chao Hsien-sheng” 玉童子趙先生. I have not been able to identify this Master Chao. Yü-ch'an is, of course, the name of the eminent Thunder Ritual Master Pai Yü-ch'an, and Yü-ch'an-tzu is also the nickname of Ho Te-chin 和德瑾.

- (d. 1170).
599. Note that Tung, in HY 397, 1.5b, also refers to a *Shu-pen* 蜀本.
600. HY 397, 1.21a. Note that, as pointed out in van der Loon 1984:71, Wang's commentary is one of the sixteen Taoist works cited in Chao Hsi-pien's 趙希弁 1249 supplement to Ch'ao Kung-wu's 晁公武 (d. 1171+) *Chün-chai tu-shu chih* 郡齋讀書志. The text in Chao's library was also printed in three *chüan* but, unlike the *Tao-tsang* edition, includes a preface by Ch'eng Kung-hsü 程公許 (*chin-shih*, 1211), Assistant Deputy of Yü-chü, and a colophon by Chao Jih-hsiu 趙日休. Since Ch'eng was appointed to the Yü-chü Abbey 玉局 崔見 in 1241 (*Sung shih* 415.12456), his preface was apparently composed sometime between 1241 and 1249.
601. Note that the closing lines of the preface are missing in the I-wen reprint of the *Tao-tsang*. For the full text, see the Commercial Press edition or the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, vol. 4, p. 1535. For Chang Shou-ch'ing's biography, see the *Ta-yüeh T'ai-ho Shan chih* (1413), in *Tao-chiao wen-hsien*, vol. 5, pp. 432-433. The biographies of his teachers Yeh, Liu, and Chang are recorded in vol. 5, pp. 425-428. An account of the Ch'ing-wei Palace, formerly known as the Ch'ing-wei miao-hua yen, is found in vol. 5, pp. 489-491.
602. Chang also says that he has heard of but never seen the commentaries of Hsüeh Yu-ch'i, Li Shao-wei, and Ch'eng Hsüan-ying, but it appears that he is confusing commentaries to the *Sheng-shen ching* with commentaries to the *Tu-jen ching*.
603. See, for example, the citations in HY 398, 3.1b, 6a, 9a, 25a. A *Tung-chen t'ai-shang chin-shu pi-tzu* 洞真太上金書祕字 is cited in the index to lost works, HY 1419 *Tao-tsang ch'üeh-ching mu-lu* 1.1a. Note that a *Hsi-yüeh Tou Chen-jen hsiu-chen chih-nan* 西岳寶真人修真指南 is recorded in the encyclopedic anthology HY 263 *Hsiu-chen shih-shu*, 21.1a-6b (see below).
604. As Charles Benn (1977:126-127) points out, a Tun-huang copy of the annotation associated with T'ang Hsüan-tsung identifies two members of the imperial academy as primary and secondary collators. A detailed discussion of the text with selective translations is found in Benn 1977:126-184.
605. As van der Loon (1984:105) points out, the *T'ung-chih* of Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162) states that Hui-tsung's commentary was issued during the Cheng-ho 政和 reign (1111-1117). But the *Sung shih* 21.400 and the *Sung-shih chi-shih pen-mo* 宋史紀事本末 51.515 of Ch'en Pang-chan 陳邦瞻 (*chin-shih*, 1598) date the event to the eleventh day of the eighth lunar month of the first year of the Chung-ho 重和 reign (1118).
606. On the commentaries of T'ang Hsüan-tsung, Sung Hui-tsung, and Ming T'ai-tsu, see Liu Ts'un-yan 1971-73, reprinted in Liu Ts'un-yan 1977b, chapters 4 and 7. For a briefer account, see Liu Ts'un-yan 1974.

607. HY 680, 1.6a. The corresponding passages, “Ssu-shih erh pu-huo” 四十而不惑 and “Wo ssu-shih pu-tung hsin” 我四十不動心, are found in the *Lun-yü* 論語, 2: *Wei-cheng* 為政, and the *Meng-tzu* 孟子, 2: *Kung-sun Ch'ou chang-chü* 公孫丑章句, respectively.
608. For this title, see Kracke 1978: 28.
609. Tu Kuang-t'ing's monumental commentary, the 50-ch. HY 725 *Tao-te chen-ching kuang-sheng i* 道德真經廣聖義, was completed in 901.
610. Among early collective exegeses on the *Tao-te ching* cited in van der Loon 1984: 73–74 is a *San-shih chia chu-chieh Tao-te ching* 三十家注解道德經, compiled by a T'ang Taoist Master, Chang Chün-hsiang 張君相 of Min Shan 山岷山 (Szechwan). Note that at least one collective exegetic work compiled prior to Hui-tsung's reign still survives. The 10-ch. HY 706 *Tao-te chen-ching chi-chu* 集注 includes the commentaries of Ho-shang Kung, Wang Pi, T'ang Hsüan-tsung, and Wang P'ang 王雱 (1046–1076). See the discussion by Wong Shiu-hon on this text in Balazs and Hervouet 1978: 359–360. Note that there is an inherent discrepancy in ascribing a postface dated 1098 to Liang Chiung 梁迥 (928–986).
611. See Yen Ling-feng 1965 for an inventory of both extant and lost commentaries to the *Tao-te ching*.
612. Note that the *chu-tzu* 朱紫 of HY 684, pref., 1a: 6, is, according to Wang Chung-min (1927: 277), read *chu-tzu* 諸子.
613. See Chapter 4, section 13, for a discussion of HY 1053 *Ch'ing-an Ying-ch'an-tzu yü-lu*.
614. I have not been able to identify the disciple, named by the *hao* of Chi-an 濟庵, but this name does appear in HY 1053, 4.3b. An edition of Pai's commentary, the 2-ch. *T'ai-shang tao-te pao-chang i* 太上道德寶章翼, enlarged with the commentary of Ch'eng I-ning 程以寧 (fl. 1510) is recorded in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* 5.1765–1826.
615. For a brief summary of Tu's role as a representative of the Mongol regime to southern religious communities, see Sun K'o-k'uan 1981: 240ff.
616. The prefaces of Master Chang and Li are dated 1305. Those of Hsü and Wang are undated. The date given Mou's is *chia-wu* 甲午 (1294?), which is perhaps an error for *ping-wu* 丙午 (1306).
617. Jen's colophon is dated 1306. Huang's is undated, but note that he also contributed a preface dated 1307 to Chao Meng-fu's 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) illustrated hagiography, HY 163 *Hsuan-yüan shih-tzu t'u* 玄元十子圖, as well as a preface dated 1310 to Tü Tao-chien's edition of the *T'ung-hsüan ching* (see below).
618. See Chapter 3, Historiography, for a discussion of Hsieh Shou-hao's work.
619. SKCS 3044. See also Kandel 1974.
620. Chang Yü 張雨 (1283–1356+) notes in HY 780 *Hsuan-p'in lu* 5.6a that Ch'ing-ch'eng chen-jen was a name by which Chang Yün 張翥

- (653–745) was known during his time. Neither the hagiographic account on Chang in the *Kao-tao chuan* 高道傳 cited in HY 1238 *San-tung ch'ün-hsien lu* 7.15b–16a nor that in HY 296, 41.9a–14b, mentions this name. Chang Yün, according to HY 1102 *Ching-ming chung-hsiao ch'üan-shu* compiled by Huang Yüan-chi (1270–1324) and collated by Hsü Hui (1291–1352), was a Ching-ming patriarch known also by the name Ch'ing-ch'eng hsien-po 青城仙伯.
621. See the discussion on Nan-tsung in Chapter 4 and the comments on Hsiao T'ing-chih in section 3 under Encyclopedic Compilations.
622. Compare the charts in HY 245 *Yü-ch'i-tzu tan-ching chih-yao* (see note 444).
623. In addition to Chang, who is cited over a dozen times, Teng also quotes from the patriarchs Lü Yen and Chung-li Ch'üan (HY 687, 2.17b, 26b; 3.10b). Only once does Teng apparently evoke a later generation of Nan-tsung patriarchs, namely Hsüeh Tao-kuang 薛道光 (HY 687, 3.36a). I have been unable to identify the source of a quote from a *hsien-shih* 先師, or “prior master” (HY 687, 3.13a). Also of note are citations from Master K'ang-chieh 康節先生, i.e., Shao Yung (HY 687, 3.21a–b), which may be compared with the opening quotation in Feng Fu's 1249 preface to HY 715.
624. P'eng's preface is not included in the I-wen reprint of the *Tao-tsang* but is found in the Commercial Press edition and with the copy of the text recorded in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, vol. 5, p. 1845. It is also reprinted in Wang Chung-min 1927: 246–248.
625. As van der Loon (1984: 5n15) points out, P'eng cites here from the monograph on Taoism and Buddhism that the editors of the *Sung shih* suppressed (HY 707, pref., 5a–b).
626. For further notes on these commentators, see Wang Chung-min 1927 and Yen Ling-feng 1965.
627. As van der Loon (1984: 56n22) points out, Yü dates the infamous burning of all Taoist texts save the *Tao-te ching* to the year 1282 instead of the conventionally accepted date of 1281. Note also that Yü's 1285 exegesis is among the works consulted by Liu in the preparation of HY 724, the preface of which is printed in full (HY 723, 1.28a–30a).
628. Note that the copy of the preface in Wang Chung-min 1927: 322 omits the critical words *pu-tsai t'a ch'iu* 不在也求 (HY 698, pref., 2b4).
629. See, for example, HY 698, 2.20b.
630. Wu Ch'eng compiled the 4-ch. HY 704 *Tao-te chen-ching chu* 註. A 4-ch. edition of this text was also copied into the Ssu-k'u Imperial Library (SKCS 3034).
631. On the controversy regarding the *she-chi* sacrifices during Ming T'ai-tsu's reign, see Taylor 1981.
632. The commentaries of Li Tao-ch'un, Tung Ssu-ching, and Wu Ch'eng are noted above. The Canon also includes the 4-ch. HY 691 *Tao-te chen-*

- ching chu* 註 of Su Ch'e and the 4-ch. HY 701 *Tao-te chen-ching k'ou-i* 口義 of Lin Hsi-i.
633. Compare HY 712, 5.1b, with Wang Pi's commentary HY 690 *Tao-te chen-ching chu* 註, 2.7b, and compare HY 712, 1.19a, with the citation from Lu Te-ming's *Shih-wen* in the commentary of P'eng Ssu, HY 708, 2a. Note also that the "Wang Pi pen" 王弼本 is cited in HY 712, 9.12b.
634. See the citations in HY 712, 1.7b, 5.5a, 6.2b. On Li Tao's work, see the discussion of Yoshinobu Shiba in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:72–75. Wei Ta-yu's citation of *Huai-hai Ch'in shih* 淮海秦氏 was apparently drawn from Ch'in Kuan's *Huai-hai chi* 淮海集, on which see the discussion of J. R. Hightower in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:403–404. Wei does not identify the source of the passage from Ou-yang Hsiu.
635. See Wang Chung-min 1927 and Yen Ling-feng 1965.
636. HY 712, 7.2a–b.
637. One example is the passage cited from Lin Hsi-i in HY 712, 1.25b.
638. Chiao's prefaces to the *Lao-tzu i* and the *Chuang-tzu i* are included in other editions such as the *Chin-ling ts'ung-shu* 金陵叢書. Both texts were also incorporated into the Ssu-k'u library (SKCS 3034, 3042). A copy of the 1588 edition of the *Chuang-tzu i*, printed with the 1588 prefaces of Chiao and Wang Yüan-chen 王元貞, is in the Rare Book Room of the East Asia Library of the University of Washington, Seattle, and is also available in a 1978 reprint. According to Tu Lien-che's biographic account in Hummel 1943:145–146, Chiao's library reportedly filled five rooms, and each volume was said to have included his own annotations.
639. The Kumārajīva commentary is cited in the list of sources recorded in the *Chin-ling ts'ung-shu* edition of the *Lao-tzu i*. Wang Chung-min (1927:102) notes that a 2-ch. commentary to the *Lao-tzu* is attributed to Kumārajīva in the *Chiu T'ang shu* and the *Hsin T'ang shu*.
640. See the citation, for example, in HY 1475, 1.22b. According to Wang Chung-min (1927:387), Shao Pien's commentary is cited in Huang Yü-chi's 黃虞稷 (1629–1691) *Ch'ien-ch'ing T'ang shu mu* 千頃堂書目. Wang errs in dating Shao to the Ming.
641. SKCS 3042. Ch'u Po-hsiu's 106-ch. HY 734 *Nan-hua chen-ching i-hai tsuan-wei* 義海纂微 is the largest commentary on the *Chuang-tzu* in the Canon. On this text and the commentary of Lü Hui-ch'ing (not included in the Canon), see Wong Shiu-hon's discussions in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:365–366, 368–369. Note that the Ssu-k'u editors give Lo Mien-tao's name as Lo Mien-hsüeh 羅勉學. Lo's 30-ch. HY 742 *Nan-hua chen-ching hsün-pen* 循本 was collated by a disciple named P'eng Hsiang 彭祥. On the 8-ch. *Nan-hua ching fu-mo* 副墨 of Lu Hsi-hsing 陸西星, or Lu Ch'ang-keng 陸長庚, see Yen Ling-feng 1965: vol. 2, p. 103.

642. Li's dates are unknown. As van der Loon (1984:137) points out, a *Chuang-tzu shih-lun* 莊子十論 is cited in the bibliographic monograph of the *Sung shih* and in Ch'en Chen-sun's 陳振孫 (ca. 1190–after 1249) *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題. Note that Yen Ling-feng (1965: vol. 2, p. 91) errs in dating Li to 1367. As Wong Shiu-hon notes in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:369, Li's work is cited in Ch'u Po-hsiu's commentary to the *Chuang-tzu* (HY 734). The extract in Chiao, HY 1476, *fu-lu* 22a–39b, corresponds to HY 1253, 1a–18b. The tenth and final account of HY 1253, the “Sung Hua-tzu ping-wang lun” 宋華子病忘論 of Lieh-tzu, is omitted. Li's name is given as Li Yüan-cho 李元卓 in HY 1253, where he is identified as a *T'ai-hsüeh chiao-shou* 太學教授 (Professor of the National University).
643. HY 1476, *fu-lu* 15a–22a corresponds to HY 744, 1b–8b. Chiao omits the opening discussion on “T'ai-miao chih hsi” 太廟之義. Note that the subheading “Tsa-shuo” 雜說 is given in HY 744, 2b.
644. On the history, organization, and content of the *Chen-kao*, see Strickmann 1977a and 1981, and Robinet 1984.
645. Yoshioka 1955:377–393 provides a tabulation of the texts cited in the two compilations of Wang Hsüan-ho, each title of which is indexed in an alphabetical list at the end of the work. On the *Shang-ch'ing tao-lei shih-hsiang*, see *STY* 1984.3:92–93. Note also that large quantities of Shang-ch'ing writings are recorded in the 3-ch. HY 1220 *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽, an extract of ch. 674–676 from the “Tao pu” 道部 (ch. 659–679) of the collectaneum compiled ca. 977–983 under the editorship of Li Fang 李昉 (925–996). The subjects covered in the *Tao-tsang* selection include sacred space, ritual garments and accoutrements, and various means of transcendence, architecture, and scriptural transmissions. As Strickmann (1981:30) points out, text and title do not always match, no doubt a reflection of the complex editorial history of the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*.
646. See Yoshioka 1955:361–376 for a list of the titles in the *Wu-shang pi-yao*. For a comprehensive study of the work, see Lagerwey 1981.
647. There is, surprisingly, no biography of Chang Chün-fang in the Canon. According to the entry on this text by the Ssu-k'ü editors (*SKCS* 3055), Chang achieved the status of *chin-shih* during the Ching-te 景德 reign (1004–1008). Ch'en Wen-shu 陳文述 (1771–1843), *Hsi-ling hsien-yung* 西冷仙詠, 3.24a, reports that Chang lived to be over eighty years old.
648. Van der Loon (1984:33n18) dates Chang's preface to 1028 or 1029 on the basis of the internal reference to Ch'en Yao-tso 陳堯佐 as “the present Han-lin Academician,” a post Ch'en held for a little over a year until early in 1029. See van der Loon 1984:29–36 on the evidence against Chang's claims regarding his role in the compilation of the Canon.

649. See Schipper 1981–82b: vii and 1986.
650. For a list of three sources in which photo reproductions of pages from the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* fascicles in the National Library of Peking and the Palace Museum of Taipei can be found, see van der Loon 1984: 53n11. See also the brief discussion in the *Ku-kung wen-wu yüeh-k'an* 故宮文物月刊 1983.4: 140–141. The National Palace Museum Library of Taipei also has a copy of the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* edited by Chang Hsüan 張萱 (1558–1641) and published by him at the Ch'ing-chen Kuan 清真館 in 1609. This copy was formerly in the I-ho Hsüan 頤和軒 Imperial Library. Chang Hsüan added a table of contents to the work. Copyist errors are common in his edition, but a number of corrections to earlier redactions have also been introduced. Both the Ssu-k'u Imperial Library and the first printing of the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 (Shanghai, 1919–22) reproduce the edition of Chang Hsüan. The second printing of the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* in 1929 reproduces the *Tao-tsang* edition. A table of contents for the *Tao-tsang chi-yao* edition, 19.8403–20.8970, is found in vol. 1, pp. 150–169. Sun K'o-k'uan (1965: 126–143) also includes a table of contents of the work, which is unfortunately marred by lacunae and misprints. The *Tao-tsang* edition is also reprinted in the *Tao-tsang ching-hua* 道藏精華, series 7, no. 1, edited by Hsiao T'ien-shih 蕭天石 (Taipei, 1962).
651. SKCS 3055. See also Yoshioka 1955: 149 on the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* as a *Tao-tsang* in miniature 小道藏 and van der Loon 1984: 145.
652. Schipper 1981–82b: viii and 1986.
653. Strickmann 1977b: 14–15, 1977f: 1054, 1979b, 1981: 78.
654. Chang refers to the text in his preface as the emperor's "*i-yeh chih lan*" 乙夜之覽, i.e., his reading material for the second watch (9:00–11:00 P.M.).
655. See Chapter 2, section 9. The three prefaces of Chen-tsung are found in HY 1026, 103.1a–2a, 117.1a–b, and 120.16a–b.
656. See Sivin 1968: 54–56.
657. HY 1026, 4.1a–6a.
658. John Lagerwey ("Le *Yun-ji qi-qian*: structure et sources," in Schipper 1981–82: xix–xxix), identifies 27 major divisions in the *Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien* and suggests that the organization of the text was inspired by both the *Wu-shang pi-yao* and the standard histories. Yoshioka (1955: 422–481) provides an index to 1403 titles cited in the text. Schipper (1981–82b) offers a concordance to it, based on collaborative efforts over several years. The history of the *kōshin* 庚申 cult, including its origins in the writings on *keng-shen*, is the subject of Kubo Noritada 1956. *Keng-shen* is based on the belief that three corpses (*san-shih* 三尸) or three vermin (*san-ch'ung* 三蟲) keep watch over various parts of the body and on the 57th day of the sixty-day cycle—the *keng-shen* day—six times a year, they report on high the various transgres-

- sions observed within their individual domains. A summary of these beliefs and related practices is found in Maspero 1981:331–338. On embryonic respiration, one of the techniques designed to rid one's body of the three vermin, see *ibid.*, 338–345, 459–505. The term *shih-chieh*, or corpse liberation, refers to the belief that the corpse of a transcendent vanishes at death, on which see *ibid.*, 320–321.
659. Note that an account in Hung Mai's *I-chien chih* (1981:253) places Tseng as the magistrate of Ch'ien-chou in the year 1147.
660. There is some disagreement on the date of Tseng's death. Katsumura Tetsuya, in an entry on the *Lei-shuo* in Balazs and Hervouet 1978:317–318, dates his death to the year 1163. Ch'ang Pi-te and Wang Te-i (1974–76:2809) give the date as 1155. The *Lei-shuo* was completed in 1136 (SKCS 2581). As van der Loon (1984:144) points out, a 12-ch. *Chi-hsien chi* 集仙記 was also compiled by Tseng. This lost text, according to Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫 (ca. 1190–1249), included biographies of 162 transcendents.
661. Whereas there are a total of 108 titles in the *Tao shu*, some are printed in two or three segments, thus resulting in a sum of 118 *p'ien* 篇. Note that the edition reviewed by the bibliographer Ch'en Chen-sun contained 122 *p'ien* (van der Loon 1984:154). As Miyakawa Masayori (1984:28) points out, the term "Tao shu" can be traced back to the *Ch'i-wu lun* 齊物論 of the *Chuang-tzu*.
662. See Needham, Ho, and Lu 1976:55–56.
663. HY 1011, 13.6b–9b; see also 35.9a–11a.
664. A study of this text is found in Baldrian-Hussein 1984, based on a 1979 dissertation (see above, note 341). The *Pai-wen p'ien* and the *Ch'uan-tao p'ien* are discussed above, in Chapter 4, section 1, as part of the literary legacy associated with Lü Yen. As van der Loon (1984:164) points out, Cheng Ch'iao's 葉樵 (1104–1162) *T'ung-chih* 通志 cites a *Chung-li shou Lü Kung Ling-pao pi-fa* 鍾離授呂公靈寶畢法 in ten *chüan*, whereas the 3-ch. HY 1182 is presented in ten *p'ien*. Note that both the *Ch'uan-tao chi* and the *Ling-pao pi-fa* are included in an undated Korean manuscript, the *Samch'ong chin'gyöl* 三清真訣, of the Asami Library (Fang Chao-ying 1969:225).
665. Miyakawa Masayori (1984) suggests that Tseng expresses contrasting views with regard to the teachings on embryonic respiration associated with Bodhidharma, but I do not find his argument convincing, in part because I have been unable to locate the third passage he attributes to Tseng in HY 1011, ch. 42, the *Ling-pao p'ien* dialogic treatise.
666. Tseng's critique of Ts'ui's work is found in HY 1011, 3.4b–7b. On Tseng's censorship of the *Ju-yao ching*, see van Gulik 1961:224–225, Maspero 1981:541, and Needham and Lu 1983:196. As van der Loon (1984:154) points out, Ch'en Chen-sun comments on Tseng's personal campaign against sexual rites on the grounds that they were physically damaging and a threat to the Tao.

667. HY 263, 21.6b–9b.
668. The exchange between Tseng and Wang is found in HY 263, ch. 22. See also the verse of Tseng to the tune of “Lin-chiang hsien” 臨江山 in HY 263, 23.1a–2a, dated 1151, and the “Chih-yu chü-shih tso-yu ming” 至游居士座右銘 in 25.5b–6a. The latter inscription, supposedly engraved on Tseng’s chair, counsels the necessity to restrain one’s feelings of resentment and passion in the cultivation of perfection.
669. On the ex post facto Nan-tsung heritage, see Chapter 4, section 11.
670. Pai Yü-ch’an’s writings are discussed in Chapter 4, section 12. Hsiao’s writings are found in HY 263, ch. 9–13.
671. Note that the diagrams are missing from the edition of this text in the *Tao-tsang ching-hua lu*, vol. 10.
672. HY 263, ch. 13. On the *tz’u* lyric linked to Lü Yen, see Chapter 4, section 1. Note that Hsiao’s annotated edition of the *Ju-yao ching* is omitted from the *Chin-tan ta-ch’eng* recorded in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, vol. 16, pp. 7087–7108. But this version of the text is printed separately in the *Tao-tsang chi-yao*, vol. 11, pp. 4612–4633, together with copious annotations by Wang Tao-yüan 王道淵, Li P’an-lung 李攀龍 (1514–1570), and P’eng Hao-ku 彭好古. The edition there closes with three verses to the tune of “Pai-tzu ling” 百字令, entitled “Ming san-chiao chih li” 明三教之理 [In Elucidation of the Principles of the Three Teachings].
673. Hsiao’s roster serves as an introduction to Teng Ch’i’s commentary to the *Tao-te ching*, discussed above under Exegeses, section 4.
674. HY 263, ch. 53.
675. See the discussion on Wang Chih-chin in Chapter 4, section 10.
676. Recorded in ch. 54 of HY 263 is the *Huang-t’ing nei-ching wu-tsang liu-fu t’u* 黃庭內景五藏六府圖 compiled by Hu Yin 胡愔 in 848. The illustrations missing in this version are found in a variant redaction of the text printed as HY 432 *Huang-t’ing nei-ching wu-tsang liu-fu pu-hsieh t’u* 五藏六腑補瀉圖. Chapters 55–60 of HY 263 include the *Huang-t’ing nei-ching yü-ching chu* 黃庭內景玉經註 and *Huang-t’ing wai-ching yü-ching chu* 黃庭外景玉經註 of Liang-ch’iu-tzu 梁丘子 (fl. 729). For variant redactions of Liang-ch’iu-tzu’s edition of the *nei-ching* text, see HY 402 *Huang-t’ing nei-ching yü-ching chu* and the *Shang-ch’ing huang-t’ing nei-ching chu* 上清黃庭內景註 in HY 1026 *Yün-chi ch’i-ch’ien* 11.1a–12.27b. Schipper 1975c provides an introduction to the *nei-ching* and *wai-ching*, with a concordance to both. See also Robinet 1979: 85–149 and 1984.
677. Note also the calendar marking various holy days in HY 263, 25.2b–5b, including the dates on which the martial lord Chen-wu could be expected to descend. Among the birthdays to be celebrated are those of Hsüan-yüan Tao-chün 玄元道君, i.e., Lao-tzu incarnate (fifteenth day

of the second lunar month) and the Buddha, i.e., Śākyamuni (eighth day of the fourth lunar month). Also noted is the day on which the Buddha is said to have achieved the Tao 成道 (eighth day of the twelfth lunar month). The date on which Confucius's birthday is traditionally celebrated, the 27th of the eighth lunar month, is labeled instead as the feast day on which all buddhas assemble in commemoration of the transmission of sūtras to Tung-hai 東海, i.e., the eastern seaboard area of Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu. This calendar is recorded in a section of HY 263 given the subheading *Tsa-chu chieh-ching* 雜著捷經. The term *chieh-ching*, or shortcuts, seems to refer to the use of diagrams in the pursuit of *chin-tan*, at least as used by Liao Cheng 廖正 in his "Hsiu-chen lun" 修真論 [A Discourse on Cultivating Perfection], dated 1244, apparently the latest internal date in the *Hsiu-chen shih-shu* (HY 263; 1.8b–10a). While not all the subheadings are clearly marked, the *Shih-shu*, or Ten Compilations, to which the title refers seem to correspond to the following divisions: (1) *Tsa-chu chih-hsüan p'ien* 雜著指玄篇 (ch. 1–8), dominated by the writings of Nan-tung patriarchs; (2) *Chin-tan ta-ch'eng chi* (ch. 9–13) of Hsiao T'ing-chih; (3) *Chung Lü ch'uan-tao chi* (ch. 14–16) of Shih Chien-wu (fl. 820); (4) *Tsa-chu chieh-ching* (ch. 17–25); (5) *Wu-chen p'ien* (ch. 26–30); (6) *Yü-lung chi* (ch. 31–36) of Pai Yü-ch'an; (7) *Shang-ch'ing chi* (ch. 37–44) of Pai; (8) *Wu-i chi* (ch. 45–52) of Pai; (9) *P'an Shan yü-lu* (ch. 53); and (10) *Huang-t'ing ching* (ch. 54–60).

678. Note that the table of contents lists the nineteen *chang* under two, rather than eight, *chüan*, with nine in the first *chüan* and ten in the second.
679. For discussions from cognate texts on this method of meditation according to the timing of a (sinking-) bowl clepsydra, see Needham and Lu 1983:213–215, HY 1219 *Ch'üan-chen tso-po chieh-fa* 全真坐鉢本捷法 and HY 1225 *Ch'üan-chen ch'ing-kuei* 全真清規.
680. Note that the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, the date on which Śākyamuni's birthday is traditionally celebrated, as marked in HY 263, 25.3b, is, according to Chu, the day on which Lord Lao, the Most High, headed west to convert the barbarians (HY 1472, 7.6b).
681. HY 1472, 3.26a.
682. Chang speaks here of receiving the commission in the summer of 1406, whereas the date given in his preface of HY 777 is the summer of 1407. Note that a decree dated the nineteenth of the eleventh lunar month of 1406, recorded in HY 1450 *Huang Ming en-ming shih-lu* 皇明恩命世錄, 3.4a–b, refers to Ming Ch'eng-tsu's past assignment of Chang as editor of Taoist writings. The latter text provides an invaluable record of imperial decrees dating from 1365 to 1605 in testimony to the complex issues concerning the relation between state and religion during the Ming.

683. Schipper (1983a) suggests that the placement of the 61-ch. *Tu-jen ching* at the head of the Canon reflects Chang Yü-ch'u's understanding that the *Tung-chen pu* 洞真部, as a record of the revelations of the Yüan-shih t'ien-tsun 元始天尊, should open with the most important text he was thought to have revealed.
684. The texts Chang cites in HY 1222, 8b, are (1) *Shih-pi chi* 石壁記, i.e., HY 880 *T'ai-ch'ing shih-pi chi* 太清石壁記, edited by Master Ch'u-tse 楚澤先生; (2) *Lung-hu ching* 青龍虎經; see HY 995 *Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu* 古文龍虎上經注 and HY 994 *Ku-wen lung-hu shang-ching chu-shu* 注疏 by Wang Tao 王道 (fl. 1185); (3) *Ts'an-t'ung ch'i*; (4) *Wu-chen p'ien* of Chang Po-tuan; (5) *Ts'ui-hsü p'ien* of Ch'en Nan (d. 1213); (6) *Huan-yüan p'ien* of Shih T'ai (d. 1181); (7) *Chih-hsüan p'ien* 指玄篇; among lost texts cited in HY 1419, 2.15b, is a *Ch'i-shen-tzu Chih-hsüan p'ien* 棲神子指玄篇 (see also van der Loon 1984: 122); (8) *Ta Tao ko* 大道歌; van der Loon (1984: 78) cites a *Ta Tao chin-tan ko* 大道金丹歌 ascribed to a Kao Hsien 高先 (tzu, Hsiang-hsien 象先) that apparently corresponds to HY 1071 *Chen-jen Kao Hsiang-hsien chin-tan ko* 真人高象先金丹歌; (9) *Ju-yao ching* of Ts'ui Hsi-fan; (10) *Chin-tan ssu-pai tzu* 金丹四百字 of Chang Po-tuan; see HY 1073 *Chin-tan ssu-pai tzu chu* 註 of Huang Tzu-ju 黃自如 (fl. 1241), also recorded in HY 263, ch. 5 and discussed in *STY* 1984.3: 85. Chang also includes in his list of required readings the dialogic treatises of various transcendents but cites no titles.

Notes to the Epilogue

685. Note also the survey of European and American contributions on Taoist studies published in this journal (Cheng T'ien-li 1984). Compare with an earlier summary by Daniel Yu (1977).
686. Earlier encyclopedic entries of note include R. A. Stein, "Les religions de la Chine," in *Encyclopédie française* (Paris, 1957), vol. 19, 54.3–54.10; K. M. Schipper, "Taoïsme," in *Encyclopaedia universalis* (Paris, 1973), vol. 15, pp. 738–744; and the series of articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago, 1977), vol. 17, pp. 1034–1055: "Taoism," by Anna K. Seidel, and "Taoism, History of" and "Taoist Literature," by Michel Strickmann.
687. See Boltz 1986c for a study of the T'ien-fei texts. See also Franke 1972 and 1977 on 15th-century manuscripts of the *San-kuan ching* 三官經 and the *Tou-mu'ching* 斗母經 that were found inside a wooden Buddhist figure recovered outside Hamburg after the Elbe River had flooded its banks. Cognate versions of the *San-kuan ching* are preserved in the *Tao-tsang* as well as in Schipper's archives, and a number of texts related to the Tou-mu, or Marīcī, cult are recorded in both the Taoist and the Buddhist Canon.

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A full index to titles of sources in the Taoist Canon cited in both the text and Notes above is found in Appendix B. With the exception of major works such as the *Tao-te ching*, the only titles indexed below are those that do not appear in the Canon. Titles cited in the Notes alone are generally omitted if they are known only from bibliographic treatises or if they are entered in the Bibliography above. Deities and pre-twentieth century figures noted in the subentries below are comprehensively indexed in the List of Names. "Kuan" (Abbey) and "Kung" (Palace) denote Taoist temple compounds. "Shan" refers to mountain peaks or ranges. Overall, the topical entries given below point to the primary sources of interest to various fields of study, rather than to any extensive discussion in this monograph.

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